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# KODAK Gray Scale



**Kodak**  
LICENSED PRODUCT

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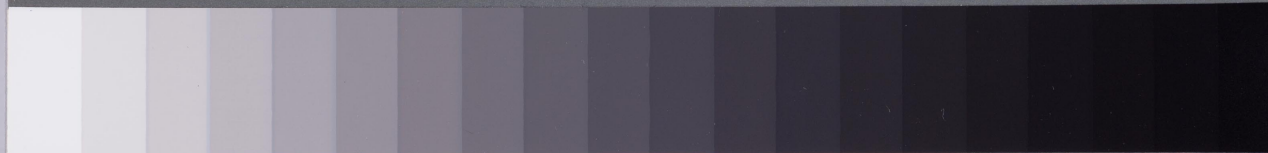
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## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

December 2, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your telegram about Joe, and also that Arch has improved wonderfully, and concluding "reclamation issues just received". The information about Arch relieved us greatly. I hope that long before this letter reaches you, Joe has been sent on. We are without a cook, sometimes dining at the house where Mother and the maid fix our dinner, and sometimes in town. I would give the world if only we could get settled. I am intensely interested in what is transpiring. I've been talking more or less of late and intend to talk a great deal in the future. It is very difficult, when your household is all to pieces and your time has to be spent in all of the details concerning it, the cook, chauffeur, and generally, to have the sequential and real thought that you desire for bigger things. However, that is the peculiar condition I have ever been in when matters of importance arose. I presume you have seen my brief emanations of late. They carried well in the east and I have had a response quite mixed.



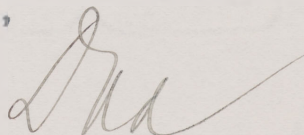
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

The one part of your telegram about "reclamation issues just received" I don't quite understand. I take it that it must be that the assessment has been levied, and that the fight will now be on. I am awaiting your letter so that I may know.

During the week, if possible, I shall write you concerning the international situation and the matters that are interesting us here. There is seething disgust over Wilson's trip and the general consenses of opinion is that it is simply a regal tour for kingly display. The Philadelphia North American has had some bully articles on it, in which it does not hesitate to speak of "royalty", "the monarch", etc. Indeed, this is the common sort of expression now around Washington. Six months ago, when I used to talk that way, our dear friends like Rowell and Lissner, thought my liver disordered. The best mannered and the most judicial in utterance here now have similarly afflicted livers apparently.

Love to the boys.

Affectionately,





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

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

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

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HIRAM W JOHNSON JR

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WILL WATCH FOR JOE IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR TELEGRAM WAS WILLIAMS  
RESIGNATION VOLUNTARY OR WAS ANY REQUEST MADE FOR IT BY STEPHENS IF  
LATTER TELL WILLIAMS AND DELIGNE I WILL SMASH IF THEY DESIRE IT AM  
TAKING UP MOORE MATTER LOVE

HIRAM W JOHNSON.



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## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

December 7, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

We received yesterday your good long letter dated November 29th. This letter was the more welcome because it is really the first big one we have received from you. We are hoping that Joe will start tomorrow, and that with his arrival some of our difficulties may be over. This probably will be a vain hope, because we expect next week to begin the work of improving the heating apparatus. The least time which will be occupied in this, when the house will be completely torn up, will be about two weeks. Between ourselves, I have not very much hope of what will be accomplished. The weather has continued fairly decent here, and we have lived quite comfortably at home. We have changed chauffeurs a few times a week, each time getting a more impudent and disagreeable Ethiopian, until I am almost ready to subscribe to your Mother's view upon the negro problem.

The week has been an intense one here. The regret over the President's departure for Europe is indescribable. Not only is it a matter of very keen regret to both sides of our

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Chamber, but we are quite convinced the only purpose of the trip is to satisfy the vanity of the President and Mrs. Wilson, and to indulge in regal display and receive the plaudits of the world. Democracy is very, very far behind us when the President does not deign to tell this country why he goes to Europe, when he will not define his peace ideas, upon which the entire future of the Republic may hinge. As I wrote you in one of my letters I am not alone now in the expression of these views. I was, during the past year, very lonely at times in the ideas I could not repress, but it is a very different story now.

I wanted today to write you of the peace conference and the gossip here. I find myself in pretty rotten condition, however, and will be content, therefore, with just a couple of general observations. Those who think they know what will transpire believe that the President will receive a sop in the form of some kind of "League of Nations", a paper organization of little or no consequence, and some sort of mild concession concerning the "freedom of the seas", which will not preclude England from maintaining her naval supremacy. In return for this Wilson will police Europe with our troops. The propaganda then will start in this country about the wondrous service rendered us by England, the exhaustion of France, etc., and that it is no more than right we should be the ones now to do the detail work of the peace conference. The detail



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

work, by the way, will consist substantially of our being the collection agents for France and England. In addition to this, you will read much in the future about "stabilizing" the Governments of the newly created Nations, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Russian, and even ~~the~~ Germany and Austro-Hungary; and the proud privilege of "stabilizing" these Governments by means of armed intervention will be ours. Parenthetically, I may remark that by "stabilizing" our friends mean that we should set up the kind of Government we wish in the various nations of the world, and eliminate, where necessary, the kind of Government the various peoples wish for themselves. There are very interesting times ahead of us, and men as conservative as Knox are inclined to unite with men as radical as myself in the demand that our troops be returned at the very earliest possible moment, and, at any rate, immediately after the peace portocol shall have been signed. The international banker is muddling the situation, and that is why I say conservatives like Knox with thought of the future of the Nation, notwithstanding the wishes of the international bankers, will probably join with the rest of us who think we are pure Americans in bringing our boys back at an early date. The Russian situation is a shame and a disgrace, giving the lie to all our professions of democracy. I am going to try to devote tomorrow to this situation, and if I can have any clarified



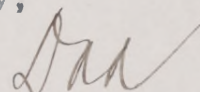
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

thought upon it I am going to bring it up on the floor of the Senate next week, and ask that our troops be withdrawn from there. I recognize how very dangerous such a course is on my part, and how it will subject me to accusations of bolshevik sympathy, but the thought that we are shooting down Russian peasants today and they are fighting back and shooting down our boys when there has been no declaration of war, and no man here can tell why, incenses me beyond measure.

V.S. McClatchy was here the other day. He had been in Johns Hopkins for a couple of months. He said he was very much better physically, although I was not entirely sure of this. I started to talk to him about reclamation matters, but observed his nervousness and contented myself with a statement that Armour and Company were trying to make our people pay for their reclamation. If I had<sup>had</sup> your letter of what transpired at the reclamation board meeting ( by the way I have not yet received it) I probably would have taken up the matter in detail with him. He did say that there was no substantial difference between him and Poundstone.

You relieved us immensely by what you said of Arch. I am very glad to know he is in better shape. With love to the boys and yourself,

Affectionately,





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SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

December 13, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

This has been an exceedingly busy week with me, and for that reason, it has passed thus far without a letter to you. We are plugging along in the military committee nearly every day, first with casualties, then with military insane, and then with ordnance, as well as acting upon various bills. In addition to this, I prepared a speech on the Russian situation, which yesterday I delivered. I really felt good about it after it was done. I think I can say justly that more Senators listened to it than I have seen on any other occasion listen to any address since the declaration of war. I had to get in, too, in what we call the <sup>morning</sup> ~~noon~~ hour, and I occupied from about a quarter to one to a quarter to two; so I felt it was a great tribute to have these cynical old fellows, who listen to nobody but themselves generally, miss their luncheon and sit throughout the talk. Everybody has been afraid to touch the Russian situation. The slightest suggestion has been met with taunts of Bolshevism, anarchy, and the like. Of course, Lenin and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Trotsky and the little crew about them, are thoroughly detested. I tried to differentiate and make the address one seeking information. I hope you will read it and let me know what you think of it. It has started discussion and quite a row. Out of it we may learn something.

We are having a sad time with chauffeurs and at the house still. The other day a new chauffeur, the only one of good disposition whom we've had since we have been here, but who is utterly incompetent as a chauffeur, pinned your Mother between a street car and a big truck and I've been thanking God ever since that she was not seriously injured or killed. The car was pretty badly wrecked. Both fenders were smashed, one side broken in, and the glass, of course, shattered. We have rigged up a heavy card-board side, which enables us to get in and out from home, but the Lord only knows what we'll do in the future. We can't get work started on the heating plant in the house. The boiler was shipped from Newcastle, Pa. on September 27th, but has been dumped off at some way-station between Pennsylvania and here. The fact of the matter is I suspect the railroad management with deliberate inefficiency for the purpose of destroying government ownership. We've had three important shipments to us since we've been here this time. The first



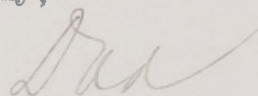
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

was of the two boxes Mrs. Havens gave us, only one of which arrived at Baltimore. The second was Mother's dresses, none of which has come. The third was the boiler which is resting, doubtless, comfortably somewhere between here and Newcastle, Pa.

We're expecting Joe tonight. I had a note from Odgers saying that you gave Joe One Hundred and Forty Dollars, (\$140.00) and I am enclosing you my check on The Donohoe, Kelly Banking Company for that. Thank you very, very much for sending him on. I am more or less doubtful about his stay here, however, but hope he will like the old place, and that his interest in it may compensate for his loss of Chinese companions.

Love to the kiddies and yourself.

Affectionately,



Saturday Evening, Dec. 14, 1918.

My dear Arch:

I'm sitting in the office now at six p.m. waiting for the car to take me to Senator Melinghuysen's for dinner and for one of our sessions. You'll reach Punston, I take it from your telegram Monday, and this note should reach you soon after.

We have been overjoyed to learn of your improved health. I don't expect you to be wholly yourself for some time yet, the break down was too severe; but I have no doubt if you can be reasonably careful, everything will turn out all right.

I've had a busy week. I'm taking active part in many things, and in addition, made a carefully prepared speech on Russia. It was a delicate subject because it encroaches



on the domain already preemphed  
by finance, and might easily lead to  
the suspicion of sympathy with  
anarchy and Bolshevism. I tried  
to steer a clear course while demand-  
ing light. I had paid me the  
compliment of a Senate going without  
its luncheon to listen. I had an  
attendance of Senators such as I've  
not seen since the early days of  
the War.

Joe continued corresponding with  
General Wood upon current topics.  
He's a very able man - a most  
interesting correspondent. He never fails  
to speak kindly of you, and I never  
fail to thank him.

Joe arrived last night. Today  
he has been seeing Washington but  
will this evening prepare Mother's  
dinner. He seems to me a little



old bald headed man. He ought to solve the Kitchen problem for us; but all our other help problems remain the same. We cannot get a competent chauffeur. We found a cross-eyed boy of good disposition, kindly respectful, apparently not afraid of work; but the second day we had him he jammed the car with Mother in it between a street car and a truck, and since then, I've been thanking God Mother wasn't killed. The poor old car, for which we have a real affection, is in a sorry plight. Both sides crumpled up the fenders, one side of the car was smashed in and of course all the glass was shattered. We've patched it up for immediate use, but it's no longer the car you saw.



It will take some weeks to repair it, and we need it so constantly I don't know how we're going to turn it in.

We're still fussing with the house trying to repair the heating plant but without success. Maybe next week will see the commencement of work.

Our little troubles seem trivial in the relation, although the accident to the car might have been very serious and Mother cruelly hurt; but they make up our life here. In the Senate I try to rush from one thing to another, to be at committees which meet simultaneously and always in my chair; and yet I'm constantly thinking of you and our dear ones in California. None of us knows what will be done with your division. Of course we expect demoralization soon, but what "soon" means we are ignorant of. If soon, I suggest you come here and really rest. You couldn't do much else with winter on. But you ought to undertake no real effort for a long time yet.

Good luck and good health to you!

All dad's love,

Dad.



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## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

December 20, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
Camp Funston,  
Kansas.

My dear Arch:

I received this morning your short note from Camp Funston. I am glad that you are back and in pretty good shape. I shall make a personal inquiry of the War Department concerning the Division and cantonments, and the possibility of their demobilization, and then I'll advise you.

We're in the maddest kind of a whirl here. One subject succeeds another; no sooner has a report been disposed of than it is followed by another of greater importance, and our days are quite a delirium. Last night I received at home a frantic telephonic inquiry from newspaper men asking if I knew that America was preparing a tremendous army to be sent into Russia. I answered, of course, I knew nothing of the sort, and cross examination demonstrated that they knew nothing except that some such rumor had come out of the administration. There is no doubt at all, however, that our Allies are playing the game so that the policing of ~~Russia~~ *Europe* may be upon our shoulders, and they are playing the game as to Russia, too, that we may lead an army into Russia and

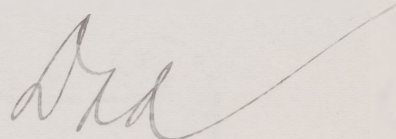


Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

and furnish, in great degree, the personnel of that army. How far they will succeed I can not at present tell, but I believe our country will protest, if it feels that it can finally talk, and that it has the right to talk upon this subject I hope to make clear.

This note will reach you, I presume, about Christmas, although, of course, it ought to reach you long before. Your Mother and I resent the passing of each Christmas when we are not all together. We have maintained in our little family an affectionate cohesion which has made us value more highly than most families the holidays, and the holidays with all that they mean have brought us, if possible, even closer together. I am so sorry we can not all be together this Christmas. There can't be many more in the very nature of things for all of us. Mother and I send you all our love and our greetings for the day and for the holiday season. We have been very proud of you, and you may feel proud yourself for these last two years. Good luck and <sup>a</sup> merry day, and all our love.

Affectionately,





United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Interesting, - perhaps  
important.  
H.W.J.)

Christmas 1918.

My dear Arch:

Here's a beautiful day, softening and making more alluring and appealing all the thoughts and sentiment of the particular time! There's just one thing lacking to Mother and me, and unfortunately that's the big thing, the all-in-all to us, our boys. If we could but have you with us now, how happy and content would we be. Outside the sun is shining brightly, the air is invigorating and balmy, the old house fits in with the season, if we only had you how gloriously we would celebrate! However, the year has passed, you've done your part, you've been up against the awfulness of war and thank God, your body is yet whole and life beckons you to a successful and happy career. As I read with every increasing indignation the casualty lists yet being published and think of the



terrible anxiety there must still be a month and a half after the cessation of hostilities. I am very grateful that our boy has come through it all and that we are not still suffering the suspense. So though we are separated and grieve at it and kick at fate, perhaps after all, we're unjust and don't appreciate the blessings that are ours. Here's to you, laddie, Xmas 1918! May we live to celebrate together many hereafter, and may all find us no less fortunate than we now are!

Yesterday I received your brief note and copy of the order posted about demobilization. I immediately addressed an inquiry to the Secretary of War saying I had been advised from different cantonments that there was no present thought of demobilization, that this was at variance with what he had told the Military Committee, and asking what the plans were. He may decline to answer but if he does, I'll make the inquiry in different fashion and will soon know



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

definitely. My own belief is that he will do as he told us - demobilize combat troops in cantonments as soon as possible, probably by May first.

The one disturbing thought with me is Russia and the possibilities of the Peace Conference. It is generally believed now - some of us never doubted it - that Wilson went abroad without definite plans, solely for the pomp and splendor, to bask in the smiles of Europe's great, and the necessity of bringing something home will make him trade the American army for a paper League of Nations. Of course, the Militaristic group, and this includes J.R. Lodge and the others, wish us to maintain an immense army and 'stabilize' Syria, Armenia, Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Roumania, Finland, Lithuania and every other ambitious territory and every heretofore unheard of race which



wishes to become a new nation. Some of us will object very forcibly and so far as I am concerned I'll make direct appeals to the American people against such a course.

I really have started something by my Russian speech. I don't care what the Metropolitan press or the kept newspapers of the country may say, my tremendous mail since my speech convicts me that the average American is constitutionally opposed to having American armies police the world, or quell riots in every rotten European back yard. I'm enclosing

you the full text of the speech.

My difficulty is to keep away from the Bolsheviks and theoretical asses whom I detest. Of course, those who insist on Russian intervention seek to tie up any inquirer with anarchy and the disgusting Lenin and Trotsky and I'm endeavoring in my own case to prevent this injustice. Thus far I've partially succeeded. I am somewhat perplexed about my next speech on the subject. I have the official documents



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## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Establishing every implication in the questions I asked. I have the actual proof that Lenin and Trotsky agreed if the allies would aid, not to ratify the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and that no response could be obtained from either England or United States. I have the written statement of the representative of Great Britain that Trotsky begged Britain to take possession of the Black Sea fleet and offered to turn it over to prevent Germany from getting it, but Britain wouldn't act. I have the evidence that aiding the Czechs-Slovaks by entering Siberia was a mere sham and that the situation was created by the Allies themselves that they might have a semblance of excuse for military intervention. Now to present this would seem like a defense of Lenin and Trotsky for whom I have the utmost abhorrence and detestation; but the thought



word present with me is ought I  
not in demanding the truth to tell  
it as it appears to me without  
regard to consequences. At any rate,  
I shall insist on knowing our policy;  
and I don't want American boys indefinitely  
in Russia fighting miserable Russian  
peasants. This question may be  
decisive of the whole future policy of  
the Republic. We must soon determine  
whether we enter upon world wide  
imperialism whether we constitute ourselves  
the guardians of European and Asiatic  
squabbles and wars, or whether we remain  
merely a Republic. And that you  
may justly measure my attitude which  
of course is opposed to policing the world,  
just keep in mind that we sit supine,  
afraid, worse even, and permit Japan  
to gobble China and as much of the  
far East as Japan deems to take.  
What I fear, and the fear is now a  
real one shared by many here, is that  
this Democratic Administration for the  
gratification of its personal vanity, will leave  
our country the mere pawn of European  
statesmen, its army directed for selfish European and



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United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

over Asiatic aims. Behind it all, is, I regret to say, the International Banker. It's the French debt due from Russia, the Russian bonds held by Americans, that provide the propaganda now so much in evidence. There are most interesting days ahead of us. But the sad thing is that our people will never know the whole truth. The avenues of publicity are unfortunately controlled almost entirely by those whose interests are affected by governmental action.

We had a letter from Kate the other day in which she said your pup was so mangy that in her efforts to rub in some drastic remedy she felt it rubbed into herself. Oh, you ought to see our princess! Your mangy pet can't hold a candle to her. She really is the most wonderful cat I've ever seen. Joe is with us



now and with him and the Princess there  
is no cause for loneliness.

Goodbye, dear boy. I fear your Christmas  
must be a lonely one, but your period of  
penance and service I'm sure is almost over.  
I can't tell you how my heart goes out  
to you, nor of the words of love I send.

Affectionately,

Dad.

Cannot tell you how much we miss you  
& long for you today. - It's a mighty dull  
Christmas without you. - We are going to  
light up the tree about so high <sup>up</sup> tonight  
& when we light your Candle we will  
be glad & thankful that you are at  
least on this side. All my love sweetheart  
& do so hope you get through the  
day without being too lonesome.

Devotely - Honey-boy.

Mother.



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

## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

December 26, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Mother and I deferred our Christmas until last night. I can't tell you how touched we were when we opened your gifts. You have shown such thoughtfulness, discrimination, and prodigality with both of us that Mother had a real good cry, and I confess, when I read the little note in the old volume of Dryden I had a lump in my throat. I think the old volume is wonderful, but, my dear boy, I shall treasure even more your dear note which accompanied it. I smoked one of the bully cigars to you, and they are fine. I can realize that it was a lonely Christmas for you, and of all Christmases I have wished that we could be together this one. Your Mother and I were only two but we were together, and although we spent our day wholly at home, we spent it by ourselves. Mother fixed a little Christmas tree, and after dinner last evening, we computed the time, and each hour, we decided what you and the kiddies were doing, and then, we speculated, too, upon what Arch

*Good -  
Rivers White  
Henry Wilson  
abroad -  
sk*



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was doing. You boys were so thoughtful and so good to both of us that really, apart from the sadness of the separation, just the two of us together had a charming Christmas.

The day before Christmas the workmen finally started at our house. They are now engaged in the plumbing and making some additions that are absolutely essential. Immediately upon the conclusion of that they will start with the furnace. The furnace work will occupy possibly three weeks, and during the most of that time, we shall probably have to live in town. However, if that is a success and gives to us an adequate heating plant, the one great objection to our house will have been eliminated. Joe arrived on time and has fitted into our life just as he did in California. We do not feel so dependent now upon these miserable colored servants, and once the repairs to our house are concluded, we'll run on fairly smoothly. We have really a good maid, but she is showing signs of dissatisfaction, and I should not be surprised at any time if she left. These colored people don't want to live in the country. There're no amusements there, and their days of pleasure are confined to the days they have off when they come to Washington. We have experimented with various chauffeurs, each one apparently worse than



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the other. As I wrote you last, we finally obtained a boy of good disposition and willing to work, but he was a rotten chauffeur, smashed our car to pieces, and gave your Mother a shock from which she has not wholly recovered yet. We have now the best chauffeur we have yet had, but his previous employer, Senator McCumber, says he is the dirtiest, meanest, lousiest, and most untruthful son-of-a-gun on the face of the earth. I am watching him very carefully, but it has been a pleasure to ride behind him because he knows how to drive and what to do. I think the situation in this regard within the next few months will cure itself with the return of the soldiers and the resumption of normal labor conditions.

I have been intensely interested in what is transpiring here. I have not had time to write you at very great length because we have been in the maddest kind of a whirl. Partisanship is intense and grows more acute each day. While the Democrats were as bitter as the Republicans at the decision of the President to go abroad publicly, the cohesion of their party is such they have defended him. We've reached the conclusion that his trip was dictated solely by his personal vanity. What he has done since he has been abroad seems to bear this out.



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I resented particularly that he would not take either Congress or the people into his confidence, as to his purposes, and that he has gone to be a part of the most important meeting since history began with his purposes locked in his own bosom and his plans, if he has any, carefully concealed from those who have the right to know them. A league of nations abstractly appeals to me. It is an alluring prospect to contemplate that the great nations of the world will unite to prevent future wars; and then the argument that all this slaughter must not be in vain, and that from it the lesson of prevention of future conflicts must be learned, is quite persuasive. But the difficulty is to find a scheme feasible and practicable. Like all the President's utterances, what he says concerning it is nebulous and couched wholly in general language. His only declaration abroad has been that such a league must be founded upon moral suasion, and, of course, a league of this sort would be the most empty of promises. Knox, after weeks of preparation, delivered a speech in which he asked that the league of nations be postponed until after the peace terms with Germany were made, and his speech has been very widely commented upon here and abroad. Lodge took the same position, and then discussed peace terms, putting



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our nation in the position of being obliged to police every territory in Europe, out of whose people a new national entity should be created. I am not in sympathy at all with Lodge's position, and only partially with Knox's. If I had an adequate understanding of the sort of league of nations the President seeks, I'd be very glad to advocate it upon the floor of the Senate, and to take sharp issue with Lodge. I am restrained because we are yet wholly in ignorance of Wilson's position, and any utterance upon the subject, of which he is the champion now, might be at variance with his subsequent determination. Upon that part of Lodge's position which deals with the policing of Europe I took briefly and partially my attitude in my speech upon Russia. I shall try to emphasize this view in the near future. Speaking of the Russian speech I have been overwhelmed with correspondence since. Indeed, the office, by a form letter, has been compelled to reply to the correspondence. I simply could not go through it because of its bulk. I am not without evidence upon every implication in the questions that I asked. I have the documents showing that Lenin and Trotsky, after the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and before its ratification by the Russian congress, appealed to the allies and to us, agreeing not to ratify the treaty and to continue the war if we would but aid them. To this no response was made by Britain or



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America. The moral responsibility that rests upon us for that shameful treaty, therefore, I think is very great. I have the autographed offer of Lenin to make the United States the most favored nation in Russia, begging economic cooperation and aid. I have the statements of Bruce Lockhart, the representative of Great Britain in Petrograd, saying, in so many words, that Trotsky offered to turn over the Black Sea fleet to Great Britain and begging that they send officers there to take possession of it. The row on this situation has extended to England, and the Labor Party there has been so insistent that Lord Milner found it necessary, three or four days ago, to state Britain's position. He issued a statement denouncing Lenin and Trotsky, saying they had turned over the Black Sea fleet to the Germans, and making other charges, the refutation of which is here. The difficulty of my position is that Lenin and Trotsky are scoundrels and are preaching a doctrine which is grotesque and to which none of us can subscribe. The Bolsheviks are a menace to organized government and to civilization itself. I can not and will not get into the attitude of defending Lenin and Trotsky and advocating Bolshevism. This, however, is apart from our right to know our position in Russia, and what our boys are there fighting for. I shall press my inquiries, but I am undetermined as yet whether to



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answer my own questions and present my proofs. In the Foreigns Relations Committee, the other day, when my resolution came up for a hearing, there were only three Republicans present, Lodge, Brandegee, and Knox. There were seven Democrats present. The vote was 5/5 upon the resolution, two of the Democrats, Pomerene and Thomas, voting with me. Finally, the matter was postponed until after the holidays. It is of very little consequence whether the resolution is reported, because I will continue to hammer away upon the proposition anyway. In the east here, although perhaps not in the great metropolitan dailies, interest in the speech is intense. Indeed, since my speech, I've had to steer clear of <sup>big</sup> black -bearded male Russians, and slant-eyed female Russians. I am afraid of them all and don't want to become entangled with any of them, revolutionist or reactionary. The real thing behind the scenes in this Russian situation is the international banker. France, as some of her statesmen have asserted, has the savings of a century invested in Russian bonds, and our New York bankers have many of them. They want armed hostile intervention. Democracy, of course, is not in their lexicon, and their propaganda ( the most of the articles you read in the newspapers are mere propaganda) is directed to the support of some dictator or representative of the old imperial family, so that a strong



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government, by which they mean a government at once recognizing their debts, may be set up.

I was prepared to attack the President on his appointment of Henry White, who, it was asserted, was selected for the Peace Conference as the Republican and American representative. I had a very humorous biography of him, which showed him to be, and this is the fact, one of the Americans who is ever apologizing for his birth. He has been so long abroad that he has even acquired an accent. When he was minister to France, he created a furore at his first public function by directing that all the guests should appear in silk hose and plush breeches. The Paris newspapers made great fun of him, and one of them said that "it remained for the oldest democracy on earth to return to the habiliments of royalty, and that the odors of the exotic flowers at the reception were quite overcome by the odor of the moth balls which for many years had preserved the discarded garments of a by-gone era". Lodge heard of my intention and very nicely and decently he came to me and said that White was a friend of his and of Roosevelt and he hoped I would not thus publicly attack him. I did not wish to be offensive, and because the matter was of little consequence, I refrained. It is the general belief



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that White was selected as a sort of court chamberlain to direct the social activities of the President and Mrs. Wilson. I take no pride in the President's pomp and pageantry abroad. As I read that he rides with the King of England in the royal carriage while Mrs. Wilson rides with the Queen in the Queen's royal carriage, I think of the Republic and of Jeffersonian simplicity. However, I presume the ordinary American looks with pleasure upon his democratic President hobnobbing with royalty. There is none of this in you and me.

I received this morning a telegram from Theodore Roche that he and some others are presenting us with a Buick runabout for Christmas. I feel that these good fellows have done enough and I don't want to accept this gift. I'm debating it during the day. I can't tell you how I appreciate their thoughtfulness and their kindness, but in giving me the automobile that we have now I think they have done so much that I have a strange feeling of accepting more and I ought not accept this new gift.

I shall try to write you hereafter once a week, detailing what is transpiring with my comments upon it.



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I took occasion on the last day that the revenue bill was before us to welcome the Finance Committee, the President, and the Secretary of the Treasury, to membership with the seventeen men, who stood upon the Senate floor a year ago, and asked that eighty per cent of war profits be taken by taxation. I can't tell you how disgusted my associates were at these remarks. There was no reply possible, and the men with whom I am most intimate, because they were all against us a year ago, were sore as boils for an hour or two after I talked. I don't know that the words conveyed really what I said: but I was nasty in utterance, sarcastic and exceedingly disagreeable. The seventeen enjoyed it, but the others thought it was a damn mean speech.

I presume you've observed that the case of the Associated press against the International news was decided against us. This was a foregone conclusion. Hearst could no more get justice in the Supreme Court of the United States now than I could before a court of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles and San Francisco. I was surprised that we had three of the judges with us. Except for the opportunity that it gave the Associated Press to blow, the decision is unimportant now. The International News has the cable use the same as other press agencies at present and it has re-



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organized its service, so that there are really two branches of it - the Universal and International. It is from these and the United Press that I get my publicity. I am taboo with the Associated Press, of course.

With all my love to you and the kiddies, and with a heart full of thanks for the wonderful Christmas that you have given us, I am

Most affectionately,





United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

(See marked portions)

At Home, Rowanville, Md.  
Sunday Dec. 29, 1918

My dear Arch:

Have been following my usual Sunday custom of reading all the New York papers and I find in them the interview with General March concerning demobilization which I enclose. The clipping I send is from the "Tribune". The "Times" has that part of it relating to Punston in the form of a question to March which he answers in the negative. On December 24th I addressed in writing a query to Baker that I might have from the highest official a definite answer. Thus far he has not replied. This may be due in part to the holidays and in part to his absence in New York to welcome the fleet. I shall wait until Tuesday and then if no response is forthcoming take the matter up in more presumptuous form. Of course, immediately upon receipt of definite news, I will advise you. Perhaps you will have noticed already the



Inclosed interview but I'm sending it  
that you may have some news of the  
situation, if perchance locally the matter  
has not been published.

I've been wondering how you spent  
your Christmas. It could not have  
been particularly inspiring, but that  
you are yourself and in our country  
are matters to me of the utmost  
thankfulness. God only knows what  
the fate of our boys across the ocean  
will be. The power of wealth  
is so great, its ability to create public  
sentiment for any given course  
so undoubted that American boys may  
be the forerunner of worse Imperialism.  
I have made some prophecies to you  
of possibilities, and when I read as I  
have today that France and England  
think America because of its freshness  
and the smallness of its losses  
is the proper nation to lead in  
"stabilizing" Russia and in doing what  
is necessary in Germany, I feel  
like a seer of old who has had  
some insight into the future. Will hear  
more of our "obligations" to worse tranquility



## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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And civilization soon - obligations which singularly enough always mean our soldiers to die for foisting upon some other people a kind of government they don't want.

Our cold weather is just commencing. Not a real Eastern cold, but one where the temperature in the day doesn't go above  $35^{\circ}$  and at night is  $25^{\circ}$ . The workmen are with us at the house and really I think it will take them a month to fix our furnace, although they claim less. This means the Washington Hotel again, but it comes at a time I'm so engrossed with what is transpiring that it will make little difference to me.

By the way, long ago I asked you your status. Are you a casual officer yet, or are you a part of the Tenth Division? Just how do you stand? Let me know, please.



I have no doubt that the American people are immensely gratified at the triumphal progress of the president abroad. My feelings you can guess, as I read that he banqueted upon a dinner service of solid gold worth fifteen millions that backing away from him as he entered the banquet room, were fifty gorgeously arrayed flunkys and officials with each backward step indulging in genuflections (Ally God, if one of these had trod upon the toes of another, or if one had stumbled and fallen what a calamity to the relations of amity of two great "democracies" and how the peace conference would have been imperilled) — as I follow the unctious words of Wilson to his fellow sovereign of "My People", "My armies" "You embody the moral purpose of your people and I of mine" — Really, my dear boy, I close my eyes and bang my head, and before me come the patient, homely, lowly, American visage of Lincoln. The press is sickening; but long ago I said I despaired of the American press. The war has demonstrated how easy it is to make of this vaunted defender of Liberty the most hypocritical, servile and subservient tool



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## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

of power. The hope of America is in the few individuals, who rightly or wrongly, cling to their Americanism and free speech and who have the courage to express even mistaken opinions or act upon misguided judgments. Of course I do not mean those who are disloyal or anarchistic, but those who think in the terms of the Declaration whose religion is Democracy, and who fanatically would preserve real liberty. Hightower here I go preaching which I didn't intend. I started to write you merely about democracy (I leave that blunder I meant demobilization).

You have a crank father, but the reflex which has come to me on my Russian speech indicates to me I have lots of companions. Even J. R. has heard the rumble. He wrote me in high complement about my remarks and the other day his



article in the Kansas City Star echoed  
my slogan of bringing the boys home  
just as soon as possible.

Let me know if you write only a line,  
just as soon as you get this, what your  
present status is. Tell me when you  
write just what your condition is, whether  
you feel any recurrence of your trouble.  
If you do, get leave immediately, and either  
go to California or come on to us. Please be  
careful.

Affectionately,

Dad



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## United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

December 31, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I was paralyzed last night to receive your telegram reading:

"Have had no reply to my wire. Is anything wrong?"

I immediately telegraphed you that I had had no word from you since before Christmas. Indeed, my last dispatch from you was the day or so before Christmas containing the announcement of some appointments, with best wishes, etc. This morning I have your telegram that you wired me on the 27th. We have taken the matter up with the telegraph office, but, thus far, have had no report. I can't imagine what has happened, unless some wire of yours has gone astray. I wired you Christmas eve, and your Mother and I were so affected by what you did for us on Christmas Day that Mother wrote you Christmas night, and I wrote you the following day. Your dispatch today indicates that those letters have been received now.

I wired you as well today concerning the gift of the automobile by Theodore and Devlin to us. I felt ashamed to accept this gift. I thought they had done so much for me



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that it was in bad taste for me to permit them to do more, and I so wrote Theodore. He then wired that it was impossible for me not to accept because the whole thing had been done. Then the matter rested until today when I wired you. Mother wants to accept the gift, and of course, if they have gone to expense in the matter and cannot recede, there is nothing else to do. I wired you hoping you could get some definite information on the subject and give it to me tomorrow. The men are plugging along lately at the house and I hope it will not be long before they will complete their work. I have no confidence, however, in their promises of time. It will be wonderful if you could come on some time during the winter and be with us for a little while. I don't know whether you would appreciate the house or not, particularly in midwinter, but I am inclined to think that having something of the artistic temperament from your mother, you would rather enjoy the remarkable change it would be.

Happy New Year to you and to the kiddies and all our love. You may rest assured we are yet glowing from the enjoyment you gave us for Christmas.

Affectionately,

*Md.*

*The telegraph office has just advised us no telegram of the 27th from you came here.*