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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, January 6, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

Since I wrote you on Sunday last, at which time I received your letters written just after Christmas, I have not heard from you. Mother had a very delightful letter from Philip, and Hiram wrote prior to that. I want you to thank the boys for their letters, and tell them just as soon as the opportunity presents itself, I shall write them. I am writing you today merely that you may have some word from us in our regular fashion.

I have been hoping against hope that the President would not force the World Court upon us, at least, in the early part of this session. Yesterday, however, notwithstanding the fact that he did not refer to the subject in his message on Friday, I learned that the infernal thing was to be shoved out of committee this week, and was to be driven through the senate at the earliest possible time. I am sorry to say that this can be accomplished because of the overwhelming Democratic majority. The new men have neither the knowledge of the subject, nor sufficient mentality, to do other-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

wise than as they are told. You'll see probably, therefore, **W**ithin a very brief period the accession of the United States to this infernal foreign contraption. I am going to try as best I can to present the matter from our angle.

There has been an immense amount of talk lately, some of which has gotten into the press, and much of which is by way of gossip, concerning Ickes and two of his important men, Burlew and Glavis, and the administration generally. It is asserted here that Ickes has a detective force of three hundred or more with Glavis at the head; that everything and everybody have been investigated by these detectives, who have tapped wires and have done everything the most irresponsible and unconscionable snoopers could suggest. I don't know how much truth there is in these reports. Both the President and Ickes have made public denials that any friction exists between the Interior Department and the President; but the rumors and the gossip persist, and in some instances, the publications have been pretty brutal about what Glavis, in the course of his investigations, has done. Ickes has been very fortunate, up to recently, in the treatment accorded him by the press, and generally speaking, by those who have dealt with him. There is a growing sense, however, of resentment here against the innumerable spies, detectives, investigators, intelligence

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

men, and secret service operatives. These individuals want to produce results, and they are none too scrupulous about how they produce them. I should not be surprised if very shortly there was a great flare-up concerning the PWA and its snooping, for Mr. Glavis is undoubtedly one of the ablest of the snoopers, persistent, industrious, indefatigable, whose ambition probably runs to tainting people rather than obtaining rational explanations. I saw Ickes at the diplomatic reception at the White House Thursday night, a reception which was a terrible rout, and about as enjoyable as taking, under adverse circumstances, a Hamman bath. Ickes said that he was going to see me soon. I have not seen him since.

The great program of the President will probably be presented within the next few days. I don't attempt to discuss it with you therefore until we have it in detail. His message, which was general in character, I thought was excellent. We may not be so pleased with the detail, and certainly the country, I think, will be aghast if he presents what tentatively he suggested to me the night we dined with him at the White House.

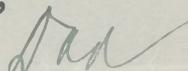
Congratulate Philip upon his markings for us. Tell him I was very happy he was so successful. I do hope that Hiram is not devoting himself so much to his law course in the fashion he was before we left. I thought it was

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

outrageous what was required of him, and not only outrageous,
but I am sure that the course prescribed is unnecessary.

Mother joins in love to all.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Dan".

HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, January 13, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

I omit my regular Sunday letter today. I am going to be shoved into the lead of the debate on the World Court, and I want to devote the day to preparation. The subject long ago became stale, and then forgotten, and it is awfully hard to revive memories of it.

I am writing Hiram a little note for his birthday today, which I assume, of course, will reach him in due time. I can not write in the fashion that I presume a grandfather should to a grandson of great promise, and for whom he has such a great affection. Your Mother and I both, however, have a great sentiment over the lad reaching his majority. She wanted to give him something of permanent character. I hope she succeeded in pleasing him and you.

I wired you last night about an attorneyship here. It was suggested to me that I might be able to obtain the attorneyship for the Communications Commission,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

and I was asked to name some one. The position, as I wired you, pays \$7500.00 a year, but of course, it is a whole time job, extremely important, and would require continuous residence in Washington. The particular Commission has under its control, radio and other communications. I can understand how little appealing the matter might be to you because of its complete rupture of your present mode and place of living. I thought, however, I ought to put it up to you that you might determine what you desired, and so I wired you. I am hoping that, sooner or later, I may bump into something that will be purely local and not whole time at all. This that I wired you about is the first thing that has come to my notice.

With love to all, in which Mother joins,

I am

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 26, 1935.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at law,
973 Green Street,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

Yesterday we received a telegram from Miss Schow about the death of Mrs. Bowles. Both your Mother and I feel very badly. Whatever differences may occur during ~~the~~ life, there is always an awfulness in death that shocks us. We immediately wired George Bowles and Mrs. Jessie Bowles. Miss Schow said that you were returning from Eureka, and I am sending this note, therefore, to your house. I wish very much there was some more appropriate way than merely by wires to express my regret and sorrow.

I have been making a very difficult and a very lonely fight here. In the last few days, however, we have had some accessions, and have made some headway. It will not be sufficient, in my opinion, to win. Yesterday's vote upon the Norris reservation frightened the other side. It has not, however, the significance that apparently the figures would indicate. The lousy Republicans, and they are the contemptible people in this struggle, have sold themselves out, and hope to alibi themselves by voting for some reservation, knowing that it can not be successful. I was compelled to agree

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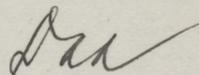
to a limitation of debate on Monday next, or else, myself stand upon my feet for twenty-four hours or more, a physical impossibility and an attempt, which would, I think, have detracted from the high principled fight we have made. I sent each of the boys a complete copy of the opening speech I made. I thought they would be interested. I have succeeded in making the Administration bring into action all of its power, and all its influence; and not only has the President done this, but Mrs. Roosevelt, in a manner which I have resented, has delivered speeches during the progress of the debate in favor of the Court, and has urged the women's organizations which have been meeting here, to greater activities, etc. I resent this very much. I do not think the President, however, can control what seems to be the irresistible urge of all of the members of his family for publicity. I am reaching the conclusion gradually, that of the whole crew he is the only one worth a tinker's most profane word. I am extremely troubled about his demand for Four Billion Dollars un-earmarked. I may accept this because I don't know what to do myself in curing our country's ills, and inasmuch as I am unable to present a plan, I may be justified in giving to him the purse strings of the nation for the consummation of any plan which he may devise. I do, however, hesitate in a matter of such transcendent importance be-

3.

cause of its possible effect upon our sort of parliamentary government. I won't attempt to write you at length today because I want to prepare, if I can, a closing speech on the subject of the Court. I am going to try and wedge in an hour on Monday to deliver myself of the last speech on our departure from our age-long American policy.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow, and of course both of us send you a wealth of affection.

Affectionately,



PARK TRAMMELL, FLA., CHAIRMAN
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HIRAM JOHNSON, CALIF.

ED AHEARN, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 31, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday we received your long letter and were very sorry indeed to read of the illness of Hiram, and your own. Both Mother and I rejoiced to find that Hiram, apparently, had recovered, and that you were rapidly becoming yourself again. I can readily imagine the difficulties you have had at Eureka, and that there will be no particular pleasure, except a little intellectual exaltation in your trial. We were both sorry when we learned that you were not well, and perhaps particularly so because of our fear of throat infections. Take care of your health. I know that this injunction is unnecessary with you, but there is little else that can give one pleasure in this world, save health.

I was really very much affected by the death of Mrs. Bowles. It was horrible to think of her suffering with a dread infection. I imagine, too, that her last days were probably none too happy, and she was entitled to have them tranquil and peaceful. She was infinitely preferable

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to the ghouls who have been sitting around just waiting, and probably praying for her end. I read your account of the funeral, and of course the antics in connection with it were as far removed from my understanding as, doubtless, they were from yours, and I am sure with both of us were scarcely worth a thought. I am rather curious about what she did with her estate. When you learn, let me know. It is a very interesting thing that we were born with such an utter indifference to money, but I rather think I would prefer to be that way, and to have those I love that way. I have never received a bequest, save once when I was a very young man. My great-uncle died, and he left me a will by which he gave me his farm and whatever estate he had, cutting off his wife for whom he did not care. I did not think it was a fair thing, and outside of my father, and one or two others, nobody knew of the document, nor that I was his heir, and so indignantly insisting that I did not think he had acted as he should, although my father gave me many reasons justifying what he had done, I "ups and takes" the will and tore it to tatters. Afterwards, I had something of a cynical laugh at myself for when I settled the estate so that the farm would devolve to my great-uncle's widow, she was very suspicious of what I was doing, and I think had some lawyer check my work. Outside of this bequest by will, I have never

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

had any other from any person, and really I am rather glad of it. Your boys naturally will be the objects of their grandmother's testamentary dispositions, and I assume that they will be left what under natural laws would come to them.

Of course the big event of the week with us here has been the World Court fight. With that peculiar doggedness that distinguishes our family, when the matter was brought up, and there appeared not the faintest hope, I told the President I would fight as best I could and take my beating standing up, but that I would fight with all the vigor that I had. He was perfectly complaisant, and as I have written you before, told me that he really had no particular interest in the subject, but felt because the Democratic Platform had favored our going into the Court, that he ^{was} in duty bound to have the matter submitted. He left me with the impression that his action was perfunctory, and that he would not inject himself personally into the fight. I started, and started alone. The day I was recognized to present the case from my standpoint, the President sent his message here. It had been conveyed to me by Mr. Pittman, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that, although the matter would be presented, the President had distinctly agreed to send no message. I had been cracking the thing, and there had been a little response, although not large. The announcement had

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

been published that I was to speak and present an argument upon the subject, and simultaneously with my speech came his message. It was not a very sportsmanlike thing to do, particularly in view of what I thought was a fair understanding we had. I endeavored in that speech to present in rather sketchy form sufficient to enable any of those who were friendly to us to have at hand leads for investigation and reasons for opposition. My speech made the internationalists boiling mad, but the worst they could say of it was that it was "old stuff", and this did not greatly disturb me. I got Borah into the fight finally, but he was badly handicapped by things he had said in days gone by, and he had to devote himself to the technical aspect of the Court's Advisory Opinions' jurisdiction. He did this well and was of value in the fight. The first break came when Robinson and I made pictures for the Movietone Associations. I did not do a very good job, but he did, I thought, a fairly excellent one. But when the two were thrown upon the screen in every place in the country, there was not the slightest response to him, while really a remarkable response to what I said. This permeated people here, and aroused some little interest, and enabled us to keep yelling the people were with us, even though the "shirt-fronts" were not. It was a damned lonely fight in the beginning, though, and on one of the days,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

I sat on the Republican side absolutely alone, while on the Democratic side they were hammering on behalf of adoption of the portocol. McNary, the leader on the Republican side was just an ally of Robinson, the leader on the Democratic side, but public sentiment began to permeate the fetid atmosphere in this town even, and it began to make men in the Senate restless. Down in their hearts most of the Members are opposed to our going into Europe, but few of course in this artificial life, dare be themselves. The Hearst press finally became aroused. Its members here were at six's and seven's realizing they were fighting a losing fight. There were some, too, in their organization here, who because of invitations extended them for dinners at the White House, in their hearts are more loyal to the Administration than to their employer. There were complaints made apparently about their inactivity, and singularly enough, I think one of those complaints by your Mother to James T. Williams had some real influence upon the contest. Williams, one of the original men who fought with me against the League of Nations was honestly and whole-heartedly with us in this struggle. Mother asked him one evening if Hearst's ardor had cooled, and why they were not doing more if he was still as interested as we are. Williams took the matter up with Hearst over the 'phone. Hearst may be everything that

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -6

he is called by those who don't like him, and he may be everything reprehensible from the standpoint of our "best" people, but he is an American, and I've never known him to fail in any real American fight. He ordered Coblentz down here from New York, and Coblentz undertook to organize then- his representatives here to get from them some sort of real and coordinated efforts. He did a good job. At a dinner here at which Roosevelt was present Will Rogers took a crack at the Court and Roosevelt evidently resented it very bitterly, and then ^{Rogers} ~~he~~ indulged in some little taunts in his peculiar daily utterances. All of these things began to make people believe that after all there was a fight. And then all over the land there began that strange ground-swell that is so welcome in a peoples' contest where power and wealth, organization and influence, chicanery and intrigue are on the other side. Legislatures began to move. Father Coughlin took the matter up finally and did a magnificent job; and then when they assailed him, came back in true fighting fashion, and lo and behold, there was a demonstration from every state in the Union; and while crooked newspapers, women's organizations, international bankers, churches and peace associations were on one side which, apparently, up to this time had represented all of the sentiment of the country, common people

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 7

all over the land in numbers many times exceeding those who had been exhorting us to go into Europe, were on our side. Democrats began to express themselves in and out of Congress, and Democratic Senators relieved and delighted that behind them were their people began to assert themselves. Then the real fight was on, and for a few days, it was a mighty tense and a mighty fine scrap. The President roused himself, used the "big stick", and what was far worse, used the power of bestowing favors and gifts to win people in his own Party. Republicans were belabored by the big men in New York in their Party and the leadership of the Republican Party having sold out here, of course, it was seeking in every conceivable fashion to hold the lines intact. The boasts were made by McNary that we would not have eight votes upon the Republican side, and by Robinson we would not have eight votes on the Democratic side. My tally sheet mounted up to 28. I was really afraid to uncover some of the names upon the tally sheet, because of the tactics that were being used to beat men into line. The old line Republicans in the Senate tied up to their leadership, and in speeches to the innumerable women's organizations and peace organizations, became extremely restless. They had of course no particular stomach for the success of one who had repudiated their candidate for President,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 8

although on kindly personal terms with me, but outside of every other consideration was the fact they would like to beat something on the success of which the Administration had staked all its power and for which the Administration had brought to bear its every influence, legitimate and otherwise. And here is a story that will interest you very much. A representative of one of these standpat Republicans came to me and said that he wanted to put his cards on the table and asked if I would do so. I replied of course I would, that I had nothing to conceal in the fight of any sort or any kind. He said, if we bring you five votes can you assure us that you have enough with those five to win? I took my tally sheet and frankly exhibited it. He could not believe that we had twenty-eight votes outside of his five votes of standpat Republicans and he checked with me the list, and finally reached the conclusion that we had, and then said that if certain reservations were not adopted which these Republicans deemed essential for the protection of this country, those five votes would come with us. The reservations, in my opinion, are probably poppycock, but it was no particular concern of mine. I felt our country was at stake, and I pointed to the Lincoln inscription behind me, with which I began my speech, and told my senatorial friend that I

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 9

would stand with anybody that stood right, stand with him while he was right, and part with him when he went wrong. Up to this time the Administration had no misgivings and were very certain that they would be successful. At the end of last week when we had run out of speakers and I could not have delayed the matter for any great length of time without myself standing on my feet for forty-eight hours or thereabouts, I was forced to agree to a limitation of debate beginning on Monday, and I did so. I did so, though, with knowledge that at the moment was not possessed by our opponents, and with a hope that we might be able to keep from publicity what really was transpiring behind the scenes, to get a vote at the earliest possible moment. The Republican leadership, however, naturally learned of what was happening, and immediately advised Mr. Robinson ~~and~~ his aides. In the interim between the adjournment ~~until~~ Monday, ^{and} all during Monday, the President began to send for different Senators and make individual appeals. Mrs. Roosevelt in that interim went upon the air with a national hook-up in a speech against us. She had previously had a thousand women at the White House to luncheon, and had delivered a speech there, and had attended a meeting of the Society for the Prevention of War

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 10

that was holding its session, during our deliberations, in Washington, and had there talked against us as well. I may say as a diversion that I am very happy that she did more harm than good. My telegrams were teeming with indignation because of her activities, and there was scarcely a man here with whom I talked that did not resent what she was doing, and when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Cats and Dogs introduced her last week to the great peace organization that was meeting here and by the hundreds interviewing Senators, by saying that when she had voted last year for President, she had voted for the election of two Presidents, and was happy in her success in having now two Presidents, there was a revulsion of feeling that can not be described. There are certain things that are not done in this political life, and one of them is an assault upon a woman; so, although we were boiling with indignation, we had to restrain ourselves, and it was just as well, because the natural inclination of just people arose in condemnation against Mrs. Roosevelt's activities. Monday, for the first time the other side began to worry, and Monday, for the first time I began to have some little optimism. Always of course you realize there was a majority on the other side, so that when rather early in the afternoon we adjourned until Tuesday, you can imagine how I was on

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 11

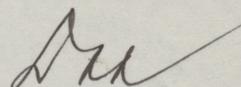
tenter-hooks. I know the frailty of human nature, and I know how uncertain men are when confronted with either appeals to their avarice, politically, or their political safety, but Coughlin had done his work well. Telegrams were pouring in here. Plain people were taking up our fight, and our lines stood from that Monday until the following day when we voted, and I do not think a single man was taken away from us, and never before have I known an Administration or its Departments to stoop so low and go to such lengths as in this instance. I was scheduled to speak the first hour on Monday before we went under the limitation rule and I devoted that hour to the "Forgotten Men of American History". Coblentz thought the idea so good, he took it up, and the next morning in all the Hearst newspapers all over the land, it was their text. Tuesday was a crazy day. I was on edge to vote. I kept sending men to other men to check and re-check, and I constantly doubted the evidence brought to me that all were holding fast. I could not believe it possible that this was so, but they stuck, and we had thirty-six votes at the end, one in reserve and two were paired. When the vote was announced the jammed galleries broke into applause, and I think, my lad, I won the toughest and the biggest and most far-reaching contest legislatively in which ever I have been engaged.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 12

I have not given you a very good account because I can't adequately describe what we have been through these past few weeks. I will try in a few days to add some of the other incidents that occurred. Suffice it to say Mother and I were very happy Tuesday night. From the time we went home until late in the evening our telephone was constantly ringing, and with all sorts of people here we were rejoicing.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow and yourself,

Affectionately,

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

PARK TRAMMELL, FLA., CHAIRMAN
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ED AHEARN, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sunday, February 10, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday afternoon I received your wire that you had returned from Eureka, but that you would go back there Wednesday morning next. When I wrote the last letter to you, it was written on Thursday. The Postoffice advised us, upon inquiry, by airmail it should reach San Francisco Saturday morning. We put an immediate delivery stamp upon it, so that it would be certain to be delivered that morning. I was seeking to have you receive the letter before your departure for Eureka, so that you and the boys could have it on Sunday. Obviously I failed in this, because in your wire you state that the letter was forwarded to you at Eureka. I don't understand why, unless, as sometimes happens, the airmail went awry. There have been times when airmail letters reach me in four days, and there are other times when they reach me in a day and a half. At any rate, we were very glad to have your wire, and we are looking forward to your letter now.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I have been rather under the weather for the past week, not sufficient to keep me at home, but enough to make me pretty miserable. I don't know whether this is due to the long and rather wearing fight I had on the World Court or not. I presume the loneliness of that fight in its early stages, and the excitement and anxiety of it at the close took their toll. I am still basking in the praises that have come to me by wire and by letter. There is a dirty job being contemplated by the State Department and by our internationalists, and I am wondering just how far^{if}/it develops, they will get even with a subservient Senate. The Constitution, as you know, makes the Senate a part of the treaty making power, requires the Senate's advice and consent to any treaty which may be entered into by the Executive Department. It provides that ratification can only occur by a two-thirds vote of the Senators voting. From time immemorial, this has been held to mean just what it says, and in all of the proceedings that have been had over the League of Nations and the World Court, no one has ever doubted that any could be adopted save by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The internationalists are like a certain class of good people, who originally conceived and carried out in all their horror and cruelty the tortures of the middle ages and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

an institution ~~such~~ as the Spanish Inquisition. Good people can always justify themselves, and there is a streak of fanaticism in them, because of the consciousness of their virtue that enables them always to permit the end to justify the means. Our internationalists are of that sort. They are so certain that they are right, and they are the anointed of God to accomplish a Brotherhood of Man that they would scrap the Constitution of the United States and any law which bound us as readily as they would be guilty of a breach of faith, and would lie to themselves and to our people. The State Department was so certain of its success in the recent World Court fight that no words of mine could adequately describe the terrible shock when the vote came. The following day, Sayre and McClure, not bad men at all, Both of them Brain Trust characters, the former a son-in-law of President Wilson, whom your Mother and I know quite well and like very much, but who is insane on internationalism, reached the conclusion that they could short cut the Senate in the consideration by a Joint Resolution to enter the World Court to be passed by a mere majority vote. They prepared such a Joint Resolution, submitted it to their superior Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, who, from the standpoint of America, is a total loss, and immediately it had his approval. Thus far, I am stating to you facts I know, but which the State Department fondly

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

imagines have been carefully guarded and are wholly secret. Of course, certain Senators were taken into the confidence of the State Department in order that the scheme might be sprung suddenly but with precision. I am told that belatedly one member of the State Department took the matter up with the President and he, at least, temporarily vetoed the idea. I am told, too, that the plan was likewise taken up with that old hypocrite Elihu Root, who is the head "mouthpiece" of the House of Morgan and internationalists in this country, and that he not only approved it, but gave his opinion as lawyer that it was sound. Root is so very old now, and so infirm that one hesitates to assail him publicly. He is somewhere between eighty and ninety at the present time, but the hero of what remains of old standpat Republicanism, and of big business. Thus the matter remains in abeyance. I can't conceive a Senate so lost to a sense of its dignity and its duty as to tolerate any such scheme. I can quite understand the move that has been made by Borah's colleague, to amend the Constitution for that is a perfectly orderly process of doing what is so ardently desired by those who hate the Senate and hate more the Senate's participation in treaty making. An amendment has been presented which would change the two-third vote to a majority vote, and upon this there may be a perfectly legitimate contest. Before this is

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

done, however, to attempt to take us into a contract or a treaty in defiance of the plain provisions of the Constitution would be worse than larceny by trick or device.

I have not seen the President since the World Court fight. He used all his power, and I confess I did not like it. The fact of the matter is that when I agreed to the limitation of debate the week previous to our voting, I reserved as you probably noted, an hour before the agreement went into effect. My purpose then was to sing my swan song, and to denounce in unmeasured terms the pressure and the bludgeoning that had gone on here, and the attitude of some of our "best" people. I switched the nature of my address in that hour subsequently when I came to an understanding with our standpat Republicans and realized that if they stuck we could win, and devoted my hour on Monday to the text of "The Forgotten Men of American History".

I have not seen Ickes save at the first big reception at the White House, that of the foreign diplomats, and then I saw him for about a moment. I have written him probably two or three communications wholly formal on behalf of constituents. He and Mrs. Ickes have invited us to dine with them a couple of times, but Mother and I have not been able to accept.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

able to accept.

It is a month or more ago that we had a snowfall here of eleven inches, and there are still some evidences of snow upon the ground. After the big snowstorm there were two or three small ones, and the weather during that period until the last day or two has been exceedingly cold and wintry. The thermometer has run as low as two degrees below zero, and many times under ten. Indeed, the winter has been a nasty and a bitter one. A fairly warm rain last night did much to clear the streets of snow, but I have never seen for so long a time such quantities of snow upon the ground here. I am hoping that we'll have some improvement now.

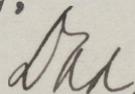
I read the statements in the newspapers about Mrs. Bowles's estate. I don't understand it, save upon the theory her property was placed in trust, as you indicated in one of your letters. I imagine that you will write us the facts in your next letter. The big thing that will come before us shortly is the bill whereby the President asks Four Billion Dollars for relief and declines absolutely to disclose in any detail at all his plans. It is a terrible thing to contemplate giving any such sum of money to any one man under any circumstances, but perhaps it may be worse if we do not do anything for the relief of the present situation. There is a great deal of impatience and irritation

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

among thoughtful men in the Senate, one of whom I confess myself to be, in thus yielding the purse of the nation, without disclosure or knowledge of the uses to which the money shall be put. It is only the grimmest necessity that will cause some of us to violate what we deem the fundamental principle of parliamentary government.

Without knowing anything about your case at all, I feel just as you do, that it is necessary to try it in the locality where you are for the higher court, and there place your reliance upon the law. I wish you every success. I am more than delighted to learn that you are all well again. I am hoping within the next week to get back to what Harding used to call "normalcy". Your Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'D.H.' or similar initials, written in a cursive style.

PARK TRAMMELL, FLA., CLIFTON AN
DAVID I. WALSH, MASS. FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD. JESSE H. METCALF, R.I.
ELLISON D. SMITH, S.C. PHILLIPS LEE GOLDSBOROUGH, MD.
GEORGE MCGILL, KANS. HAMILTON F. KEAN, N.J.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, JR., GA. JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
HOMER T. BONE, WASH. HENRY W. KEYES, N.H.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA. HIRAM JOHNSON, CALIF.
WILLIAM H. DIETERICH, ILL.

ED AHEARN, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 14, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

I apologize to you for my crass stupidity. When I received your first telegram on Sunday I cudgeled my brain to know whom you meant, and as I wired you subsequently I finally thought you may be referring to Farmer. When, in my response I spoke of going to the bat for any one who was your intimate or in whom you were interested, I meant that I did not care to go to the bat for anyone who would not recognize you. After your second telegram I had, of course, my first awakening. I can only express to you my regret that I was so dense. I wired in response to your second message asking you to write me in detail, and that I would frankly respond. It was not, as your letter would indicate, opposition on my part to what was in your mind, but I was beset by the difficulties of accomplishing the desired result. I should very much like to see you have what you have suggested. I should be very glad to do everything within my power to that end. I do not of course want to make a tremendous fight and not succeed. I am extremely doubtful of success if the fight

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

were undertaken, even though as I am willing to, I gave everything I had. Your letter distressed me greatly. I thought probably there was an under-current in it of hurt to you, because you thought I did not respond as you had wished, and there was in it a hurt to me, because of this very thought I imagined you might have.

Judges are appointed under something of a formula here, which, perhaps sometimes is more honored in the breach than the observance. Presumably, the Senators from the particular judicial district must unite, if their politics are at all similar. The political organization of the dominant party is supposed to be among those recommending the appointment. The Department of Justice requires recommendations which may come from judges, bar associations, or of those of such standing as to carry weight, or of those imagined of such standing as to make decent suggestions. When all of the recommendations are before the Department of Justice, a recommendation is made by it to the President. He appoints. The name comes to the Senate. It is referred to the Judiciary Committee, which, if there be any protests of any kind, investigates; and lastly, the nomination comes to the Senate for confirmation. The road is easy, where there are no objections, and where all interests unite in a single recommendation; but, as the record will show, a little more effort is devoted to judicial appointments, than to almost any other kind. Maurice Harrison is still in the confidence of the appointing

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

power here, and in a matter of this sort, his recommendation would go farther than that of almost anybody else in the community. I don't think that Senator McAdoo has any individual in mind, but I will feel him out during the week. The World Court fight, of course, has left some scars. While I think a brief time will heal these, the present is not propitious for an immediate personal request of mine, and in this instance, such a request would necessarily have to be upon personal grounds. In any event, I could not get this appointment right off the bat. I do not think I could get it at all, but one never knows this sort of thing until he tries and fights. A personal request, such as this, might mean instant publicity, which I would prefer to avoid unless absolutely certain of success.

I say to you again that I am very greatly distressed over the matter, not because of objection to your appointment or suggestion, for the former I would ardently wish, and the latter gladly welcome, nor because of an indisposition on my part to make the fight that may be necessary, but because I have thought from your letter you conceived an erroneous idea concerning my attitude.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 20, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

I had my first talk today with McAdoo about the Federal Judgeship. He began by saying there was no Democrat on the Federal Bench in the northern district of California, and the demand was insistent that a Democrat be appointed in Judge Kerrigan's place. Of course, I responded that partisanship should not enter into any appointment but only merit and ability should be considered, and he responded that while this of course was so, there was no doubt there were Democratic applicants, because everybody apparently was a candidate, who possessed all the requisite qualifications. It is perfectly plain to me that this attitude will be maintained by him, and it is equally plain that the powers that be here will sustain it. I write you very hastily so you may know the situation.

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK. WILLIAM E. IDAHO
PAT HARRISON, MISS. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
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ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
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J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
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JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 22, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
973 Green Street,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

There is obviously something the matter with our airmail at times. Your letter explaining the Bowles' estate took five days to come here. Miss Connor said probably it was because there was lack of postage upon it, but I am not clear about that at all, for the next letter telling about the cryptic telegrams that passed between us, arrived in usual airmail fashion. I noticed last night from your letter that mine that was sent by airmail after such careful calculation took four days to reach you. Perhaps it is the snow and storms that have delayed the airmail, but for some reason or other, both from you and to you, the airmail has not been effective of late.

I was immensely relieved by your fine letter that was received yesterday. It may be with my present depleted vitality I utterly misunderstood your original letter, but I was quite like a little boy, really greatly affected. Your letter relieved me. Thank you for it.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I wrote you of my first talk with McAdoo. Yesterday I had another. He is going to be very difficult, and unquestionably in conjunction with the Democratic organization will insist upon an appointment of one who is a Democratic partisan to the Judgeship. What troubled me, however, was his statement to me yesterday that the Attorney General himself was taking a part in this matter now, and was seeking the appointment of Golden W. Bell, who, it is asserted to me, was formerly a lawyer in San Francisco, and is now deputy Attorney General of the United States here. It may be my defective memory precluded me from recalling him, but I have not the slightest recollection of him. I send this airmail to you in the hope that it will within the ordinary two days reach you, and I am putting an immediate delivery stamp upon it so that it may be delivered to your house on Sunday. I would like you to write me anything you can concerning Bell or anything you know about him. If, as I imagine, he is some obscure lawyer picked up in San Francisco by Attorney General Cummings, I think it would be an outrage to appoint him to this Federal judgeship, but I want to ascertain, if I can, something about him; so, if you feel that you can, I would be very glad if you would write me.

Here is a list whose names have been presented in one fashion or another to me: Judges Griffin, Fitzpatrick,

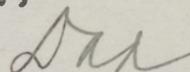
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Roche, Dooling, Gans, Welsh, Quinn, Goodell; also Hubbard, McPike, McWilliams, Speciale of San Jose, Carr of Reading, Carr of San Francisco, O'Gara, Cerf, Whiting, Dam, Annette Adams, and others.

It is perfectly obvious to me that the most I can do in the matter is to endeavor to steer the appointment toward someone with whom we are familiar, and who, after the appointment, will not be ungrateful.

I write this hastily, and will defer until Sunday my usual letter.

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
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JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

1935
Sunday, February 24, 1937.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I wrote you on Friday with the expectation that the letter would be delivered to you today about the Judgeship in San Francisco. Since I wrote you I have received various petitions from San Francisco for Golden W. Bell. It is strange that I don't know him, but I can not place him. I have no doubt he will be coming down to see me, in accordance with one of the telegrams received yesterday, within a very few days. It is a dickens of an idea that the Attorney General shall select himself, in the first instance, a Judge for San Francisco, but it looks very much to me as if he and McAdoo, who is as cunning as that fabled rodent, are going together. If any of the people out there speak to you, you can tell them, in so many words, that the appointment is purely partisan, that the applicant will have to have Democratic support, and, as I wrote you in my first letter upon the subject, Maurice Harrison, in my opinion, still is regarded by the national administration as the one they look to for partisan endorsements.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

There was a great flash in the pan here this week over the McCarran amendment to the Relief Bill, and Mr. Roosevelt is suffering from his own ill-advised action on the World Court, which taught some of our Democratic brethren how to rebel. In a useless fight then brought about by the highly respected gentlemen who are upon the preferred financial list of Morgan and Company, various Democrats responded to the sentiment of their constituents, and have received such commendation that they are immensely pleased with their courage in rebelling. It was not difficult for some of them, therefore, to rebel this past week. The differences between the President and Union Labor is more artificial than real. Labor regards it as a principle, and the President and his supporters have presented absolutely faked figures to indicate the cost. It could be worked out without the slightest harm, and could for those who toil do exactly what the administration is proposing to do for those who manufacture the things with which the toilers must work. One-half of the money is to be devoted to material, the most important elements of which are steel and cement. There is no suggestion that either steel or cement should be manufactured at cost, or that there should be an ordinary profit on either, but they are to be purchased at such sums as the manufacturers may demand, and the saving is to be made then subsequently from the toil of those utilizing them. The whole thing could be very readily solved

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

in more ways than one, but both Labor and the President got their necks bowed, and the result, as you know, was Labor's victory by one vote. The President acts like a petulant child in having the bill referred back to the committee, but the whole situation will work out within a fortnight and does not trouble me. It will be used by the ultraadministration men to club those who voted otherwise, but even this is of no consequence., The best demonstration of the hollowness of the cry which doubtless you have read, and of which you will hear much in the next few days is in the Democrats who voted against the President. First was Wagner of New York, a dyed-in-the-wool regular Tammany politician, a decent man though,, who was one of the leaders in the fight against the Administration; secondly, Bulkley of Ohio, a good Senator, but partisan Democrat, and thirdly, O'Mahony, not a bad man at all, but the creature of Jim Farley, who made him First Assistant Postmaster General, and then shoved him through as United States Senator from Wyoming. Others I could name as well, but when you look at the record of these three and understand it, you can grasp how hollow is the cry of the administration's sponsors concerning the Senate's action. It was administration men who wrought the defeat of the President.

By the way, I lunched with him last week, just alone at his desk. We had a very pleasant hour in which we laughingly for a moment discussed the World Court proposition, and each avowed

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

no scars were left. I am not certain but that there remain some mental reservations in this regard, but really I don't care a tinker's most profane word. He telephoned me late that night at home afterwards, asking me to vote against the McCarran amendment. I told him I could not. Apparently, he took it in good part, but I am not so certain of this either, and I care no more than in the other instance. As I have repeatedly said, I have lived my life in my own independence and I would rather "be a dog and bay ~~at~~ the moon" than sit here and take orders from any man, however, exalted, or however much I liked him. I am sorry that I am so obstinate ^{but} my own judgment, ^{and} that impalpable something we call a conscience must guide me.

Your Mother and I were very greatly interested in what you wrote concerning Mrs. Bowles' s estate. To me it was a tragedy, more than pathetic, that in her old age she should be robbed of her great fortune. I say this irrespective of the bequests that were made to my dear grandsons. I do hope that her heirs will all unite, if there be the slightest possibility of success, in an endeavor to undo what seems to me obviously was done to her. I was tickled to death at Hiram's action. As I wrote him on his birthday, life holds for him great possibilities, and I am very, very proud of him. I gather from your letter that a small income will come to each of the boys for a limited period. I do hope this is so. It will be a tremendous

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

relief to you, and of course, I rejoice with you in the slightest lifting of your burden. I was glad, too, to observe that the employment concerning legislation will probably be with you again this year. I hope you will be as successful as you were formerly.

Of course, within the last week the great event here was the decision of the Supreme Court in the Gold Case. I declined publicly to comment upon the decision, but privately described it as a necessary, justified, ~~and~~ political decision. The Hughes' Opinion, however, regarding United States Bonds, and their mode of payment, struck me as having a parallel in the old Dred Scott case, which was characterized for more than twenty years thereafter as the decision which gave the law to the north and the nigger to the south. Hughes held that the congressional act regarding payment of United States Bonds is unconstitutional, and substantially immoral. He held the act a repudiation on the part of the Government. He gave to the man who had purchased his bond a right, and after telling him he was entitled to the terms of the obligation, he said, in vulgar parlance, he could go to hell. In talking upon the subject with old Glass, who is able, irritable, petulant, irascible, and an abusive old man, ~~and~~ a hard-boiled conservative, I amplified this statement. He got into a little discussion with Connally on the floor, and he used exactly the language that I had used to him, in responding to Connally.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

He came to me afterwards and told me with a laugh that he had quoted me and every newspaper in the east quoted him. So, vicariously I contributed something of comment, after all, and I am quite content that it should have been through the mouth of a nasty old fellow rather than my own. I had a singular experience, too, in this. Justice Stone telephoned me about his friend, Sterling Carr, in connection with the judgeship, and I congratulated ~~him~~ upon his concurring Opinion, which if you have followed the Case went much further than the Opinion of Hughes did. He said to me with some degree of feeling that he did not believe in going half-way, and that he therefore had sought to make plain that he could not agree with the paradoxical position of the Chief Justice. The ^{majority} Opinion, after all, was one of expediency, and I think of necessity. I was reminded of what Knox said to me a great many years ago. He had been, as you know, the Attorney General of the United States, Secretary of State, and thereafter United States Senator. One day, when we were sitting in the Supreme Court listening to some case, he said, where the government went into the Supreme Court upon a question of vital policy, it started with eighty percent of the decision. Nobody seems to know the fact, but I was one of the few who voted against the repudiated Gold Bill in the Senate. I did it for two reasons; first, because I thought the bill left us half on, and half off the gold standard because of its provisions relating to gold certificates; and secondly and more

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

important because I thought it was a repudiation by our Government of its solemn obligations, and I was so resentful of repudiation of solemn obligations by other countries that I did not wish to put my own in the same category.

If I could only get right physically and recover my ability to sleep I would not be at all unhappy during this session. I have the most delightful feeling of independence and freedom, a feeling that I have always had, but which, sometimes, has been, in the past, a source of infinite worry to me. Now at the end of a long service here, I do not have the same feeling of worry, and in looking to the future, I am as serene as I was at the commencement of the World Court fight when I contemplated without shrinking an overwhelming defeat.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
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ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
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ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
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ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 3, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

It has been a strange week here with the administration trying to whip into line enough Democratic Senators to do as it sees fit with its \$4,800,000,000 appropriation bill, and some Senators on the Democratic side fighting to keep what little independence of action they yet have. The same people who whined about propaganda in the World Court fight emanating from Hearst and Coughlin, which swamped the propaganda from a dozen or two highly paid professors and many eager English are now bending every energy, official and otherwise, to hammer Senators who voted for what is called the McCarran amendment. The whole thing leaves me rather cold, although I realize a great deal of sentiment may be kicked up by the administration, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and all of those who administer relief funds. If the President really wants his relief bill, there is no doubt but that ultimately it will be passed, even though with some compromise on the prevailing wage. The entire incident affects me in one direction only, and that is, it rather con-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

firms my idea Roosevelt is not quite sure of himself, and that his plans for the future are wholly nebulous and inchoate. I think you will find in the statutes in California a prevailing wage provision, and I am certain we have passed a number of them here in the congress. It has been rather a principle of public employment ever since I can remember, and I am unable to understand the great flurry now, save upon the theory that some gentlemen connected with the administration would be quite as happy to see nothing further done about the enormous appropriation as to hand it over to the President.

Your Mother is giving a very small dinner tonight in payment of some which we have attended and which we owe. We can only accommodate about eight besides ourselves, and perhaps it is just as well. The trouble with an affair of this sort is Mother works herself sick, and she is really ill today. The pleasure of the damn dinner, therefore, has wholly gone, so far as I am concerned. I admit I like these small occasions. There is a coziness, and where the few people are congenial, a real pleasure in getting together briefly. Mother tonight has as her guests, the Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Morgenthau, Supreme Justice and Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Cutting and her son, Senator Cutting, Mrs. Wallace, a very fine, estimable lady, wife of the former Minister to France, and George B. McClellan, whom both of us like very much, and who is the son

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

of General McClellan of the Civil War, was once mayor of New York, then became lecturer at Princeton and a litterateur, and has written some very interesting descriptions of ancient cities of Italy. Rather peculiar company, don't you think, but really a small group of people who have heads on their shoulders, and with whom it is a real pleasure to talk. They have all been very kind to us, and we both feel that we can not continue to accept courtesies all these people have shown us without a fitting return. I think Mother's intention is to give a couple of other dinners of this sort to those to whom we are indebted, and I highly approve of it, and I very greatly enjoy them, except for the fact that she works so hard upon them that she really quite exhausts herself. I need not say to you that so far as the dinners are concerned that she thus gives, there are no others in Washington to compare with them.

The endorsements of various candidates for judgeship are coming in now with great rapidity. Mr. Bell has succeeded in getting a great many people to write letters. I am perfectly certain, as I said to you recently, his candidacy originated in the Attorney General's office, and inasmuch as the Attorney General finally makes the recommendation, I should not be surprised if Bell might be successful. McAdoo, however, has said to me that he did not think he should be appointed, and that he, personally, would not recommend him. I think now what is in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -4

McAdoo's head is to get some Democrat outside of San Francisco. If you have any views in relation to any particular individual I would be very glad if you would wire me. As I have written you heretofore I am doubtful that I will be able to accomplish anything of any character, but I would have no hesitancy in trying as best I could. I have conceived the idea without hearing anything from either of the gentlemen that Maurice Harrison is the first line of approach in Democratic patronage matters in California, and that behind him is John Francis Neylan. It may be that I am in error in reference to the latter gentleman, but I feel very certain I am not concerning the former.

You may be entirely right in what you say about the opening of our mail. Every department of government is loaded down with detectives here. It is worse than I have ever known it even during the war. All of these detectives who maintain their jobs by pandering to the miserable snooping tendencies of their superiors would be perfectly willing to do anything to pretend they had made great discoveries. I hate this sort of thing, and some day when I have a bit of tangible proof I am going to express myself, as father used to say, with fluency and fervor. Our mail certainly comes in the most haphazard fashion. There are times when I receive an airmail letter from San Francisco in even less than two days, and other times five days seem to be required in transmission.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

I think our winter is practically over. Of course, we'll have a few bad days in March, but I think the horrid weather that has characterized this year will soon be transmuted into the murky, devitalizing, and dead Washington atmosphere to which in spring and summer in the past we have become accustomed. I am sorry to say I can not get to be myself. I am not sick at all, simply half-exhausted, with an inability to exertion.

We have before us in Washington today the very beautiful picture of a marvelous old man facing the end. Justice Holmes probably is dying. He is ninety-four years old. With a calmness and a serenity, with a smile and with a beauty the Lord gives to few, that transfigures^{him} the poor human atom, he awaits, and probably welcomes the end of a glorious career.

I hope that you will write me, merely because of my interest in the subject matter and my feeling of the outrage that she suffered, what is happening with the Bowles' estate.

With the love of Mother and myself to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
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JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

WILLIAM E. ... H, IDAHO
HIRAM W. J. ... ON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
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ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 7, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

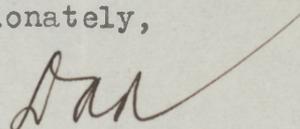
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Attorney at law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

I was dumbfounded to get a note while I was on the floor this afternoon by Miss Connor saying that Mr. Ickes had telephoned that he had just signed the Sausalito Harbor Project contract. I had not heard anything from you in respect to the matter nor anything from him. Does this mean that the contract was amended satisfactorily to you and that you and your people are proceeding with the project? Please let me know very briefly merely as a matter of information so that if Ickes talks to me regarding it I will know what I am talking about.

With love to all,

Hastily and affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
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WILLIAM E. WAH, IDAHO
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
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ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 10, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Mother and I have grown a little concerned about you yesterday and today. I thought, probably you were at the legislature at Sacramento during the week, and that we would hear from you tomorrow, Monday. I will wait until tomorrow, and then to satisfy her, if we have not heard from you Tuesday, I will send you a wire merely to inquire how you are.

I am not going to write you at length today. The real reason is I want to get away from the office on this Sunday. I was dreadfully shocked to pick up a local paper here during the week and suddenly see staring me in the face a picture of Older. I recall so vividly what an intimate part of my life he was at one time, that his passing really greatly affected me. I can never forget the day very early in 1910 when lying in bed with quite a fever, Older and Max Kuhl came to our little home at 857 Green Street. I had repeatedly refused to become a candidate for Governor. Older in those days possessed a super-abundant energy I have seldom seen equaled. Until he tired of a matter, and this he was likely to do sometimes very quickly, and sometimes after long years, he was a

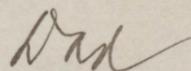
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

true crusader. In the pursuit of what he thought ought to be done, no argument could sway him, no obstacle deter him. On this day in 1910 he brought Kuhl along merely to accompany him, and he pleaded and he begged, he cajoled, and exhorted, painting the picture of what ought to be done for the state we loved as only he could paint it, and insisting that before us was nothing but despair governmentally and oblivion politically unless I would undertake the fight. And lying up in that room that I always thought was a beautiful room, of ours, sick and miserable, but fired with the same purpose, I finally said I would go. Here was the metamorphosis of my life, and I guess, the metamorphosis of my personality. One by one all of those of the early days who fought so valiantly are passing away, and as each one goes I feel a little nearer to tears and the end which comes to all of us.

We're in a mess, I think, here governmentally. I retain my high regard for the President, but I am worried about his course, and more troubled about his knowledge of his course. Of this I will write you in my next.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,



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NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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MINUTES IN TRANSIT

FULL-RATE	DAY LETTER
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Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

HAVE HAD LONG CONFERENCE WITH MY COLLEAGUE ON FEDERAL
 JUDGESHIP TODAY STOP HE IS SET NOW ON DOOLING STOP HE HAS
 STRONG LETTERS DEMANDING APPOINTMENT FROM HARRISON NEYLAN
 AND OTHERS WHO CONTROL OUR DESTINIES STOP I CAN SUBMIT
 EITHER GRIFFIN OR ROCHE OR BOTH OR ANY OTHER AND FIGHT IT
 OUT BEFORE ATTORNEY GENERAL BUT OF COURSE VERY DOUBTFUL OF
 SUCCESS STOP AM WIRING SO IF YOU HAVE ANY VIEWS YOU MAY
 WIRE ME COLLECT=

HIRAM W JOHNSON..

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
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BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 17, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Last week the day before I telegraphed you that Ickes had signed the Sausalito Harbor Project, he called upon me, and I had the first talk I've had with him since my return here. He came, however, as an emissary of the President, and our conversation was entirely political relating to the situation existing now, and what might transpire in '36. His coming, at the instance of other people, in the fashion that he did, was confirmation of what I had learned in the last chat that I had with the President, that he and those about him were very greatly concerned at the trend of political opinion in this country. To me it has been absurd that he should be alarmed about Huey Long, but when last I was with him, half of his conversation was taken up with Long, and it is perfectly obvious he was doing everything he could with investigators and detectives in Louisiana to get something on Long, and even Long's friends. I detest this trait in human nature, and I have always rebelled against the scrubs who were in command for a brief period, who sought

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to use, unjustly and unfairly, the processes of the law to taint their adversaries. I do not say this was the attitude of the President, but there is something very repellant to me in sending a number of investigators into a state to look into an income tax return, and endeavor to find something upon which prosecution may be predicated. If Long were not such a horrible personage, much could be said that one naturally refrains from saying concerning scrubs about this present situation. In the course of conversation with Ickes neither of us deviated from the particular subject matter. No mention was made of what had transpired between us, or of anything, except the President, his position, his future, and the like. It was next day he telephoned the office that he had signed the Sausalito project.

All people and all subjects have been dwarfed in the wast by three great figures, which have emerged from our cataclysmic depression, - General Johnson, Senator Long, and Father Coughlin. The administration picked up Johnson, whom they had kicked out, and who, in his later days, had been utterly repudiated, to dispose of the two men who presumably had got upon the President's nerves, and had frightened the Democratic politicians. Of course, every kept newspaper and every worshipper of property, every superior human being, who knew God had created him in a finer mould than his fellows,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

yelled for Johnson, and burst with gle~~e~~ and pride at Johnson's denunciation of the other two. I listened to Coughlin's reply last Monday night, and I think he disposed of Johnson, and had the better of the exchange. After Johnson had excoriated Long, Robinson ^{plucked} took up courage enough in the Senate, to the immense applause of the press and the shirt-fronts, to go after Long, and he did a fairly good job, until Long replied; but after Long got done with Robinson in the reply, there wasn't a man on the senate floor, except of course, the miserable little lackeys of power, and the rubber stamps, who did not believe Long had the better of the discussion. He is a dirty fighter, unkempt and uncouth, uncultured and untutored, but as cunning as that celebrated rodent of which you used to talk so much, and with the glibness of the battered soap-box spieler. Robinson is a natural bully, ruthless and cruel, unfair and unsportsmanlike, so that there were no regrets at seeing him trimmed by one even meaner in debate than himself. But what paralyzes everybody is to find that the only human interest in the country at the present time is centered in Johnson, Long and Coughlin.

It happened last Monday night Mother was giving one of her debt-paying dinners, and we had with us the Attorney General and his wife, Senator and Mrs. Pittman, Senator and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

Mrs. Clark, Mrs. McLean and my distinguished colleague, Senator McAdoo. When Coughlin went on the air, it was a quarter after ten, and the men were called from their liquers and cigars by the women to come and listen, and we all gathered about the radio for more than half an hour. This was a debt-paying Democratic dinner, and naturally our Democratic brethren were wholly out of sympathy with what Coughlin said; but the fact that we went upstairs and gathered around the radio at the request of the women of the party, seconded by the men, will give you some idea of the interest there has been in the controversy. I think the administration blundered egregiously in setting its own discarded and disgraced pugilist upon a pedestal from which it had driven him to champion the administration's cause and fight its battles. Time, too, will I think demonstrate this. As I listened to Coughlin I made just one remark to our Democratic brethren who were there with rather solemn faces, that Coughlin was a very different man from Huey Long, and that he presented a much more serious problem to them. They have hated Coughlin of course since the World Court fight, and when frequently I hear our Democrats denounce him, I have one reply embraced in a very brief sentence, "Say what you please about Coughlin. At least, he is an American". I know no other sentence that makes these Demo-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

cratic brethren so damned mad as this.

The big fight upon the Relief Bill ended up as it would have ended some weeks ago if the administration had not gotten panicky and delayed it in the hope that we would all be punished. The compromise that was adopted did no credit to those who presented it, or those who turned turtle because of it. It does in part/^{adopt} that which was anathema to the administration and to our various chambers of "bummers", the prevailing wage policy. Of course, I stuck to the end as I always do. Some of those who sold out were a great shock to us.

I am going to make the opportunity to see Mr. Arnold as you suggest at the earliest possible time. I would like to talk to him and get some information concerning the Bowles matter if I can. I really hate to see the Bank get by with what, apparently, is a very gross injustice, but I presume you would have to have practically all of those interested join in any contest, and this, doubtless, would be impossible.

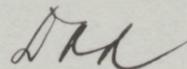
Your legislature must have been interesting this past week. I noticed that the Assembly adopted the Townsend plan by an overwhelming vote, and it was just beaten in the Senate. If anything were wanting to demonstrate the hysteria and utter insanity of these times I think you had it here

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

presented. Just think of the old Tory Republican Party, the party of Harry Chandler, oily Joe Knowland, and the Universities of California and Stanford, and Rowell, and of Cameron, and of the Chambers of Commerce generally, being for the Townsend plan! With such evidence before us, who can blame a longshoremen communist or a stark mad bolshevik for any intellectual gymnastics. Here are conservative politics and ultra-respectability literally running riot.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow and yourself.

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER P. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
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ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 1, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I am dictating this note at home, and it constitutes one of the first attempts at doing anything really for the past ten days. I have not been really sick, but I've had a touch of the "flu", and the last couple of days as I have improved I have all the miserable aftermath. I was set on going out today and beginning over to pick up, but unfortunately it is cold and raining out and everybody has insisted I should remain at home. Tomorrow I hope to begin again.

This morning I received your letter written on Friday, and last week your letter prior to that came. It was very kind of you to wire me, and this morning we learned from your telegram of Philip's sickness with the measles. Generally speaking, measles bother us little, but Philip has the uncanny knack of catching anything that is about, and is a little too old now for this infantile affliction. I had a fine letter from Hiram the other day, and to it I will respond just as soon as I get to the office again.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I read in the local press of the hot indignation of the Spartan legislature. I've found in a long live that the men with little virtue were the ones who talked loudest about it, and who were ever ready also to demonstrate the traits of character they asserted, but which were markedly absent with them. Your legislature will now adopt rules and regulations and laws to brand every man who has legitimate business before them, and particularly those who conduct themselves upon the highest plane, and then having indulged in this sort of Peck-sniffian pretense, will strut in a magnificent aura of self-righteousness.

I am not going to try to write you at length today. I wanted you simply to know that I am all right, but require a little time to recover my wonted vigor.

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

Affectionately,

Dad.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK. WILLIAM E. BORAH, IOWA
PAT HARRISON, MISS. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA. ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX. BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
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FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 7, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I went back on the senate floor Friday, the first time in two weeks, and really I did not have much stomach for it then. I had no real sickness, but was constantly threatened with a little congestion in the lungs, perhaps nothing more than a disagreeable cold, and generally feeling miserable. I am coming back gradually, and I am all right. I wrote Philip a letter today because I imagined from your letter that he was down with the measles, and I just wanted to send him a word of greeting. I wrote Hiram on Friday that I had taken up with Admiral Leahy his matter. The Admiral wrote to the Captain of the CHAUMONT, and I am waiting until he tells me in detail of the possibilities. Personally, unless the ordinary accommodations that are given to Congressmen and Senators can be obtained for the boys, were I in their place, I would not care to go, with the Captain "taking care" of them in such fashion as he could devise. However, when I hear from Admiral Leahy I will take the matter up directly with Hiram again.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

If I had any facility in rhyming I would amuse myself with verses "Everybody is Nutty"; "We are all on the way to the Bug House"; "We are raising hell and we don't know What. We are going Far but we don't know Where"; and similar ditties.

The President got his Five Billion Dollar Bill as doubtless you've seen and as I wrote you he would. There was no earthly reason for the delay, and I am a little suspicious that the very ones who most loudly protested it, deliberately caused it in order to try to work out some plan in the interim. The whole damn mess here is extremely distressing and disquieting to men who have any patriotism and who are thinking first of the welfare of our people. Of course, the great majority here, in part, because of lack of experience, partially, too, because much younger than those who have acquired experience, and because the front pages of the newspapers are made by all sorts of bizarre statements, rather than by steady thought, are exactly like any mob, following some little understood appealing generality, running along, carrying others with them on the national highway. I don't know that I am entirely just or wholly accurate in saying this to you, but the last two months have given me a feeling of greater uncertainty than I have at any time felt respecting the government, and looking forward to the end of my political career with the close of this term, with no

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

ambitions, and no longing for publicity, with only a desire to do what little I can in this economic crisis, I feel that there is no definite idea of the mode of procedure here. I don't complain so much of this, if frankly and candidly, we avowed that we are experimenting, and if we'd try one thing and then another to do the job, but when the administration blithely says that it knows nothing about what will be done, when all of those who are supposed to have something to do with the administration of the law testify they know nothing about it, and when we are giving to one man the largest sum that has been accorded an individual in the history of the world, some of us with only a small conception of our duty, hesitate to act. I don't know whether you observed it or not, but I not only voted for the McCarran amendment, and stuck to it, but I voted to cut the appropriation in half, and I voted to confine it to one year alone. Both these propositions were beaten 57 to 30. I did not feel with the views I have about relieving distress, feeding the hungry, etc., that I could ~~not~~ vote against relief, and so finally I voted for the bill, but with very many misgivings. We are in the hands of the Lord during the next twelve months, and I am perfectly certain that He, alone, and no earthly personage, has any knowledge of what will be done or what may ultimately occur.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

I have been following as well as I could what has been happening in California, and probably following things more closely during the two weeks I was laid up, than otherwise I would have. I was greatly interested in the San Francisco case tried in the Federal Court against those who were accused of aiding Nelson. The investigation of that man Elliptt in Saxramento I read in all of the local papers. It seemed to me that he is just a blow hard, who, like his type, from time immemorial, was indulging in selling a lot of people without any warrant. The last I saw in the local papers was that they were likely to arrest him for perjury, and they were going to have some strong laws concerning lobbyists. The latter would serve the purpose of crooked legislators knowing what men legitimately before the ^{legislature} ~~court~~ were receiving for their services, and then in the slimy way that crooks do, holding up people while keeping on the border line of the law, of bribery and blackmail. I think the prosecution made a stronger case in the Lamson case than they did before, but I presume that the propaganda of the Ministers ^{and} Stanford and others in behalf of Lamson has had its effect and will have its effect on the jury. From what you told me and from what Theodore told me I think you made a good settlement in the Wood case. I have not been down town. I have been on the floor just once, and so I have made no

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

effort, as yet, to see Mr. Arnold. I will make that effort, if I am myself, during the next week.

Mother joins in love to Miss Schow, the boys, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

COPY

Sunday, April 14, 1935.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, III,
973 Green Street,
San Francisco, California

My dear Hiram:

Yesterday I was advised from Admiral Leahy's office that he had not yet had any response from the Captain of the CHAUMONT, but the Admiral said without any doubt at all, everything would be all right, and that you and your friend, would be taken care of. I am waiting, and he is waiting for a definite response. I want to be able to say to you exactly how you will be taken care of, if I can, for I would not wish you to get upon a boat without a full understanding, and find yourself embarking on a long voyage, the whole pleasure of which would be destroyed by your immediate surroundings. I am sending you this note so that you'll know I have the matter in mind and will advise you just as soon as I can.

With love to all, in which Granny joins,

Affectionately your grandfather,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
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ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

WILLIAM E. BORAH, IOWA
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BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 16, 1935.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday I received your letter written from Sacramento, dated April 10th, containing a letter from Assemblyman Ernest C. Crowley to me dated April 7th concerning applications before the Public Works Administration docketed 7998 Veterans Home and 8346 Rector Canyon Dam. Some months ago Colonel Holderman called upon me about these projects, at which time I did what I could in their behalf before the PWA, but at that time they were not favorably considered by the PWA. Under date of March 18 again I took up the renewed applications at the instance of Mr. B.J. Feigenbaum who wrote me concerning them. I'll pursue them through the various divisions of the PWA again during the coming week, and then write Assemblyman Crowley definitely concerning the attitude of the PWA respecting them.

I am back at work again. Unfortunately perhaps I am involved in another one of those odds-on battles, which I seem fated to get into. Farley, apparently, is doing all in his power to job Cutting. During the election the entire strength of the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

administration was thrown into New Mexico to defeat one who had risked his political fate for Roosevelt. I think it was a mean and an ungrateful thing to do, and it was in striking contrast to what was done in California and Wisconsin. In addition, during the campaign, Farley united with Ruth Hannah McCormick Semmes, who, at one time, as you know, was Congressman from Illinois, and was defeated for United States Senator there. She is the daughter of Mark Hanna, the former wife of Medill McCormick, with unlimited money, and a perfect obsession for politics. She married Semmes of New Mexico and has undertaken, with her husband, to control the politics there. She hates Cutting with a hatred only second to that she has for the President, and the nasty picture was presented in New Mexico during the campaign of an alliance between her and Farley, the one the prize hater of Roosevelt and the other, the Roosevelt manager, for the purpose of destroying a United States Senator, who had fought the fight for Roosevelt. Cutting won by a small majority, about 1250. He won against extraordinary odds. Since the election he has been relentlessly pursued; first, in every conceivable way in New Mexico, where, in three different legal proceedings, he has been successful, and now in a contest before the Senate, which I have described as a contest of bad faith and harassment. I went upon the Privileges and Elections Committee because of my friendship for him, and to see that his interests

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

were protected. There are five Republicans and eleven Democrats upon that committee. We've met a couple of days this week, but the committee, I am sorry to say, is dividing upon partisan lines. Naturally, I am the only one who makes the Cutting fight, and I'm getting bitterer and bitterer because of the iniquity and the fraud, and the malice of the contest. I think ultimately I will be able to shame a few of our Democratic brethren, so that Cutting will not be unseated, but it gives me another one of those forlorn fights, where I start alone, and where, of course, in the uphill struggle, there are trials and tribulations that are not ordinarily in the straight-out fights met with. I can assure you that they will not break this young man unjustly without this country knowing of it. But I can not persuade the damned fools, who want to break him without regard to the righteousness of the proceeding, that it is the worst thing politically that can be done by them. Behind my friendship for Cutting, and the fact that I believe most thoroughly he is right, my sympathies are enlisted, and I am constantly recalling the statement of the celebrated English Judge, who, watching a parade of prisoners one day, sadly said: "There but for the Grace of God go I". I am impressed by the feeling that if I had been less strong in California, and the fates had been a bit more unkind to me, and those who are opposed to me, had had any courage or any stomach for a contest, and a fight had ensued last year, which I might have barely won, I would find myself now in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

Cutting's situation. You can imagine how little I like such thoughts.

Admiral Leahy up to yesterday had not heard from the Captain of the CHAUMONT, to whom immediately he wrote upon our application a week or so ago concerning Hiram and his friend. Leahy assures me that he has no doubt about being able to control the situation, and I have written Hiram today that I would not like him to go upon that journey unless he knew exactly what his accommodations were to be. It would be a horrid thing to have him start upon an ocean voyage, and find himself uncomfortable and unhappy, and thus spoil his whole trip. I want therefore, if it be possible, definitely to know just what they are going to do for him. I am awaiting that determination,

As I read the papers this last week they seemed to indicate that McK. had made a remarkably strong defense for Lamson, and if the newspaper accounts are at all accurate, I presume he will be acquitted. I am sorry to say that the evidence on the whole has left me with a feeling that he is not an innocent man.

Mother had a slight return of her old bronchitis recently, but seems in pretty good shape again. I have got back about 70 per cent of my efficiency, although physically I am really well. I do hope your health stays good, and that both the boys now are in fine shape. Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ED AHEARN, CLERK

April 19, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

Of course, we were greatly concerned when early in the week we learned of your illness. Your wires reassured us, and I am assuming now, on Saturday, while I am writing this, that you are about and quite yourself again. At any rate I most fervently hope and pray that this is so. I suppose you got the measles from Philip, but I would have thought you are old enough not to have had them. I am sure that you have had them in your childhood, and I thought one dose would leave the afflicted individual thereafter immune. I am in good shape again, but I think I am just lazy. I am perturbed, of course, mentally, over the situation here, and over the legislation that is being passed. I am not only perturbed, but to use a word that has become very common now, I am jittery over the things being done by the administration, that indicate not only uncertainty but a loss of strength and courage. Some of us were given an awful jolt this week when Harrison introduced what is termed the "compromise" upon the bonus bill. The President has been so firm upon this issue,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

and has presented his position with such clarity, both from the economic standpoint and the moral, it seemed amazing for him to change. He has dealt with it now, obviously, exactly as if it were a bit of petty politics, and as if he were compelled to decide wholly for the side upon which he thought were the most votes. I think his attitude rather sad and tragic. On the other hand, I believe that Roosevelt is constantly standing against taking us into the European mess, and this despite the attitude of members of his own household. His State Department, his peripatetic Ambassador-at-large Norman Davis, a large portion of the eastern international press, would like to shove us into the European mess, and I think this country is prevented from such an idiotic and calamitous act by Roosevelt alone. How long he will withstand the pressure I don't know, but if he weakens, we'll let out a yell that can be heard all over.

Last Saturday night there was an incident in the Grid-iron Club banquet which warmed the cockles of my heart. I did not know it until the next day because I did not attend the function, but I verified the occurrence from talks with many. A part of the program at the banquet was the introduction of the representatives of foreign powers beginning with the dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the British Ambassador. Each was received with a courteous perfunctory applause. Then the Minister from Finland was presented. The applause started exactly

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

as in the other instances, and then suddenly an electric spark seemed to communicate itself to the very large crowd present, and the applause increased and rose to enthusiastic cheering that tore the roof off. Not only that, but when the Minister sat down, just as you have seen at political meetings at times, the applause started again with renewed vigor and Finland had to stand again. It must have been an enlightening moment to the representatives of the other powers and to the representatives of the United States government, whose eyes look longingly across the sea. This town rang with the story. It has not been published in any eastern press, perhaps because certain things at Gridiron Club banquets are **considered** "off the record" and never are published at all, but more likely because the great newspapers of the east who believe we ought to forgive the debts of foreign nations and provide some more money for Europe did not like what happened. The whole thing arose without suggestion or word of any character. It was spontaneous and voluntary, and the same thought seemed to hit the minds of those who were present and who are Americans. The thing became more noteworthy because a great many correspondents here represent foreign newspapers. Some of them conceal this representation, but naturally write with the slant of their emoluments from abroad. A very rather clear instance of this I learned after the fight upon the World Court. The description of that contest in TIME, which is probably the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

most widely read of our magazines now, I thought outrageous from every standpoint. I undertook an investigation of the writer of that account. I found that he is the correspondent of the London Express, and naturally, of course, there was fed to American readers what the correspondent of the London Express thought should be given them because of his employment by the foreign paper. I don't object to any of these gentlemen being correspondents of foreign newspapers, but the most virulent of them I find conceal their representation. If, for instance, TIME had prefaced its story with the statement that this narrative is written by the correspondent of the London Express, who also represents TIME, the readers of the magazine could have had a fair appraisal of the tale. The concealment is the wrong, and it is because of this concealment that we have so much insidious propaganda and so much deceit practised upon our people.

The Republicans are endeavoring to instill some sort of life into the old Republican Party, but thus far, without any very great success here. It looks as if my statement made more than a year ago, that Hoover was a candidate for reelection has been confirmed. There is no man suggested yet in the Republican Party who could even make a real fight against Roosevelt, and our old political adage "you can't beat somebody with nobody" is peculiarly applicable. Hoover will be the easiest mark, but Mills, Knox, of Chicago, Vandenberg, and all

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

of the others mentioned have little or no strength or popular appeal. The administration is fretting and worrying about Long, but I think by next year, unless they make a martyr of him, he will be out of the picture, and even if he is not, I don't think he will cut a very great figure. The very fact, however, that he cuts such a figure at present is the demonstration of the strange and parlous times that have come to us.

Do take care of your health. Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow and yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

PARK TRAMMELL, FLA., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ED AHEARN, CLERK

Sunday, April 28, 1935.

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

My dear Jack:

I came over to the office this morning to write you and find your letter of April 26th. I read with interest your conversation with Senator Rich, and the employment of an attorney by the California Debris Commission. I don't know just how to go about an attorneyship of that sort, but tomorrow I will ascertain and do whatever I can. I will write you when I learn anything of consequence. In the intertim if you can ascertain any facts as to who of the personnel is controlling, just what ought to be done, and the like, I wish you would.

During the week I wrote Philip that I had been advised by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation that I would have the appointment of an additional midshipman to Annapolis. The Department further advised me that it is anxious to make arrangements for the admission of the newly appointed midshipmen to the Naval Academy this summer, and an entrance examination will be held June 17, 1935, for the candidates named, and I am asked, therefore, to have my nomination in the Department not later than the 29th of May.

*Capt. Jackson in S. F.
 Capt. Dimmock in S. F.
 U.S. Army Engineers in Washin gton*

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I told Philip in my note to him that this was the last chance he had for an appointment at Annapolis, and probably the last chance I would have for him. I suggested that he take the matter up with you, and then advise me of what you and he desired. I presume that he has done so and that I will hear from him during the week.

My colleague, as you probably have seen from the newspapers, was laid up for a couple of weeks. Early last week he was out, and in the two or three talks I had with him during the past week I reached the conclusion Marcel Cerf would be appointed Federal Judge in San Francisco. Originally Jack Neylan with Maurice Harrison acting as Neylan directed, apparently, captured the place for Judge Dooling, and McAdoo was for Dooling. At that time I presented the names of Judges Griffin and Roche. Neither was satisfactory because not registered as Democrats, - a pure pretense on the part of those in power here, in my opinion. In some fashion, Cerf enlisted the aid of William Green of the American Federation of Labor, the Scripps-Howard press, and George Creel here, and McAdoo has now switched. I think the appointment will be made within the next week. It is simply another instance of the importance of Progressives at election time and their lack of importance any other time.

Yesterday was our first hot day. Today continues hot, but the extreme heat has come on us so rapidly that, undoubtedly, within twenty-four hours we'll have showers. I am

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

glad to see it, but of course, a little of it will go a long ways. We have had such a miserably cold winter, that many times I have longed for the sun and the warmth.

We're jammed up here, but the situation will work itself out, and I think another two months will see the end of the session. The feeling, however, of uncertainty increases gradually daily, and there are certain portents which I think are very seriously disturbing the equanimity of the President. He is an exceedingly shrewd and cunning politician with all that attaches to the word in its basest implications. Coughlin, with a meeting of tremendous size in Detroit the other night where he was cheered to the echo, Huey Long yesterday at Des Moines, a rock-ribbed farmer territory as far removed from a man like Long as it is possible to conceive, the growing outbursts even among Democrats, all these I think are worrying very greatly the politicians in command. What worries me is that I don't think they know exactly what they are doing, nor where they are going economically.

Mother joins me in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad