



METRIC

1

2

3

4

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 1, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
General Staff College,
Army Post Office 714,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

Saturday, June 29th, in the afternoon, I received your cable from Paris saying that your orders had been changed and you had been ordered to the front. Your Mother and I have been impatiently awaiting word from you and have indulged in many computations. Since we saw Major Williams on Friday we had reached the conclusion that you had about finished your tour of the front, and that you would soon be coming back. We were counting the days and joyously awaiting word, when your cablegram that your orders were changed arrived. Your dispatch arrived just as we received word of the very serious condition of Amy in California, and Saturday night found two very sad old people.

There is nothing to do, of course, but just what you are doing - cheerfully buck up and perform our allotted tasks. I used to smile ironically when I was told that the task of the loved ones left behind was as difficult, and

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

that their burdens were as great as those of the absent loved one. Of course, the difficulties are not the same. The home people face no dangers; but mentally I think those who watch and wait, and hope and plead have as hard a time as the active ones far away. I know, my boy, I'd change with you in an instant were it possible, and I think there is something wrong in the scheme of creation, which does not permit this interchange. We've had no letter from you since the one dated May 29th. We don't know where you are, to what you are attached, or anything concerning your activities. The very uncertainty of the whole thing weighs upon us the more. I presume, within a week now, however, we'll have some letters from you, and, until they come, remembering that you are facing the danger, we must, with patience and philosophy, contain ourselves.

Saturday afternoon we received word from Mrs. Bowles and from Jack that Amy had grown very much worse. What this implies, you'll understand. I wired at once to both of them, and, this morning, I am in receipt of their replies saying that there was a slight improvement. How pitiful the sickness of this poor girl seems, and how little are our troubles here in Washington in comparison! We are, of course, hoping for the best, and I will not believe that Amy, with her strong will, and her former great strength, will not pull through.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

Immediately upon receipt of your cable I wired Marion, as you requested. I judge from the telegram she sent me that she has been without word from you for a long time, too. The mail facilities, although the army has taken them over, seem to be quite as bad as they were under the Post Office administration.

We expect to take a recess within a few days here for a period of four or five weeks. Your Mother and I planned to remain here in the hope we might see you and be with you a little longer. That hope is dashed now and we don't know what we'll do. Neither of us wishes to go to California. Under the beneficent management of Mr. McAdoo it costs nearly twice as much now to make the trip to California as it did before. Moreover, if we went there, I would arrive just in the midst of a political campaign, which I can measurably avoid by remaining here. Beyond this, the time of our stay would be so brief that the trip would hardly be worth while. The only impelling reason for us to go would be to see Amy and Jack. It will take me twenty four or forty-eight hours to make up my mind, and then I'll write you again.

Raymond Robins has just arrived here from Russia. He was there ^{acting} a ~~lieutenant~~ for the Red Cross, and for eleven months has done magnificent work. He was the one man intimate with the soviet government, and he knows the Russian situation as no foreigner in all the world knows it. His views are very firm

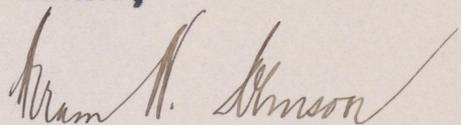
Major Archibald M. Johnson 4

and he is bitterly opposed to intervention by the allies. I can't tell you the whole story and it is impossible at this time, in any fashion, to commit it to writing. The tale he relates of the desire for intervention is amazing and startling and reflects no credit upon our co-belligerents. If I deem it appropriate in the near future I will write you the story.

I am going to make this letter in duplicate and send one copy to Army Post Office 714, General Staff College, and one copy care of Tobin with a brief note asking him to forward it to you. Perhaps, in this fashion, you may get one or the other. I presume when we hear from you, you'll give us full directions how to write.

Aside from her worries, Mother is well and we are enjoying our country home, and each day convinces us of Mother's wisdom in its selection. Of course, our talk is wholly of you and of what you are doing on the other side. We know, whatever it may be, conscientiously and fully you are performing that duty. Our hearts are ever with you, and there is no time in the day or the night that we are not pulling for you. It is wholly superfluous to send you our love - that is ever surrounding you. Would that we could make of it an impenetrable armor for your protection!

Affectionately your father,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Hiram W. Johnson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

[To Major Archibald M. Johnson, (youngest son) with Army in France.]

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

At Home, Rowdale, Md., 4th July, 1918.
My dear Arch:

The fourth of July! With what intense thrills I used to await it, scarcely able to restrain myself. This when a youngster, and then I lived it over again with my two youngsters. Now an old man, glad to escape to the country and to regard the day as a brief vacation. The endeavor has been made this year all over the nation to make the celebration of this great holiday have a real and a new significance. The effort, however, has been so strained, that I am not entirely certain the result of predicated an added patriotism and arousing increased enthusiasm for the war will be wholly attained. However the design was a laudable one and perhaps may be the commencement of a new Americanism, a real attempt at binding our polyglot peoples into a homogeneous nation. The newspapers with their present inability to publish opinions

or even print the news, since a patriotic fervor so exaggerated at times as to be grotesque; but with these limitations they have tried very hard to make this Fourth of July a real celebration for unifying our people. This morning, can you believe it, I pushed the lawn mower over a half of our lawn — no small task for a gross fat old gent who has taken no exercise of any kind for years. When I had finished my allotted task, one half of the yard, I was almost dead, and had to change every stitch of clothing. Mother first bawled me about my undertaking and then chided me for seeing it through. The rest of the day I have spent sitting quietly and reading a late novel. I have pictured you in every conceivable activity today but I have been satisfied with none of my imaginings. It's quite maddening to have no conception at all of where you are or what you're doing. How we long for news of you and how fearfully disappointing it is day after day to receive no letters, and to know too, that letters

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

2. Am. J.

have been sent us. I had a letter from
Robin day before yesterday dated June 10,
in which he said you had been with
him were well, and he had induced you
to 'have your' photograph taken. The
following day two photos came and oh,
how welcome they were. The one standing
I thought as good as any picture I had
ever seen. The one of your head 'merely',
I didn't think so good; but we are
treasuring both. Your last letter was
dated May 29, and your table telling of
your change in orders with your previous
one saying you were favorably recommended,
are the only words we have had from
you at all. I felt sure when Robin's
letter came one would come from you in
the very next delivery of mail at the Senate
office building, but though I was on hand
largely going through the next batch of
letters, I didn't find what I wanted.
I had lunch with Joyce Tuesday at
his request, but what he wanted was to

See if I couldn't help Sam Knight get
into the Judge Advocate General's Office.

Joyce is now a Colonel and spends a part
of his day at the Ordnance Department,
trying to work. His arm is still in a
sling and apparently wholly useless. He
says the wound has just commenced to
close and he feels hopeful of speedy recovery.
I doubt if he ever regains its use.

I have said nothing either to Lyon or
Raymond about your last cablegram and
what I have taken it to mean, that you
are to remain in France. I have assumed
you would advise them, if you thought it
appropriate, and I feared if I should brook
in, I might "spill the beans". I'll await
your advice before saying anything to them.
If I could only know where you are
detailed, what are to be your duties and
your official position generally, I would
know how to act; but being in such utter
ignorance, I have concluded it was best for
me to do nothing. Had you returned, we
intended to make a drive to have Lyon's
request for you honored; but if your
orders are for duty overseas now, apparently
there is nothing we can do.

United States Senate,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

3. Am. J.

We have no further news of Amy. As I wrote you the other day, she had rapidly declined and our fears were serious. The telegrams of Monday said there had been a slight improvement, but that was our last news. How terrible it is that this young girl must make such an awful struggle! The situation has darkened our entire horizon.

Mother is calling me for dinner. We sat on the yard last night, both of us playing at penmanship.

Goodbye, dear boy.

All Dad's thoughts are with you.
Affectionately, your father,
Hiram W. Johnson

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WY.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 8, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Oakland, California.

*Outstanding Letter
Regarding
Report on Russia*

My dear Daughter:

I sent you a little note last Saturday from the senate chamber, so that you'd know the reason for my failure to write as usual. The fact is, we met at eleven o'clock Saturday morning and remained in session until six thirty, adjourned until eight, and then remained in session until eleven. Saturday morning, as you know, is our regular conference day at the War Department, our meeting hour being nine thirty; so, if you'll consider going from Riverdale, Maryland, to be at the war conference at nine thirty, staying there until eleven, and thereafter in the senate, you will forgive me for my dereliction. Saturday was really an exciting day in the senate. Nearly everybody, of course, wanted to adjourn, but there are some of us, who feel such a keen and solemn responsibility at this time, and who have so little confidence in our masters, that we believe we should suffer any inconvenience and almost any humiliation that we might measurably perform our duty and respond to our obligations and responsibilities. Of course, there is little that we, as a congress, can do, but such tremendous events are portending, and such possibilities

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

are imminent, I have thought we should stay on the job. There were other currents as well influencing the question of adjournment. The bi-partisan combination, the leaders of which are Penrose, on the Republican side, and Martin and Simmons on the Democratic side, were willing to disregard any duty and forget any responsibility in order to delay the votes upon prohibition and suffrage. They agreed, therefore, to recess until August twelfth. An overwhelming number of the members were sympathetic with this purpose. At noon time, I endeavored to sound the key-note of the position of those who felt the heavy responsibility of these times, and I demanded that we should stay upon the job. There was an immediate response from the younger members of the body. Singularly enough, when, emphatically, I said the highest duty we could perform was to stay on the job, the galleries broke into applause. I am enclosing you, as a passing interesting incident, the brief account in The New York Times of what occurred. Parenthetically, I may remark to you that I receive little publicity now except from a few papers, like The Philadelphia North American. The Associated Press, which controls, of course, the principal dissemination of news, always had me on its black books, and after my argument in behalf of the International News Service against the Associated Press in the Supreme Court it doubly blacklisted me. The Associated Press representatives here have intimated that they would carry my name as little as possible. The International News Service, on the

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

other hand, while anxious to give the fullest publicity to anything I should say, are practically engaged in a life and death struggle. The attack upon the Hearst publications and upon everything that he ~~commands~~^{commands} in the matter of news service is now systematic all over the east, and there is a very set purpose among most newspapers and many patriotic associations to destroy him and his press. He has adopted as his defense a sycophantic subserviency to the administration, and devotes himself now exclusively to the most sickening, slobbering, fulsome flattery of everybody connected with the President. The result is that his news service, while anxious to aid, hesitates to carry the sort of stuff I speak, which may be interpreted as wholly independent of the wishes of the national administration. I shall find myself more and more in the future lacking publicity. I am going to try to take care of this, however, by personal letters to our newspaper friends in California, and if I can "Keep the Home Fires Burning" I need not trouble myself about what transpires elsewhere. Returning to the contest on adjournment, after I had made the slogan that we should "stay on the job" the fight got mighty warm in the senate. In the evening they passed the resolution, when they gagged us from debating it, by a vote 27 to 26, and the bi-partisan combination was successful by a single vote. The row had had its result, and aided by the President's suggestion earlier in the day, the House of Representatives refused to concur in the resolution of the senate, and administered really a stinging rebuke to the senate, at which the

Mrs. Amy Johnson- 4

"twenty six" laughed uproariously, and the "twenty seven", in picturesque and profane language, voiced their disapproval. Temporarily, the question of a recess is at an end. I think, however, it will arise soon again. I was very anxious to come to California on just one account - to see you and Jack and the kiddies and your people. I should have felt very wretched, however, if I had reached California, and then, some great crisis had arisen, not that I could do anything particularly in that crisis, but because something might be required of us. I believe, as I said on Saturday, we are very near to this crisis. I wrote you some time since of the possibilities if the Germans crossed the Marne and advanced but a few miles. We are hoping and praying that they can never get across the Marne, but, with our knowledge of what they have done in the past, and how swiftly they go forward when once they start, we have anything but a feeling of absolute security. The stuff which is constantly being published by our press about the destruction of the German morale, and the absolute certainty that they can not pass, you'd realize is only stuff to delude an ignorant public, if you talked with those who are in intimate touch with the situation.

In this connection, I heard a most illuminating communication on Friday. Senator Warren, as you know, is the father-in-law of General Pershing. He is also a sort of father-in-law of our stand-pat brethren, and the guardian of special privilege in the senate.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

He is one of the ranking members of the military committee, and since Pershing's appointment, has been one of the most servile adherents of the administration. For some reason or other, of late he has shown a very kindly disposition toward me, and on Friday last he read to me what he said was the first newsy communication he had had from his son-in-law, General Pershing, for many months. Pershing spoke first of the achievement in getting into France the vast number of men we now have there, but insisted that that number must be greatly increased, and expressed regret that the situation in the draft here would probably make an immediate increase impossible, and then he added, the very significant sentence, that, notwithstanding we had all these men in France, the big thing with them after all was to have them prepared, that men so recently summoned and so recently made soldiers could not be expected to go up against the prepared veteran troops of Germany. Pershing seemed to indicate that he would not be in a hurry to put these unprepared men into line, and I was very glad to know this. He referred bitterly to our aircraft production, and denounced Howard Coffin, who had been the head of our aircraft board, saying that he believed him to be simply an advertiser for himself and his wares, and that the whole aircraft program had broken down shamefully, and left them in an outrageous condition. He spoke of our ordnance production, and while less bitter, was quite as emphatic in denunciation of its failure. He said our boys had done well, had won the praises of all the allied

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

generals, and that they were as fine fighting stuff as there was in all the world, but again said, it was unfair to them to put them in battle without full preparation. If Pershing's letter could be published upon the ordnance and aircraft situation, because of his present commanding position, and the confidence our people have in him, it would create a tremendous sensation. What a pity that this can not be known! Warren read me the letter in confidence, and, of course, my tongue is tied.

During the week, at the invitation of Colonel Thompson, with eight or ten other senators, I dined with Raymond Robins. Before the dinner, Robins and his wife had been with us, and he had told me his views of Russia. It is rather difficult in anything like a brief space to set forth these views, but I want to give you, for preservation hereafter, something of what he saw and of what he believes. I want to do this, not alone because they represent his sentiments, but because they represent as well the sentiments of other men, whose environment has been quite the reverse of his, and whose economic and political world has been the antithesis of his. Thompson was the commander of the Red Cross in Russia. He is a multi-millionaire, having made his money in copper mines, or something of that sort, and he looks upon life and human activities from the standpoint of the multi-millionaire. Robins was the colonel of the Red Cross, immediately under Thompson, but ^{he} an executive officer. Next in command was Major Thacher, a member of a thoroughly "respectable," high grade law firm in New York City,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

whose practice came mostly from Wall Street, and whose life had run in the lines of the usual Wall Street attorney. All of these men returned from Russia in absolute unanimity ^{and} of accord, so that, you have the multi-millionaire, with the multi-millionaire's expansive vision of his class, and the multi-millionaire's economic theories; you have the cultured and able Wall Street attorney, with his narrow adherence to the divine right of big business and successful business men; and you have the radical, who has lived his life among the lowly of the people, and who is fanatical in his allegiance to just common folks, - all in absolute agreement of the Russian situation, and of the policy which should be pursued by our people. The world's greatest progress has been made in the last sixty years. In every civilized nation these sixty years have marked the greatest political development, the most marked economic advance, and tremendous strides in the rights of humanity. In Russia during this period there has been no advance at all. Political aspirations there were revolution, and were answered by the scaffold. Economic endeavors were revolution, and their propagation meant death. Agitation for education was revolution, for which the agitators were slain. Cries of human distress and attempts to lighten the burden of human beings were revolution, and those striving for better human conditions were revolutionists, who were immediately put out of the way. There was no free expression and no public communication -

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

all was repression and suppression. Men came, therefore, to reciting hard and fast formulae, set rules of human conduct and government, which were never tried out by the realities of life. The most extreme ^{social} and ~~shameless~~ theories were translated into catch expressions whispered from man to man, and which finally came to have, because hard experience and life's realities could not measure them, extraordinary sanctity. The Czar represented everything - the state, the church, and daily life. If there was religious worship, it was of the Czar; the expression of any enthusiasm was for the Czar; if hunger gnawed, there was but one to appeal to, but one to curse - the Czar. Seven per cent of the people of Russia had all of the rights ^{and privileges} of the masses, and, substantially all of the property of Russia. Ninety three per cent were workmen and peasants - men working for a pittance in factories and men tilling the soil for a mere hut in which they and their families might subsist. And then, came the war, with all its cross currents. There could be no officers but of the privileged classes, and, no matter what the abilities or the courage of the ninety three per cent might be, they were still dogs, who must cringe to the will of their masters, and those who must be fed to the cannon. From mouth to mouth the hard and fast formulae, developed through sixty years, were passing, and, in the great masses brought together they whispered again and again these formulae of government. And then came a period when all were suspicious and uneasy, and possessed justly with the fear that their

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

masters were betraying them. Suddenly, the whole structure crumbled and the first revolution came, and Kerensky was the man of the hour. In each city, in each town, and in each district, there developed publicly what long had existed secretly - an organization composed wholly of the proletariat, which has the name of soviet. You may liken it to our old town meeting system. The people gathered and selected delegates, and these delegates, for a stated period, are the governing power of the soviet. These soviet organizations quickly springing into existence and power in every part of Russia had their central body as well representing all of Russia, and one of the fixed formulae was seized by this organization and spread like wild fire all over the nation - "Bread! Peace! Lands!" In the various soviets there were different parties, exactly as if the Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Prohibition Parties all were a part of a common organization. One of the parties - and the minority party at that - in the soviet was the Bolsheviki. The leaders of this minority party were Lenine and Trotzky, both revolutionists of long standing, one of whom had been an exile, and the other (Lenine) an inmate of a Siberian prison. Each was an Internationalist, and each possessed with the obsession that international revolution of the proletariat was near at hand. They believed that their views, at first those of the minority party of the soviet, could ultimately be made the views of the people of all the world, and, if we credit them with honesty in this view, much that they have

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

done, which we here believe to have been outrageous and traitorous, may be explicable. Trotzky is an emotional orator, without the dogged steadfastness of Lenine. Neither believes in any of the allies, and both assume the views of the allies in this war to be not a whit less imperialistic than the Germans. Lenine, unquestionably, in the beginning, took German money, but publicly avowed the fact, and said he would take any money to further the revolution. Gradually, the minority party of the soviet, with the shibboleth, "Bread! Peace! Lands!" was able to overcome Kerensky, and Kerensky, probably a weak character, at best, fled, ^{and left} to the soviet ^{the} government, ~~and began~~, with the controlling party ^{then} of the soviet, the Bolsheviki. When they assumed control, the army was disorganized, and there was no possibility of its immediate reorganization. They made a shameful peace, which they conceded was shameful, but they were ready to make any peace in order to give the peasant and the workman at last an opportunity. They could not continue the war, they asserted, - and they can not again organize their army. During the period of their power, the allies had treated them with disdain. They ^{allies} said constantly and continually they would have nothing to do with them, and they, deliberately, with the pig-headedness common to those who hate the revolutionists against property, declined to seize the opportunities which have been presented, and which might have again made Russia a possibility in the conflict. How long Lenine and Trotzky will last, it is impossible to say. They have divided the lands

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11

of Russia, and the peasant, for the first time in his life, finds himself his own master, and the workman has, at least, freedom. The allies say they are starving, and the newspaper accounts state so, but these gentlemen, who have just come from Russia, while conceding that there is want, and privation, and even hunger, say that the peasant and the workman smile, and say, "Why, we've always been hungry, and we've always starved, and if we've starved and hungered all our lives, under our masters's whips, can't we starve and hunger now that we have our freedom!" Advances have repeatedly been made by Lenine and Trotzky for the economic cooperation of the allies - a cooperation which would enable us to take the vast supplies in Russia, and prevent them from falling into the hands of the Germans. They have been met with a stubborn obstinacy, which the man of property always exhibits, even to his own destruction, when one under him demands a little of God's blessings. Robins returns here with the autographed letter of Lenine providing for economic cooperation with this country, by which the minerals and the platinum, so dearly coveted by Germany, may be taken by the allies, and by which the industrial development of the new Russia shall be under the control of our nation. The views of these gentlemen just returned is that ~~unless~~^{if} this economic cooperation can be accomplished, a gradual military rehabilitation may be the result, but, in any event, if we can keep Germany from getting the products and the supplies of Russia, we will have accomplished a very great result. If there is military intervention, what the

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 12.

Russians call "the yellow dog of the Orient" will arouse such intense passion among the Russian people that the future will be absolutely hopeless. If the allies with Japan attempt to go into Siberia in real, military invasion, Germany will go forward in European Russia and take all the rest of it, and the people will turn to Germany rather than to what they call "the yellow dog". And strangely enough these gentlemen think what I wrote to you many months ago - when Japan shall have a free hand in Siberia, and Germany a free hand in European Russia, the two great imperialistic governments will ^{Come} go together. But one of the most startling revelations made to me was this: The French Commission in Russia, and the French Commission, which has been here in Washington, expressed exactly the same view. They demanded intervention in Siberia and the use of the Japanese with the full knowledge that Germany will advance in European Russia, and that this advance and the occupation of European Russia by Germany will bring peace. France wishes above all things peace. If these two advances occur, they have said in anger, in combating such arguments as have been here presented, Japan will be given a free hand in Siberia, and Germany a free hand in European Russia; the debt of Russia to France, what these Frenchmen assert to be the savings of a century, will be secured by Germany - wrung from Russian peasants; Germany will yield Alsace and Lorraine to France; England will be given Mesopotamia and the African colonies, and peace will come. I have tried to condense into a sentence what in anger the two French

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 13.

Commissions have stated, and I write it here, although told to me in strictest confidence, that it may be historically preserved. I can't tell you the effect upon me of these disclosures. My reaction was, as I expressed it, "For what are our boys to die?", and the answer was swiftly given me, "If any such a program was to be carried out, they are to die to throttle the only democracy that Russia has ever had, and to place a century's burden upon the backs of the over-laden peasant and workman there." I think there will be no armed hostile intervention and that there's no danger in Siberia at present. I do not know, however, and, indeed, even the views that have been expressed in this letter may have ^{to be} ~~been~~ modified from day to day. Robins left Russia more than a month ago, and what, internally, is transpiring there, none of us knows. A day's happenings may make necessary the change of any specific policy. The fact is that when he left, and for eight months before, the only government that existed in Russia was by the soviet, and at the head of that government were Lenine and Trotzky. So many incidents were related that were thrilling that I wish I had time to repeat them to you. Robins has probably dealt more intimately with this soviet government than any person on earth. He has a wholly accurate estimate of both Lenine and Trotzky. I am not seeking here to paint them at all, but to give you, if I can, just the faintest picture of the great mass of the people of that unknown land. If I can get Robins to

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 14

write his story, I'll send it to you. The Secretary of State has told him he must not talk, and, although he has been here now two weeks, he has been unable to see the President. The President's engagements in golf in the morning, in motoring in the afternoon, and at the theatre at night, make it impossible for him to see those who know this world's drama and who can be of service to him in it.

I've been more than delighted to learn of your recent improvement. It must continue now. You and I again will "will" it so, and it is bound to happen. I've been thinking very much of you of late, and of Bob, and of Arch. Arch is ordered back to active duty. I don't know where he is, or what he is doing. He cabled me Saturday that he had received no letter from us for a month. I tried to get into communication with him through Tobin then by cable, but I don't know whether I have succeeded. The last letter we had from him was dated May 29th. The condition of the mails is so atrocious, that on Friday last, we passed a resolution in the senate calling for a response from the Secretary of War, and the Postmaster General. I hope that we can pursue the investigation, and get some result for the boys over there, as well as for those of us here.

With fond regards to your mother and father, and with all our love,

Affectionately,

Dad

15.

The New York Times,
Sunday, July 7th, 1918.

Calls Upon Congress to Stay.

At this time word reached the Senate that the President had written a second letter to Senator Martin expressing in strong terms his belief that the Senate should act without delay. Senator Johnson of California, informed of this development, stirred the galleries to applause by declaring that "Congress should stay here and on the job."

"I am opposed to recessing, because it is the duty of Congress, expressed by our leaders in this war, to stay here and do what it can to win the war," said Senator Johnson. "Even though we have fallen from the high estate of the Senate of other days, we may be able to play some part and give some aid by staying here and attending to what business we have."

"Impending today on the western front is the greatest battle of the ages, the battle which may decide the issue of the war, the Huns' undoing, and the fate of a million brave American soldiers. With this cataclysm impending, Congress ought to stay on the job."

"I admit we have lost our initiative, and have become merely a rubber stamp, but possibly we can be of some use. We ought, at any rate, to remain where we can act on that possibility."

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 9, 1918.

BUMBER THIRTY ONE

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

I received yesterday your cable, which was dated July 8th, saying you were hard at work, and well, and love. I assume the cable was sent some time previous to July 8th. It's mighty good of you to send these cables to us, because, as I have repeatedly written you, we have received no letter from you since that dated May 29th, and, as I have tried to tell you, we become more and more impatient and worried as the days pass, because of our ignorance of your later position, or of your activities. Saturday morning last, through the Colonel, I endeavored to ascertain at the War Department something of your whereabouts, but he said it was quite impossible here unless we could reach some conclusion from the location of Army Post office 731. He promised to find out for me just where that post office is, but he has not yet reported. I don't want you to pay for the cables that you send us. If you can't send them collect, I wish to forward you a sufficient sum to cover them. I am wondering, too, whether you really send them from Paris,

Major Archibald M. Johnson

but, I presume, sometime or other, our great government will permit a letter to get through, and then, we'll learn.

I wrote you quite at length Sunday at home, and so, I'm not attempting to give you much news now. We're still fussing in the congress about a recess, with the chances that we'll take none. I expect we will remain here in session until September, and possibly until the beginning of the short session in December. This doesn't worry me, because I think it's our duty to remain on the job, and be where we can render service if occasion shall arise.

We had a brief letter from Mrs. Bowles yesterday saying there was a slight improvement in Amy's condition. Her fever still continues, however, and, although it has lessened somewhat, her temperature is not normal. We are hoping and praying that this fever may depart, and if it should, I'd feel very much encouraged.

I had a very sweet letter from the Flapper the other day in response to my telegram to her advising her of the change in your address, as you wished me to advise her.

With all our love ,

Affectionately your father,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Hiram W. Johnson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Hiram W. Johnson".

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 12, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY TWO

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

There is little new to write to you of what is trans-
piring here. After the recess proposition fluked out a
week ago, we've been devoting ourselves this week to the
war time prohibition, and the taking over of the telephone
and telegraph lines by the Government. The latter subject
will probably be determined today or tomorrow, and, because
it is asked by the President, it will be granted. I do not
at all object to giving the President whole power over the
telephone and telegraph lines, because of fixed views of mine
of many, many years concerning government ownership of public
utilities; but, like my colleagues, the mode in which we are
asked to turn over these great utilities I somewhat resent.
The fact of the matter is, the bill is presented with the per-
emptory and contemptuous " Pass it". The administration de-
clines to give any reasons why the bill should be passed, save
only that it is a matter of military necessity, and then, when
interrogated as to what military necessity exists, it is unable
absolutely to state. No Government on the face of the earth

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

has the power today that we have in ours, and no one man has ever had such arbitrary and despotic sway as our President. We, who love our democracy, and whose ideals are those of the Republic, justify ourselves upon the ground that it is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. And, indeed, the successful prosecution of this war will, in my opinion, excuse any conduct on our part short of the destruction of the Republic. Some of us worry about the possibilities of this destruction, but probably we must take our chances and speculate with our democracy, because of the great emergency.

I am getting old enough now so that a couple of days a month I am really quite miserable, and today happens to be one of those days. Confidentially, I confess to you, my condition is superinduced by an enormous dinner I gave the night before last to the six senators whose generous hospitality I have accepted so many times. Your mother was determined that we should repay the obligation existing because of their kindness. Our dinner was indeed a banquet, the viands excellent and of extraordinary quantity and variety, and the service the best that could be offered from the City here. This is one advantage Washington possesses. You can go to any one of the various caterers and have any sort of dinner prepared you desire, and then, have the experienced employes serve that dinner at your own home.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

It is a great saving of time, and worry, and trouble, though I confide to you, it is not economical.

We received from Secretary Baker an answer to the Resolution of the senate concerning the atrocious mail facilities, a delightful and indefinite reply which afforded us no information. It is the intention of Senator Sutherland and myself to press the matter, and by our at least pressing it, we think we can obtain better mail service for the boys across the water.

Reports from Amy indicate she has a little more than held her own the past week. I'll have little or no faith in this sort of thing until her fever departs. Just think of it, they are feeding her nineteen raw eggs a day now, and as much milk as it is possible for her to take! Everything is being done that can possibly be done, and I am hoping that we will have real improvement in a few days.

I watch each mail in the hope that we'll have some word from you. I had a letter from Tobin the other day about his own matter, in which he mentions you, and I was delighted to find even this little reference. I had thought that in the ship bringing his letter there might come one from you, too. I am wondering if you are receiving my letters now. If you do not at your new post office, there is something beyond the mere mail facilities.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 4

It is among the possibilities that we'll recess next week, although we can not definitely determine this. If we do, your mother and I are still undecided whether to go to California or remain here. If the recess is a short one, we'll remain where we are. If for a long period, we probably will go to San Francisco.

All our love to you.

Affectionately your father,

Hiram W. Johnson

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, W.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 15, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

As I predicted to you in a note I wrote you on Saturday from the senate chamber, we took substantially a recess on Saturday night, although it is taken, under the Constitution, three days at a time. We have a gentlemen's agreement that each third day after the transaction of the morning's business, that is after receiving petitions and memorials, introducing bills, and making speeches, no legislative business shall be transacted until the twenty-fourth of August. Everything here, however, is in a state of the greatest uncertainty. On the floor of the senate this morning, notwithstanding the agreement on Saturday night, there were more senators than usual. These will dwindle as the days pass, but there probably will remain a quorum of senators in Washington until the date fixed for re-convening. Our military committee expects to continue its meetings, and, indeed, during this period, ^{to} begin the preparation of a universal service bill and a new draft law. The sub-committee, of which I am a member, met this morning at ten thirty, and

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

meets again this afternoon at two thirty and will continue hearings during the recess. The other sub-committees on aircraft and ordnance will do likewise. The men who do the work in congress are staying here. The social senators, like Phelan, will undoubtedly go out of Washington and remain until the latter part of August, but, inasmuch as they are absent the most of the time when congress is in session, it is of little consequence where they are, either in or out of recess. I have about reached the conclusion that it is almost impossible to go to California. It'll take me a week, at least, to clean up here, and perhaps I can not accomplish it during that period with my regular committee meetings. When I have made a hole in the banked up stuff that there is upon my table, I may have a different view of a quick run to the Coast, but I doubt it. I should want to come for the one reason - to see you, and Jack, and the kiddies. On the other hand, our home is incomplete. We are constantly working with it. We have not our household servants as yet, and it will be a pretty difficult thing, eliminating every other question, to leave that home now. I am wiring Jack today something of the conclusion that I have reached.

I had accepted so much hospitality from the different senators who constitute our "Economic Club" that I resolved before the recess to gather them together at least once in our new quarters. Accordingly, last Wednesday night the members to whose homes I have been on several occasions - Harding, Hale, Knox, Frelinghuysen,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

New and Curtis, I invited to dinner. Mother, as usual, was going to be very certain that no one of the party had ever given a better dinner, and because of the incompleteness of our household, made arrangements in Washington with the best caterer. The results were those usually attained in such matters by Mother, a sumptuous and elaborate dinner that excelled in its service, and in every particular, any of those that had preceded it. I had to sit very tight during the congratulations that were showered upon me concerning our cook, and the compliments paid to the services of our household. In the proceedings which followed the dinner I endeavored to make each of the guests contribute to the entertainment, and but for the elaborateness of the affair, I would have succeeded. As it was, I half succeeded. The following night, in an unguarded moment, I gorged myself on cherry pie and since that time I've been mighty miserable. I had really a couple of days of ptomaine poisoning, and one night when I felt wholly indifferent to my fate. I am feeling better today, and the net results of my brief indisposition are a diet of milk and a head full of resolutions to be careful.

As I am writing this at noon, the news has come to us that the new great German drive is on. I will not conceal from you the anxiety I feel. The result of the March drive, and then the later one in early June have shaken my confidence in the ability of our people to hold the line. I have explained to you in a preceding

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

letter the possibilities which might attend the crossing of the Marne by the Germans and an advance of a few miles. The Germans are striking today at Chateau-Thierry. By a singular coincidence, as they are striking, I have received a letter from Dick Tobin saying that Arch was at Chateau-Thierry with the Marines in their last fighting, and that he is probably there now in the line. My anxiety, therefore, is not only for the general result, but because at the most important point, where the fiercest fighting exists, stands our boy today. I've had no word from Arch except his cablegram, and I have had no idea of his whereabouts until this letter which Tobin kindly has written me. The first reports gave us little or no information, but what I know as I write is that the Germans are striking with their whole force, with the intent of breaking through Chateau-Thierry to reach Paris. The Germans, apparently, have been permitted, leisurely, and fully, to make their preparations. They'll come forward, doubtless, with their great mass of men, as in their former drives, and I fear they will break through just as they have done in the past, and if they do, may God help our boys, half-trained, half prepared, and half armed!

I am so filled with this impending battle and its awful possibilities that it is very difficult for me to write you in a lighter vein, as I would prefer. I had hoped today to depart from my usual custom, and to tell you of the small things that have been

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

interesting us here, and some of the gossip that is going about, but somehow, I have the feeling that very little else matters now, but this big battle, and that upon it hangs the fate of hundreds of thousands of young Americans, who, either like your Bob and my Arch, have gone forth voluntarily in answer to their country's call, or who, like the great National Army, have been torn from their homes and their loved ones in their country's peril. I envied my colleagues today, whom I've met, who could talk calmly and judicially about what was transpiring abroad, and who are filled with enthusiasm for sending others to their death. I find that many of them, who have boys in the Army, have them in pretty safe places, and I find, too, that the popularity of men like General Crowder with members of congress is due to the fact that each individual member is asking some personal favor of him. However, I presume this was ever the course of war. I quoted to you Mr. Britling's sentence, when he said that war was a game where old men sat in easy chairs and sent young men to their death. And the bloodiest of the men here, and the most enthusiastic to send young men to their death, are those who don't go, and who don't send their own.

I think I will be able Saturday to write you more in detail, and I can then give you what our staff has to say about this new drive, if the drive shall develop.

Give my love to your father and your mother, and lots and lots to yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

July 15, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I sent you a night letter this afternoon, as follows:

"I wanted to let you know our present intention to remain during recess in Washington. In any event it will take me week to clean up here. Military committee and various matters of importance go on notwithstanding recess. If absolutely necessary we could in week depart~~ment~~, but if reclamation suit and other matters do not require it, will probably remain. Would appreciate wire. We send love Amy, kiddies and yourself. "

I wanted to tell you what was in the minds of mother and myself, so that you could wire me if you had any different views, or thought we ought to act otherwise. We have thought very carefully of the situation. There are very many reasons which have influenced our decision, tentatively made, to remain here during the recess. Some of these are: the house here and the peculiar position into which we have got concerning it. It will be very difficult to leave it alone for five or six weeks. Our chauffeur has just quit, and we have a new man, who, in my opinion, will quit within a day or two. The cook is uncertain, and these two constitute the only employes we now have. The house, of course, requires at least one servant besides, because the cook will not leave the kitchen, and cooks are so damn scarce,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

that we have to spend half of our time humoring the one we have. Chauffeurs can get all sorts of salaries here now working for the Government and for the "dollar a year" employes of the Government; and, in addition, our distance from the city, some eight miles, is a pretty serious obstacle with us. Moreover, I am far behind in my work. I suppose I could let this work pass, but I have the gnawing conscience which makes me want to complete it. Again, our military committee will hold its regular meetings, and unquestionably will consider, in conjunction with the military authorities, the very important measures of universal military training and a new draft law. A sub-committee, of which I am a member, which is not of over-weaning importance, is investigating quietly certain things in relation to the Quartermaster's Department, unearthing some petty jobs. It has had two meetings today and will continue holding meetings during the vacation. The expense of a trip, under McAdoo's ruling, is enormous. Mother is exceedingly weary after her months of struggle with the house, which is by no means completed, and she dreads the trip, and hopes that in this recess, she may obtain some measure finally of repose and some real rest. I am not sure that, with the household worries now undertaken, she will have either. I think that occasionally I could take a day off during the recess, perhaps a whole week during the period without feeling I am neglecting anything, and could what, of course, I do

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

not require, but what I yearn for, absolute surcease of the regular grind. We are on pins and needles respecting Arch, too. I wrote Amy today that Dick Tobin had written me, and his letter was received simultaneously with the news of the new German drive. From this letter I learned for the first time Arch has been at Chateau-Thierry, and is probably there now, and if so, he is in the very teeth of this big battle. Both mother and I do want to see you, and do want to be with the kiddies again, and see Amy, and it is because of this, that I wired you our decision, so wholly tentative. Of secondary importance with me is the reclamation case, and inasmuch as there is no case, as yet, I think perhaps there is nothing that I could do and no real need for my presence in California. I have wired you so that you could tell me frankly your views. I realize that when a big retainer has been paid, such a retainer as was paid to me, those who paid it might want to sit down and talk, even though we talked with little purpose and accomplished no results. Don't hesitate to tell me frankly just what you think.

I have been a little under the weather for a couple of days but I am coming around all right now. I would have tried to write you somewhat at length before this, but for my slight indisposition. If anything strikes you particularly upon the receipt of this letter, wire me.

With love to the kiddies, and to Amy, and yourself,
Affectionately,

July 17, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY THREE

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 751,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

It seems silly to be writing you today with all that is transpiring across the water, but I wish rigidly to continue my habit of writing to you without fail twice a week, so that you may always be certain of what I am doing, no matter whether or not you receive my letters. Of course, we have thoughts for nothing else except the big drive that is now on. Simultaneously, with its commencement, the day before yesterday, I received a note from Dick Tobin (God bless him for his kindness in writing us !) in which he told me that your weeks on the front after graduation from college had been spent with the Marines at Chateau Thierry. I've been picturing you there in the centre of this frightful battle. Whether you are commanding a gun crew, or have the regular major's work, or whether you are doing staff duty, of course, we are ignorant of. How we do hope for a line from you telling us something ! As usual, our news is all jumbled.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

I have done in this, as I have done in the other drives - read all the flamboyant and boastful stuff that is wired across to us, and then taken the three official reports, the French, the English, and the German, and tried to piece the matter out. This morning I am, by no means, clear. I observe the confidence of the allies as related to us, and the fact that they are satisfied with the situation; I note the dispatches concerning our own people, and that they have won a great victory; and then, I read Berlin's story of the taking of 15,000 prisoners. May God keep you from being one of them! This watching, and waiting, and longing, are terrible to us, but, of course, we shall be strong enough to measure their insignificance in comparison with your activity. My fears, of course, are wholly for your safety. I know how high your courage is, how you'll stand your ground, under any circumstances, and that, wherever you are placed, you'll do your part and perform, not only punctiliously, but brilliantly, your duty.

Our so-called vacation is on here, and will last presumably until the twenty-fourth of August. Tentatively, we have decided to remain here. We have wired to California to see whether there was anything specially requiring me to go out there. Our main reason will be to see Amy and Jack, and to attend to a reclamation case, in which I have re-

Major Archibald H. Johnson - 3

ceived a big retainer. There are, however, one hundred reasons which would make us remain unless real necessity requires us to go.

I received a dispatch last night that Rolph had entered the gubernatorial fight in California. My opinion is, at this distance, that he has entered too late, but he, and those about him, have probably counted the chances, and think that he may be successful. The primary is the latter part of August, so that he has but one month in which to put the thing over.

I have a wire this morning from Jack saying he thinks that Amy is slightly better. She can not sleep and she has constantly a high fever, and, although, I have little knowledge of the subject, I do not believe that any real improvement may be expected until her temperature becomes normal.

I had a letter from Raymond the day before yesterday, in which he said he had heard nothing from you, but that all of those who had been expected to return, who were in similar position with you, had been retained on the other side for active duty, and he did not, therefore, expect that you could come back. As I have written you, I have purposely refrained from saying anything definite to Lyon or to Raymond until you, yourself, should give the word. However,

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 4

they probably understand by this time that you are in active service on the other side.

May the dispatches tonight show the defeat of the Hun, and may we soon hear from you!

With all our love,

Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYOM.
JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
HARRY S. NEW, IND.
JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 18, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday morning I received your telegram in answer to my night letter about our tentative determination to stay here, and I received also your letter. Mother and I both, from one angle, felt very badly at our tentative decision, and worse, when we received your telegram. Both of us are most anxious, of course, to be with you, and to see Amy, and the kiddies, but the thousand and one things here make it a very difficult thing to leave just now. I observe what you say about Poundstone in your telegram, and I hope that you will wire me just exactly as you feel concerning this reclamation case. If our people think that I ought to be out there on the ground, they've paid me a sufficient retainer, notwithstanding any inconvenience or the cost, to require me to come. I don't know whether I have made clear to you that, in my opinion, I will have October and November in California, or, at least, half of October and all of November. I do not think there is any doubt at all that we will finish our work after the recess about the first of October, or, allowing for every possibility, by the middle of October,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

and then, we will go home until the December session. There are too many elections coming on, even if there were important things for us to do, to render this situation particularly doubtful. As an indication of some of our difficulties with our house, I am this morning sending the car to the Bureau of Chemistry, for a certain Dr. Round, who is to go out to the house, and make a very thorough examination of the water and sewage. I have stated to you in passing, in some of my letters, that the water system at our home was not satisfactory. The worst feature is that the water is not potable, and in the last week, in my opinion, it has been getting worse. I have had one report on it, but I want a most thorough investigation made, and so I have applied to the Bureau of Chemistry here, and the Doctor is to make a thorough examination and investigation today. I don't know, if my fears should prove to be well grounded, what can be done. We are in the house now, and although our landlord has spent some thousands of dollars in fixing it up for us, your mother and I have spent a great deal of money also. We have had to buy, at exorbitant prices, linen, dishes, etc., and then, those things which were not included in the contract with Mr. Pickford, the proprietor, and which only an artist like mother would desire, we have, of course, been compelled to pay for ourselves. I don't begrudge this, because I have enjoyed the place, and I enjoy it more than I can tell you. It has made life here a hundred per-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

cent more pleasant, and I could gradually make the place, I think, a rendezvous for those I like. The water system in that vicinity consists entirely of ^a well~~s~~, and an electric pump, which pumps the water to a tank at the highest part of the house, and from this tank, the water is supplied to the various rooms. I am afraid our well is so old that it has got past its usefulness. Perhaps, another may be bored to answer the purpose, but this means additional expense, and a considerable amount of work. We are yet without adequate servants.

I was quite paralyzed to get the news that Rolph had entered the gubernatorial fight. Your mother gave three cheers. I don't think he can win, although I recognize he has some chance, and a much greater chance than any other candidate against Stephens. I think he has entered too late; that he has permitted the fight to get set, as it were; and has permitted a great many people to become pledged to Stephens who might have been otherwise; and that one month will not be sufficient for him to over-turn the situation. It seems to me that he has acted on the theory that he has always acted on in San Francisco, when a quick, sharp fight could turn the trick, but he has forgotten that he now is dealing with a tremendously big state, with varied interests, and with different ~~sets~~ of people. Again, his big asset is

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson - 4

the labor vote. He comes in so late than an organized effort to see that this vote is registered is impossible, and he will find that many thousands of laboring men, whose interest has not been touched in the contest, thus far, are not registered, and can not be of service to him in the primary. Again, in the two great valleys of the state, he lost immeasurably in prestige during the street-car strike. He was practically "lied out" of the high position he held in the esteem of the people of those two valleys. With time and personal contact, he could have practically eliminated the bad opinion thus brought^{about,}; but that opinion has set like cement, and, in a month, it is impossible for him to remove it. And a month, moreover, will not give him time to make the organized fight that should be made in the biggest voting part of California, Los Angeles. On the other hand, the possibilities of his contest, as I see them, are: That secretly and quietly, he should solidly unite those who are opposed to bone-dry prohibition in California, and they should make a tremendously, driving, active contest for him. I do not, by any means, believe this element dead, and while I think it is in the minority, nevertheless, a concerted, organized fight by it, without disclosing its real purpose, could accomplish tremendous results. For instance, in the little mining counties, he could do what Kiesling did in the 1910 fight as a candidate for lieutenant-governor, twist

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

them all into big majorities - big for these counties, but little numerically, and yet the sum of them all being not unimportant. He can take organized labor in San Francisco, select the best men in it, and have them go from town to town, and city to city, wherever there is a Union, organizing and preaching, and getting into activity, and at the polls, the members of Union labor, who are registered. He could start into an active campaign for a month, ^{and} ~~and~~ men, like Roche, and Cullinan, and Hickey, and many others of pleasing personalities, and ability to talk, could make the welkin ring, with enthusiastic Rolph meetings. He could, with an able press agent, utilize, at small expense, all the country press. They are ever waiting to be "utilized". And, with flamboyant descriptions of his administration in San Francisco; the improvements he has made, and the tremendous projects, like the ^{Gerry} ~~Erle~~ Street Road, he has carried into effect; the real courage that he could assert at times he has displayed, present a most plausible case. Above all, he could immediately start from the north, and, day and night, with his pleasing personality, meet people, and present himself to them; but to accomplish results in this fashion, he must present himself to great numbers of them, which can not be done by a mere promenade up and down the state. He could, aggressively fight, that is, attack his principal opponent, Stephens. He could show that he was shallow, that he dilly-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

dallies; that he never expresses an opinion; and that he has never done a single thing since he has been Governor, except to permit a great movement to lapse into the most material sort of expediency. It could be shown that while he preached patriotism, he had refused, in anger, to follow even the food restrictions of the Government; that, while he talked of the war, he had done such extravagant and idiotic things as shoving through a bill for a state constabulary, which he had never dared to put in operation; that his State Council of Defense, until overwhelming public opinion forced him, had been a mere soft berth, under high salaries, for his friends; and, so far as constructive work was concerned, it had been a joke. If Rolph were attacked, because of his labor union record, he could retort concerning Heney's activity for Mooney as evidenced by the Bulletin articles, and Heney's interview at the time he saw Roosevelt in the Fickert ^{recall} campaign; and he could retort, too, that Stephens, instead of playing the man, and deciding the event, is stalling until after election, in the fashion a rotten politician would be expected to do, and, that while stalling, he has secretly sent word, this week, by Elliott, the Federal office-holder of Los Angeles, to President Wilson, about what he will do after the election (Elliott, himself, told me this yesterday, but told it to me in confidence. Elliott did not say what Stephens was going to

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7.

do, but he did say that he conveyed a message to the President from Stephens as to what Stephens would do hereafter).

I have been dictating to you very hastily, because, of course, you can imagine the thoughts that are racing through my mind as this fight is about to develop. Nothing has such zest for me as a political contest, and it seems very strange, for the first time in eight years, that I shall hold aloof. I think, however, that it would be a piece of rank assumption on my part to get into this primary contest, and I shall, therefore, as I feel at the moment, keep absolutely free from it. I ~~would~~^{will} be accused of putting Rolph into the fight, although I did not have a thing to do with it, and was utterly ignorant of his intentions, and was never consulted by him or by his friends. One of the singular things about the contest will be that the Stephens' fight will be made by McCabe, Snook, and the other fellows who have been intimate with me, and the Rolph fight will be made by Eustace, Matt, and Theodore, who have been my intimates. Mother chuckled many times last night at the bad evening she suspected Stephens was having, and, rather maliciously, occasionally, she referred to Al's possible perplexity. If I were in that vicinity, I don't believe I could keep out of this contest, and if I were driven into it, my prejudices against Stephens (which ought not at all to influence me) would, doubtless, drive me to Rolph. Rolph

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 8

has a beautiful argument to make to the Los Angeles people, because ^{the} Los Angeles ^{Times} has been practically supporting Fickert, and this very support destroys the claim of the right of Los Angeles to the governorship. The trouble with the Rolph fight will be that it will not be a "stand-up", "knock your block off" fight, but will be the endeavor on his part to out "glad hand" and out "bull con" Stephens; and, inasmuch as Stephens has been doing this sort of thing for more than a year, the utmost artistry on the part of Rolph can not win upon any such theory.

One thing in your telegram yesterday made mother and myself rejoice exceedingly, and that was, that Amy had gained ten pounds. It seems to me a gain in weight of this sort must indicate an improvement. I feel, of course, that we can not look forward to any big improvement until her temperature gets normal, but the ravages of the fever, apparently, temporarily have been overcome, and that, I think, is a matter for congratulation.

I have tried to say little to you about the war. There is nothing to say, except that we are anxiously awaiting news. I suppose none can come now, and that it is impossible to determine the safety of those we care for. In your own case, I am, more and more, firm in abjuring you, as strongly as I can, to maintain your present status. Every reason, and I say

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 9

every advisedly, demands this. I take it that you've had no difficulty, or you would have advised me. I want you to advise me, because I feel that on the job here, I may be of service in case anything goes amiss.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

Ed

NUMBER THIRTY FOUR

July 19, 1918.

Major Archibal M. Johnson
Army Post Office 751,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

Mother and I were immensely relieved and pleased this morning to have your cablegram. That you may know just how these come, I quote the cable verbatim:

" 32W HY 28 PASNY

FRANCE

HFM SENATOR HIRAM W JOHNSON
UNITED STATES SENATE WASHINGTON D C

EVERYTHING BULLY HARD AT WORK HAVE RECD
MAIL FOR LAST MONTH WRITING YOU FULLY
ENDEAVORING TO LOCATE SCOTT
JOHNSON 355PM "

You will observe that it is quite impossible from the wire to determine where you are or the exact date it was sent. However, this is of little consequence, inasmuch as we have word from you, and I can tell you, my lad, the day is very much brighter for both mother and myself since we saw your despatch.

The papers last night and this morning are full of the new offensive by the French and Americans. According to these dispatches, the Americans have won a tremendous victory, but our experience with the telegraphic reports in the past has made us, I am sorry to say, a little skeptical and a bit wary

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

in accepting, unreservedly, what is now presented to us as news. We've all had a thrill, however, even though the later news may modify the exploits of our men.

Real summer is now commencing here. We have been exceedingly fortunate, thus far, in having fairly pleasant weather, but, as if this weather has been designed specially for the congress, immediately upon adjournment, the other sort, which has rendered Washington infamous from a weather standpoint, has commenced. With our new home, however, neither of us minds this much. We sit out doors the most of the time, and particularly all of the evening. I really think our location is quite a bit cooler than the city itself. From some inquiries mother was making this morning, I rather think we will take a few days off at some coast resort, possibly Atlantic City, between now and the twenty-fifth of August, but otherwise than this, we'll remain continuously in Washington.

John Francis Neylan blew in again last Sunday. We saw him Sunday night. Indeed, he came out to the house and stayed all night with us. He waxed eloquent on the subject in which he is most interested, and grew more and more enthusiastic over the marvelous ability and high position of John Francis Neylan. Occasionally, I endeavored to talk of the world war, of world politics, and of those things which are altering current history, and possibly civilization itself, but I failed, either to dampen his enthusiastic ardor for Neylan or adjectival adoration

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

for this astounding figure.

I received a letter from Eustace the other day, and Heylan confirmed the fact that Older will probably take charge of the Hearst publications, and be their editor-in-chief. This was a sort of a "knock-down" blow. I don't know just how to regard it. I am very fond of Older, and he has been the outstanding figure upon the Pacific Coast, who, in season and out, has fought Hearst. I realize fully what his position has been on the Bulletin, and that, that insufferable little ass, Loring Pickering, has made that position almost unbearable. It became unbearable finally, and that is the reason Older has made his new contract. It is quite beyond me to picture Older and Hearst working together, but probably it was quite beyond many people to think of me arguing the International Home case in the Supreme Court.

In conversation with Senator Chamberlain a couple of days ago, he told me that he had finally in definite shape, and had taken up with the department his universal military service bill, and the new draft law. During this vacation, I think both bills will be worked out by the military committee. Apparently, the departments wish neither, but I am not quite able to comprehend their position. It is obvious to those of us who are in touch with the situation that the ages in our present draft law must be extended. I feel confident when congress meets, we will in-

Major Archibald M. Johnson -- 4

crease the age to forty, and possible decrease it to twenty. Unless this be done, the deferred classes must be invaded, and those with dependents must be included in the enrolment. To my mind, to take men, who have wives and children dependent upon them, and draft them into service is infinitely worse than to extend the age to forty, and take those, who are neither required by our war industries, nor have others dependent upon them.

I hear from you in a left-hand sort of way now and then. I had a letter today from Lieutenant Frank Marisch in which he said he said he saw you at the "Wall City", as he expressed it, and that you looked fine and were doing well in your work. I wrote you of the kindness of Tobin, in writing me of seeing you and how you appeared. I hope that you do find Scott, simply that you might shake hands with him, and that you might give him personal messages, any sort of which you could entrust to him, for me. I hope also that you will meet Major Palmer, Stanley Washburn, and Col. O'Laughlin. I am sure that all of them would be delighted to see you and to talk to you.

You can't know how eagerly we are awaiting the letter you mention in your cablegram today. We're with you all the time.

Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 20, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

For the first time, since I have been on the military committee and attending the morning conferences at the war office, there were smiles instead of gloom today. The skies, apparently, were very bright, and there was a feeling of elation, and even of optimism. It is entirely too early to reach any definite conclusion about the battle upon the western front, but sufficient has transpired in the last forty-eight hours, to make our people feel that there has been, at least, a little turning of the tide. As General March expressed it this morning, the great, big outstanding thing is that an army attacked and pushed back, an army, which has been taking this hammering for months, and months, and months, without initiative on its part, has turned and assumed the offensive, and in that offensive has accomplished some result. Secretary Baker's statement was the great effect was upon the German morale, in his opinion. The Germans have been taught to believe that they were in no danger in their lines, and that they could assault the allied armies without the slight-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

est possibility of counter assault. When the counter attack came by the French and the Americans this week, they were taken wholly by surprise. Some of them, he said, were even tilling the fields, others sleeping, and resting in fancied security. The high command of the Germans had permitted the troops to think that the French were without sufficient forces to make even a strong defense, and that the American assistance was only negligible. The German prisoners captured are depressed and told of their rude awakening, and how astounded they had been, and that none of their people believed it possible. Baker, therefore, counts the effect upon the German morale as the highest accomplishment of the offensive. But the counter offensive by an army never able to move forward, in which seventeen thousand prisoners, it is asserted, have been taken by them, together with many guns, appeared to General March the most hopeful feature. He said, undoubtedly it was a fact that the French from long fighting had become more or less exhausted, and in our vernacular, had lost their "pep". The valuable contribution of the Americans had been to restore this "pep", and to put the French again on their mettle. March, in response to an inquiry, said it was probable that the Germans had taken twenty thousand prisoners, as they claim, but he said, that in the forward movement, where they

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

made the ^{advance} that they had the first two days of this week, that was by no means an unexpected result. I asked March where the English Army was, and if all of it was north of the line where the fighting was now going on. He said, it was. I then said, that probably, from a military standpoint, my query was ridiculous, but, why could not the English army take advantage of the psychology of the moment, and strike, and strike hard; that this was the first time in months, the psychological advantage had been ours, and that it seemed to me like, in ordinary affairs, a smash altogether could bring great results. He said that my query was by no means a silly one, and that it was exactly the thing from a military standpoint that he hoped would occur. Baker, however, said that the Germans, as usual, had prepared to make their attack at more than one place, and that, doubtless, along the English lines they were thoroughly in condition and position to meet any thrust of the English armies. March ended the little colloquy by saying that he hoped the assault by the French and the Americans would reach sufficient proportions to cause the Germans to bring their reserves to the point of fighting, and that, then the strategy of the situation, to him, would probably be that the English, with all their forces, should strike in the northern part of the long line. The lecturers today stated their opinion was that the German position at Soissons was

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

untenable, and that the city should fall in the next day or two. Indeed, they thought if our people should continue just a short distance, there would have to be a backward movement of the German forces, to their line of some weeks ago, and all agreed the effect of this would be, unquestionably, the fall of Soissons. It does not greatly appeal to me, because Soissons was taken from us only a little while ago; but the fact that we are on the offensive, up, and fighting, instead of *having* our block knocked off, and giving ground, is the encouraging part of the situation. The sad part of it is that General March warned us the casualty lists would probably be very large. He said the advance was checked, because the French and the Americans stood their ground until they died.

In the other departments, there was little new today. An endeavor is made to gloss over the aeroplane production and its deficiencies. Those of the military committee, who have been investigating this subject, however, feel that we are very far from even starting. The celebrated de Haviland plane and the much vaunted Bristol, which were to do the greater part of our work, are both in a bad way. The Bristol plane will probably be wholly abandoned, while the de Haviland is far from satisfactory. The Liberty motor, as a motor, is undoubtedly a great thing, but the Liberty motor, as a part of a fighting aeroplane is a very different thing. Our experts, instead of building the plane about the motor with due regard

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

for the weight, ~~of~~ the force, and the power of the motor, endeavored to fit the Liberty motor to any kind of an aeroplane, and, of course, the results have been disastrous.

We were assured this morning that the French had made all their deliveries of artillery, and this relieved us very much. Our manufacture of artillery, as shown by the charts, is far, far behind. It seems an utter impossibility in our great manufactories to get out the carriages for the big guns. They are making some little progress, with the big guns, although they have but few of them, but the number of carriages upon which these guns must rest is practically nil.

One week of our vacation has already passed, and it has been anything but a vacation here. We met on Monday, and, again on Thursday, and while not transacting any real business, nevertheless, had a session of a couple of hours on each occasion. The attendance was as great as in ordinary times. Indeed, the attendance at the War Department this morning was the same as usual, and, generally speaking, the men who work here have remained on the job. As I wrote Jack recently, our social senators, like my distinguished colleague, of course, have gone away, but they are away the most of the time when congress is in session anyway, and they contribute little or nothing to the work of the body.

The Princess ~~B~~acardy is rapidly growing. She is beginning to ~~fuzz~~ out, too, and we will soon have a real Persian cat.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

As she grows in strength now, she develops, too, unexpected mental powers and intellectual activities. She will stalk a bug clear across the room, and leap four feet into the air for a blue-bottle fly. She devours, apparently, with relish, after lying in wait, without blinking or moving a muscle for fifteen minutes, a poor moth she suddenly brings to grief. She leaps many times now, where I am sitting, from the floor to my shoulder, disdain^ging the intermediate rungs of the chair, and then, gently bite^s my ear, to indicate she wishes to play. She forgets herself occasionally while playing and her claws are mighty sharp. My hand looked for a while like a criss-cross of red ink with its numerous scratches. The young lady displays as well a disposition for outside exploration without consultation with her guardians. Apparently, she has reached that age where she wishes to see something of the world, and I have a suspicion that she sniffs the proximity of some male friend. I am really becoming seriously alarmed, and in my household now, I will probably be required to adopt repressive measures ^usuch as we have adopted in the nation. With it all, the kitten is very dear to mother and to me, and is our one pet.

John Francis Neylan blew in at the beginning of the week, and came out to the house for one evening. After his first outburst of enthusiasm concerning his own attainments, ability,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

prosperity, and greatness, I thought, possibly, we might speak of less important topics, like the world ^{now} ~~word~~, world politics, and ^{the} ~~a~~ menace to civilization, but, his enthusiasm ever rose and he plunged headlong in his descriptions of himself until his astonishment that God's handiwork should have been so fine was without bounds in expression. I have been thinking so deeply about world subjects of late that timidly I broached what was happening on the western front, and again, hesitatingly, suggested something about Russia, but this sort of conversation had no charm, and there was only one subject possible of discussion. He saw our house, however, although he saw it obscured by his glow for John Francis Neylan, and I will be glad to have him describe ~~it~~ to Jack, just where we are living, and just how the home struck him.

Raymond Robins is still in Washington, and still unable to see the President. He told me the day before yesterday that he had resorted to every subterfuge to get his views before the President and thought he had succeeded. He had gone to New York, saw Colonel House, and in conjunction with others, who hold like views, told his story to House. He sneaked everywhere to people who are supposed to be on terms of intimacy with the President, and who, occasionally were permitted an audience, and related his tale as well. His views, he thinks, will be adopted by Wilson, but it is quite

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 8

impossible to say. I am going to see if I can't get from him a written detail of what he believes, and if it is written at all as he talks, it will be intensely interesting reading. My purpose, of course, in endeavoring to get this, is that I may send it to you. He may be wholly wrong, but he speaks with first hand knowledge, and is one who was a part of all the marvelous things that have occurred in Russia since the downfall of the Czar, and he speaks, thank God, as an American, believing in democracy, and tender of democracy in every place on earth. The day before yesterday he called upon me in the Senate when it was in session, and I gathered together half a dozen senators and took him down to lunch with them, so that he might talk with them. It was very interesting to observe Smoot, dry as dust, hard as nails, without imagination, or vision, questioning Robins, and to hear Robins' illuminating responses. I again say to you that the views of Robins meet with scant respect here. The one thought of our people is for military participation by Russia, and we have, apparently, no understanding of anything else, except armies and battles, so far as Russia is concerned. We regard the Russians as tra⁴itors because they did not continue being killed for something they did not understand. We look upon them with disdain and scorn because after losing eight millions of their people they did not lose eight millions more for Constantinople

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

and the Dardanelles. Their cry for bread, and for land, is as little understood by the majority of our people as our original cry for decency of government in California was understood by the old line politicians. And there is a tremendous Japanese propaganda on. All the eastern press, and most of the magazines teem with articles laudatory of Japan, ~~of~~ Japan's methods, and Japan's idealism, and the like. Japan, in my opinion, has taken a leaf from the German book in the matter of propaganda, and is doing exactly what the Germans did in this country, and these articles that appear now in such profusion, ~~and~~ filled with such complimentary references, are the result of the insidious use of coin, just as the articles in behalf of Germany formerly were. We are so blind we can't see it, and so obtuse in human understanding that we are deaf to the cries of an oppressed and an outraged people, and wholly scornful of the yearnings of this people for that which they have never had - just a little of freedom. Don't think I am a bolsheviki because of the fashion in which I am writing. When I speak of Russia, I am speaking of the mass of humanity there, not of the few wretches, who, because of fortuitous circumstances rise to the top for the moment and have had a little brief authority. Trotskys and Lenines will come and go, and probably ought to go as rapidly as possible, but any man who believes in freedom and democracy, and who would destroy this faintly budding bloom in Russia is recreant ~~to~~ his beliefs and his ideals.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

All of a sudden, the political situation in California seems to have taken a new turn. I confess I am, so far away that I am utterly unable to determine the effect of the entrance of Rolph into the contest. My present view is that I will go on with my work here just as I have been, and let the Republican Party of California select its nominee, without my assistance. This is a pretty difficult ~~role~~ for me to follow, particularly so with the prejudices that I have; nevertheless, I have but two choices, one to come immediately to California, and plunge into the maelstrom and devote myself exclusively to it, and the other, to remain absolutely out of it, and the latter, I think, is the ^{Course} ~~one~~ from every standpoint I should follow.

I hope this letter finds you in good shape and improving rapidly. The one reason I wanted to come to California was to sit down by you and make you improve rapidly, but I am endeavoring to exercise that persuasive ^{authority} ~~one~~ three thousand miles away now.

Give my love to your father and your mother,

Affectionately,

Dad

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
FRANCIS E. WARREN, W.
JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
HARRY S. NEW, IND.
JOSEPH B. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 20, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received the following telegram from
Theodore:

"Mayor Rolph's platform for Governor will substantially contain the following plank quote It shall be my duty if elected Governor to preserve and carry forward all the great, constructive progressive work of Governor Hiram W. Johnson's administration, Hiram W. Johnson's courage, and vision that brought about the new order of things in California. The forces of privilege and special interests that he overthrew are ever alert and active, seeking opportunity to regain power. I think that my public career as Mayor of San Francisco thus far demonstrates my will and my ability to maintain the rights of the plain people. In my admiration for the accomplishments of Governor Johnson's administration, I include especially those great Boards and Commissions, such as the Railroad Commission, the Industrial Accident Commission, and the State Board of Control, all of whose jurisdiction, whose independence, and whose character must be protected against open or cover attack. I shall if elected be on my guard that the efficiency of these Boards and Commissions for public service shall not be impaired under the pretense of consolidating the Commissions or reducing expenses. I shall also defend and protect the great political and social reforms which we effected under Governor Hiram W. Johnson's administration and against which undermining criticism is now being directed. This does not mean, of course, that I shall tolerate any inefficiency or waste, but I perceive that enemies of the ideas represented by those Boards and Commissions, not daring a frontal attack at Governor's work, are attempting indirectly to destroy them by charges of inefficiency and mismanagement. The men and women who stood so

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

loyally by Governor Johnson need have no fear in leaving his work in my care. In this connection, I particularly call the attention of the people of this state to the indisputable fact that I am the **only** candidate for nomination of Governor Governor Stephens not excepted, who has come out unconditionally and without qualification in support of the policies promulgated by Governor Hiram W. Johnson, and who has pledged himself to carry out those policies to their ultimate state of fruition unquote Under these circumstances, have you any objections to having Jack become a part of our organization. Jack is willing if you are. This telegram is written confidentially. In replying state just exactly and without hesitation how you feel upon the subject, having in mind at all times your own welfare and your own situation. Am leaving for Los Angeles tonight. Will be at Hotel Alexandria. Please wire me there or Matt I. Sullivan at Office. Kindest regards."

Theodore J. Roche.

I replied at once to Theodore, sending you a copy, as follows:

"For many obvious reasons and other reasons quite as cogent I do not wish Jack to become member of organization and prefer he should not take public part in campaign. Fond regards. "

Hiram W. Johnson.

The obvious reasons why I should not enter into this primary campaign, and you should not because of our relations, are that after all it is a Republican primary, and having cast my lot with the Republican Party, it would be a matter, notwithstanding my personal prejudices, of assumption and arrogant leadership for me to attempt to direct the nominee of the Republican Party. Moreover,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

having appointed a scrub, who, apparently, has retained my appointees in office, and adopted those policies which I inaugurated, I would get, it seems to me into a paradoxical position, exceedingly difficult to explain. I could only explain upon the ground of my personal relations with Stephens and my personal opinion of him, which, the course of events would hardly justify, and I would ~~be~~ be compelled to make the issue a purely personal one. And, so from the political consideration, first, and secondly, from the fact that a real issue could not be made at all, and that I might be in the attitude, which I have ever abhorred, of simply endeavoring to put over a personal predilection, rather than fight for a principle, I think the position I take is sound. But beyond and above this is the fact that if you become a member of the Rolph organization, immediately it would be plain that I was for Rolph, and I would be attempting to put him over in a left-handed and indirect fashion. It would be wholly absurd for me to consent to my son becoming an active part of the Rolph campaign while I sat inactive. If I were to serve notice thus upon the people of California that I wanted Rolph, I would be playing the game in the most childish fashion. I would be pretending to be busily engaged with my work here, apparently remaining mum, while expecting, inferentially, my friends to act upon my son's participation. Objection to my activities

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

in the primary would thus be magnified without accomplishing the real result, and I'd be taking a hammering for interfering without the chance to reply. If I am for Rolph, the only thing for me to do is to come out and put him over if I can; but to sit still, while, indirectly, permitting the state to believe I am for him, because of my son's advocacy of him, would be, not only contrary to our usual mode of doing things, but would leave us, ultimately, with the stigma of defeat, and none of the fruits of victory. Overshadowing all these things, however, is yourself. The instant that you become identified with the Rolph campaign, just that instant would there come the personal abuse of you, the arousing of that peculiar sentiment, which would be fanned by every enemy of mine, in relation to your status with the draft.

I write you thus plainly, because it has been such a sore spot with me, and, because I think I realize its nasty possibilities. I never will quite get over last year, when those, who presumably, were our friends, knowing how unjust, and unfair, and outrageous was their action, wanted to induct you into military service. They did this, knowing their action to be unwarranted by the law, knowing your position to be such that it was not only illegal and unjust thus to treat you, but cruel as well, and they did it from the cowardly impulse to respond to a small bit of war hysteria. If this campaign, as undoubtedly it will, tightens up and becomes bitter, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

you are a part of the Rolph organization, you will be the shining mark in it, and I would rather see anything happen than have you subjected to the abuse and the humiliation, which would come from the rotten attacks of an exceedingly bitter contest. I am sure you'll understand, my boy, that I do not want to put any embargo upon your political or other activities, and I wish you, of course, to do just exactly as you see fit. In writing you as I do, I am writing you my own views and endeavoring to give you the reasons for the preference that I express, and, of course, I express only my preferences in reference to your actions. I have not any objection to your showing this letter to Theodore, if you wish. I would have preferred that Theodore would have asked me, point blank, to get into the Rolph fight, rather than to have presented me as a part of the Rolph fight, through your membership in his organization.

With love to Amy and the kiddies,

Affectionately,

Dad

July 22, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY FIVE

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

The first week of our recess has passed and another Monday has come. I am hard at it here in the office trying to clean up. I am succeeding indifferently. I hope, however, within a very few days to get myself in such shape that your mother and I may run away if we desire. We are both fearing that there may come a summons at any time to California, and, notwithstanding the thousand and one reasons which require us to remain here, both of us are somewhat doubtful whether we should not go home. Amy's condition continues one day a little better and one day a little worse, but with continued fever, and I confess we are very greatly worried. I wanted to tell you that your mother has been so wretchedly engaged with the home in the past week, she has not written you as she wished. Last night, she set apart to write to you alone, and then, our evening was taken up with a Dr. Round of the Chemistry Bureau of the Agricultural Department here. He had come to the house to

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

aid us in our water supply. This water supply of our home is the great big disadvantage in our present quarters. We love the locality and the old house is charming. I have been trying to express to you in my letters what a great pleasure it has been to me to loll about the yard when possible, or to wander about the old structure. Living, as we do, in an incorporated village, there is no public water supply at all. We depend upon a well, from which, with an electric engine, we pump the water to a tank in the attic, from which pipes lead to the various rooms. An original examination of the water was unsatisfactory, and then, Dr. Round undertook a very thorough investigation. Our water supply is contaminated, and we are at a loss to understand the cause. Of course, if they can not remedy this matter, we'll be in a very disagreeable situation. I write you these little details, merely that you may know some of the things that are in our minds here, and some of the things particularly engrossing us. But, my dear boy, the one over-whelming, engrossing thought with us is of you, and of your activities now abroad. We are trying to be patient and philosophical awaiting the letter you speak of in your last cable, but it is a pretty difficult task. You see, your last letter was dated May 29th, and since then, only the cablegrams that you sent us have brought us any word of you at all.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

On Saturday last, at our regular weekly meeting with General March, and Secretary Baker, everybody was in high spirits. The counter-offensive of the French and Americans had dissipated a great deal of the gloom which had become almost confirmed with us since the March drive of the Germans. As General March expressed it, the big outstanding fact was that an army, which had been hammered and had yielded ground, had finally turned and was driving the enemy back. The news thus far continues good, and it really looks as if we had won a great victory. According to our press dispatches, our boys have behaved with great gallantry, and we're all very proud of them. I don't know what their participation was, really, but they did participate in the counter assault, and successfully, so our hats are off, and we're inclined to crow and boast. I do hope, you may have the opportunity to send us your views soon.

I am expecting Alder here during the week. He has resigned from The Bulletin, and gone on to New York, where he will meet Hearst, and, undoubtedly complete his contract. What a strange metamorphosis! If one were to have endeavored to pick out the most unlikely man for association with Hearst in California, Alder would have been chosen. I can't yet adjust myself to the connection, and I can not feel that it will be either a happy or a successful one. However, your

Major Archibald H. Johnson - 4

friend, Loring Pickering, made the situation intolerable. The Army has made Loring more impossible, if that could be, than he was as a civilian.

I had a long wire from Theodore telling me Rolph's platform, which was a platform based upon a continuance of what I had done in California, and asking my consent that Jack should serve upon Rolph's election committee. I wired Theodore I preferred not. If I am to take any part in the campaign in California, I don't want to do it in a left-handed fashion. I would rather Theodore would have wired me for my active advocacy of Rolph than to have suggested it in any indirect activities of my son. My opinion is that Rolph has entered too late, but all of this must have been carefully considered before he entered by those about him. The only letter I have received upon the subject is one from Jim Johnston, who takes the view that I here express.

We have felt very sorry about the untimely end of Quentin Roosevelt. On top of it has come the news, too, that young Theodore has been wounded. The Roosevelt family, notwithstanding the Democratic jeers and jibes has certainly done its duty by the country. There is a remarkable effort on in New York City to get the Colonel to run for Governor, but I have sufficient confidence in his good sense and his political wisdom

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 5

to feel certain he will decline.

I wonder if our letters sent to Army Post Office 714 have reached you. I keep repeating this to you, because of my knowledge of the wretched mail service. I have never failed to write you at least twice a week, and generally, your mother has written you quite as often. Our thoughts are centered on just one thing, hearing from you, and that is the whole event in our lives now.

With all our love.

Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WY.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 24, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have received your telegram dated July 22nd in which you speak of the political situation, accept our decision not to come to California during the recess, and state that Poundstone advised there was no necessity for consultation at this time. The best part of your telegram after all was that which said Amy was slightly better. We take heart at any improvement. Mrs. Bowles has very kindly written us and kept us advised, and I feel very much better than I did a couple of weeks ago. However, I will not feel relieved until the fever abates.

I've been working long hours and very faithfully since our recess. I have made great headway and expect this week practically to clear up the mass of stuff which has accumulated here. If it were not for the extraordinary cost, I should like to let the house here, and the other things which have influenced me, go to the dickens and come on to California for at least a couple of weeks. Thanks to the fee in the International News Service case, and that which you obtained for me in California, I can feel easy this year and the next year, but, nevertheless, when I find my expend-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

itures here far, far beyond my salary, the matter of a thousand dollars for a trip to California and return looms very large unless necessity directs it. A multitude of things in connection with our house here, all little things but the petty annoyances, which are irritating and disturbing, have made me feel the last couple of days that I would like to let the damn thing go, or at least run away from it for a brief period. I explained in my last letter to you or to Amy about our water supply. I don't know how we are going to remedy it. We are hampered in everything we do by the inability to obtain workmen. The proprietor of the house has, in many respects, been more than kind. He spent a great deal of money there, and has done so many things which were kindly that I dislike exceedingly to fuss with him. He has, however, a singular characteristic which I've found in two men for whom I have acted in the past. These were: W. S. Kendall of Sacramento, and E. C. Horst, of San Francisco. Pickford, the proprietor of our house, is rich, but, just like Kendall and Horst, he has a definite system, by which he disputes every bill presented to him, and by fighting down the bill, many times unjustly, figures the discount thus obtained as so much profit. Kendall and Horst, as a part of their business procedure, would repudiate every obligation and every bill presented. In nine times out of ten, they would thus effect a compromise, and what portion was knocked off the bill, they viewed as so much gained. With the one-tenth, which would not make the compro-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

mise, they would litigate, and by tying up the money for a long period of time, would figure that they had had the use of that money and gained interest upon it. The proprietor of our house here, I think, has exactly this same "business sagacity", and the result is that nobody worth a rap will work for him, and what work is done for him by inferior men, of course, turns out to be rotten. Maybe I'm a little in the dumps, but I am sick of fussing about little detail, and I know your mother is, too.

The Rolph campaign, I suspected, would be as you indicate in your telegram. I don't think he has a real chance. Of course, he'll get lots of votes and will probably be the second man in the contest, but he certainly can not put himself over in thirty days where the other man has had fifteen months. He counts, of course, upon labor, but he can't get labor registered, first, for the primary, and, secondly, labor won't vote at the primary anyway. There is a possibility that Stephens' strength is a mere shell, and that Rolph, with a real strength, very much less, may crumble that shell, but I don't think this is so. The dry people alone will give Stephens a tremendous fighting force, and, added to this, the cohesive strength of all the office holders, who are fighting for their jobs, and he becomes, in my opinion, well nigh invincible. If Rolph, every night, were to ask Stephens how

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

he intended to compensate those engaged in the liquor business; if he would ridicule bone-dry utterances dependent upon compensation, he could make a real issue, but the issue, at best, is a ticklish one, and I don't suppose he would dare to touch it at all. Each night, he could ask, too, about the Mooney case, and Stephens' stalling on that; of his message to the White House, etc.;; but, I presume such things as this would be considered discourteous personalities, ^{and} ~~for~~ all of it will be superceded with "glad hand" and "bull con".

When do you expect the assessment to be levied in the reclamation matter? I am perfectly certain from my knowledge of the individuals who are in command that they will endeavor to make a sudden spring. They, undoubtedly, were frightened for a while, and it may be this fright will continue; but my opinion is that with the lapse of time they will recover their confidence, and when least you expect it, will slap a corking, big assessment upon your lands. Let me advise you, therefore, to be alert, and to continue preparations upon the fact. That is, get together everything you can to prove the completeness of your reclamation, and the utter lack of benefit which will accrue to you from what is being done in the Sutter Basin. I have never written McClatchy in response to his long communications. I let the matter rest until I heard from you, and Poundstone, and others, and then, it has just drifted by in the overwhelming

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

stress here. I am writing him today, however, just one fact, and a copy of my letter to him, I am enclosing to you. I have written him in the fashion that I have merely to keep alive the idea originally expressed by me of the injustice of levying an assessment upon the lands which we represent, and that he may know I understand what our adversaries expect to do.

I have heard nothing at all of late from Arch. Of course, we are more or less anxious. I presume, however, we will know nothing concerning him until I get some letter from him. I observed in The Chronicle that Hutton wanted to declare the law a non-essential occupation. This is the legitimate result of permitting any one man to have in his keeping, not only human activities, but human beings themselves, and, by a mere regulation, deprive a man, alike of his livelihood and his life. The draft age will be in September raised to 40 unquestionably. It probably will not be raised to 45 because some of our bloodiest men that we have in the senate, who have been most enthusiastic for sending others to war, are between the ages of 40 and 45, and it would be unjust to compel them to explain that they can render more valuable and patriotic service as rubber-stamp legislators than as soldiers in the Army.

I received this morning from Lawrence E. Chenoweth a letter, a copy of which I enclose. I am not interested in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

asking Mr. Bowles to aid him, although he is a very good fellow. I send the letter to you because of the peculiar second paragraph, which was very interesting to me.

Affectionately,

Dad

COPY

OFFICE OF
COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
Kern County
Bakersfield, Calif.

July 18, 1918.

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Johnson:

You have a relative, Mr. P. E. Bowles, who is at the head of an oil company in this county (at Reward), and who is in a position to be of much help to me in my campaign. He is quite friendly and needs only some impetus to get him actively interested. Will you furnish that impetus in the shape of a letter to him telling him that he will not go astray by backing me? This I could present to him personally and so get the action started. I shall deeply appreciate this assistance.

Your friend Heney opened his campaign here the other night and the meeting broke up in a riot when he announced in favor of the Rominger bill, and a lady in the audience told him he would "lose every vote in California " unless bone dry. The controversy which then ensued was something astounding! He alluded to some of the great changes which had come to California, and while his audience knew he referred to the progress you inaugurated, Heney did not mention any names.

We are all waiting the word to get busy for you for president of the U.S.

Cordially yours,
(Sgd.) L. E. Chenoweth.

July 25, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY SIX

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 751,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

We are still watching intently the battle which is raging, and we are still involved in all sorts of doubts and confusion. I try to read between the lines of the dispatches to see just what is transpiring, but I'm in a constant maze. For instance, in yesterday's papers, there were literally pages of the tremendous victories being won by the French and the American troops, how they were advancing with irresistible and invincible forces, and how the Germans were fleeing before them. This morning, while the victories are recounted again, in the middle of the story, I find such things as the French and the Americans gain Epied, which they had lost the day before, and then, as I peruse another tale, I find that some other town, which had just been wrested from them, was about to be retaken by the French and the Americans. Little things like these are buried in great, big, flamboyant boastful stories. Apparently, however,

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

on three sides the French and the Americans have been pressing toward the Germans, and we are all perfectly mad here, who understand at all the geography of the country, until these three sides come together and smash the German army that is within those parts of our lines. I suppose we should be patient and make due allowances for the descriptions of the publications, because the battles are of such tremendously large scales, that it is, doubtless, quite impossible for anybody to tell any accurate story until they are all over.

One of the effects of this battle and of the American successes has been to make the Secretary of War reach the conclusion he wants to put five million men in France. In the last couple of days, a description of the change in the draft age has been going on in the press, apparently, at his suggestion. It is quite likely that when congress convenes the ages will at once be changed and new registrations will occur, which will give us enough Class I men to have an army of almost any size. The age will not, in my opinion, be above forty. If the age were increased to forty five, it would include very many members of the House of Representatives and of the senate, whose ages run between forty and forty five, and who have

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 5

been most enthusiastic for sending others to war - men who have neither gone themselves, although in the pink of physical condition, and, so far as their own are concerned, they've placed them in the non-flying aviation corps and in various positions of honor and trust, there they will be safely protected from any combat or any fighting. These gentlemen, naturally, have been the bloodiest men upon the floor of congress. They have ever been waving flaming swords, and gnashing their teeth, and have been trying in stentorian tones that all who don't drink blood at sunrise were lukewarm in their loyalty. It would be unusual and an ingenuitous thing to have these gentlemen within the draft age required to explain to an eager and an important people that they could render greater patriotic service in the congress of the United States than in the fighting armies of the nation. Accordingly, the draft age will not go higher than forty, and an embarrassing explanation from "The Shoot 'em at Sunrise" people will be avoided.

Tobin sent us yesterday a little figure of you, which mother and I very greatly appreciate. It is like a toy soldier, about four or five inches in height. Somebody, evidently an artist, has taken your photo and attached it so that one side looks like a real figure of a soldier, surmounted it with your face, and given it a little base, which enables it to

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 4

stand up. It was really fine of Tobin to send it, and we have it on the mantel in our bed-room.

We are in the Devil's own fix with help at our house, and I don't know what we will do. In the next few days, we are probably going to lose everybody we have in the house. Since I have been here, I have changed some of my views upon the negro question, and if I were brought constantly into contact with them, as I have been more or less of late, I fear I would rapidly acquire the southern viewpoint. It is just among the possibilities that within the next few days I will get so sick of the petty annoyances about us, that in sheer desperation I will run to California.

Mrs. Bowles in a letter we received yesterday said that Amy had gained ten pounds in weight. She is still confined to her bed, and still with a high fever. The increase, however, in weight, seems to me to augur well. I will not, however, feel that she is really progressing until her temperature becomes normal. Perhaps, it would be impossible for her to do otherwise than take on weight, eating nineteen eggs a day and drinking, I don't know, how many quarts of milk.

A gentleman, very high in authority, told me the other day that he thought there would be peace by the first of November, but when I asked him in detail why he expressed such an

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 5

opinion, he was unable to give me any adequate reason. Most of us have reached the conclusion here that there will be peace only when we have given the Germans a darned good licking, and all of us are just pulling with an intensity that can not be expressed for the speedy arrival of that time.

We are so longing for your letter, my boy. We talk of it every night and try to compute the time from the sending of your cable, in which you said you had written, and we're so impatient that we're counting even the hours now until its arrival.

With all our love,

Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WY.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 27, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care of P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Sts.,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

We all went to the War Department this morning in anticipation of a story of glowing victory, and our spirits were rather dampened when March said to us, very emphatically, the advantage of the past week's fighting was as he had told us on Saturday last; that, for the first time this year, the allies had taken the offensive, and that, presumably, a beaten army had turned in counter assault. From the newspaper accounts, all of us had reached the conclusion that the Germans were pocketed; that the allies were gradually closing the sides of the triangle; and that it was probably but a question of time until the two sides would crush all of the Germans in the intermediate space. March told us that this, of course, was a possibility, but not to have too high hopes concerning it; that the indications were from the German lines that they were retiring with forces intact in such fashion as to prevent any very great disaster. He explained that the recovery of the

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

particular ground had little significance unless a part of the German army itself was destroyed or taken. The exact number of men overseas up to yesterday was 1,240,000, and 19,000 sailed yesterday. Secretary Baker, who was present, insisted that there were ample shipping facilities, and that the program of the War Department could be maintained. What this program is for the immediate future we do not know. I know, however, it increases with the passing weeks, and it is not unlikely that by the time congress convenes Baker will announce that he wishes to have an army of three million men in France. Of course, this will require an immediate adjustment of the draft law. I asked Crowder this week, point blank, whether the Class A men would be sufficient for the September, October, November, and December levies. He has told me that the Class I will be wholly exhausted, in his opinion, by September first. What the department will do, it is impossible to foretell. It had one view a few months ago; it has another today; and tomorrow, it may have yet another. We used to think it was peculiarly feminine to change one's mind, but if the mind of femininity were ever so variable and fickle, it could not, with the ease and celerity, and rapidity of this administration, change its expressed thoughts and purposes.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

Raymond Robins told me the other day that he thought this war would end by the first of November, but when I asked him in detail for his reasons, he could only give me his belief, firm, but without much to support it, that by that date, Austria, internally, would break, and with the break of Austria, would come the end. I do not believe he is correct. I have grown very cynical of late regarding the war and its termination. I read the speeches in the New York Democratic convention the other day, in which the speakers, ⁱⁿ and the resolutions passed, declared with bristling adjectives, their horror of the invasion of Belgium, and of the sinking of the Lusitania; how these events were the cause of this war; and how anybody who had, in any measure, either justified or upheld them, was un-American, disloyal, and bought with German gold. I recalled how the present administration was unmoved by the invasion of Belgium, and really untouched by the sinking of the Lusitania; how no Democrat's heart beat a whit faster at the outrages in Belgium, or at the killing of our own women and children upon the high seas. I remembered that we were told to be neutral in deed and in thought during all those days; that our Government condoned those acts, and that our people, in the election of 1916, condoned them as well. What rank and rotten hypocrisy it is

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

for our Democratis orators to give Belgium and the Lusitania, and the acts of the ruthless Hun in 1914, 1915, and 1916 as the causes of this war. Why, it was only in 1917, just before we declared war, that the President of the United States sent his felicitations to him he now terms "the brute Hohenzollern" upon the latter's birthday; and it was only in 1917, just before we declared war, that we welcomed with open arms the U-51, which came into our harbors, and our Navy paid ceremonial visits to this "pirate of the seas"; and it was during that period, and only just prior to our declaration of war, that this same U - 51 went up along our shores opposite Nantucket, and there, in sight of a United States cruiser, shelled and sunk a Newfoundland passenger steamer and compelled American women and children to take to boats in the open sea, and the President of the United States justified subsequently the submarine warfare.

I find myself utterly unable to indulge in the hypocritical stuff that has become now the common expression of American patriotism. I insist that this is an American war for American rights; for our national self-respect, and perhaps, for our national existence. And, I can't find myself predicating this war upon any other premise than an American war for the American Republic, and for the rights of the American Republic. The utmost thought in my mind is the realization of the hypocrisy of those in power, and what seems to me the effect

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

of this transparent patrioteering upon our national moral fibre. We have plenty of physical courage, individually and collectively. We'll show that on the western front and we have already demonstrated it. Our individual soldiers have displayed as great a prowess and as high a courage as any on the face of the earth, but we have been striking some pretty severe blows of late at the moral courage of the nation - blows which I fear may be far reaching in the days to come. It is this sort of thing, against which, now in denouncing repression and suppression I faintly cry. But, I am not entirely certain how long it will be before throwing caution to the winds I'll insist upon a rallying cry of "Keep the Home Fires of Democracy Burning". The fact is, we have put our democracy behind us. The Republic no longer exists. Today, we do not govern as a representative democracy, nor do we govern by law. We govern now by a mere regulation of an autocratic power. Nothing better illustrates this than the recent "Fight or Work" order of General Crowder. We can dismiss that part of this order which refers to idlers and vagrants and those who are inimical to society, and the like, but the latter part of the order, I think, outrageous and cruel. It provided that within its scope should come clerks and salesmen, and that clerks and salesmen, no matter

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

who might be dependent upon them, no matter what the condition of their wives, or their children, should immediately leave their positions and be deprived alike of livelihood and life. This would not have been so if behind the clerks and salesmen had been powerful unions. The order was made effective as to them, because they were weak, and little, and poor. If, forsooth, they possessed the property of their business, and were maintaining that business, the order would not apply. The difference, therefore, between the owner of the business and the clerk and the salesmen, who had devoted their lives to the business and knew nothing else, was in the possession of the business alone. I know men who have devoted themselves as clerks and salesmen in the hope that the future might bring prosperity and ownership in certain legitimate lines, who, by a mere order now of an epauletted gentleman, whom war makes supreme, are deprived of their life's experience and denied their life's effort and told they must not continue in their chosen path. This kind of government is far, far from democracy. Of course, it is but the turn of the page to place in the same category all of the professions, and then all the occupations and businesses, which have not immediately to do with powder and bullets, and all this may be done by one military authority, and there is no hearing, no appeal, no redress. A voice like

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

mine crying out against it is a voice in the wilderness, unheard and unheeded. Yesterday, the President issued a proclamation about mob rule with sedulous care, failing to mention any of the thousand cases that have occurred, and dealing in his beautiful and glittering generalities. All the so-called statesmen here have turned into mere politicians. Each lauds the Provost Marshal General, because each has a favor to ask or a lively recognition of favors done. I told you, I think, of the day the amendment to the military bill came up with its post of honor for General Crowder. In the morning, Knox told me how outrageous a young secretary of his had been treated, how Crowder had informed him that if he would make the requisite affidavit that the secretary was indispensable to him, he would be exempted, and how, the day before he had been ordered into the draft. With every show of indignation, Knox told me he was going to see Crowder and express himself with fervor and fluency. He left to see Crowder and returned late in the afternoon. The most eloquent address made in favor of Crowder's promotion was by Senator Knox late that afternoon. The next day, I observed his secretary was still with him.

I have been lecturing thus far and I'm sorry for it. I am filled, however, with peculiar and serious thoughts about

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

these times and the times that are to come. Inasmuch as these letters are a sort of heart talks of mine to you, I'm sure you'll forgive my wandering along upon subjects which are uppermost in my mind.

By the way, while still talking to you of what is transpiring here, Mr. Schlessinger, a very well known attorney of Chicago, and a brother of the Schlessinger of the Emporium in San Francisco, was with us a couple of nights ago. He is the attorney for Wrigley, the well-known chewing gum manufacturer, who owns the "Cubs" of celebrated Chicago baseball fame. The baseball men were very much excited over the ruling made that they were engaged in a non-essential industry, and after that ruling, Schlessinger was here. They brought tremendous pressure and political influence to bear to have the ruling reversed, and Schlessinger told me, confidentially, that the ruling would be reversed because of the pull. I am told today that this is so.

We are entitled, don't you think, to be a little bit cynical?

We are fighting away out at the house to make it healthful as well as handsome. The house begins to remind me of a human being, symmetrical, pleasing and beautiful to the eye, and as an object of vision, perfect, but discloses upon close inspection to have exterior charms only. I don't mean this quite literally about the house, but our inability to get certain things done, and the mystery which surrounds its

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

water supply have been very depressing to us. I have had the services of the Bureau of Chemistry and we have now applied to the Maryland State Board of Health. Among them all I hope ultimately to ascertain the exact trouble, and then to remedy it.

I received a cablegram yesterday from Tobin, which simply said: "Arch Well Much Happier". I have not the slightest idea what the "much happier" refers to. I have not yet learned where he is or what he is doing. I surmise from Tobin's cablegram that he has not been in the battle line as I have thought, but that he has been engaged in some activity which rendered him unhappy, and that he has become lately, for some reason or other, happier. I wish the infernal mystery about him would be solved. I expected today to receive a letter from him, and I can't understand why one doesn't come.

I received a^{telephonic} message from Older that he would be here on Monday. I am curious to see him and to learn first hand about his change. He wrote me a very short note in which he told me that he wanted neither honors nor prominence, that all he wished for was the 4:01 train to San Jose from San Francisco, and to sit on the porch of his home at night. I could really understand this. We sit outside every night now until very late. Perhaps, it is the active life that we have lived the last few years that enables me to enjoy this sort of thing, but I do enjoy it.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

The world is small after all, and sometimes, the way to the great lies through the kitchen. As I have been saying to you, we have a cook whose whining seems to be the prelude of a notice to leave. We can't get any fit maid and so when we have anybody to dinner, we resort to one of the caterers in Washington for a competent waiter. At dinner the other night, I thought I observed a familiar look upon the butler's face, and when he had gone, I learned that he was Phelan's regular butler, and in Phelan's absence, by application to the caterers, he went out to service generally and made a little money on the side. Thus, you see, in one brief night, we almost touched arms with James Duval Phelan. Up to a week ago, today, we had had fairly decent weather in Washington. Since then, we have have had eight days of fierce summer climate. We can bear it now much better than we could in the hotel, but, nevertheless, it is anything but pleasant. I presume we will atone for the decency of the weather during the month of June and will have the usual compensating disadvantage for its lack of extra heat during that period.

I have been more than delighted to learn of your improvement. By the time we get out in the fall, you'll be able to be about ^{us} with/ and look upon all these months as just a horrid nightmare. I expect we'll have at least the month of November, and undoubtedly half of the month of October in California, and, inasmuch as

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11.

the session between the meeting in December and the holidays is generally of little consequence, we probably will be able to stay for that length of time. We have reached the conclusion finally it would be better to take our vacation then than at this particular time, so critical in our house-keeping and in the preparations of our new dwelling.

Give my love to your mother and your father, with lots and lots to yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Saturday Afternoon, July 27.

My dear Jack:

I'm working for the girl to finish my letter to Army and so by hand want to give you the information I have about the drafts. By September 1 Class A. men will be re-handled. We'll have to pass the eyes of the drafts or invade the deferred classes. There's little or no sentiment for the latter course, and I think it can be prevented. Of course, if the Administration demanded it, it would be a hard fight but even then, I think those of us who have pronounced views would prevail. I've been keeping in touch with Crowder and yesterday addressed a note to him asking if he had enough Class A men for September, October, November and December. His reply I enclose. He's really quite bitter about the navy and thinks many men are trying to escape by going into it. You'll observe

He wants to alter the present rule. Baker has promised soon to submit his desires and his complete plan for the army. As soon as he does, I'll advise you. There's a hysteria, as I've written you, among Congressmen and Senators, who have nothing at stake and nobody to risk, to raise an army of many more millions than ever before contemplated. Within a month or by September first, the situation will take shape.

I received yesterday a telegram from Ernest from Los Angeles quite enthusiastic about the Rolph campaign. I'm unable to share his optimism. Today I saw Wiley Griffin and W.A. Suttheland of Fresno and C.J. Chenier of Sacramento. They all agreed Stephens would win easily. Rolph must have in Sⁿ and Assembly counties an enormous majority, which in my opinion he cannot get, to win. However, presumably those about him have a fair understanding of what the chances are and may be in better shape to judge

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

2. Hwy Jr.

than I am.

I had a cablegram from John
yesterday "Archie will. Much happier".
What in the dickens he refers to I
don't know; but I assume Arch is
not at the front but had some dis-
agreement which rendered him
unhappy and is now feeling better.
lots of love.
Dad

July 26, 1918.

Personal & Confidential.

Honorable Hiram W. Johnson,
United States Senate.

My dear Senator Johnson:

The difference of view respecting the draft ages, developed at the last hearing before the Senate Military Committee, furnishes me some embarrassment in the further discussion of that subject which I know you will be quick to appreciate. I do not wish to precipitate a discussion as to the responsibility for the conditions. When you inquire whether the requirements for September, October, November and December can be met by the present number of Class I men, including those obtained by the new and recent registration, I must answer that they cannot. Indeed, the number of men left in Class I, after the filling of the August requisition, will be negligible.

As the execution of the draft reached down more and more into Class I, it produced a situation which I have not yet been able to analyze, but which I think I understand in the general outline. There was a rush of the remaining registrants to the Navy and the Emergency Fleet Corporation to secure exemption from the draft; and permit me to add that so long as the rates of pay for the enlisted grades discriminate in favor of the Navy, so long as the Navy is relieved from the kind of warfare which carries such heavy casualties, and just so long as Navy propaganda continues describing to Class I men the odium of the draft and the better financial situation of the individual if he volunteers in the Navy instead of waiting to be selected by the draft - just that long are we going to have difficulties in raising soldiers for the draft.

These are observations which, of course, I would not publish in the newspapers, but I know with what earnestness you are endeavoring to reach a correct solution of this question and I feel that you are entitled to this information. I wish I could contemplate that when Congress extended the draft ages, as they must do, they would include a prohibition against volunteering in either the Army or the Navy. It is almost impossible to carry the two methods of volunteering and draft at the same time for the underlying principles of these two systems are at war with each other.

I would like very much to confer with you in the event you are undertaking, yourself, the preparation of legislation necessary for the purpose we have in view.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) E. H. Crowder,

Provost Marshal General.

EHC-vbr

July 29, 1918.
Monday.

NUMBER THIRTY SEVEN

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

We received this morning the following cablegram:

"Neufchateau July 28, '18.
"Quite well hope to see O'loughlin this week love
Johnson"

Mother was with me when the cablegram came into the office and we immediately ran to the map. Now, let's see how near I am in trying to make out where you are. I have guessed that you are in the Toul sector with the American troops holding the trenches there. On the maps at the war office exhibited to us on Saturday mornings, our flags are stuck with little pins where our soldiers are, and one of the sectors which we have been holding is at Toul. I observe that Neufchateau is apparently just south of Toul, as near as I can measure on the map, about thirty miles. I have placed you in what we designate the "Toul sector" at the trenches there. Have I guessed it at all correctly?

On Saturday, we had a cablegram from Tobin (God bless him!) in which he said you were well and much happier. The

Major Archibal M. Johnson - 2

latter part of this cable disturbed me quite a bit. I could not understand and do not yet clearly fathom what he meant. I assumed, however, that it indicated you had been ordered into some activity which had rendered you unhappy and that with the lapse of time you had become more reconciled to it, and happier. There is one word in the cablegram today, which I did not say anything to Mother about, and that was "quite well. From your lack of absolute statement in this - a sort of qualification that has made me a bit suspicious. I did not say anything to your mother about it, however, and I am simply awaiting developments and further word from you.

No letter has come, and as I have repeatedly said to you, our last letter from you is dated May 29th.

Saturday morning at the war office, General March emphasized to us again that the great outstanding thing in the present fighting was that an army hammered so long had turned with a counter offensive. The newspapers here have filled us with such hopes that the whole German army was going to be taken in the salient formed by the triangle of Soissons, Cheateau Thierry and Rheims that our enthusiasm was a little chilled by the General's careful and conservative declarations. However, we seem to be doing well and to be accomplishing some results, and, better still, we seem to be driving back the Germans for the first time in many, many months.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

Older and Mrs. Older came this morning, and Mother already looks as if she had been undergoing some penance of interminable duration. Older told us what I've already related to you, that Loring Pickering and old Crothers had made his position on the Bulletin so disagreeable that he was willing to seek any refuge. Hearst is anxious to have him, and made a contract with him for an increased salary. Howell probably have charge of the San Francisco Call. He is running about town this afternoon on the Mooney case, about which, as you know, he has an obsession. Stephens, by the way, on Saturday night last, reprieved Mooney until December. This is such a transparent stall that it ought to do Stephens incalculable harm. Older told me, however, that the one great question before the people in California now is "wet" or "dry", and that either candidate is measured by his attitude on prohibition. The general electorate don't give a continental how a candidate stands upon any other question at all. The most ridiculous individual bawling for prohibition can win over a wise statesman who expresses his opposition to it. That is just what the situation is here, only from another angle. The crookedest politician who reeks with past infamies by shrieking his patriotism now becomes a real war here. The thoughtful, careful, industrious, hard working man, striving to be of

real service is of little or no consequence. I can't believe this kind of patriotism, of which I see so much now, the sort which consists ineffectually sending others to war, while secretly putting its own relatives in safe places, will ultimately last. Shouting about one's patriotism seems to me like running along the street, crying at the top of your voice, that you love your wife. A man would be thought to be an idiot who marched down Pennsylvania avenue, and on each corner standing and vociferously shouting "I love my wife", yet, if he does not do just this thing in respect to his country, when inborn in every normal American is absolute devotion to the nation, he is counted as lukewarm in his loyalty. Perhaps, after all, this is just weak human nature.

How I do wish your infernal letters would come. If I thought I could reach you by cable at Neufchateau I would do it. I am fearful, though, that my effort on this sort may get you into some kind of difficulty, and no matter how I long to communicate with you, I would not for the world have such a thing occur.

There is nothing new with us to tell you except the last ten days the weather here has been depressing, oppressing, debilitating, devitalizing, rotten and hell. However, we are able to last it out with our home, which, in spite of the outside heat, keeps reasonably comfortable. If we can only solve the difficulties of that home I will be very happy.

With all our love,
Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WY.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO. HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HARRY S. NEW, IND.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 29, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received your letter of July 22nd. I was mighty glad to have it. To tell you the truth, your impression of our attitude here about going to the Coast was not particularly erroneous. We were both in the air, torn with conflicting emotions. We wanted to go out and to be with you, and see Amy and the kiddies. Every other consideration demanded that we remain. We have not advanced much with our house, but if I am going to remain in Riverdale, I've got to stick with the job until I cure the existing defects in the home. I think, undoubtedly, we'll be out in October or November.

I note what you say about the political situation. I think you are entirely right. Personally, I'd like to see Rolph nominated, but I don't think he has a chance. Again I say to you, what apparently San Francisco politicians don't understand, labor will not be registered for the primary, in the first place, and if registered, will not vote at the primary. In addition to this, labor is not Republican.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I was glad to note that Amy is a little better, but sorry that she is depressed mentally. Of course, I can't blame her for her mental depression. She has suffered enough to drive anybody into the depths. I do hope, however, because it is so necessary for her recovery, that her depression will quickly pass.

I received a cablegram this morning from Arch, as follows:

"b14cbmr 18 PASNY July 28-18
"Neufchateau
"Senator Hiram W Johnson
"United States Senate Washington
"quite Well hope to see O'loughlin this week love
Johnson "

I've been studying the map since the receipt of the cable. Neufchatueau is south of Toul, I take it, about thirty miles. My inference is that Arch is in the Toul sector, which is occupied by American troops, and that he is there a part of the trench warfare. This sector has been of late exceedingly quiet.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

Dad.

O'loughlin he refers to is Col. O. who recently went to Europe as Major in Quartermasters Department. I wrote Art. he had gone & the cable shows he has received at least one of my letters.

Art

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA., CHAIRMAN.
GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG.
JOSEPH E. RANSDALL, LA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
JAMES K. VARDAMAN, MISS.
JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN.
THOMAS S. MARTIN, VA.
JOHN H. BANKHEAD, ALA.
FURNIFOLD MCL. SIMMONS, N. C.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK.

KNUTE NELSON, WASH.
WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, MICH.
WESLEY L. JONES, WASH.
LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, ILL.
WARREN G. HARDING, OHIO.
BERT M. FERNALD, ME.
WILLIAM M. CALDER, N. Y.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

WILLIAM L. HILL, CLERK.
D. C. THORNTON, ASST. CLERK.

July 30, 1918.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco.

My dear Jack:

I've been intending for some time to write you concerning your recent letters about your desire to enter the service. I felt, though, that there was little or nothing I could say beyond what I have in a single sentence or two said to you on different occasions. I know that I understand exactly your feeling, and I think I can foresee that the situation may in the future become irritating and exasperating to you. With our growing intolerance; with the gradual predominance of the military; with the peculiar natural human weakness, which makes everybody who has any dear one abroad want to make every other person go abroad; with the opportunities now offered for the free play of malice, ill-will and hatred, secretly and insidiously, it is not difficult to understand that within a year there may be all sorts of trials for men who, neither legally nor morally, should be soldiers. Despite all this, however, you ought to retain your status, just exactly as it is, and just as long as it is possible to retain it. From long and mature deliberation upon the subject, I have reached the conclusion, and I believe I would be just as strong in it if I had no personal interest at all,

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

that men with wives and children dependent upon them should not go into the Army or the Navy, and should not be drafted into either. I presented my arguments upon this proposition last year, as you know, and my views, then expressed, have been strengthened with the lapse of time. Of course, if the period shall be reached in this war when the entire manpower of the nation must be utilized, then we can not heed wives or children, society, or even economic circumstances. But, this stage has not been reached as yet, and I don't think it ever will be reached in this war. It seems to me that a man who is situated as you are, and goes into military service because of extraneous circumstances which irritate him, or even humiliate him, is guilty of a moral cowardice, and his act is worse than that of the conscious slacker. You referred in a letter to the sentiment of the poster I mentioned in the senate "Be a Went not a Sent". Yesterday, I referred to this poster again. My reference, I think, you misunderstood. It was for the purpose of illustrating the argument made in behalf of the draft, and the immediate abandonment of the argument by the Government when the draft went into effect, and to demonstrate that the Government invidiously made the distinction by suggesting differences between the drafted man and the volunteer. This was done, too, while the argument that volunteering should not be permitted, and that we should draft our soldiers, because the draft was the only democratic thing,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, jr. - 3

and the only equal and impartial method, was still ringing in our ears. You will notice in Crowder's letter to me that he wants to stop volunteering entirely. The publication of Crowder's references concerning volunteering in the Navy would create a sensation. Of course, though, his letter was written to me in confidence, and his confidence will be kept. I am purposely keeping in touch with the situation because I want to insist, as I have ever insisted since the draft, that the deferred classes of those with dependents shall not be invaded, and that men with wives and children dependent upon them, shall be exempted. I think that Baker still has firmly this view, and I trust he will adhere to it. Crowder has the view perforce, and he would if he had his way, put everybody in the United States, no matter what the age or condition, into the Army, but Crowder's view may be dismissed as long as Baker retains his. I know that you don't contemplate, without consultation with us, any action. I don't want you to take any action at all, and particularly I would not have you act, because some damn scrub may criticize you for not acting. In doing your duty, and staying as you are, you display a far higher courage than in yielding to what you may think is some malicious person's criticism. It seems to me that with Amy in her condition, and with your two babies dependent upon your care alone now, it would be shirking your plain duty not to continue as you are, and give to your kiddies, not only a father's

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, jr. - 4

care and affection, but the mother's care and affection of which they have been deprived.

Undoubtedly, the draft will be increased, I think, from thirty to forty. The big fight will come about decreasing it, and perhaps for sentimental reasons, the attempt to decrease it will be defeated.

Love to Amy and the kiddies.

Affectionately,

Dad.

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA., CHAIRMAN.

GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG. KNUTE NELSON, MINN.
JOSEPH E. RANDELL, LA. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, MICH.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. WESLEY L. JONES, WASH.
JAMES K. VARDAMAN, MISS. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, ILL.
JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN. WARREN G. HARDING, OHIO.
THOMAS S. MARTIN, VA. BERT M. FERNALD, ME.
JOHN H. BANKHEAD, ALA. WILLIAM M. CALDER, N. Y.
FURNIFOLD MCL. SIMMONS, N. C. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK.

WILLIAM L. HILL, CLERK.
D. C. THORNTON, ASST. CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

July 31, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Your bully long letter of July 25th, containing political comments and various interesting items of news reached us this morning. I was so aroused over your description of the campaign that I am full of it for the moment, and while full of it, I am writing to you. I've been digesting the clippings from California since Rolph entered into the contest and I've talked to a few Californians here. He got off with a good story in San Diego, but this does not at all blind me to the general situation, and if I were making a book on the result, I would make the odds one to two on Stephens, and five to one against Rolph, and the others, nowhere. Just keep in mind, in the Primary, there'll be one and one-half times ^{greater} the vote in the County of Los Angeles than in the City of San Francisco. Where will Rolph make even a meager showing in Los Angeles? The answer of those about him is, of course, labor, but there has not been sufficient time to register Union labor, in the first place, as I have repeatedly said, and in the second place, they are naturally Democratic, and in the third place, they

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

don't vote at the Primary, and they won't vote at the Primary. Outside of the City of Los Angeles, their vote is negligible, anyway. Just visualize Pasadena, Pomona, Santa Monica, Venice, Sawtelle, Long Beach, and then ask yourself what proportion of votes Rolph will get there. In the City of Los Angeles, Stephens is as well-known as Rolph is in the City of San Francisco. He has made repeated campaigns, just exactly as Rolph has made repeated campaigns. He has never done anybody an injury, and, while presumably Progressive, has retained all of his standpat friendships. To his local popularity, he can add the local resentment that a Governor and two Senators should come from San Francisco, and the peculiar hostility Rolph, as a Union labor man, has aroused in the singular Los Angeles community. Now, go just beyond the borders of Los Angeles County. Orange County polls a fair vote; San Bernardino a large vote; Riverside a considerable one. I see no reason in the world why Stephens with the United Republican organization, which has already declared for him in these counties; with his acquaintance among them; with the standpat element, which overwhelmingly predominates in Orange County, is in the majority in San Bernardino, and a very active minority in Riverside, should not beat Rolph three, or four, or five, or six to one, and figures like these add

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

up mighty quickly. I think Eustace and those about Rolph under-estimate the effect in the two valleys of the tremendous propaganda against Rolph during the railroad strike. The two valleys have felt the I. W. W. outrages, and they are not going to discriminate between the organized labor strike accompanied by violence, and the ^{direct} actions of the I.W.W. He can not hope, in my opinion, therefore, to do particularly well in the two valleys. We find him, therefore, I think, relegated to San Francisco and contiguous territory. And the problem presented to him is how much majority can he get. My private opinion is he will not even carry Alameda County. I held together a very peculiar political organization, which had nothing of Progressivism about it, but which under me enlisted in the Progressive cause. This organization has been practically taken over by Stephens, and taken over in the only manner which would render it efficacious and loyal - that is, by parceling out offices to the individuals. Tyrrell, Stetson, ~~Reed~~, Quinn, and all the fellows whom you know over there, and whom it is unnecessary to mention, have received first-hand favors from Stephens. All of them are tied by appointments, lucrative and valuable, and they who have made the fight in the past in that county will unquestionably make the Stephens primary fight. Now, of course, the one remaining individual is Mike Kelly, the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

best of them all; but Mike's strength has very greatly waned in the past few years, and, in addition to that, I do not think he would like to make the fight against his old associates. As you know, he has retired and will not run, himself, this year, and I do not think, particularly with Tyrrell, and his old friends on the other side, that he would like to get into any contest. I am rather thinking out loud to you about the fight, and perhaps, because I am so far removed from it, my judgment may be better than if I were in the midst of it. Always, of course, there may be a possibility of a whirlwind fight that would give to Rolph an irresistible force and strength; and always, of course, it may be that Stephens' strength is the veriest shell which under a few hard blows may be shattered. In my opinion, Willis Booth might be enlisted in the Rolph fight, if diplomatically and cleverly, the attempt were made, and I wouldn't have the slightest objection in the world if Rolph would enlist Booth actively in his behalf. If he were able to do this, and Booth really got into the fight with all of the power and all of the organization that he had two years ago in Los Angeles, it might affect the result. Booth doesn't like Stephens, and I think from the conversation I had with him here, although he did not talk of Rolph at all, that he would go, with some

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

degree of enthusiasm to the candidate he thought might defeat Stephens. Of course, you know my opinion of Booth, but I am writing now from a political standpoint. I enclose copies of two letters I have received from San Diego; one of them from Judge Keating, who, in my opinion, is the most energetic man in the City of San Diego politically; and the other from George Grey. You know both of them, and know how consistently and loyal they have been in the past. These letters would indicate that Rolph did well in San Diego, and that, by virtue of his speech there, he will get a support that I imagine he little expected, but the question constantly recurs to me, who, outside of the City of San Diego, is likely to vote for him. The incumbent is known to all, and his name has become familiar to everybody in the last year and a half. There are two things in legitimate argument, without abuse, that could be argued against Stephens nightly that would tear him to tatters. First, the Railroad Commission can be lauded to the skies, and in the country where it has been felt, its work and character can be extolled. Patriotism could be invoked in the resignation of Thelen, called, in the country's crisis, to aid with his great ability here. Thelen's commanding position could be shown; his direction of the work that has been so much to every locality in the state; and the absolute necessity that the work he and Jack Eshleman

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

did must be continued; and then demand, where is his successor, and why is he not appointed; and is this great Commission to be the mere football of politics, and the appointment to be used solely to advance the political fortunes of a candidate; and whether a dozen men are to be promised the position in case of Stephens' success, just as a dozen men were promised that they should be supported for Lieutenant Governor with the bait of the governorship held out to them. The Eddie Dickson-Stephens game of asking a dozen men, and the men can be named, to be candidates for Lieutenant-Governor with the bait held out that Stephens would be a United States Senator, and they would become Governor could be quoted. And men like Neylan, Rolph himself, Frank Devlin, and even Weinstock, could be used in support of the story. Secondly, the Mooney case, known to every man, woman and child in California; both sides of it presented in the press, on the stump, and in briefs, so that it could be recited backwards by everybody, and yet stalled until December. With the recitation of these two incidents, it can truly be said they are the index of the character of Stephens, and conclusively establish his mode of government - delay, indecision, deceit, manipulation, no forthrightness or courage. A third incident can be quoted on social insur-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

ance. Rowell writes me that Stephens secretly has agreed to support social insurance and any measure that Rowell might desire in relation to social insurance, but that he plaintively says the Christian Scientists are against social insurance, and that he has the vote of the Christian Scientists, and that he does not wish, therefore, in the campaign, to take a stand upon the matter and alienate those votes, but that he will go the route after he is elected. In other words, he is going to deceive the Christian Scientists, lull them into false security, make them believe he believes as they do, and then after he is elected hoist them.

I could write all day to you upon the political situation, but I have written you enough. I can't get into the fight, and, of course, I ought not to get into it. You can't get into the fight for the reasons that I have written you, and you ought not to be asked to get into it.

Older was here Monday. He has entered into a contract with Hearst for the next two years, and has resigned from **The Bulletin**. Loring Pickering made his position on **The Bulletin** intolerable and untenable, and Crothers kept getting worse, and worse, and worse. I could sympathize with the trouble that he has had. I think it is a very great change for him. He was an outstanding, independent, erratic jour-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -8

nalist, ^{but} and a great big figure, and the great big figure was Fremont Older. In my opinion, he has now passed from the scene. Henceforth, he will be an employe of William Randolph Hearst. He has no realization of what I seek in a sentence to convey to you, but none of us is able accurately to measure one's position or one's self. Older at sixty years of age, although he does not know it, has had to purchase his peace of mind at the price of himself. His expectation is to have charge of The Call. I would not for the world have him know the view I take of his change, but of course, that will be considered wholly between you and me.

As a side-light on the campaign, I have some letters from Sacramento about Heney's meeting there. He convinced old opponents and made a tremendous impression. He evidently has himself in hand. He is repressing all of his natural impulses to explode, and he is rapidly gaining converts. John Chambers writes me, and he is hostile to Heney, that if Heney can do what he did in Sacramento he'll sweep the state. The great McNab managing the Heney campaign must be in a singular situation.

How glad I was to read that Amy was a little better. If her fever would only cease, I would feel very happy.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

Ed.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 9

P:S: The enclosed letter from J. Harvey McCarthy of Los Angeles came to me after I had dictated my letter to you. I know Mr. McCarthy very well. He is in the Hayes fight and is sometimes very extravagant in his expressions. He is a friend of McCabe. Some time, at your convenience, you might show the letter to McCabe, particularly because of its conclusion concerning Williams. My personal opinion is that with the stand Williams has taken, as described in your last letter, Stephens will remove him if he is re-elected. I'd like you to ask McCabe, if you talk to him about the matter, what his view is in that regard.

 In your letter you speak of the fact that I did not advise you I would be out in the fall, and I smiled when I read it. The fact is, that during the session I am so tremendously engaged that sometimes I think I do things that I don't do, and it is a very difficult thing for me to pursue a difficult subject to its conclusion. The best illustration of the latter is that I have never studied to its conclusion the divergent views on the flood control project, and I did not, for that reason, attempt in detail to answer McClatchy. I am getting now pretty well cleaned up here and I will have time to do, the I hope, the many things I have put by until this period. I expect to spend at least half of October and all of November at home, and probably a good part of December.

J. Harvey McCarthy
Los Angeles, California

July 26, 1918.

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

My very dear Senator:

Just a few lines to let you know my views
on the political situation in California.

The entrance of Mayor Rolph of San Francisco created no excitement whatsoever in Los Angeles. In fact I have only heard one man, a friend of mine, say that he expected to vote for him; and his reason for so doing, was that he had a cousin in the Mayor's office in San Francisco.

The fight here is between Hayes and Governor Stephens. Mr. Hayes has made tremendous headway where ever he has come in contact with the masses. I have been instrumental in lining up back of Mr. Hayes some of the most influential politicians in Los Angeles. He has assured me that if he receives the Republican nomination and election, he will support you for President of the United States at the next presidential election. All the candidates for Governor seem to realize that the battle ground is in this County.

Now there is quite a row on over Harley Brundige's appointment as Railroad Commissioner. I understand there is some feeling between Governor Stephens and E. T. Earl in reference to this appointment. Personally I would be glad to see Brundige get it as I believe he deserves it.

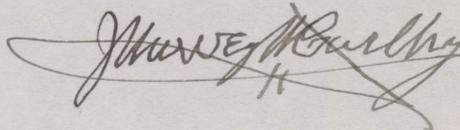
Yesterday I had a talk with John Cooper who is a Director in the Hellman Bank here, and very prominent in the Stephens Camp, which is on the same floor as I am in the Hellman Building. I have seen Cooper going in there several times, so yesterday I asked him how things looked. He said the Progressives were lying down on Stephens everywhere, that he had had a talk with Stephens, and should he be elected Governor of this State, he meant to dismiss from office most of the appointments made by you. Also that Stephens was sick of

J. Harvey McCarthy
Los Angeles, California

the Progressives and intended to fill these places with "real" as he termed it, Republicans. I believe Cooper is in a position to know whereof he speaks, as I personally know Stephens intends to remove Bank Commissioner Williams if elected Governor, should such a calamity befall the State of California.

Hoping this information will be of interest to you, with kindest personal regards, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. Harvey McCarthy". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

JHM/H

San Diego, Cal., July 25th, 1918.

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

In my letters of the last few months I have been telling you of the desire of our old crowd here to support a candidate for Governor endorsed by you. Since you have taken no part and signified your intention of taking no part our crowd generally agreed to support the candidate who would best uphold your work and continue it.

All of the candidates except Fickert and Bordwell have spoken here and up until last night not a single one of them came through clean, but rather straddled the proposition by saying in effect, they endorsed all of the good you did but reserving the right to correct most of it.

Rolph spoke last night. I enclose you a clipping of today's Sun. It is the first clean cut unequivocal expression of endorsement we have had from any of the candidates. Our old crowd was there in force including Swallow, Gray, Held, Grant, Buck and others. We had a talk after the meeting and reached the conclusion that our desire for the upholding and continuation of your great work would be best served by Mr. Rolph. He made an excellent impression on the entire audience, and created the first apparent enthusiasm of any candidate. It is felt here today and I am confident will have a lasting effect. Even the old liners say that his out and out endorsement of your administration was enthusiastically received in the community.

I was greatly surprised to find that a large number of those present, who I know have signed up in the Stephens for Governor Club, changed last night. I was likewise surprised to find a great number of the ardent and sincere dries were signifying their willingness to trust Rolph and even expressing their intention of supporting him as against Stephens.

-2-

George Gray told me that he was going to write you at some length and in detail concerning the meeting. George was real enthusiastic last night. It is the first time he has felt good since the race started and it is the first time that a good many of us have felt good.

I am a little sorry that Mr. Rainey wasn't a little bit more familiar with the old fight here, when he got in touch with the local citizens. I saw a great number of the old liners calling on Mr. Rolph yesterday afternoon. I know how those gentlemen have stood against you in the past and I haven't very much faith in them to stand by and stick to one who endorses your administration in the manner he does. However, I arranged with Mr. Rainey that on his next trip here he would give me an opportunity to get our old crowd together and have a little meeting with Mr. Rolph. They have fought your battle here for a long time and they consider this is but a continuation of your fight and don't want to be overlooked in the fighting.

With very good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. Edward Keating.

JEK.RW

441 McNeell Bldg.,
San Diego, California.

Personal.

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

Dear Friend:

You will be interested to know that we have heard four candidates for Governor and that each of them, speaking in San Diego has gone out of his way to show that he will leave untouched the present "Johnson" system in California.

"Governor" Stephens is for the system, but I think that he feels kind of worried when he remembers all things.

Hayes will not interfere with the system, but will destroy the Commissions or consolidate them. He also astounded the Spreckels and "Times" outfits by declaring himself for Johnson for President.

Heaney is for the system, but claims half or most of the credit for it.

Rolph of San Francisco, who spoke last evening, declared straight out for Johnson, his system and everything connected with it and met with great applause when he so declared himself. A friendly reference to "Roosevelt" brought up the house.

McGee of San Diego is for the system and the Australian Land Settlement policy in addition, but his candidature is not taken seriously .

Bordwell and Fickert have not reached us yet, but I don't think they will have the temerity to attack the system.

Labor was divided between Heaney and Hayes - before Rolph came out, but it looks to me that it is for Rolph - straight, now. Local labor is for him, under special instructions from San Francisco.

The original Johnson fighters, in the absence of any sign from "head-quarters" (in Washington) will take who-ever they think is closest and will be most faithful to Johnson. I am sending you press reports of Rolph. He looks good to me - now that I have seen and heard him.

With very kind regards,
Resp. & Sinc. yours,
George F. Gray.