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HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

May 8, 1928

My dear Boys:

Today is primary day in Indiana. The result is being awaited eagerly here. It is now recognized that barring unforeseen and unthought of contingencies, Hoover will be nominated at Kansas City; but those opposed to him are hoping against hope that something will occur in Indiana that will leave them at least a talking point against him. Whatever may happen there, however, cannot in my judgment affect greatly the situation. The fates have been with him. The breaks all his way. The news is all doctored in his behalf. Great interests and powers fight his battle, while their subservient mouthpieces pretend the reverse. I think we must reconcile ourselves to the result; and I think, too, that with a four months campaign, he will beat Smith badly.

I've been fussing and fuming over the Boulder Dam bill, but the same thing that is putting over Hoover is blocking our progress. Whenever we uncover a power trust rogue, we find Hoover. California believes, if it believes anything or cares, that he is for our bill. Every individual connected with him is against us. The rottenness of the system nauseates me, and I'm sick of it all.

Summer came over night and departed in two days. We had two hot days, and then it was cool again. However, we are going into summer, and I'm not sorry.

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There's nothing to write of at length. Everything is politics here. I'm befuddled with my bill and worse befuddled politically.

I wanted simply to send a line with love to all.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "D.H.", written in dark ink.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

May 12, 1928

My dear Boys:

The weeks pass so rapidly that I lose all count of time and Saturday finds me busy indeed, but waiting, waiting, waiting impatiently to get on the floor again the Boulder Dam Bill. I have just been told that the rules committee of the House, yielding to the pressure being put upon them, will give a rule there today. If this is so, the bill will pass the House this session, but will not pass the senate. So far as the measure itself is concerned, this is a tremendous advance and enables me to see daylight. The session consists of the present period, and the second half, which begins in December. A bill introduced at this session is a part of the next just the same, and a bill passing one House in this session comes before the other House at the next; so if the Boulder Dam Bill passes the House, during the summer there will be a settlement among the warring states, in my opinion, - but even if this does not occur, we will be able, without such great difficulty, to pass it at the second half of the present legislative session. The situation is not so good for me because I fail to get it through the Senate, ~~this far~~, but I can solace myself with the fact, which may not be recognized at all, and probably will not be, that my agitation has really done the job. I am waiting therefore, impatiently but very hopefully, for action in the House. Wherever I have uncovered opposition I found Hoover. The Hearst press has done an immense service in publishing the disclosures before the Federal Trade

Commission of the power trust. The rottenness of the newspapers of the country is shown in the fact that all of them, save the Hearst press, have minimized the disclosures. The A.P. has deliberately denatured the testimony. The head of this trust is a man named Davis, who was a six thousand dollar a year employe of Hoover's, and was placed by Hoover at the head of the trust at a salary of \$30,000 a year; its attorney is Hoover's personal attorney, Lenroot, for whom he obtained a retainer of \$20,000 from the trust. It is behind Hoover in his presidential aspirations and is the most powerful influence he has. The disclosures show that the lobby has resorted to every conceivable scheme to prevent our legislation, and it shows further something that strikes at the very root of our institutions, that it has poisoned colleges, and schools, women's organizations, and churches, that it has even furnished text books that are in actual use today in some schools, has subsidized professors to make speeches in different parts of the country, and resorted, in its propaganda, to every conceivable sinister subterfuge that money could buy. I don't know that it interests our people at all. Certainly our press has shied away from it, and in every way, sought to minimize what has been proven. However, these cumulative evidences of governmental corruption some day will kindle a flame which will consume our complaisant politicians. The time probably has not arrived, but there will be some incident, perhaps of less importance than those that have gone before, that will suddenly strike the public and will be the tinder to kindle the fire.

The political situation grows more and more bitter. It has

developed now into a fight by the farm~~s~~ organizations against the nomination of Hoover. It was these farm organizations that made the fight in Indiana for Watson. Hoover's heavy artillery consisting of all of the Easterners who represent either internationalists or big interests, invaded Indiana and stumped the State for him. The farm organizations sent their few executive heads, who told their story. Watson, of course, was not really a candidate. He was tarred with the worst mess of corruption a State has ever seen, and with a record here, which would, under ^{ordinary} all circumstances, have condemned him. Very few of us thought that he could win, but he won in the farmer districts, and they gave him sufficiently large majorities to overcome Hoover's vote in the cities. These farm organizations say that they are going to Kansas City and deliver their ultimatum to the Republican managers. I don't know how far they will get, or whether they will carry out their threat, but the fact is, they have the big interests of the East and Mr. Hoover's people badly worried. My guess is that Hoover will be nominated. That when the time comes, the Mellon interests will be found behind him, and that this will be sufficient easily to put him over.

Frank Flint was here the other day and discussed somewhat at length the political situation in California with me. He said there was quite a good deal of adverse comment because I had not joined with all other Californians in advocating Hoover's nomination, that there never had been such an unanimity and enthusiasm in our State for any candidate as existed for Hoover. When I saw the vote that Hoover obtained in the primary, I could readily agree with this. It was a remarkable tribute, and an astonishing vote,

under the circumstances, indicating, as Flint said, an absolute unanimity in California, such as California never before had seen in any political struggle. Flint's view was that I would have one of two courses to pursue. First, if Hoover were nominated, I would have to support him loyally, and immediately favorably declare for him, and secondly, if I did not do this, I should retire permanently from the game. I think his analysis is entirely right.

I have been on the two most important conference committees that have been appointed during this session. ~~They had~~ to deal with measures of as great a consequence as we have had since I have been in the congress. The first of these was the Mississippi Flood Control Bill. I went upon this conference committee because of the Sacramento Flood Control item, in which Dr. Dow and Bill Dwyer, and the Sacramento Valley were so deeply interested. Curry succeeded in getting this in the House upon the Mississippi River Flood Control Bill, and I went upon the conference committee in the senate so that I might protect the item, if necessary, in the conference. We succeeded in putting this bill through, and I think it will be signed by the President. The second measure is the shipping merchant marine bill, Already some three days I have spent in argument and controversy with the conferees upon this. I am hoping that we'll agree during the day. If I had a press agent or any ability to get publicity, the fact that I am upon these two most important conference committees would be heralded throughout California. I know of no Californian who for very many years has been one of the ultimate determining factors in such legislation. The

fact, however, will pass unnoticed in our State, because of my utter lack of publicity, and my utter inability to put over matters of this sort politically.

Our car developed some sort of knock, and the Philadelphia agency sent down a few weeks ago its chief man to see whether he could remedy it. He brought with him, without expense to us, a great big part and worked very faithfully on the car. The result, however, was not very successful, and a week ago, the agency took our car and left with us another. Certainly we cannot complain of their attention or of their desire to do everything essential. They have been more than kind to us, and have treated us with a courtesy that I appreciate immensely.

Mother has not been well during this session, and I don't know what to do. I can't get her to see a doctor, nor to do any of the things that most of us try to do when we imagine we are ill. I have been worried quite a bit about her, and what makes it worse is I feel so utterly helpless. Perhaps with the coming of summer, things may change, and she may feel better. I am hoping and praying that this may be so.

With all my love, in which of course Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

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TELEGRAM

W. Johnson Papers
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May 17, 1928

Major A M Johnson
Attorney at law
Mills Bldg.,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Just received yours of meeting and contemplated selection sponsors
STOP Received also note from Bert STOP Do not entirely understand
situation but have no objection to friends proceeding as they deem
appropriate STOP Of course would like preponderance of sponsors to
be old friends such as Meek Naumiller Langdon Flint Doherty and
others of like character STOP Notified Cosgriff this morning Presi-
dent about to appoint S S Sandberg shipping board STOP Understand
this at instance Chandler, Fleischhacker and Shoup STOP Only way
to stop appointment is for these three immediately to wire

COPY

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST TELEGRAM

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POSTAL TELEGRAPH—CABLE CO.

TELEGRAM

2.

President for Cosgriff

HIRAM W JOHNSON

O B

STRAIGHT FAST WIRE

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

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MAJOR ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON

799 MAY 24 28

ATTORNEY AT LAW MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

HAVE NOT WRITTEN BECAUSE HAVING LONG NIGHT AND DAY SESSIONS
AND TONIGHT POSSIBLE ALL NIGHT BOULDER DAM BILL WILL PASS IN
HOUSE PUT PRACTICALLY NO HOPE OF GETTING ACTION IN SENATE
DOING EVERYTHING IN MY POWER HOWEVER AND WILL CONTINUE LOVE TO
ALL

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

May 31, 1928.

My dear Boys:

I am quite "goofy" today as the result of the long siege from which we have just emerged. I thought I might recover in a night but the reaction today is much worse than yesterday. I wanted, however, to write to both of you, and so I am dictating this letter, although if you may observe any aberrations in it, ascribe them, please, to an utterly benumbed intellect, and an indescribable physical weariness. I sat for weeks in the damn senate after being for weeks in the damn committee on the damn Boulder Dam Bill. It was the most wearing experience I ever ever had - infinitely worse than give and take fighting. The opposition was able to filibuster us ^{out of} ~~on~~ a vote, but the closing scenes in relation to the bill put it in a far better position than it has ever been before. The last business laid before the senate at the session of congress just adjourned was the Boulder Dam Bill, and the first thing that will be before the senate when it meets in December will be the Boulder Dam Bill. We had a tremendously dramatic scene just before adjournment. I had succeeded in beating the adjournment of congress the day before, but over night, the leadership of both parties whipped enough into line to carry their point on the last day. I knew, of course, what was going to happen, and so the instant that the vote was announced, I was demanding the right of way for my Bill, and then hell broke loose. I presume the scene has been sufficiently

described in the western press. At any rate, the end of it was that I kept my bill the unfinished business during the day, and that everybody became my friend in the situation that was presented, except Bruce of Maryland, and that at 5:29 - adjournment at 5:30 - the vice-president, at my instance, standing in front of his desk, with Bruce on the other side, laid down before the senate, as the unfinished business, the Boulder Dam Bill. The unfinished business means that the matter is before the senate and must be taken up by the Senate and considered to the exclusion of all matters. It can only be displaced by a majority vote. I do not think, unless something occurs that I can not conceive, that this can take place in December next. As I ^{stood} ~~sat~~ before Dawes with ten seconds yet to run ^{before} ~~at~~ the adjournment, and realized how he had stood by me, not only this session but the last one as well, I utilized those ten seconds to utter a sentence in his behalf. I uttered it with all the vim of which I was capable. The senate and the galleries rose to it, and thus the session ended with my little tribute to the man, whose political opinions are the antithesis of mine, but who was playing the game in a fashion that has won my respect, my admiration, and even my affection. When I answered Bruce earlier in the day, in just a sentence, the galleries and even the floor of the Senate - something quite unusual with us, applauded vigorously. So we may feel that the last day of the session was ours. I am going to send you today a couple of clippings from the New York Times and from the Philadelphia Ledger, both of which papers are unfriendly to me personally,

and exceedingly antagonistic to the Boulder Dam Bill. They contain a fairly good description of what transpired, but nothing can describe the peculiar and intensely dramatic situation.

I have received from Bert Meek during the last few days, first a list of those he was seeking as sponsors for my candidacy, and then a telegram in which he said he was going to send on nomination papers for me to sign. Bert has been a little touchy concerning me because he has thought that I did not wholly approve some things that had been done in California. He is the dearest, squarest shooting fellow I know. And I would not have him feel hurt toward me for all the world. He has done a great deal of work, and excellent work, and he has planned for a certain procedure. This procedure, apparently, is for the sponsors of my candidacy to file at once, and for me to file then the necessary declaration of candidacy. I do not like to interfere with what he is doing, but I would prefer, if it be possible, that the sponsors be obtained, and if deemed essential, that their statement be filed, but that my definite declaration be deferred until after the Kansas City Convention. I have not the law before me and I do not know exactly what should be done. Apparently, it has been changed. I have just written Theodore, as I am writing you now, asking him not to advise Bert of the matter, but to wire me his view concerning the law. I would very greatly appreciate it, if you, saying nothing to Bert for the moment, would wire me whether:

1. The sponsors' petition of statement can be filed without declaration of candidacy by the nominee.

2. When the sponsors' petition of statement must be filed?

3. When the candidate's definite statement must be filed

Can the two documents be so separated that one, if deemed appropriate - that is, the sponsors' petition be filed in advance of the candidate's statement, and can I withhold, without either interference with plans that have been perfected, or violating the law, my personal declaration of candidacy until after the Kansas City Convention?⁷ Will you wire me, please, on receipt of this letter your collective views. As I say, I have asked Theodore for his. It happened today that I was responding to a communication of his, and in the course of it, I propounded the query herein set forth.

In the ordinary course of events we'll leave here in about two weeks. I am going to put it up to Mother tonight that we leave here on the 6th so as to be home for her birthday. I have exactly the same difficulty I always have, but I know that she will accompany me to California as usual. I have written Manager Smith today of the Mark Hopkins Hotel to see whether or not I can get the same terms I had before. If I can not I don't know just what I will do but I would not blame him at all if he did not give them to me.

I am in the utmost confusion of mind about running again. One moment I feel so sick of the whole thing that I think I do not wish to remain longer in Washington, and then again I wonder if, after all the years I have spent in public life now, I could be happy in doing anything else exclusively. Thought of a campaign is nauseating to me, and the thought of being here under Hoover as President is anything but exhilarating, but yet I feel and know

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that I am gradually leaving behind me much of the ill-feeling engendered in 1920, and which has lasted practically to the present time, and that imperceptibly but nevertheless surely, I am acquiring a position here which not only will enable me to be of the highest service but will have its compensations, too, in an increased prestige. I think your Mother is as much confused mentally as I am. One day she talks of quitting altogether, and then again I think that she does not mean this at all. She is so fearful that I may hold her responsible for what I may do, that any expression of opinion by her is prefaced by the fact that she has none.

I will wire you just as soon as I know when we can leave here. With love to all

Affectionately,



HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
FRANK B. WILLIS, OHIO WILLIAM J. HARRIS, GA.
DAVID A. REED, PA. ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK. COLE. L. BLEASE, S. C.
ARTHUR R. GOULD, ME. HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

June 5, 1928

My dear Sons:

I thank you ever so much for your wires concerning the law relating to the nomination for United States Senator. As I wrote you, and as I wired, I preferred the sponsors nomination papers to be filed, if desired, at once, and my own declaration of candidacy to await the national convention at Kansas City. Bert Meek wished to close the matter before his departure on the 6th of this month by filing both the sponsors and the candidate's declaration. The blank for the personal candidacy reached me only Saturday, and it was impossible, even if I had wished to, to verify it on that date and return in time for filing by the 6th. I take it from your wires that the situation is clear, and that either the sponsors declaration will be filed by Bert before his departure, or remain in abeyance until after the convention, and that in any event, my own declaration will await the Kansas City Convention. Today I have written the declaration of candidacy from the blank that he sent. I enclose to each of you herein one of these declarations. I do this that these declarations may be in your hands, if anything shall arise that will prevent my arrival in California before the 23rd, which, as I understand it, is the last day for filing of this personal declaration of candidacy. My would like you simply to hold the declaration enclosed herein, that each of you may have one on hand. I send two, not because

it is necessary, but that we may be certain the paper is received by at least one of you. Bert's idea, undoubtedly, was first to get the thing cleared up before his departure, and secondly, to put on record some people sponsoring me who might not be so enthusiastic after the Kansas City Convention. It was because I realize the force of the latter desire on his part that I was perfectly willing to have the sponsors declaration filed at once. I did not want to make the irrevocable step, I say to my two sons confidentially, until I was clear in my own mind respecting it.

I think we may take it that Hoover will be nominated. Of course, there are wise guys here, who tell me the contrary, but with the delegations as they are, I can not see any other outcome. We may take it, too, I think, as settled, that immediately after his nomination, his organization in the State of California, and it is the only organization probably of any value, will develop a candidate for United States Senator, and enthusiastically support that candidate. A few people will by a sort of aloofness pretend that they are honoring the so-called gentlemen's agreement made with Bert Meek and others, but unless I am very much mistaken, and unless the leopard has changed his spots, we'll find the same old crowd making the same old fight, after the period of the usefulness of our own people is at an end. I have never wavered in this belief. I would like to see my cynicism regarding human nature wholly unjustified by events, but to a demonstration of this sort, I do not look forward with any degree of confidence.

3.

I am awfully sorry your Mother will not be home for her birthday. She did not want to come immediately, and indeed I don't think she was ready. She is engaged in buying trunks and valises and replacing those we lost in the fire. We'll start home, I assume, about the end of next week, but I am not entirely clear about this. Naturally I am anxious to come out just to be in San Francisco again, and just to be with you all. I have been beastly tired, but I am gradually getting over it, although it is almost impossible for me to get a real night's rest. I don't think this is at all unnatural considering the long, long strain.

I wish both of you would think very, very carefully about the course I should pursue this year. I hate the thought of a campaign, but really I hate the thought of the drudgery of beginning the practice of the law all over again. Neither alternative is pleasant for me to contemplate.

I am sending one letter by airmail, and the other one by regular mail. I will be curious to know whether there is any real difference in the time they reach you.

With my love to all,

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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JAMES E. WATSON, IND. HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

June 12, 1928

My dear Boys:

I just wanted to confirm to you my telegrams of last night so that you may know the matters you entrusted to me in your letters respecting Mother's birthday were carried out. We were entirely alone on her birthday but Mother expressed herself as having a very delightful time, and as being very grateful to all of you.

As I wrote you last week, I have my transportation now leaving here at 3 p.m. Friday, June 15, on the Capitol Limited, Baltimore and Ohio, and leaving Chicago, Saturday, June 16, at 8 p.m. on the Overland Limited, arriving San Francisco Tuesday morning.

I have been unable to learn from Meek what was done, if anything, in relation to the sponsors for my nomination. I presume it makes little difference because if essential, the requisite number of sponsors can be obtained in a few hours in San Francisco, and the necessary filing made. If Meek has really had the sponsors' petition filed, I hope that you will both be clear as to the law in relation to the filing of the personal declaration in case one shall be ultimately decided upon. I can't tell you how keenly I am looking forward to seeing both of you again and being in San Francisco. It may be that the apathy for a continuance of political and official life is due to a depleted

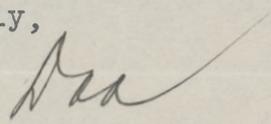
2.

vitality, and is the result of the last session, but that the apathy exists, there is no doubt at all.

This will probably be my last note to you before leaving Washington. Who can tell but what it may be the last note written from Washington, too!

With my love to all in which of course Mother joins.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'H. W. Johnson', written in dark ink.

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its character is indicated by a symbol in the check or in the address.

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NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

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HIRAM W JOHNSON.