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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

January 2, 1934.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at Law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Jack:

Bright and early this morning I tried to run down the Sausalito Harbor project. I had already got in touch with Ickes and Colonel Waite, and both of them were so ambiguous in their statements that I sent Miss Connor down to go from department to department until she found just exactly what was the trouble and what department had dealt with the subject. She finally reached the Engineering Department, and without relating to you now what she has reported to me I send you herein a memorandum that she made out for me after her visit. Of course if no private projects are to be taken into consideration, the Sausalito project is out.

I find the most outrageous feeling here towards California. Indeed, it amounts practically to an obsession with some of those who pass upon the matters. They add up Boulder Dam, the two bridges at San Francisco, the R.F.C. loans that were made in innumerable other directions, and particularly to the Metropolitan Water District in the South

Page 2

and the like; and they say California has received much more than we are entitled to. All of these things received by our State were no part of the P.W.A., and none of them should be charged against the relief accorded us by the P.W.A. It does not make any difference, however, how much you argue it, the feeling is here in an astounding degree. Among the projects which recently were submitted were those from San Francisco and Los Angeles of long standing, all, as you know, for public works. I think most of these have gone through, although by the narrowest of margins. The Sausalito Harbor project was not included in the batch, it now develops. I am not quite so sanguine of the future as I was when I wrote you the other day. At a recent meeting, Waite and Ickes say about a thousand projects were cleared in all of the States, and they as the head of the whole game, in my opinion, had little conception of what they were doing or what was done; and although both had agreed to keep their eyes upon the Sausalito Harbor project for me, neither did anything of the sort. I assume Pettit will be down tonight as Miss Connor's note shows, and will see what he can do, although from his experience the other day it would seem as if he would not be able to do much.

With all my love,

Affectionately,

Dan

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

Docket 2984 SAUSALITO HARBOR.

I called to see Colonel Waite, who said it had been impossible for him to get included the SAUSALITO HARBOR PROJECT. The Colonel said it was a very tight place, and the reports from the various divisions of the P.W.A. were not ready, so he could not get it included, as he had hoped. I asked when would be the next meeting, and what were the chances. The Colonel said it would be very difficult for private corporations to obtain loans, because the Board felt the Federal money should be available for public works projects, and of course, public works project would come ahead of any private corporations. The Colonel suggested, however, inasmuch as a representative of the project was in the East, it might be well for him to come to the Department and talk with their Board of Engineers. The Colonel asked to be remembered to you, and to give you his good wishes for a happy New Year.

I then went around to the Engineering Department to make an appointment for Mr. Pettit. I saw Mr. McDonough, the chief of the Department. He recalled the SAUSALITO HARBOR PROJECT, and said it was he who had rejected it, because he thought it had no merit, and he would be very glad to have Mr. Pettit, or someone familiar with the project come to talk to him about it, because frequently projects may be turned down because of lack of adequate information. He asked that Mr. Pettit come to see him tomorrow, Wednesday, January 3, 1934.

NOTE: Mr. McDonough was very agreeable and no doubt will give a good hearing to Mr. Pettit. However, during the summer many of the representatives from the California communities grew quite indignant at him. They did not consider first that he knew so much about engineering, next that he knew much about California, and lastly at his attitude in advising them that he thought California already had received too much money.

I have telephoned Mr. Pettit at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York. He will come down from New York tonight, be at McDonough's office early in the morning, and contact Senator Johnson immediately thereafter.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

January 15, 1934.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Hr.,
Attorney at Law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Jack:

I have this morning your letter of January 12th. I have not had the opportunity to write you a gossip letter or anything in detail of what has transpired with us here. I shall begin that sort of thing again this week.

Mother and I gradually have recovered from our colds and feel fairly well. She does not like to go out and does not like to meet people, but gradually I think I am overcoming this with her. I am going to see that she goes to a dinner tomorrow night with the American Ambassador to Russia, and I am going to insist she accept a White House invitation to dinner next week. This is a pretty good start, her excursions thus far being merely a very private dinner at Mrs. McLean's and a tea last week at Mrs. Patterson's.

I am sending you herein copy of the opinion rendered by the Attorney General's office to Assemblyman Feigenbaum upon the formation of a new party under the direct primary law. It is all right, but of course it will require registration in the new party by those who create it. The ad-

Page 2

vices that I have from Los Angeles, while by no means alarming, indicate that the opposition there within the Republican party to me is perhaps more pronounced and certainly more bitter than in any other place in the State. The registration of course for San Francisco and Los Angeles are simply amazing. The growth of the Democratic registration is to me one of the most remarkable phenomena of politics. I don't think that I would gain any particular strength in the Democratic party by registering as a Democrat rather than by registering a Progressive; and I think that, generally speaking, the former would be much more harmful than the latter. The fear of course is that the Democratic party will become so cocky that nobody but a Simon pure Democrat can be nominated there. During the next week or two I shall try to parallel the advantages and disadvantages of the modes of procedure in my own campaign, and of course I shall send you this. The Democrats would like to make a trade by which I would be as a Democrat nominated for Senator, and then would vigorously support the Democratic candidate for Governor. I don't like this. I have been on my own so long that it is impossible for me to make political trades of this sort. In the first place, I don't like them, and that ends the discussion, but if more were to be said I don't believe they are particularly effective. I am a little doubtful about Stanley Dollar in any position of prominence. I think probably with the kind of fight

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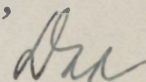
that I will have to make during the campaign (I don't mean anything against him or his organization personally), it would be unfortunate to be tagged with his iniquities. Bill wrote me that Lurie said I wanted him as Treasurer or Chairman of the Finance Committee. This is quite in error. I don't object to anything, however, that may be done by those who are kind enough to make the fight for me. I will acquiesce in any selections that all of you see fit to choose.

Things here are pretty thoroughly balled up. There is, however, a real optimism, and the President is the most serene man in all Washington. I had a dollar in my pocket yesterday. I don't know today whether I now have half a dollar or two dollars, and I think pretty generally this is the feeling.

Mother and I both wrote Hiram yesterday, and sent by air mail our letters in the hope they would reach him on Tuesday, his birthday. What a wonderful age he now has attained, and what possibilities there are before him!

With my love, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

January 18, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

There has been an awful lot of stuff here recently about attorneys representing various interests. Of course this is of no consequence, so far as you are concerned, but I wanted you advised. The matter has become such a scandal in Washington, where big Democrats opened offices and dealt with the different departments of government, that the President himself denounced it in his press conference yesterday. I wanted you to know, too, that Glavis, who is the snooper of the Interior Department and the PWA is in California snooping at the present time. You may not remember that Glavis was secretary of my Conservation Board when I first became Governor, and that because I felt he was indulging in practices he ought not, I fired him. I don't know whether his resentment has waned or increased with time. I took the position then that the new government we were instituting in California had to be above suspicion, and if even one of our own were involved in any questionable

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

transactions he ought forthwith to get out of our administration. The incident made bitter enemies of Pardee and myself, and I have no doubt that Glavis had the same opinion that Pardee did, with added hostility. It was only incidentally that I learned of his presence in California from a letter today.

I hope Hiram had a fine and happy birthday. With the love of Mother and myself to you, the boys, and Miss Schow,

Affectionately,

W. H. Johnson

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, January 21, 1934.

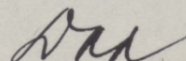
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

I am working away this Sunday, and it is really a beautiful day and I am anxious to get out. I intended to write you somewhat at length about what is happening here, but I will have to forego that pleasure.

Franck Havenner and Jack Costello have been very kind in trying to aid me politically. Bert Meek is also working with them. They have written me something about a finance committee. The subject is a very delicate one indeed, and I have written to Bert Meek in confidence. I am sending you herein copy of my letter to Meek I have sent today. I wouldn't for the world do anything to offend Theodore. He has been very kind to me, but I am suggesting as gently as I know now, that it might be a mistake to have him and Sykes in the forefront of an important committee, because of course they have got to make Rolph's fight, and I don't want to be tied up with Rolph in the primary campaign, or subsequently. Now it may be that their being on a committee would not be taken as I have indicated, but the Democrats, I know from consultations here with them are really looking forward to electing a governor this year. They think Rolph likely to be renominated, and their hopes are very high. They would like me to be on the Democratic ticket and support the Democratic candidate for Governor. I don't like trades, and in fact I won't make them. I want to keep myself foot loose to make my campaign as best I can for myself, although I recognize the possibilities of the creation of a Progressive Party, with its subsequent nominations for all offices. I am sending you copy of Bert's letter that you may know how delicate the situation is from my standpoint, and how I would sacrifice anything than be offensive to little Theodore.

Hastily and affectionately,



Sunday, January 21, 1934.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. B.B.Meek,
Crocker First National Bank Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Bert:

Franck Havenner and Jack Costello have been corresponding with me of late, and both have been very, very kind to me. I wrote Franck Havenner in relation to one or two matters, and I wanted to write you very confidentially as well. Of course, you know that I have no more intimate friend than Theodore Roche, and his most intimate friend, Frank Sykes, is very kindly disposed toward me. In the names sent me of our finance or executive committee of the organization both were included. Of course, I want the support of both, and will have it, and I would not for the world do a thing that would be offensive to either. I want to make plain to you, though, that Rolph is to be a candidate, and I could not blame either of those named for owing and yielding to Rolph their first allegiance. It would be a very unfortunate thing if my campaign looked as if it were linked with Rolph's. The Democrats, at present, are very friendly, but they are looking forward to electing a Governor. I would not mind what complications might arise in that direction if I believed Rolph to be the best man for Governor, and if I had any intention whatever of making his fight. Under other circumstances, it is obvious that if it can be avoided, we ought not to be in a position, where, apparently, we would be allied with him.

Another thing. This is a peculiar year where common people are going to make their selections, and naturally I must make my appeal^{to} and must depend for my success upon just common people. I don't think, therefore, there is anything to be gained by great financial magnates upon a finance committee. I would rather take a lot of very ordinary people, or just close intimate friends, who have no standing in the financial world, or with bankers.

I am saying these things to you merely as the thoughts occur to me without attempting really to dictate the course to be pursued by you people who are so good to me. Think it over, and let me know your views.

With the love of the Boss and myself to you and yours, I am

Most sincerely yours,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 23, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

I wanted you to know, and this I have written to nobody else, that McAdoo and Maurice Harrison called upon me today, and both told me they wanted to help me any way they could in the campaign. They really suggested, although I suppose it has been a matter of common talk, the formation by me of a new Progressive Party, with a candidacy therein, and a candidacy in each of the other parties as well. Apparently, they did not expect that I would change my label to the Dominant Party, and certainly they did not ask it. They both said they wanted to make easy our way, in the Democratic Primary and do everything they could for us. Congressman McGrath called upon me today to say the same thing. Farley has confidentially told certain of the newspaper boys he wished to render any assistance that he could. I simply wanted you to know these facts.

I wrote Bill today about his tentative list of the finance committee. I could not add to you anything I said to him, and I hope you will do me the kindness to read his letter.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Miss Connor says that on the day following my letter to you she sent you copy of the Opinion of the Attorney General. Let me know if you did not receive it and I will have another copy made for you.

In addition to my work the last few days I have been undergoing again a thorough examination at the Naval Hospital. I have not the report yet, but the one big thing that was troubling me, the heart, I believe passed an examination in fine shape.

You spoke about Annapolis and West Point in one of your recent letters. I have no appointment at Annapolis until 1935, and none at West Point until 1937. If you really want the effort made in respect to either, I could try to trade with some of my colleagues. This is very difficult, and particularly so because of the uncertainty of being here in 1935 or 1937.

Mother joins in love to Hiram, Philip, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Ada

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 24, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

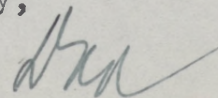
This morning I have received your letter of January 22 concerning the Opinion of the Attorney General on the primary law. Certainly my choice of words conveyed an impression wholly different from what I had. I construed the Opinion exactly as you do. What I was seeking to say, and did not obviously, was that the new party could be created by the signatures of any registered voters, but that in order these creators of a progressive party might participate in the primary in the party they had created, they must be registered as progressives. I am certain this is what the Opinion said, although I have not looked at it for sometime. We agree upon the construction.

There is one little question that was raised about the vote that might be polled by a progressive party. I take it, however, that if there were only six votes in the State, and if the party were legally formed, those six votes could nominate the candidates for state offices. This, of course, would not mean that the party subsequently could participate in primary elections, but the legality of the present primary, were the party duly legally formed, would not be affected by the vote polled.

I note your quotation from my letter. Doubtless, I did not read the letter over very carefully. What I intended to say was, - that registration as a progressive would be required of those creating the progressive party if they intended to participate as progressives in the primary. I think this may be a real factor in the ultimate results, not in the legal construction.

With the love of all of us,

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, January 28, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

I received your letter of the 24th on
the 26th, and your letter of the 26th this morning.
What a wonderful thing is our airmail?

I am very glad they are getting under
way in San Francisco in relation to the campaign,
but I am quite worried about the inability to get under
way in Los Angeles. It is not from any lack of interest
in Los Angeles or any less loyalty or enthusiasm there,
but Doherty is a busy man and I feel quite embarrassed
in asking him constantly to take time off in my matters.
I daren't take some others in Los Angeles, who are very
anxious to do the job because everything there is constitu-
ted of factions, and Doherty occupies the unique position
of being highly regarded by all.

I have written you concerning the personnel
of the finance committee. I don't suppose it makes much
difference who is on it, but contemplating a bitter and
abusive campaign hereafter I would like to leave as little
for our opponents to shoot at as possible. I think, there-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

fore, it is unwise to have any of the big bankers on the finance committee, and that the decision to keep one on to the exclusion of the others would be very unfortunate.

Like a bolt from the blue came the letter of Congressman McGrath on Friday boosting me to the skies, and he, anxious for the publicity, gave the letter out to the press associations. Immediately, they took the matter up with Farley, and he made a corking statement first, which subsequently he modified, but the modification was excellent anyway. I would rather the matter would have come out in some other way, preferably in my own chosen time, but I could not do otherwise than express my appreciation of it and my thanks to the two gentlemen in question. It will be of value of course with our Democratic brethren. It will, too, arouse some antagonism with our Republican brethren. I think the attitude of the Democrats another reason, which of course in my thought upon the method of procedure has been clear to me, for reviving the progressive party and going ahead in that fashion. I have declined to discuss here what I shall do in the campaign and I will not for a brief period yet. I want to obtain, if I can, the reaction of you and the few who are intimate with us upon the mechanics of the primary fight before a complete announcement. The one effect of the publicity

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

given here to what one of the newspaper men describes as "the blessing of the President upon me" was to have many of our Democratic senators come to me wholeheartedly and wish my success, and express their anxiety to aid. While a few on the Republican side spoke very sweetly there was there a lack of the enthusiasm exhibited by my brethren on the Democratic side of the chamber. It is just this effect which the announcement may have in California upon those who still cherish their partisanship.

We must use the utmost care in the finances of any organization we undertake, so that we do not transgress the law. There is enough bitterness in the Republican Party, both in the east and at home, if we should be successful finally, to foment a contest, and the attitude of members of congress has been justly quite strict concerning excessive expenditures. I am writing to Bill and Franck Havenner today just a personal warning in this regard.

Undoubtedly I disappointed our friend Frick by my attitude upon the Gold Bill. I was very much interested in what he wrote. With some of it I agree quite heartily, but in the monetary policy of the government, the eggs have been scrambled, and we can not unscramble them. Mr. Roosevelt has got to see it through and he is not only willing, but anxious to take the responsibility. I am rather inclined to think he

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

is entitled to go his own way therefore, short of extraordinary harm to our country. Strangely enough, I have little confidence in or belief in bizarre financial adventures. I don't know just what it is that makes me so conservative in respect to them. I have viewed with some little trepidation what has gone on here, and yet I do not feel on this last bill, while in the very midst of a new adventure, attempt should be made to block it. I could not have succeeded in doing anything any way. The stage was set and the whole thing was, under any circumstances, to go through.

With my love to all, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK. WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
PAT HARRISON, MISS. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
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TOM CONNALLY, TEX. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN. ARTHUR R. ROBINSON, IND.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

January 29, 1934.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

I wrote you yesterday and this morning
I have yours of January 27 with newspaper clippings.
I get the CHRONICLE and the EXAMINER, and sometimes
the NEWS. There has been a great deal of publicity
in the east just as in California. Democrats, gen-
erally, are delighted and quite overwhelm me with
their kindness. I think McAdoo did not like it at
all because he wanted to be the one to make any an-
nouncement. As I told you yesterday, the thing came
like a bolt from the blue, which may or may not be
premature, but having occurred, clears the atmosphere
in some respects. Dyed-in-the-wool Republicans don't
like it. You probably will run into that sort of
sentiment.

You ask me about expenditures permitted in a
senatorial campaign. First, the law of the State
has to be obeyed, and that permits the expenditure in
a primary of 10% of one year's salary, as I recall it.

We have to be very careful indeed that we keep strictly within the law, and I shall write Franck Havenner and Frank Doherty to that effect.

I received this morning your query about the Post Office at Sacramento. Of course I know McCurry very well, but I am unable to understand on what theory these office holders under Hoover expect to retain their positions under Roosevelt, and of course they were for Hoover during the campaign. Undoubtedly, I was responsible for keeping McCurry some years ago when Congressman Curry wanted to fire him out. He has always pretended that he was a very dear friend of mine. I do not feel that I could make a personal matter of his retention here. The McClatchys, both Mr. and Mrs., have a very great affection for him and wish him retained. I am letting nature take her course.

Affectionately, D. H. H.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, February 4, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

This morning, Sunday, I have yours of February second. The information that was given Mr. Pettit concerning the SAUSALITO YACHT HARBOR was on a par with the information which has been given us on various occasions in the past, - either just a wild guess to get rid of the subject, or thorough misinformation. I am sorry but I have been thinking of little else except your SAUSALITO PROJECT since I got the data yesterday. I don't like the reasons that are given by the various departments for denying the application, but I never had gone into any detail of the genesis of the project and its financial aspects, and I have never attempted in any way to argue them, and I could not now. I am not going to attempt to write you further about the matter until I hear from you, except to say that if I knew any of the individuals in the departments that have turned down this project, I should suspect that the name at the head

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

of it might have had something to do with the adverse decision.

It was fine to have your letter containing the political news, and also your talk with Rabinowitz about the estate. I think that all of you told me when I was in California that all estates now require six months' notice to creditors. When I was practising, four months notice to creditors was required for one kind, and ten months Notice for another. The notice in Archie's case has been published now for five months, and by the end of this month, publication will have been concluded. I have the hazy opinion that unless a claim arising out of money alleged to be due is presented within the six months' period, it is forever barred. If this be so, a delay of three weeks or four weeks more in the estate may be a very good thing. A claim to the personal property like action now pending for the furniture, does not, I think, come within the same category. It would be a good thing if we could feel relieved of the possibility of the sort of suit that I think you and I have talked of.

Bert Meek telephoned me during the week quite at length, the burden of his telephonic message was that a representative of Henry M. Robinson of Los Angeles had

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

called upon him, and told him that a careful survey which had been rather costly had been made by those opposed to me including Robinson, Chandler, Hoover, and others, and they had reached the conclusion that I could not be beaten this year, and that they were turning their attention to the Governorship; and while Bert said they asked nothing in respect to me, they felt that if I took no part whatsoever in the Governorship contest, they could prevent contributions being made to anybody who became a candidate against me. The whole thing was so tenuous, and so indefinite, that at the end of our long conversation, I had just a hazy and mysterious view that Mr. Robinson and his friends were probably arranging to support Mr. C.C.Young for Governor. Young, as you say in your letter, is a candidate. The Democrats, I can tell you, expect to win the State. They would have liked to have had an agreement with me, but McGrath and Farley ended all of the cunning plans of some of those who think they are running the party now. I have no agreement with anybody, and I shall make none. Young I recognize was a good Governor, and he probably is better than any man who is now mentioned for the office. I confess to you I am afraid of him. I had my experience with him four years ago when I felt deeply humiliated by his conduct toward me. This, of course, should not be a moving cause in a

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

matter which means so much to our State; but it makes me skeptical about what Young would do in case he were successful. Moreover, I would not wish to put myself in a position, where at some time during the campaign, he could do to me what he did to me four years ago when I came streaking across the continent, full of enthusiasm for his cause and ready to go to the bat, only to be met with the statement by his emissaries that I was not wanted in the campaign because of the great harm that I would do him, and that he and Mrs. Young had reached this conclusion. I would like to go it alone, but it is becoming increasingly evident that this is very difficult. On the one hand are those with whom I am associated in practice and who have been loyal and consistent friends of mine since my first political fight, and who are deeply interested in Rolph; and on the other hand are men like Bert Meek, equally loyal and consistent friends, but who owe allegiance to Young. In addition to this, if we form a Progressive Party, and it looks more and more as if we must, do it, we can not prevent any individual becoming a candidate for nomination in that Party, and already there are some whom we would not wish to see successful. So, there

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

are lots of complications ahead of us, but we cannot help them, and we'll have to do the best we can respecting them.

Mother is in good shape I think. We have dined once with the American Ambassador to Russia, where the Soviet Ambassador to our country and his wife were present. These two are apparently so naive and childlike that you feel like putting a protective arm around them. Bullitt, our Ambassador, tells me, however, that the Russian is really a very clever man, that he was a Czarist officer before the revolution, but thoroughly trusted now by Stalin, the Dictator of the Soviet Republic. He has been five years in Japan, and while in his public utterances he scouts the idea of war, it was perfectly obvious from his private conversation he feared it. It is astounding the amount of talk here about war between Russia and Japan, and incidentally some about Japan and ourselves. There is no doubt that the policy of the administration in respect to building up our navy is dictated by the implications in the various activities of Japan. When I made the lone fight against the London Treaty, there were none so poor to do us reference. There are now practically none who disagree with the position I then took. Hoover did this

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

country a great disservice when he permitted us to be jobbed and slashed in relation to our navy, and left us in the situation in which we find ourselves today.

I had Mother to go to the recent dinner to the White House. It was one of those large affairs, where there were fifty or more at a table with a musicale following. The dinner, as always at the White House, was atrocious, but Mrs. Roosevelt is apparently wholly oblivious to her deficiencies as a housekeeper. I wish she would admit once for all that she is a marvelous publicist and turn her eye to her household. I lunched with the President a month or more ago. We were entirely alone. He sat at his desk, and I sat at the side of the desk, while two trays were brought in. We lunched and talked for nearly two hours, indeed, keeping a Cabinet meeting the last half hour. As I have said to you before, he is a remarkable personality, with a charm few men have. He did most of the talking and left me little opportunity to chat with him on three or four matters of importance, like the Securities Bill, Japanese immigration, and my bill prohibiting further loans to defaulting foreign debtors. He endeavored to explain his financial policy, but either I was peculiarly dense or he was utterly unable to make clear what he was seeking to do. The fact of the matter is, I don't think

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, jr. - 7

he is entirely certain of himself in this direction, but he felt that he was not being treated squarely abroad, and he was arming himself for the fray with Britain and France, particularly the former. While I expressed for him to you an unbounded admiration, I want you to understand, too, that he has an extraordinary cunning. With his delightful smile, he looks you in the eye and proceeds rather deliberately about half way with what he has in his head, and awaits then an expression from you as to whether he shall proceed further. I really had a fine time with him on one of his very busy days wholly alone with him. He senses with a remarkably sharp intuition which he has, whether one likes him or whether he is not in agreement with him. He knows that I really like him, and yet he knows, too, there are some things concerning which I am a little distrustful of him. If it were not putting it too egotistically I would say to you that he knows in part of what I am thinking and of how I regard him, and he knows that I know some things that are in his head, which, in small degree, he is disclosing, but the important part of which he keeps undisclosed. At any rate, he is one of the best that I have met in high office. If he can keep his head, and I imagine no man in history has

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 8

ever been able to do so under such circumstances as surround him, he will do a great job in one fashion, or another. He is sitting on the top of the world, and I fear becoming conscious of it, just as Wilson did when he went abroad, and all peoples in all the world looked to him, and he forgot his own. Thus far, this sort of thing has not occurred with Roosevelt, but it is his future difficulty.

Friday I finally put over, so far as the senate is concerned, my little bill forbidding future sales of securities of defaulting debtor nations. As you know, it was held up by motion to reconsider by the Democratic leader Robinson. I had many interviews with representatives of the State Department, and some communications with the President himself. They conveyed to me privately that the President really favored the bill, that he would like it as a weapon in dealing with these European welchers, but that he desired some amendments to protect him in what he was doing in South America, with Russia, etc., and over these amendments we debated for a long period of time. He wrote one amendment which authorized him to determine whenever there was a default. I declined to accept this, and bluntly said, that I would not leave to any individual, however much I cared for him, the right to do as he pleased with

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 9

these foreign debts, and the right to nullify my little bill by himself deciding the question of fact of default. After some little time this amendment was withdrawn by those representing the President. I accepted the others in order to get the great desideratum of making a gesture against our European governmental debtors. I indulged in as little fuss and feathers as possible in order to get the bill, and I am rather proud of the success when there was such insidious and powerful, though not open, opposition to it.

Roosevelt is driving for an early adjournment. I am hoping and praying that he will succeed, and I will do anything I can to obtain it. I have got to get home for the campaign, and I don't want to be late.

I note what you say about Phillip and that you are going to write me concerning him. When you do, I'll be very glad to respond.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to Miss Schow, Philip, Hiram, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS., CHAIR
WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
ROYAL S. COPELAND, N.Y.
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GEORGE MCGILL, KANS.
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H. D. HATFIELD, W.VA.
ROSCOE C. PATTERSON, MO.

DANIEL FRANCIS O'CONNELL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Sunday, February 11, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

First, let me say to you that your letter of February 9th, which you sent as a test, reached me at home at breakfast this morning. It was fine to have it, and both Mother and I enjoyed it immensely. I have stewed a good deal about the Sausalito Yacht Harbor Project report, copy of which I transmitted to you. Like you, I resented paragraph three of the report entitled "A Promotion", and I did not like the remarks that were made about finances. I have never read your application and I am utterly unable personally to make any arguments concerning it. I am perfectly frank in saying to you I feel more or less embarrassed because you are stated to be the chairman and counsel, but while with any public body I would ask nothing for my son that I would not ask equally for any good citizen, I don't wish that anything in which my son might be interested shall be penalized because of his name. I do not say that this is so, in this instance, and in reality, I do not believe it is, but the whole series of proceedings in reference to it, have been such that I don't like them. I say to you, in confidence,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

that my relations with Ickes are not what formerly they were. Mother, for some reason which I have never quite comprehended, and concerning which I express no opinion at all, became offended at him, and the very intimate relationship which had existed between him and me naturally did not thereafter obtain. In addition to that, Mrs. Ickes has been on the ground since our return. She is one of the type of women with which we have become familiar since suffrage. She is aggressive, militant, of the grenadier type, and mad for publicity. Neither of us cares for her. The result has been that the only time I have seen Ickes since my return here was when I called upon him when he was laid up in the hospital with some broken ribs. I say this to you that you may understand why now, even less than ever, I dislike to make any personal requests of him. However, I feel that the Sausalito Project has been started and it ought to be seen through. I am doubtful that anything that can be done would be of any particular value now, but if you deem it appropriate I'll take him on, present generally what has transpired, telling him neither of us likes the report, that it is unwarranted, and we want the opportunity, if nothing else, of stating the facts; and then you could send Pettit on here again and I would see, at least, that somebody listened to him, and he could demonstrate that any suggestion of promotion is outrageously false, and that the financial set up is not what inferentially the report to Ickes claims, wholly inadequate and insufficient. If you chose to do this, I will

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write Ickes personally saying that the report that has been made to him is wholly unjust and recite the objections that originally were made that were so grotesque geographically.

I am enclosing you an item from the evening papers of last night from the A.P. which I presume you have, but which seems to make plain no new non-Federal projects can be granted.

I have been awaiting a response from Ickes to have his agent in California investigate and report upon the Harbor Project. Thus far, I have had no answer, but this may be accounted for in part by the fact that he has been away from the city some of the past week.

I can't tell you how distressed I have been over this matter. I have thought a great deal about it. I read in the very beginning with the utmost care the report that was made to Ickes and I did not know until I had read it that there had been the suggestion of a protest, so I am imagining that any protest came from somebody like the owner of the dilapidated shipyard that you mentioned.

With love to all of the family,

Affectionately,

Ada.

MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
ROYAL S. COPELAND, N.Y.
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DANIEL FRANCIS O'CONNELL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Sunday, February 11, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just dictated a short letter to you upon the subject which has disturbed you, and equally has disturbed me, the Sausalito Harbor. I want to acknowledge today, too, your letter of February 8 concerning Eustace Cullinan's call. The call was a great surprise to me, but I imagine it is somewhat in line with the telephonic message from Bert Meek. Bill Mikulich wrote me a letter dated February 9 which came this morning, in which he quoted Martin Madsen as saying Hoover, Chandler, et al have gotten behind Young for Governor. This would agree somewhat with the idea I had after telephonic message from Bert. It would be a wonderful thing if we could get by without a real contest, but I feel just like you and C.K. do, that I would be the most unmitigated ass who ever fiddled with politics if I permitted myself to get into a position this year where I would be dependent in any fashion upon Messrs. Requa-Hale-Chandler-Hoover, et al.

I am very glad to note the things that you have suggested should be perfectly clear before we proceed.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I think we better concentrate, although I shall make no announcement for a considerable period, upon the particular course which most of our friends agree we should pursue, reforming the Progressive Party and going to the bat in that fashion. One of the very weighty reasons for this would be the attitude of our Democratic brethren. They are all, at least those who have spoken to me, entirely satisfied with such procedure. They would be very much embarrassed by my making the fight as a registered Republican. However, the matter is not foreclosed by any means.

I can't tell you how sorry I was to hear of the sickness of Earl Langdon. He is really a very fine fellow. I had a note that our friend Ed Norton was stricken, and this touched me deeply. Damn it all, all my old friends are passing, or else are being grievously hurt by the years.

I have accomplished two things in this session which are quite enough for any man to have done, although they by no means represent all that I am striving to do. First, I succeeded, after an immense amount of controversy, consultation, and the like, in having the Senate again pass the bill concerning the debts due our Government from abroad. I had to accept some amendments, which so far

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., - 3

as the government is concerned, did not affect our measure, and I eliminated some proposed amendments which I felt I could not, under any circumstances, stand for. The principal one that was insisted upon by the President and the State Department was that the President should determine whether any nation was in default to ours. I took my stand very firmly upon this, stating that I would not take from the congress that determination, and finally my insistence prevailed. I am going to have trouble on this debt proposition in the future, I am sure, from some things that the President said, although he finally acquiesced in the measure that was passed.

On Friday last I succeeded in ~~passing~~ the bill limiting the jurisdiction of the Federal District Courts where Public Service Commissions had ~~passed~~ upon rates, etc. of public utilities. There was a tremendous opposition to this bill from the public utilities of course, and the power trust very insidiously did everything possible to hamstring the law. In addition, the lousy American Bar Association butted into the situation and opposed it. The senate was with me, however, and my difficulty was the limitation of time. I made an opening statement upon the bill, and then had to keep my mouth shut in order that I might not run into measures of great importance which would cause a postponement, and leave me finally with no place and my bill in the air. I did

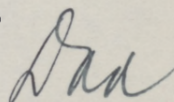
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

the job, just before the time was practically up. The measure is of tremendous importance to every state which has a regulatory body, and of course, of equal importance to every corporation which is regulated.

Last Wednesday night we had a little private dinner with the President. The only people at the table at the White House were the President, his daughter, Mrs. Dall, his secretary Miss LeHand, Bill Bullitt, the Russian Ambassador, your Mother and myself. It was just a family party, and a picture afterwards - Greta Garbo's CHRISTINA. We really had a fine time. I am leaving this dinner for your Mother to write about.

With my love to all,

Affectionately,



MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS., CHAIR
WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
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ROSCOE C. PATTERSON, MO.

DANIEL FRANCIS O'CONNELL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Sunday, February 18, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

I like Colonel Waite. He is a peculiar man, but he has been kind with me, and generally speaking, sympathetic. It is perfectly comprehensible to me that presiding, as he does, over the tremendous organization of the PWA, which has its legal department, its finance department, its engineering department, and many others, highly and technically organized, he should not be in touch with the details of projects. It was a week ago tonight that I met him at a dinner party, and he told me very casually that he was going to San Francisco. I did not then know just exactly what his trip was, but immediately suggested that you would meet him, and I would have some others in the community, who would love to honor him, at a luncheon. He was nice about it, and he said he would be delighted. Next day I wired you. I then began to ascertain something about his trip, that it was a sort of official investigation of the entire United States, and over the 'phone, I took the matter up with him again. He was doubtful about having time even to go to luncheon. Finally he rang me back, and gave me a schedule, which I wrote you about, and which gave his arrival at the airport sometime after twelve, I think. I told him I would have our people meet him, and take him at once to the Yacht Club to luncheon. He said all right. After that I learned his trip takes on a sort of official parade.

This morning I received your night letter of yesterday, and I have just replied to it. I see nothing else to do than keep yourself in the picture, be a part of the entertainment, and get that entertainment at the yacht club. Waite has no more idea of a yacht than I have of pig iron. A yacht harbor I have no doubt he regards as something like one of the pools in our parks where the children sail toy boats. I know he has not the slightest conception of California or San Francisco Bay, either geographically, or otherwise. He is a man of ability,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 2

although his peculiar boar-like appearance might belie this. He has been manager of a great city, and has had sufficient experience to know his way around in the matter of public enterprises. His trip, from the standpoint of accomplishment, seems to me perfect damn nonsense, but perhaps he is doing the very thing that long ago I twitted him about, learning something of the geography of the country. He is the man immediately under Ickes and upon whom Ickes depends. Ickes, of course, does not know the details of projects. He turns to Waite. Waite does not know them, and so he sends a memorandum to each of the innumerable departments for reports. Generally speaking, he is the one who digests these reports, and talks over them, I think, the policy with Secretary Ickes. Don't underestimate him, and believe me when I say he is really a mighty likable fellow. Of course, he gets a bum steer constantly. He had one on our state engineer Trask. He made an ass of himself in that appointment. I think he is the sort of fellow, however, that never would admit he made an ass of himself. It may be that his trip is solely for the purpose of hurrying up the PWA projects, so that they will be in full swing when the CWA is demobilized.

The last thing he said to me over the 'phone was what I wrote you that the main trouble with the Sausalito project was because it was a private project. While this objection to it constantly has been made, the report that I sent you that Ickes sent me is of quite a different nature. I don't know what more I can say to you about his visit. I can't for the life of me understand how it is possible for him to accomplish anything in the brief period he is to be in San Francisco, or really to learn anything about any specific project. You will have to butt in, however, as best you can, guided by the circumstances of the moment.

We returned last night from New York. I went over to see a lawyer who represents some devisees in the Herrscher estate. The trip turned out to be wholly unnecessary because of events that had transpired in San Francisco in the firm. Your Mother, however, enjoyed it, and although I had scarcely money enough to make it, her pleasure was sufficient compensation.

I hope during the week to be able to write you in usual fashion. I received in New York your airmail letter, and it seemed to me to have come in record time. I was very glad to have it, and thank you for the news it

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

contained.

Although it was so cold that it was well-nigh impossible to walk at all in New York, the trip did us both good. The Ritz seemed like the old hotel. It has its beautiful bar now, and business has again picked up with them.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to all

Affectionately,

Wad

MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
ROYAL S. COPELAND, N.Y.
HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GEORGE MC GILL, KANS.
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GERALD P. NYE, N.DAK.
H. D. HATFIELD, W.VA.
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DANIEL FRANCIS O'CONNELL, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

February 21, 1934.

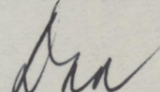
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at Law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, Calif.

My dear Jack:

Because I told you I would send it to you, I am enclosing you herein a very brief resume of being a candidate as a registered Republican and as a registered Progressive. It is neither complete nor convincing. You might write me at your leisure your views. I think it high time now to get ready, particularly because of the situation in Southern California.

I am awaiting news of Waite's trip to San Francisco, but without any particular optimism. I think you will be told, if he talks at all about it, of lack of funds, of the innumerable schemes that are on file, of how private projects are the least preferred, etc., etc. However, there is nothing to do but what you are doing, - the best you can.

Hastily and affectionately,



This is the academic discussion of a friend of mine concerning the mode of procedure in the ensuing primary. He eliminates the candidate as a registered Democrat, and an Independent after the primary.

In parallel columns he has written the reasons FOR and AGAINST being a candidate as a registered Republican in the primary; and FOR and AGAINST the creation of a Progressive Party, and being a candidate in the primary as a registered Progressive.

REPUBLICAN

FOR

1. The lure of a contest with handicaps in which Johnson is at his best.
2. He could thus better make direct assault upon those who have controlled and almost destroyed the Republican Party - Requa, Chandler, Hoover, et al.
3. Those making the fight would dominate the California Republican Party, in case of success.
4. There would be no possibility of Johnson's present position in Senate, in case he were elected hereafter being questioned.
5. Running thus, it might be extremely difficult for opponents to obtain a strong candidate against him.

AGAINST

1. All lost if defeated.
2. Johnson's strength is with all the people. Contest before all the people impossible unless successful in Republican primary.
3. Republican party diminished, depleted. The progressive element, which is for Johnson, in great part, is now registered otherwise, and could not aid him.
4. Running as a registered Republican would be resented by Democrats, who are now most friendly.
5. This in course of nature probably last political fight of Johnson. If he finds himself in the hands of enemies in control of the party machinery, he invites their utmost efforts and tremendous expenditures to dispose of him, not only in the Republican party, but forever politically, and in the Republican party these enemies have their full strength and complete domination.
6. Johnson has committed the unforgivable sin of bolting the Republican candidate for President. Traditionally, regular Republicans will be aroused against him as never before, if he continues the fight as a registered Republican.
7. He denies himself the open help of the Democratic National Administration by continuing as a Republican.

PROGRESSIVE

FOR

1. A SUCCESSFUL PROGRESSIVE CANDIDACY ASSURES JOHNSON OF BEING IN THE FINALS AND THIS SUCCESS OUGHT TO BE DETERMINED WITH CERTAINTY WITH FORMATION OF PARTY.

BEING IN FINALS MIGHT OUTWEIGH EVERY DISADVANTAGE PLUS EVERY REASON THAT CAN BE ASSIGNED FOR RUNNING AS A REGISTERED REPUBLICAN.
2. May be candidate of Democratic Party without arousing resentment and bitter antagonisms there. Partisan Democrats would look with equanimity upon Progressive candidacy, while viewing the Republican registration with hostility.
3. Can probably obtain by this mode the aid of Democratic National Administration. Already Democratic State leaders accepted Progressive idea.
4. It is no wrench politically to register Progressive. It would be quite a different thing to register Democrat. Johnson bolted in 1912 the Republican Party, and was one of the founders of the Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt, and was the Progressive candidate for Vice President with Roosevelt.

Was elected Governor in 1914 solely as a Progressive with Republican and Democratic candidates in the election against him; was elected Senator in 1916 as a registered Progressive, declined to change his registration to Republican, but went into the Republican primary and won that, but maintained his Progressive registration continuously until after election.

AGAINST

1. Difficulty of obtaining signatures.
2. Complications from candidacies and possible success for state offices with cranks, the unfit and the unsupportable.
3. Possibility that with small progressive registration, party may be colonized and disaster result.
4. The innumerable peculiar groups in the South, who want a third party and might by amalgamation control the new creation.
5. Large number of friends, some very intimate, who naturally think of their future ambition, and shrink from being irregular politically.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Sunday, February 25, 1934.

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

My dear Jack:

I received your telegram of Waite's visit to San Francisco. I had observed just before then that he contemplated to stay there four hours. Of course in that time nothing of consequence concerning specific projects could be accomplished. I am glad, however, that you had the opportunity of meeting him, and I am glad that he went to San Francisco. This morning I received a funny little telegram from him, reading as follows:

"Los Angeles, Calif.
"Honorable Senator Hiram Johnson,
Capitol Building, Washington.
Met San Francisco and am conquered
H M Waite".

He has a sense of humor, and apparently, he has a faculty for remembering. The California projects keep pouring in here. They all sing a little different song now. Each of them has determined that there are certain allotments that have been made that will lapse, and they have all figured that out of these lapsed allotments, they can get something they desire. For all of the

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projects in our State there would not be money enough to get within shotgun distance of. Whatever may occur to you or your associates that you think should be done, I suggest that you do. I don't know that we'll accomplish results, and I am very doubtful about the possibility, but nothing was ever gained by quitting. I am very much worried about the amount that is to be asked by the PMA for continuing its work. Some of us in the senate have quietly agreed that we'll endeavor to increase the amount suggested, \$500,000,000, three-fold, but probably we won't succeed, but with legitimate projects there will be much more chance of success with plenty of money than with too little. You might think over very carefully the preparation of a detailed report to every objection made in the report furnished by Ickes and then have Pettit or somebody else come on here and fight it out, if essential. This may all be accomplished by McLaughlin's report. I don't know as to that. You probably do.

I am glad to report to you that Mother keeps well, and that I am reasonably so. I have not told you before, but in the examination that was made of me a month or so ago, the doctors at the Naval Hospital were very insistent that I should take off weight. They claimed

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that too much strain was put upon my heart pumping blood through the tremendous accumulation of fat in my misshapen body. I am perfectly sound, but they did not want any very great physical exercise until I had taken off thirty pounds or thereabouts. They gave me a diet very strict as to sugar, butter, and the like, but fairly generous in plain, ordinary foods. I have adhered to it rigidly. When the examination was made, the scales tipped my weight at 219, and yesterday the scales showed 207, so you see I am accomplishing something in that direction, and I want to do what is necessary in preparation for a possible bruising campaign.

In the matter of the campaign, I think some of our good loyal friends are being misled by the honeyed words of some of our opponents, who would hesitate at nothing to destroy me, and from these there is a vast deal of advice about being a registered Republican, making the fight within the Republican party in the primary, etc. I think a decision upon this point ought to be made now very quickly. All of you in northern California have done marvelously well, and I think things north of the Tehachapi are in excellent shape. I am tremendously worried about the great county of Los Angeles. Singularly enough our friend, Ralph Swing, has announced himself with us, and is anxious to do everything he can in San

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Bernardino. My own contacts will enable me to do the best that is possible in Orange, and little groups in San Diego are ready to start. The only southern counties in which we have no activity at present are Riverside and Los Angeles. In Riverside the sledding will be hard. In Los Angeles there are innumerable groups who are anxious to go along with us. What we need there is activity. Doherty, of course, will furnish this ultimately, but I am embarrassed in asking him to stop his business, and I imagine that he can not anyhow. I am hoping we can get some young active fellow, who will have sense enough to take Doherty's directions and do the job that is essential there.

We have had the worst February that I have ever experienced here. We have had more snow storms and colder weather than ever before. Indeed, today as I write you, it is snowing hard outside, and there is a very considerable amount upon the ground with every indication that we're facing more or less of a blizzard here. On one occasion the thermometer has been 7 below zero, and a good part of the time we have gone about with the thermometer between 10 and 20.

I have been awaiting word from you before writing you about Philip. He wrote me sometime since and asked

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me to keep his letter confidential. I have written to him two short notes he should show to you so that you'll understand that I have said little to him, save that you, alone, were the one to determine what should be done. I am by no means certain with all of the activities I may indulge in that I can obtain for him an appointment to West Point. I certainly will not undertake anything in that direction until you say the word. I am not entirely clear but what I agree with what recently you wrote me concerning his future. I am entirely certain that the full decision of his future ought not to be left wholly to his determination.

It has been an utter impossibility for me to write all of the good people who have written me in California but I am trying as best I can to answer their letters. Some that I ought to write to I know that I have not. I dictate, as I am now doing, to Miss Connor and I have before me the very latest dictaphone into which at odd moments I talk, and yet I feel I am about three weeks behind and I am by no means certain that I can catch up.

The advertising that has been given to the relationship between Ickes and myself has in one respect been a distinct disservice to me. Of course, he is friendly. but he is as pigheaded as I am, and while I

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think he might stretch a point in a matter in which he believed I was right, still he has grown big enough now, so that he is fairly certain of his own judgment being infallible. Those who come here from California, and you'll understand how many there are, when I tell you that at least ten committees or individuals are here now in behalf of different public works projects, all insist that the only thing necessary to accomplish their purpose is for me to telephone Ickes to do what they desire. You may understand something of the stress I am under when I tell you that Miss Connor has just told me the mail no longer is delivered in packages, but is delivered here by sacks, and that the appointments necessary to be made and met during the day keep me from doing the things I want to do and the things I would like to do. Mother said this morning that she had written quite a lengthy letter to Miss Schow and had sent it airmail. The airmail situation is exceedingly unfortunate. I am wondering if the airmail letter reached Miss Schow. With the outrageous frauds that were uncovered I can't blame Roosevelt for what he has done with the airmail, although possibly it might have been done in a different fashion.

Mother joins me in love to all and lots to yourself.

Affectionately,

dad