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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

February 6, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

This is a short note to confirm my telegram of yesterday to you of our arrival home. I am glad to be back, and I am glad to begin the grind on Monday. If I am unable to stand it, I ~~had~~ better learn it now, than at any other time. The trip did your Mother good, but she displays certain nervous symptoms that I do not like. I wish that I could get her to go to some doctor for a thorough examination, but the very mention of this she resents. I am really worried much more about her than about myself. Do not let anything I say in this regard appear in your letters.

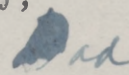
There is work to be done here, and serious work. The first thing I undertake is the Neutrality Bill. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been awaiting my return. I will try to prevent our country from making an "ass" of itself, and I will try to prevent the President's sinister grasp of power. He seeks, in reality now, the war-making power. With the "sit-down"

2.

strike that he has been sympathetic with, which this morning's newspapers say will be settled soon, we're on the road to **Fascism**. With his reaching into the Supreme Court by his thinly disguised message of yesterday, he will make himself an absolute dictator in fact. I have grown too old to have any other consideration than the future of our country control my actions. This is rather a trite expression, but I feel it very keenly, and I fear that the next few years, with an unbalanced budget, with the expenditure of funds running wild, with a neutrality bill giving the President the war-making power, in reality, and with a Supreme Court subservient to him, we'll be very close to a Dictatorship. The Congress, of course, is worse than subservient, and no one man can prevent what is happening, but at least, an official as old as I am, with little in the future for him, can stand on his feet and make clear the situation. I am under no illusions about the puny power one man in opposition wields, but it is better to die fighting a fight like this.

My love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself.

Affectionately,



ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

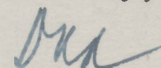
February 11, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday Leland Cutler was in and I gathered from my talk with him that he was seriously considering changing the date of the San Francisco Fair from 1939 to 1940. He and George Creel were to see the President today, and after that he was evidently going to meet with some other people and then determine the question. He said within a couple of days he would let me know. If the date be changed, it will be unnecessary for any action to be taken in regard to the Fair until next year. This will not interfere with arrangements made, but I wanted to let you know immediately the situation.

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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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, February 14, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I received yours of February 11th yesterday. The plan of the President, which he thought he had cunningly hidden, is perfectly plain now. He seeks the reversal of the decisions of the Supreme Court by the short-cut of naming new Judges. If he can do it once, he can do it again, and when the country veers around his successor can do it. It is the breaking-down of the system we have become familiar with in this country. Down that road lies Dictatorship. I got back just in time to hop into the thing, and it was very good that I did, because I found that a great many people believed that my usefulness was passed, and that I had fought my last fight. Immediately I came into the spotlight and I have set at rest the rumours that have been widespread. We'll probably not win the fight. Indeed, the chances are ten to one against us, but I heartened every individual who was inclined to fight. I wish you could see the letters and telegrams I have received. I can't tell you the number of them. There are at least some hundreds, and four are adverse. The unanimity of these is remarkable, because they are not propaganda telegrams, or organizations.

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When Roosevelt starts in doing this, he can get labor and farm associations and make a tremendous showing, but those who have come to me, thus far, have no personal interest in the matter, and they are quite emotional.

The death of Fontana was dreadful.

I pictured him as you have written of him, with his coat and vest removed, his trousers off, his shoes untied, and yet drowning!

I think the boys did a very sweet thing in wiring me. Philip's message came among the very first that came to me, and I was tickled pink. Hiram sent me one then, and it was fine. Give them my love, and remember me to Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Ada

*I haven't heard anything more
of Arthur.*

ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
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MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.
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GRACE MCELDOWNEY, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

February 16, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I saw Cutler again this morning. He is going to stick to his original date. He and Creel had an interview with the President, which he said was very satisfactory, and I think that that caused his decision. Confidentially, I tell you that he is dealing with McAdoo, and wants the bill introduced by both of us. He was perfectly frank about this, and I readily acquiesced in it. He has made up his mind to ask for \$3,000,000. I think he will have some little difficulty in obtaining it. He did not know whether he would want you to come here or not. I think that was probably a statement that was made under the circumstances that you indicated. He asked me if I had any objections to your coming east, and I told him "No", but I would not wish you here while I was fighting for an appropriation for him. I said ^{to} the idea of your coming under any other circumstances I did not have any objections whatever. He was very indefinite about your coming, and as to whether he needed you or not, but said he was going to be here a couple of weeks, and would think the matter over, and let me know.

Affectionately and hastily,

Handwritten signature

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
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JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
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JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.

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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 18, 1937.

Dear Sonny Boy:

If you think you can get any work done, outside of their usual routine, over at that _____ office, you are very much mistaken. You have Miss Connor so puffed up, she just gives me a dirty look everytime I want a minute of her time. So far as your saying she was so thoughtful to remind you of the Senator's newsreel, she was not even fair enough to say I asked her to telegraph that to you. I am getting very sick of my job, I can assure you of that.

I have very little news for you, other than to say, I do think your father is much better. I really feel this little activity is going to help him instead of injuring him, because it gives him something to do and think about. I all happened so psychologically, and with such a bang that it has been very wonderful. The office is simply submerged with letters and telegrams. Opposition propaganda machine is at work, and Labor doing its utmost, but the farmers do not seem to fall in so readily with the President, as he had hoped they would, as we had many from farmers that are condemning him. When I say we have had thousands, I mean thousands, and thousands, and thousands. I am sorry to have to count you among the opposition. This is what I said was going to happen, but I did not think it would happen so soon.

We were so tickled with the childrens' telegrams. We both got a good kick out of them. Do not say anything to Frere, but do you know if he received a fountain pen on Hiram's birthday. I telephoned Miss Connor, and she sent it by airmail, and has the receipt, so if he did not receive it, it can be looked into. I did not want to forget him on Hiram's birthday any more than I forgot Hiram on his birthday, but I have had no word about it from him. While in Miami a couple of days before I left, I sent Miss Schow a foolish little compact, and left it with the store to send to her. Without saying anything to her could you let me know, so that if she has not received it, I can write the store about it. It was sent a few days after I sent your ash tray.

There is nothing I can write you that will interest you, I am afraid. I am having the house painted and cleaned, and some painting done on the inside, as it has grown almost unlivable, so when you come on, you will find it sweet and clean. I have so much to say to you, but Miss Connor is so busy I think the best thing to do is to cut it short and not get mixed up in the middle of it. Anyway, this is just to let you know Mother loves you and enjoys your letters.

Devotedly,

Mother

ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHA.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
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ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

February 20, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

This morning I sent you one key that I found after the receipt of your telegram last night, and thereafter the house found another. I sent mine to you this morning, and Miss Connor sent the other one at the instance of your Mother. I don't know whether they are alike or not, and I don't know whether they are the keys to the Safe Deposit Box or not. I know that Miss Kemp had one, which had a tag upon it written by your office. This key, I think, she still has. I distrust my memory in matters of this sort, so I may be in error. I will continue the search at home and see whether or not I brought away Miss Kemp's key, and then send it to you.

Yesterday at the instance of Mr. Cutler, I introduced three bills in respect to the San Francisco Exposition; the first is the long bill asking \$3,000,000; the second relates to patents; and the third, to tariff on exhibits. I annexed McAdoo's name to them, as well as my own. This was done at the request of Mr. Cutler. McAdoo is in Florida at present taking a vacation.

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There is a tremendous to-do over the President's Court program. We're making an up-hill fight, but it is a bully fight. The President has shifted ground, and no longer talks about the business of the Court being behind, for it was proved conclusively by his Solicitor General and Attorney General that that Court for some years has been up on its work. He is now, and his advocates, taking the position that they want to pack the Supreme Court for the purpose of making ^{it} deliver New Deal decisions.

My love to the two boys and Miss Schow, and much to yourself,

Affectionately,

dad

ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

February 22, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your letter of February 19. I have written you about Cutler and the introduction of his bills. He has seemed to me on this trip uncertain of himself and of his procedure. He relies, I think, very greatly upon George Creel. I have no objection to this as Creel can be of great service to him here. I take it he is on the payroll. I have a great regard for Cutler and his ability, but I am a bit doubtful of the Exposition. They have gone at the thing on such a tremendous scale in New York, and have a very great organization there of which, by the way, Admiral Standley is a part, also a distinguished gentleman named Flanagan, who used to be in the Navy, and I believe they will put it all over California. However, our climate will enable us, in my opinion, with a much smaller Exposition to run it, and perhaps profitably. I am looking for difficulty in getting our \$3,000,000.00, but Cutler, who has seen the President with Creel thinks there is no doubt about it at all. Confidentially, Cutler started with the idea that he would not

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ask any money from the Government and I boasted of that in getting my original bill passed. However, I will conveniently forget it, just as he has, in the days to come.

Mother's arm does not improve and she will not attend to it. I have become a nuisance to her in begging her to go to a doctor since our return, but she has not yet been. I am continuing to harp upon the matter, and hope to get her to go this week.

The Supreme Court fight gradually is growing bitter and more intense. The President has, of course, the better of the situation from the standpoint of politics, and if he does not win, it will be most astonishing. I find that very little effort on this subject, or any other, tires me. I have been trying to pay some attention to the Neutrality Law, which is really an important law, but which is lost sight of now in the fierceness of the other fight, and I practically go to pieces after a couple of hours. There's a tremendous amount of mail comes here on the subject, most of it approving my stand, but neither I nor the office force has time to pay any attention to it. We started off with the idea of answering these letters, but after we got through with the first few hundred, and the letters kept coming in a greater amount each day, we've given up the task. You ask about Norris's amendments and others that are proposed. I feel favorably inclined to the Norris amendments, although I would not speak definitely about them. Wheeler has an amendment that strikes at the

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"abuse" claimed of the Court, and would give to the Congress the right, one election intervening, to pass upon the constitutionality of a law the Court had declared unconstitutional. This gives a cooling time and a time for consideration upon the one subject. It appeals to me, although none of them do at this particular time when Roosevelt has taken a "shot-gun" method of dealing with the subject.

Love to all,

Affectionately,

Don

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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 27, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I received the Grant Deed from Lissner and his wife to your Mother, together with the four coupons, and the note of the San Francisco Safe Deposit Company. I signed the last named and sent it to them. I am obliged to you for going to the trouble of getting these for me. The two keys I sent you were keys to the Safe Deposit Box, one of which you had held before, and the other which I had. You might retain them until I come out.

Yesterday I stumbled into the fray on the Judges' Retirement Bill. I did not have anything particularly in mind in reference to the matter, although I wanted to make clear that the damned scrubs who were presenting this thing in the hope it would save timid, shrinking souls, from having to take a stand, were playing a contemptible game. I contented myself with saying I would have little respect for a Supreme Court Justice who would accept retirement now, when the endeavor was being made to remove him by other proceedings. I said what a large number of my colleagues, apparently, were afraid to say. Then I voted against the bill to

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point the objection, insisting I was for it, but not at this time. The incident was of little consequence, save from the personal standpoint. I did not know what would be the effect upon me of an attempt of this sort, and particularly if I aroused some opposition, and got into a long debate. I found it did no harm, and that afterwards I was feeling all right. You don't know how I rejoiced at this. Of course, it was no sustained effort or a long one, but the little time I was engaged was unharmed.

Your Mother has let another week pass without going to the doctor. I don't know what I will do with her. She is perfectly mad, on work in the house. Since we have come back, we have had painters every day there, and literally they have made me sick. The odor of the paint permeates the entire house all the time. I think I see the end of the painting, but then I am looking forward to a period of new window shades and the like. I don't know when we'll finish.

Give my love to all, with lots to yourself.

Affectionately,

Das

P:S: I have just read the printed slip from the San Francisco Safe Deposit Company. I have signed it in blank and you may sign it, too. I did not bother Mother with it. Fill it out, please, sign it yourself so you'll have access to the box, and then give it to the Safe Deposit people. Thank you.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 7, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I return to you herein the card filled out properly, as far as I could fill it out, for the Safe Deposit Box. I want you to have the same access to the box that I have, and therefore I desire you again to fill out the card. It is unnecessary for Mother to have this. I am sorry I blundered about it, and trust I have filled it out right now. Please send it to the Safe Deposit Co. There is more damned trouble about this box than putting \$10,000 in the bank.

I received this morning your letter containing the card dated March 5. Both Mother and I were worried somewhat by your wire concerning your sickness during the week, and that is why I wired you. I am glad it is not serious. Sickness now makes a singular appeal to me.

Finally I got your Mother to go to the Doctor yesterday. She will not permit me to accompany her, and she gets perfectly hysterical when I suggest that I see her doctor. I can't understand it. I gather from what she

2.

said yesterday that the same statements were made, that formerly were made, she needs treatments, and that a certain measure of improvement would follow the treatments. She is going back, of course, but I doubt if she will take treatments long now. She will have to reconcile herself to such use of the right hand as she now has. I am sorry this is so, but I think that we have a very wonderful doctor. I have never met him. Mother will not permit it, but all of those who know him, give him the highest reputation, and he certainly is busy, and has had a vast amount of experience.

So far as I am concerned, what very few people know, I tried out myself on the Neutrality Bill. I was on my feet for an hour and ten minutes. I had a vast number of documents to read if it had been necessary. I did, however, read some of them in order to rest myself. I made a rotten speech. I did not have the facility of expression that I formerly possessed. The words that I sought kept eluding me. I have not written this to anybody, or said it to anybody else, but I wanted to try out myself, and I gave myself a severe trial. I can overcome this fault by preparation in advance, and writing out what I want to say. So far I stood the trial all right. First, I am very happy that I withstood it, and though for a period afterwards, my pulse was running over 100, no ill effects came from it at all. Certainly the sickness has done something to me that perhaps I can remedy by preparation, and

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the like, but it does not leave me my same resiliency.

I write you thus about myself, because nobody knows just what was my purpose, and nobody knows what was the outcome. Be careful to write nothing about it in your letters, because your Mother reads your letters to me, and I read your letters to her. I found on the floor that there was no difficulty in my indulging in quick repartee for a minute or two. This I tried out on the bill giving Supreme Court Judges retirement, and their salary during retirement. I want you to know what I said, what made everybody look aghast, in relation to this bill, that it was a bait and a lure, has been proven by its sponsors in the speech of Judge Sumners in the House.

The big thing here is the President's scheme to alter the Supreme Court. Of course he will win, but as I said to you once before, it will be a Pyrrhic victory. He will win by seven or eight votes in my opinion. The pretense is now cast aside. He says in so many words. I want the Supreme Court, and I am going to get it. That way leads to Dictatorship. His statements are without foundation in fact. He has shifted his ground now, and his statements are equally groundless. He is drunk with power, I am sorry to say. He is going to appoint six more judges. The dispute came on his NRA first, where nine judges were against him, and on his AAA where six judges were against him.

4.

Those were the big things, and the things
upon which he places his emphasis. He is the most careless
in his facts
man [^] I have ever encountered.

With all my love, in which Mother joins,
I am

Yours affectionately,

Am

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 15, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

We are in the third snow storm we have had this month. It has been snowing all yesterday and today. The others were by no means small storms for this territory. In fact, the winter seems to be only beginning here. The month of March has been terrible.

I received this morning your short letter of the 12th instant. I can't tell you how glad I am that you have recovered entirely. Mother and I were worried for a while, but your telegram reassured us, and your letter was very welcome. I am sorry Philip injured himself, but I am glad that no bones were broken. However, a sprain is sometimes as disagreeable as a broken bone. Give him my love and wishes for a speedy recovery.

The President's reorganization of the Supreme Court is uppermost in everybody's mind here, and I judge from the letters received by me that it has aroused the Nation. To me there have come, according to Miss Connor, over twenty-five thousand letters, and the overwhelming

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 2

preponderance of them are against the scheme, notwithstanding the President's two speeches. He has with him, of course, the Labor Unions, and they are getting into action, but do not overcome the other letters from the general populace by any means that come to me. The more I think of the idea of the President, the less I like it. I can't see a single redeeming trait in it. His last speech showed that he has discarded his first excuses for adding to the Supreme Court, and that in all its nakedness, his scheme is simply to reverse the decisions by added members. To say that he would not interfere with those Judges ^{he might appoint} or that the Senate would not confirm them if they were not fit, is the veriest nonsense. There would be no point in his activities if they were not designed to do just exactly what the opponents of the scheme say; and to rely upon the Senate, where a majority may confirm, and the Democrats have seventy-six members out of ninety-six would be relying upon a broken reed.

Cutler said as he left me the other day, that he would want you back here in a short time. I don't know exactly what for, but he said it would have nothing to do with the bills that were pending, or the legislative action concerning the Exposition. He fixed a Commission in the Bill which appropriates three millions of dollars to be known as the United States Golden Gate International Exposition and to be composed of the Secretary of State, the

3.

Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce. He is now in something of a jam because the Labor Department has asked the appointment of Miss Perkins as one of the Commissioners. He does not want her. He may get into more or less difficulty on this proposition.

They are after me all the time to make a radio address on the Court, and this I want to do, but I would like to be at myself when I make it, and I am standing it off as long as possible hoping that time will give me the strength which I now lack. If I should undertake it in the course of the next week or so, I will wire you, so that you can listen in. They are picking off occasional men from the opposition. When I say "they" I mean the President, Farley and patronage. They will be able to do this, I am satisfied in sufficient numbers to leave them a fair majority. They are afraid of the situation at present and don't wish a show-down; on the other hand, we're equally afraid of it, but we can't help ourselves anyway in the matter of postponement. The result ought not to be in any doubt. The President should win, as I said once before to you, by a minimum of seven and a maximum of twenty.

Remember me to Miss Schow and the boys.

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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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 20, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I wrote you a day late last week because of a continued snow storm, and I am writing you a day early this week because finally good weather has come, and I do not think I will come to the office tomorrow. Good weather, however, is probably going to be a rain-storm, but the thermometer has gone up in the air. We have been sitting around the last couple of weeks with the thermometer between twenty and thirty.

There is nothing new here, except I have been thinking of the sit-down strike a good deal, and I found on my return here nobody had said anything concerning it. Nobody, apparently, had the "guts" to mention it. I did not want to engage in any labor controversy, because those shirt-front industrialists would leave one in the lurch if he did, and if they were unjust in their dealings I did not want in any way to lend them aid, so, without suggesting any part in any labor controversy, I uttered just a couple of sentences last Wednesday about the sit-down strike, and said it was the most ominous thing in our

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national life today, and that down that road lurked dictatorship. Well, I touched off a mine. Yesterday, they were talking about it all the time upstairs, and the little remark that I made created something of a sensation. It made me sick yesterday to listen to Borah and others prefacing their remarks with the statement that the strike was illegal, and then to try to offer excuses for it. However, I presume that no short statement to the Senate has ever caused the furore that my statement did. Seriously, I think there is grave danger of running into a dictatorship in our Republic. If you will read Mussolini's "March on Rome", his ultimatum to the authorities, how all the industries of Italy were then in possession of workers, and how when the Government could do nothing, he cleaned up the whole situation, and the middle class rose to him, you will see how easy is the road to dictatorship. The secret of Hitler's power is somewhat akin to this. The Blum Government in France is going to fall soon because something like this it has sought to control. I have recited to you the measures through which we have given our power to the President, and handing him the Supreme Court, the deed is done. At the same time his ally, John L. Lewis, will take charge of industry. So, don't be surprised if Mother's prophecy of dictatorship, which is the result of intuition rather than any basis, we both shall see within a year or so.

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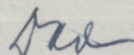
As I have said, there is nothing new here, but the ever-increasing subject of the Court. I made a poll the other day, and I think the President will win handily. I can not get out of my head that it will be a sad day for the Republic.

If Philip should make up his mind to go to China, let me know and I can give him some letters to Dr. Ferguson, who, at one time, occupied a very high place there as Adviser to the Government, and who still lives in Peking. Ferguson and I traveled through New England together against the League of Nations, and I think he will be very glad to do whatever he could for Philip's enlightenment or entertainment.

I was very much interested in what you wrote your Mother about Hiram and the room. He certainly possesses a trait that none of the Johnsons had.

Give my love both to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 26, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Your letter of March 24 to Miss Connor about Miss Constance R. Dean reached us this morning. The State Department issues a letter to our American Consuls for American travelers, and this we'll obtain for Miss Dean. This is all that the State Department does, but it is sufficient to accomplish the result that she desires.

This morning came your letter of March 24 concerning Joseph W. Downes. The effort will be made during the day to obtain the information that you seek, and we'll then write you.

Having commenced this letter today, Friday, I will finish it as my regular weekly letter. I told you a week ago I was writing you during a snow storm. Thereafter we had two days of real spring weather. Yesterday the thermometer was 70, and we were all getting ready for the celebration of spring with the buds bursting forth and the trees beautiful with the warmth, when suddenly the thermometer dropped last night to 26, and today we are going about with

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

our overcoats, sneezing, coughing, spitting and hacking and cursing the climate. It is something of a drop from 70 to 26, and these are the exact figures of the Weather Bureau. This is the damndest climate in the world, and a man who can withstand it, is in pretty good shape, and that is the reason, too, that our mortality is so high.

I've felt might sorry for Theodore the last few days as I have read the San Francisco papers. I had not paid much attention to what was going on until these last few days, and then I read in full the report of Atherton. The conclusion of the report was, to say the least, surprising. He asks, and apparently the Chamber of "Bummers" agree, that prostitution shall be nurtured, and gambled coddled. Whatever we may think of these two vices, it is sufficient to say that the substantive law of the land outlaws them, and to say to a public official he should violate his oath of office, and permit them to run full blast under a species of licensing goes a pretty long way. It shows how the moral sense of a community may be blighted. Now, I recognize the realities, and that every city has more or less corruption in connection with these two subjects, but to ask a public official openly to connive at evil forbidden by law is the limit. I do hope Theodore will blast the Chamber of Commerce, and such Ministers as suggest such a thing at every opportunity.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 3

We are fighting away on the Court proposition here. There is no change from what I have written you heretofore, although I think the opposition has stiffened somewhat. The President will be able to control enough votes, and he will do so by virtue of the distribution of patronage. For instance, there was a Circuit Judge to be appointed in Illinois. Dietrich was inclined to be against the President. The President recommended his man for the position, and his man was appointed. Dietrich is now for the President. Of course, he is the kind you would expect as a product of Chicago, and his principle is entirely one of favors to be received. The same thing has happened in Oklahoma, and will happen in many other places. So the fight can be won by the President, but I keep thinking of the aftermath of it. I believe it will do him incalculable harm. The labor unions, who are a unit for him, will hereafter, for some very little reason, divide, and then they will forget all he has done for them. And, by the way, the labor situation in the east is very menacing. John L. Lewis, who contributed to the President's campaign fund to the amount of \$600,000, demands his quid pro quo, and that is the reason the President has remained silent during all of the trouble respecting sit-down strikes.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 4

He will have to say something very soon, even though the latest one, Chrysler's, is settled. I have taken quite an interest in this subject, as you may have noticed from the press, but not from the standpoint of labor disputes. I learned long ago that these industrialists are rather cowardly, and can not be depended upon, and I have confined myself absolutely to a statement concerning the particular kind of strike.

Your Mother has begun going regularly to the Doctor, who insists that he can ultimately give her relief. I doubt this, but I encourage her in going, and I hope that he may do something. So far as I am concerned, I think I can say to you I am growing better, and as the days pass, I am recovering quite a bit of my old vigor. I tell you also that I have recovered about 13 of the 30 pounds that I lost. I think I must quit at this figure. I got down to about 170, and I am now up to about 182. The trouble is that it is difficult to quit now, but I shall do so. I've had no confidence in what your Mother believed that they took off too much weight from me, but time has rather convinced me that this is the case, and this is my own feeling at present.

With my love to Hiram and Philip, and Miss Schow,
I am

Affectionately yours,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 3, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I am writing you as the usual weekly letter of mine, so that you will have some word from me. I am in the midst of a mad debate upstairs, in which Borah has again played the treacherous part. I have done a little too much lately and I feel it. I am trying to take a vacation today, so Good-bye for the time being.

With lots of love from

Your affectionate

Dad. *[Signature]*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
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WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
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EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Friday, April 9, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I am writing you today after a rather easy week. When I wrote you last Friday I was pretty well gone, but I have regained much of my old feeling during the week. I was intensely annoyed to find that a rough and tumble fight on the floor left me in bad shape, and really I was beginning to fear another attack like that of last June, so I took it easy this week, and am feeling all right.

The Senate like a lot of cowards were afraid to condemn the sit-down strike, and added to the resolution of condemnation a long list of employer outrages. I must say that a great many of the Democrats stood up in the original fight, when I had least reason to expect it. It is just in about this proportion (48 to 36) that the President's Court will pass. I think the new members, without exception, voted that way. I believe, with very few exceptions, they will vote for the Court plan. I believe the sit-down strike is without justification, and I had no hesitancy in attacking it. Of course, the little lickspittles

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

of the press, who are now playing up to John L. Lewis, accused me of being a "Liberal" who had become a very bitter "Tory", and this despite the fact that William Green himself denounces this new warfare. Lewis is in the ascendancy. He has the backing of the President, and anything he does the President will stand behind. We're facing a pretty rotten time. It is a dictator of the proletariat, or a dictator otherwise. Lewis thinks he is going to be it, and Roosevelt thinks that he is going to command. The funniest part of it is that very few people see what is coming. It is useless to cry out against it, as it was in Germany and Italy, but, until the end, I will fight it.

I am in pretty good shape now because I did not do as I wanted during the week, and holler my head off about what we were doing.

The House yesterday proved themselves bigger cowards than the Senate. The Senate preserves its smugness and an appearance of courage. The House simply threw its courage to the winds, and took its orders from on high, and did nothing.

As soon as I can get ready now, within the next couple of weeks, I will go upon the radio for half an hour only, and I do not think this will tire me or affect me. I will express myself plainly, but I fear without my usual force. At any rate, I will try it and do the best I can.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

We lost another chauffeur. The big fellow, that I called the horse, who is as dumb as they **make** them, but who I thought was as honest as could be found, suddenly disappeared yesterday. Without any warning to us he left for New York. It is just as well he got out, because Mother was sick of him, anyway. They are a set of lice, and all of them liars, except in different degrees. I took this fellow to Florida with me, and paid all his expenses there, and his salary, so that he did not have anything to lay out at all. Mother said he had remarked to her once, he was not getting anything because all the chauffeurs were getting \$50.00 a week now, and in addition thereto, a couple suits of clothes a year, and a meal a day. He received \$150 a month and all his meals were paid for, and his lodging in Florida. He was one of the stupidest men I ever met, but I thought he was absolutely on the level. It shows how easily we can be fooled. I don't want any more of them. I am sick of having chauffeur morning, noon, and night. I think I will buy a Ford and learn to run it. By the way, Ford is to be the next object of attack. I see no hope for him. There can be but one of two results: either he will have to yield to Lewis, or be ruined. No man can withstand the authorities of his own state, the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and generally every official power there is.

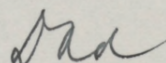
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

Mother is going to the doctor again and undergoing treatments that he prescribes. She claims she receives no benefit. The rest of us think we see a little improvement, but not much. I will keep her going there, if I can by persuasion, for a considerable period yet, and then I will ask the doctor for his bill.

I was thinking of taking some trips the week-ends of three or four days, both for your Mother's sake and mine, but the damned chauffeur has blown that up, and I don't know when we'll be in shape again.

With love to the boys and Miss Schow, and much to yourself,

Affectionately your father,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Friday, April 16, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

The boys, I take it, are engrossed to the exclusion of every other thing with their examinations. I wish you would let me know how they come out. The examinations of Hiram are an outrage, for they mean nothing after he has passed his test in college, but he has got to meet the attempts to trip him up by examiners of the Bar Association. I don't see why this sort of thing was permitted, and so the poor fellow has two difficult hurdles to surmount. Philip has but one. I expect them to get through. Let me know just as soon as you hear anything about them. Tell the boys I am pulling for them, and wishing them every good luck. I recognize the passage of these examinations is a matter of luck, as they are now conducted. There are so many engaged in the process that the personal equation counts for naught. However, we can only wish for the best. We have pretty well nigh stopped legislating here. The Court takes takes up all our time, and that is confined to behind the scenes consultations. Last Monday the Supreme

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 2

Court decided the Wagner Labor Act constitutional, two of the decisions by a 5 to 4 vote. This would not have happened three months ago before the agitation about the Supreme Court. Two men would have voted with the minority, Hughes and Roberts. I think they voted right this time, but I have damn little respect for them. In my opinion, they permitted themselves to be bludgeoned into voting to sustain the Act. I don't think the Court, from the standpoint of its personnel, at least a portion of it, is worth fighting for, and if it were not for the immensely bigger thing at stake, I would not be engaged in this contest. The "immensely bigger " thing is the absorption of one of the coordinate branches of government by the Executive. We can not deny he already has the legislative branch, and he whips it about as a schoolmaster would whip a recalcitrant boy. Give him now the judicial branch and all the power of government would be his. This way dictatorship. Strangely enough he and those close to him were not satisfied with the Wagner Labor Act decisions. Evidently they fear it reduced their chances of success in the bill pending for the reorganization of the Supreme Court. They have been crying about the "odd" man, decisions dependent upon a 5 to 4 vote ever since last Monday when the decisions were rendered.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

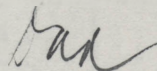
I can't see that it has made any difference in the result, although Wheeler and Burke affect to believe it has. I think tomorrow there will be a show-down upon the hearings. The other side are very restless over the number of witnesses called by the opponents of the bill and a record is being made that is quite overwhelming; so, tomorrow they are going to endeavor to shut off the hearings, and I think possibly they will succeed. The Berry Non-Partisan Labor League, which is in reality John L. Lewis's labor men, and which was a part of the last national campaign, are going to hold a series of meetings throughout the country on the Court scheme. Senator LaFollette and Black will be their speakers. Both of them are men who will do anything the Administration wants, and both are blatherskites. They have advertised meetings for San Francisco and Los Angeles, as well as any other large city from here to the coast. If I were only at myself I would follow them along, as I followed Wilson in 1919 and 1920. I know there is sufficient sentiment in the country upon this issue to give large meetings, and I know so well their arguments that they may be met, and I would have no doubt of the results. I suggested to Wheeler the other day that he, or somebody else, follow these two, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

present the case from their standpoint. I don't know whether they will or not. It is peculiarly a time when they could do so for all legislation is at a standstill here. I'll confess to you I long to do it, and I think a man could not die in any better ~~cause~~^{cause}. If Borah were not playing a deep double game, he could do it, but he has double-crossed everybody thus far, and nobody seems to know what he is going to do. At the end, I think, he will deliver a beautiful panegyric upon the Supreme Court, and in that way get away with it. You can't get a peep out of him now, and I have been disgusted with him since the sit-down strike argument, and have let him severely alone.

With my love to the boys and Miss Schow, with lots to yourself,

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 18, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

I am seriously concerned about the Exposition. Mr. Cutler told me that he and Creel had talked with the President, and the President was agreeable to a three million dollar appropriation. Creel is as close to the President as any man here, and I thought his assurances made the matter definite and conclusive. Yesterday I was dumbfounded to have the report of the Treasury Department and also the State Department cutting the appropriation to \$1,750,000. This may be by agreement with Creel and Cutler, but they have said nothing to me about it, and I am unable to get in touch with Creel, who has not been here for some weeks. I suppose I will hear from Cutler in response to my airmail letters of yesterday.

I am unable to ask any favors in this or any other matter at the present time because of my position upon the judgeship bill. The President is using all the reprisals that he can, but if he shall use them until Hell rolls over on me of course I would not change my views. I don't know that this enters into the matter at all, but I wanted you to know the situation so you would be fully advised.

Affectionately yours,

HWA

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 23, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

This is my weekly letter but there is very little to write you here. Everything is still over-shadowed by the Court issue. The fact is, we transact little business and the little that we do transact nobody pays any attention to because of our engrossment with the fight on the Supreme Court. The figures now give us about forty-four in opposition and the optimists among us imagine they will gather others of the non-committal group. It is strange how men get into a fight that is a sort of life and death struggle like this, and permit their hopes and desires to influence their judgment. That is the reason we have here so many prognostications that are optimistic, but at the present moment forty-four is the limit of our vote, which, of course, leaves fifty-two against us. The Democrats have stood their ground manfully, and have gained rather than lost during the long struggle. It is that which makes the other side doubtful. The present power of the Administration can not be over-estimated. It has so many departments with so many employes that they bring a regular army into action here, and this is so throughout the country, but

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

aside from this army, and the labor unions, and some farmers, there is an unanimity of sentiment on the other side. I have kept putting in the petitions that have come to me against the scheme, until they rather laugh upstairs when I appear with a great bundle containing thousands of the signatures of our citizens. Yesterday, I put in the last petition which brings the number of signatures against the plan over seventy-five thousand, and I am saving others that are here so that I will get up to one hundred thousand pretty soon. These are not the usual petitioners, but people from all walks of life, who seldom indulge in that sort of thing and who are wrought up to a high pitch regarding the outcome.

It is a very difficult thing for me to get down to sequential argument. The peculiar difficulty that I had last year played the deuce with me, and although I am getting over it, long arguments, logical in character, rather escape me. For this reason, I am going on the radio for thirty minutes only very soon, and by writing out what I wish to say (a most difficult task for me now) I hope to avoid the consequences I fear.

Your Mother went to one large luncheon this week, and is going today to a smaller one. I have insisted

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson. Jr. - 3

that she should go to these because we were living within ourselves so much. I don't feel like going out myself because I think an evening spent with the usual tittle-tattle would get on my nerves, but I am encouraging her in these excursions, and I think they will do her good.

She received this morning your letter concerning the accident to Miss Schow. We feel terrible about it, and we do hope that she has escaped the hospital and the consequent operation. Yesterday, we sent her birthday congratulations but I feel that she has a pretty tough time on this day.

We were paralyzed to find that Philip had purchased ~~three~~ a couple of rifles to go to a "dude ranch" in Wyoming. Where in the devil is he going, and what does he intend to do? If you will let me know what particular place he is going I will find out from our Senators something about it, and let you know.

We're having a hell of a time with chauffeurs. The big "oaf" that we had ran out on us without a word of warning. He suddenly disappeared one morning and we have not heard from him since. The one we have in his place now would not be a decent chauffeur in four hundred years. Mother insists on selecting them, and she selects, apparently damned poor material. I presume, however, they are all a lot of lice as you used to say, and it is difficult to find one half-way decent. I have been seriously thinking

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

of buying the cheapest Ford that I can and running it myself.
What do you think of this?

A pleasant birthday to Miss Schow, although
I presume her injury will make it anything but pleasant.
Give our love to her. With love to Hiram, Frere, and yourself,
Affectionately,

Dad

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 27, 1937.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

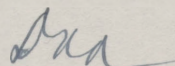
Yours of April 23rd reached me yesterday, and because of the statement of your talk with Cutler, I answer immediately. I think your employment at \$150 a month was a mere sop, for which I do not feel in the slightest degree grateful. If you need this money and it is of value to you, go ahead and accept it, and hope for better things. If you don't need it, tell these gentlemen as sweetly as you can to do certain other things for the amount. I can't say what, because I am dictating to Miss Connor here. Personally I don't like the situation, because of my participation in it, although having nothing to do with it, it makes me a pretty cheap skate, but I want you to judge the matter by your own interest, and act accordingly. I shall, of course, do what little I can for the Exposition, but I shall do it under any circumstances, and in the day's work, but if the situation there is as related to me very recently (I did not know anything about it before) it is not one that commends itself to me. Creel,

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whom I assume is upon the payroll for a considerable sum, gave me the first inclination of the set up there, and Franck Havenner went into detail. He said that the Southern Pacific was to recoup all its losses upon the ferry business by the Fair. However, I don't know anything about this matter. I have had several conversations with Creel, and at Cutler's instance I called together the California delegation at a luncheon, which he paid for, and at which he was supposed to talk about the glories of the Fair, etc. He did not do a good job that day. Creel and Cutler related that the President was determined to cut the appropriation to \$3,000,000 for New York, and for San Francisco to \$1,750,000. New York is going ahead with its appropriation of \$5,000,000 already approved by the House. Creel says the President will veto the bill if it comes to him for this amount. I repeat to you what I have said in the beginning. If \$150 a month is of any value to you, you can swallow your pride and take it, and hope for better things. If it is of no great value to you, and if it is a mere sop, as I suspect, tell them all to go to hell.

With all my love,

Affectionately,



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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

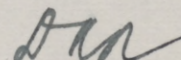
April 30, 1937.

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

My dear Jack:

Herein is a letter I have sent to Cut-
ler and to Creel today.

Hastily and affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR

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EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 30, 1937.

C O P Y

Mr. Leland Cutler,
Mr. George Creel.

My dear Mr. Cutler and Mr. Creel:

I send you herein copy of the House Resolution authorizing Federal participation in the New York World Fair in 1939 reported yesterday favorably by Senator Copeland of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate. You will observe in the first paragraph the Commission is to be composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, the Chairman and ranking majority and ranking minority members of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, the two United States Senators from the State of New York, and the Chairman and ranking majority and ranking minority Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. This is a Commission which I think ridiculous, and unless you insist upon it, I will endeavor from our Bill to eliminate the Chairman and ranking majority and minority members of the Commerce Committee, the two United States Senators from California, and the Chairman

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and ranking majority and minority members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

I had a talk with Senator Copeland concerning the report, and I think he will permit the report of the California Fair to be exactly as desired. I talked to him about the amounts to be appropriated for the Fairs, and he said he had never received any official notice of the reduction of the New York appropriation, and he would proceed therefore with such legislation as he deemed appropriate. I could, if you desired, attempt to get a report allowing us the \$3,000,000, but I believe on mature reflection, that good faith on our part requires we should accept the \$1,750,000 that the President told you he would permit. As soon as you gentlemen advise me I will take up with the Commerce Committee our Bill, inserting the amendments suggested by the different departments, fixing the amount to be given to San Francisco as the President desired, \$1,750,000. I send you also copy of the report that accompanied the bill yesterday of New York.

Sincerely yours,