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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 5, 1939

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

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:

It looks as if we are going to adjourn this afternoon. I have made my reservations for the 16th from here, and the 17th on the Streamliner from Chicago. I don't care to have anybody know the dates, although I presume that I can not ultimately keep them secret. I would like to arrive in San Francisco, and be able to go immediately to the house. As I feel at present, I think I could sleep a week, but of course, before the time we start I hope I will be able to get rested here.

This morning I received your last letter, and was dreadfully sorry to hear of Phillip's relapse. Please write us what Ebright says, and your own conclusions. I don't understand at all what the trouble is, and I understand even less what has caused it, but the high temperature of the lad really worries me immensely.

Last night I had a little run-in on the investigation of the Associated Farmers by the LaFollette

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Civil Liberties Committee. I had taken the position from the start that if the Associated Farmers had done any wrong, it should be developed; but that they were entitled to a fair hearing, and an absolute clearance if they were not wrong. I had an arrangement last evening with Schwollenbach, who offered the resolution at the instance of the two labor organizations here, that the recitals of the resolution should be stricken out, and the resolution made a mere authority to proceed, with the amount of \$50,000 (an exorbitant sum) fixed by the Committee on Audit and Control having jurisdiction of such matters, instead of \$100,000 asked of the Committee. Schwollenbach would have kept his agreement, but little LaFollette, who has grown so great that none are greater, suddenly rose, and demanded \$100,000, and then the 'fat was in the fire '. We talked some hours, and of course, the discussion covered rather a wide range. The endeavor, undoubtedly, will be made in California to show that I was defending the Associated Farmers, which is absolutely untrue. I don't know anything about the Associated Farmers, but they are entitled to a square deal, and that I insisted upon. The upshot of the matter (what the newspapers called an acrimonious debate) was that the Senate

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

kept the sum to the amount fixed by the Committee on Audit and Control, - \$50,000; and then some of the Democrats were so sore at the attitude of the Committee, that they voted against the whole resolution. I think the votes against the resolution were 17, which, upon a matter of this sort, was a considerable number. I will probably hear from this during the campaign, but I can't help that, because if I can not be just, and am too big a coward to speak in favor of a square deal, I am not fit to be here. So everybody can go to hell, so far as I am concerned, in the matter.

In your letter today you did not say what you thought I ought to do on coming into the state in the matter of the Ham & Eggs proposition. I will be besieged by reporters, no doubt, and I think there is nothing else for me to do, except to say I am against it, and give frankly my reasons. Is this your view ?

I will be very glad to get home, and I am in pretty good physical condition, but the last few weeks have been a severe strain upon my vitality. I think Mother feels about as I do.

Mother joins in love to Phillip, Hiram, Miss Show, and yourself.

Affectionately,

Sam

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, August 6, 1939.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

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 morning I have received your letter of August 4. I am so sorry about the sacroiliac slips. I know this must be very painful, and I do hope you recover quickly.

Your Mother and I felt terrible about the news you give us of Philip. I will be damned if I want him cut up, and I wish you would write me the result of the consultation of the doctors that you refer to. Of course, you have got to obey the opinion of men you trust, but I repeat I am damned if I will see him carved up, and particularly when there is no absolute diagnosis and the doctors claim to know perfectly what ails him. I never will forget the apostrophe of my father once in a malpractice case, of an exploratory incision in the human body.

I wanted simply your advice, with which I thoroughly agree, that when I am asked about the Ham & Eggs proposition on my advent into California, I will state frankly I am opposed to it in general terms. It might be

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

well if I could elaborate a little, but I am not so anxious upon that score, as to have your approval of what I think is the only proper course I can pursue. I do this with a lively understanding of what is in store for me, and if I were a good politician, I would devise some way to dodge, and pretend it was a local issue, and so on, but I have never pursued that sort of course, and I don't want to now, although it may mean defeat. I will write you again before we leave.

Mother joins in love,

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

COPY

Sunday -August 6, 1939.

Mr. Philip B. Johnson,
973 Green Street,
San Francisco, California

My dear Philip:

Your Grandmother and I were delighted to have a letter from you, and to have such a good letter, too. We have both been fretting, like a couple of old folks, about your little sicknesses, but we are hoping that the annoyances will cease with you, and you will be your old self again within a very short time.

We adjourned the Congress last evening. Both of us are pretty tired after the last bruising two weeks, and we're glad it is over. I wrote your Dad that I was coming out, leaving here on the 16th and on the Streamliner the next evening from Chicago, and after two nights on the train, arriving home. Doubtless, your Dad has told you this before you receive this note. I asked him, although I know it is perfectly futile to think I can conceal the fact, to say nothing to anybody about our coming, so that we may sneak in.

This has really been a notable session in many respects. Seldom has a President received the rebuffs from

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a Congress that have been given to Roosevelt, and these upon his most deeply cherished measures. Congress hit him a swipe on the lending-spending bill, which was wholly deserved, and another one on the Housing Bill, which, in my opinion, is altogether too extravagant. The strange, psychological reactions of politicians are a wonder to behold. Men will screw up their courage to a point almost explosive and vote against a measure like the lending-spending bill, and after it is over, there comes a horrible moment of fright, which leaves some of them to do things in the hope of placating the god they have offended. It is a very interesting study, this, of the mental processes of the human being. My father used to say the least trustworthy of all animals was the two-legged animal, and I have learned in a long life-time that he was right.

I did not intend to write you a long letter, but simply to say to you, get well. I might ask you, next year, and that is very close now, to be with me in the campaign, and that is a night-mare. I think short of giving up the job I would do almost anything rather than have another political campaign. You can see others than those I have described above have their vagaries.

Your Grandmother joins me in sending best wishes and all our love.

Affectionately your Grandfather,

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August 9, 1939

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, 3rd,
Attorney at law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I send you herein copy of a letter from General Adams, the Adjutant General, relative to the case of Second Lieutenant Jesse Prichard, which is self-explanatory.

I have this morning your letter of August 7 enclosing communication relative to the pension claim of William E. Parker. I have this claim up with the Veterans' Administration, and just as soon as a response comes to the office you will be promptly advised.

Sincerely,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Saturday, August 12, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

You seem not to understand my former letter about our trip to California. Here it is: We leave here Wednesday, August 16, at 5:45 p.m., Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, due in Chicago August 17, at 8:30 a.m.; then leave Chicago August 17, at 6:15 p.m. on the streamliner - City of San Francisco - for San Francisco, due to arrive there Saturday, August 19, at 7:50 a.m. That makes it a week from today that we hope to be in San Francisco, and it is just two weeks after the adjournment of Congress.

I don't like to come out, but I will come at the earliest possible moment. I never have written you about the matter, but there was an attempt to picket my office at one time, when fifty or sixty WPA workers with banners, etc, for an hour or two at noontime on a Saturday afternoon about June 10 attempted to picket the office. I learned of the matter a week or so after it occurred, and it made me furious, but there was nothing

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I could do about it, and there is nothing I can do about it, if it occurs again. It was a most illogical proceeding on the part of the picketeers. Presumably it was because of my vote for a reduction of the amount by \$50,000,000 of the enormous appropriation we had allotted to the WPA. The testimony before our appropriations committees showed the sum that we granted was ample, and subsequent events have proven that fact, and the vote upon this question occurred some months before the picketing. Mother does not know anything of this incident, and I don't propose to tell her.

We received your letter yesterday about Philip, and we both studied it as well as we were able, and I feel more sorry than I can tell you. This lad has too many things occurring to which there ought to be an adequate answer. You, of course, have done everything that could be done, and when we get out we'll talk the matter over.

Mother has a h... of a time packing, as you know. The cooling apparatus we have in the house has been a Godsend to her during the last week, and the air-conditioning in the Capitol has been an equal Godsend to me. It is a very different condition than when you came here in June 1936. The thermometer is over 90 each day now, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

outside it is horrible, but inside we keep quite comfortable.

I was glad to hear your voice the other night. It came over the 'phone perfectly. I hope the next week will find nothing untoward with your family, or with the two old people. If we reach home you will find two old folks rather battered, but in much better condition than they have been for sometime. The present let-down at the close of an exciting and hectic session accounts, I think, for our present feeling.

Mother joins in love to Hiram, Frere, and Miss Schow, and to yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, August 13, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

I wrote you something of the Associated Farmers, but I wanted to tell you another phase of the matter. I received a letter from John O'Connell telling me that I was selected as Labor Day speaker. I wrote to O'Connell that because of other imperative engagements, and for other reasons I could not be the speaker of the occasion. After I wrote, I saw in the newspapers that my selection had been attacked by somebody named Burke, and an acrimonious debate had ensued in the A.F. of L. organization, in which O'Connell, John McLaughlin, and Dan Murphy defended me, while I was severely attacked by Burke and others. This whole incident occurred after my response to O'Connell, which, perhaps was not received by him at the time of the debate. The vote was something like 180 to 71 in my favor, but it was of a character that I felt I had made no mistake in declining the oratorship on Labor Day. There has been more or less pounding on the subject by the opposition. I send you the facts so you will have them in case anybody speaks to you about them. I had not the

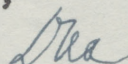
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

slightest idea when I wrote O'Connell declining the honor that there was any objection whatever to my selection. I have since written letters of thanks to O'Connell, McLaughlin, and Murphy.

I have just read the account of the accident to the Streamliner- City of San Francisco in Nevada. Details are very meagre. A singular thing is we tried very hard to get upon this train, and were unsuccessful. I don't know whether there will be any change in the schedule or not now, but I will wire you if there is.

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

Affectionately,



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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, September 24, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

We had a miserable trip to Chicago because of our accommodations. I have said sometimes recently that I was afflicted with claustrophobia^{bia} in our little flat on Montgomery Street, but when we were put in the little cubby holes in the upper deck of our train the feeling was intensified one hundred percent. However, the thing is passed now, and there is no use growling about it. We had splendid accommodations on the Pennsylvania coming in here, and that atones somewhat for the Southern Pacific's joke on me.

Since I have been here I have been every hour engaged in trying to draw together again our scattered forces. I have not been very successful except with the "die-hards". We have about twenty of them, however, and we hope to convince the public, and in that way, have our influence on the Senate. There is no doubt in my mind that we are correct, and that the "scuttle and run" policy (cash and carry) is a contemptible one, and that the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

embargo should not be repealed. However, the President took his time, and has chiseled away from us quite a number of those who were with us. The future, therefore, looks rather black.

I notice that we got a fair play on the statement that I left in San Francisco. Thank Hiram for me, please, for distributing the copies. There is a campaign in California carried on by the movie people, the aircraft manufacturers, and a certain class of our citizens, in favor of repeal. Notwithstanding this, our mail shows five or ten to one against repeal.

It is now 3:20. I have finished what I came over to the office to do on this Sunday. I get very tired. I am tired now, and I am going home.

Give my love to the boys and Miss Schow, and write me how Philip is, please.

Affectionately your father,

Hiram W. Johnson

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Saturday, September 30, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

I am writing you this, Saturday, morning so that you may have heard from me in regular fashion, although I have little to relate, save what you have already seen in the newspapers. Of course, I am entirely engrossed in the fight that is on, and in the past week I have seen our ranks further dwindle. A certain class of Democrats have had the heat put on them by their party, and they feel much more comfortable in no longer being mourners, but really sitting as equals in their party councils. It has been demonstrated again to me that partisanship is an evil thing, and that patriotism may be forgotten in partisan zeal. However, this is not the worst of what we have had to contend with. From within, I think we are being treacherously assaulted. I don't like to do anybody an injustice, and so I won't name any names; but my feelings may be aroused, because there are not many men that fight as I do. Nobody ever has to inquire where I am, or that I will do, and certainly no one ever thinks I am

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sneaking up under the guise of friendship to stab some ally in the back.

Yesterday, we had a little break, and singularly enough, it came upon my old Johnson Act. The President primarily emphasized with great force the "cash and carry" program by stating it meant "money on the barrel head". He explained this was a cash transaction, and quietly I said to the Committee yesterday that while I did not wish to interfere with the gaiety of the occasion, I wanted to notify them that I would kick up quite a stink upon the 90-day credit endeavored to be executed by the "cash and carry" program. Our opponents went into a huddle afterwards, and finally Pittman in an alcoholic burst, with confidence, said, of course, this would abrogate the Johnson Act. Immediately, there were four or five Senators who began to express doubt. They will be whipped back, however. You know they have tried to whip me into line from California, and have had postal cards printed with my address, and with an injunction for me to do as the President and the Secretary of State asked, with a neat line for signature, and they have endeavored to gather many signatures. When I tell you that my mail ran for some days four thousand letters a day, you'll realize the extent of it. Outside of these prepared attempts at Propaganda the overwhelming number of those who pains-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

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takingly wrote their views, were with me; but most of the prominent people, like Al Smith, Paul Shoup, and the like, are for the President's plan. I presume this is "big business", and they shudder at an embargo during the war.

I read very hastily before I left home this morning that Philip had been to the hospital, and they were tinkering with his spine. I shudder when I think of this. I don't know what else you can do, or that you can help doing this at all, but I shudder, nevertheless.

We had a dreadful shock the other day in the death of Cyril Wynne. He literally blew his brains out with a 44-caliber revolver placed in his mouth. Your Mother and I went to his funeral, although it was a very important day to us in the Foreign Relations Committee. I felt that our friendship was such that the least I could do was to pay him the conventional tribute of attending his funeral. Miss Connor told me she sent you a clipping from a local paper. I can't get at the reasons that actuated him, and I really have not tried. His brother, and his son, who is nearing sixteen years of age, called on me yesterday, but of course, I could not broach the subject then. I had just two friends at the State Department. Wynne was the closest. He has passed now. The other, Judge Walton Moore, I have forfeited

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

now probably by my attitude upon the embargo.

With my love to Miss Schow, Hiram, Philip, and
much to yourself.

Affectionately,

COPY

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Sunday, October 15, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

Yours of October 13 reached me this morning.

I read of Philip's trials and tribulations, and I don't blame him for his anger and resentment at the doctors.

It is bad enough to be afflicted, but to be the object of experimentation, and wrong experimentation at that, seems to me to cap the climax. I don't suppose there is anything you can do, but by goodness, I would roar like the devil anyway.

Yesterday was the first day that I left the floor in charge of others. Since this fight began, I have been in charge of it, unobtrusively, but not feeling well yesterday I left LaFollette and Clark in charge. There was a real row yesterday. I suppose it was published in the California papers. The other side were extremely bitter over Lindbergh's second radio speech. I confess that I started listening to him the other night with jaws set and in a most hostile attitude, but I was

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Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Sunday, October 15, 1933

delighted when he finished. The other side were expecting him to be with them, and they were flabbergasted when he was not. They still have got two to one the better of the situation, although, as you say, our side has been looking up a little. I'll probably speak sometime this week, very briefly, and go on the air shortly afterwards. I have yielded to everyone else in order to keep them satisfied, and may have to yield again.

Just incidentally I have looked at the football scores. California is not doing much this year. They have gone far enough now to make clear that they are beaten for the great conference game. I hope they succeed in walloping Stanford.

I was amused and delighted with your description of your painters. If ever I get home again I shall view your house with the utmost interest.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

COPY

Saturday, October 21, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

It was bully of you to send me the telegram you did last night of congratulations on the speech yesterday. I was guilty of quite a blunder in the timing, as it were. I took on the management of our crew, and saw that they got on, and that there was no interregnum in their speeches, and no excuse offered for flinging "filibuster" at us. In doing this, I necessarily left myself practically at the end. Yesterday, with a couple of speeches only pending, I went on the stand. Everything had been said that could be said, every argument possible to be made practically had been made. However, the odds and ends that needed amplification I recalled to the Senate, and spent most of my time exhorting them to be men. I talked only one hour, but the speech got over. My colleagues were very kind in their remarks concerning it, and in their congratulations that they showered upon me. Of course, we're

in a losing fight, but I am going to keep it up to the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

end, and will probably go on the air Monday or Tuesday next. I will wire you if I do go on. We ought to vote on the bill next week, - I imagine by the end of the week-. The fight will then be transferred to the House, and it is in the effort to influence them that we have been working the past ten days or so. The man in the White House is perfectly mad to be in the war. The article I quoted yesterday from John T. Flynn, of the Scripps-Howard papers, is literally true. He has created a war psychology. He plays soldiers at home. He spends his time issuing various proclamations (the power of dictatorship), and he sees hobgoblins and bogey-men in military array in everything. God pity us when once we get into this mess. I have given myself without stint and as unselfishly as man could, and I have had to deal with some who were such primadonnas that they made me sick; and some who were anxious to change sides and be with the winner that they positively gagged me, but I am not sorry. It may be the last thing that I can do for my country. The rarest thing here, as I have often said to you, is moral courage, or possession of guts, and the individual who goes in unafraid against odds is the only one that is worth a tincker's dam. It's a pity there were so few of them. If I had the teaching of my grandsons I would instill

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

COPY

into them this one idea - hold up their heads and go forward with what they think is right and in the face of unbeatable odds.

Your Mother and I have been deeply concerned over Philip's condition. His birthday, I take it, is Monday next. Mother and I will wire him, of course, tomorrow. We await anxiously your next letter to learn how he is getting on.

I am beginning to think of coming home. I don't know that adjournment will take place before early in November, and it seems foolish to come out for just a month. I am all in the air on this at present, especially with a campaign impending. I will try to get my thoughts back to a personal vein in the next day or so.

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

Affectionately,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Saturday, October 28, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

Last night we closed, so far as the Senate is concerned, the battle upon the Embargo, and the Bill, of which it was a part. They would not do us even the poor courtesy of publishing the vote accurately here on the repeal of the Embargo. It was 33 to 60, and on the Bill 63 to 30; and the latter was published, although the former was the decisive vote. There is nothing to say about our defeat, except that it was not unexpected, and the astonishing thing is that so many men stuck, under the circumstances. There's a certain class of Democrats, the kid-glove group of the Southern states, who have always felt uneasy since the purge last year, and have been looking for a more comfortable seat in the Democratic Party. They found it this year on the war issue. There is no use grouching over the result. I would like to tell you I am philosophical, but the day after I don't feel very good and have indulged in a good deal of mental swearing.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

It was fine of you to wire me after my radio talk on Tuesday night. I have had an immense lot of letters, and some hundreds of telegrams, and I don't think that one in a hundred takes issue with me. I put into that speech everything I had, and I made it on a night when I had had a very bruising day. When I tell you that they would not give me a line on it in any of the papers hereabouts, you'll understand something of what we have been up against. I presume the House will do as the Senate did, although by a much smaller margin. Hiram wired me in conjunction with Jane Neyland and her husband, and I think it was very sweet of them. I will write him as soon as I can.

I don't know whether I told you that the last couple of weeks your Mother has had her old bronchitis. She is better now, but she had a period of coughing, which if you have ever heard, would rend you and make you feel as if each horrible bark would be the last. I am so thankful she is better.

Now the great question with us, or with me rather, is whether I should come out to San Francisco. I could leave here so that I would have about a month and a half out there before I would have to return. I am not certain whether there would be any wisdom in coming under these circumstances;

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

but I confess to you today my head is as thick as a board, and I am unable to reach any intelligent conclusion. I am constantly oppressed with my own political situation in California, and yet I don't know what could be accomplished in the brief time that would be mine.

Your telegram said all were well. I take this to mean, although perhaps I am not wholly justified, that Philip is in good shape. I expect in your letter that I will receive probably Monday to learn concerning him.

I want you to know that much to my surprise Downey stood up throughout this entire contest, and I think he deserves our praise, although he subordinates everything, even an argument on our foreign affairs, to his peculiar economic philosophy.

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

Affectionately,

Dna

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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

November 1, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday was the test vote in the House. You have probably seen it. I wanted you to know that Havenner, after being against the repeal of the Arms Embargo up to two days ago before this vote was taken, turned turtle completely. This is his right. But he has no right to pretend that it was other than an opportunist vote, and was dictated by the effect of his vote on the San Francisco Mayoralty contest. I can't tell you the little and the big things that were utilized in this fight. No use crying over it. I gave of myself without stint to it, and I haven't recovered from the weariness of it. In addition, your Mother's illness, which does not improve as fast as I would like, disturbs me. Dr. Morrow's office has not succeeded in doing her face any good, and this is quite an affliction with its discomfort and itching. Then she has been afflicted with her rotten old bronchitis.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,

You asked me if I did not extemporize in a part of my speech. Yes, this was exactly so. I noticed I was three or four minutes ahead of my schedule, and I turned aside, reciting a telegram that I had received on behalf of the manufacturers of airplanes in the south. When I turned aside and began to speak apart from the notes, the two men in charge of the control room looked up frightened and both thought I was going to do something I ought not to do. I took the three or four minutes that I was ahead of the game and filled them in very nicely. It is strange you should have discovered it. Nobody else did.

With the love of your Mother and myself to
Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow, I am

Most affectionately yours,

W.H.J.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, November 5, 1939.

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 have received this morning your letter of November 3. I can't tell you how delighted I am to learn that Philip is getting along well. Give me his address, please, so that I may write him.

I have reservations for Friday, November 10. I am not sure I will be able to utilize them. I am very tired and Mother is anything but well. My own condition I will not permit to interfere with my coming back, but if Mother is not better by then I don't think that I will come out. Your Mother does not want to come, and I don't want to come either for that matter, but I feel that I ought to spend what time I can now in the State of California, and if it is only a month that I am allowed in it, to put that month to as much purpose as possible. Some people write me that the people will be in no mood for politics the month I can give now, and that I can accomplish nothing at all.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

The "polys" who advise me, say that I should be out rubbing shoulders with my constituents, and shaking hands with them, and doing whatever else I can to have them recall me. I have not been about the state for seven years, and since that time I had practically a year of sickness. Down in my gizzard I believe a short campaign, say two months for the primary, and thereafter from the primary to the election, will enable me to do more than dragging out the contest piece-meal. There is virtue, too, in a sharp, quick campaign of conserving one's energy and doing the best that he was capable of; on the other hand, is the old conventionally recognized system of saying "hello Bill", and "hello Dick", and "hello Pete" and showing a fictitious interest in the affairs of each one.

When I wrote you that Havenner turned a complete flipflop on the Neutrality Bill I was quite right. The amendment which the President sought to take out of the bill was called the "Vory's" amendment providing an embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The House left a gag rule on the three propositions to be voted on. The Vory's amendment, of course, was the important one. Havenner voted for the amendment when the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Bill was adopted and sent to the Senate. He voted against it the other day. Two other amendments, more or less important, that he voted for when originally they arose, he did likewise. I don't know what got into him. He and Dick Welch called upon the President the day before the voting in the House. Dick relates to me that Watson, the aide, stood at the door and asked them how they were going to vote, and Havenner immediately replied "The President will not be disappointed in my vote".

It was a big victory for the President, and there is no question about that, but the way was made easy for him. The Jews, and every newspaper that they had an interest in - and they are many - were shouting for repeal of the embargo. Every fawning, crawling, inferiority -complex American, who responded immediately to the wiles of the Englishmen, was praising God that England was kind enough to govern us and direct our Congress how to act. In addition to this, were the intelligensia, who are the rump of the old League of Nations' organization. There were practically no newspapers in all the land with us, save the Chicago Tribune and the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

Hearst papers. You can see how we were bottled up the last couple of weeks for publicity here when I tell you that the radio address I made did not receive a line of publicity in the papers in Washington or within a radius of a few hundred miles.

In the Senate one of the amendments was to forbid the sale of poison gas, and the appurtenances for throwing it. I thought this would be adopted because we have made it a national policy in the past, and it was so humane; but like every other amendment, it was beaten down in the Senate; and the elements that I have mentioned justified it. The President, too, was skillful in his manipulations. He stated in the beginning politics would be divorced, but he did not stand aloof and used every art and artifice to get votes. He had everything to offer, and we had nothing. We simply spoke from the country's standpoint. His people could take positions wholly at variance with one another. His stuff about politics took such boobs as Alf Landon and Knox, the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates, and they hastened to assure him that they would have politics stopped at the ocean, ~~and they would have no connection with such a bill,~~ ~~they would not have anything to do with,~~ nor permit politics

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

to enter into its consideration. All the time the Democratic National Committee, and every little and big official were using politics to the utmost; but the President got away with this stuff, and he got away with it with the hard-boiled leadership in the House, and the timid leadership in the Senate. I don't know what makes me detail to you all these things, but I am still confused and perplexed at what I knew was a foregone conclusion. I can't get over it. "My head is bloody, but unbowed".

This letter will reach you Tuesday morning. Would you do me the kindness to wire me collect your views as to our coming out where we could remain but a month, and then would have to return.

Mother joins in sending love to Philip, Hiram and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Anna

COPY

November 9, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

Here I am in bed. We had our reservations for tomorrow night, but I had been seriously contemplating giving them up because of your Mother's sickness. The doctor tells me I should not go out on that date. I will not, therefore. What the future holds for me is in the laps of the gods. I have complications of small ailments which give me a fever. I will send this by airmail to your house, and it will not be necessary for me to wire. Please do not let anybody know that I have this slight illness now. I received so many reports of my illness in the past, and I thought I had overcome them by the recent fight in the Senate. It would be easy enough for those who desire to transfer their ill-omened prophecies to the fact that I could not engage in a contest here without breaking down. The only person who knows of my illness other than you is Doherty, and I think he will keep still.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

November 8, 1933

I received a letter from Theodore today which I think requires me to be frank with him. This note is intended simply to beg you not to let it be known. Perhaps the Lord will be good enough to me to permit me to come out full panoplied for a political fight.

Your telegrams about the vote in San Francisco were duly received. I will hereafter comment upon the result of the mayoralty race in San Francisco.

I am very much better today, I think, and I am sure a day or two will enable me to get around all right.

Hastily and affectionately yours,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, December 31, 1939.

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

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

My dear Jack:

I duly received your letter relating to the clerks to the Federal Courts, and immediately responded to it.

The big news here is the cold spell that we're in the midst of now. We have had two snowstorms and the ground is covered, and has been, practically all week. The thermometer has hovered between 20 and 30, and it has not been very pleasant outside. I can hear you saying that this probably serves us right, but I am not sure what the weather has been at home.

Gradually the members of Congress have been arriving all week, and there is a goodly number of them here now ready for the opening. The Democrats are in high fettle, - that is the New Deal Democrats -, ^{Republicans} They think the President has kept them guessing, although he is as transparent on being a candidate for a third term, as he is on being in the White House for another four years. He keeps up the fiction of being in doubt, and not having made up his mind; and singularly enough, a

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

large number of our people are fooled. The Republicans, in addition to this, are not united, and they act as if they were afraid of their old opponents. The leadership in both Houses (although not so much in the House as in the Senate) has secretly been in the good graces of the President, and has responded to his blandishments.

I am trying to get somebody busy in my behalf to do the little things that may arise in the next few months, and finally I took Bob Girvin, who was with me for half a year or so, and who now has been on the Chronicle for some little time in the advertising department, I think. He will give but a part of his time to the job, acting as distributor for our publicity, which I have undertaken to make myself, for the first few months, and he will do nothing without consulting me. I don't think we can accomplish anything in the next month or so. I had hoped when I was home that I could swing out an organization that would be Democratic, but I am not sure that this will be possible. I should not be surprised to see one, or two, or three more candidates declare themselves before long. I concluded that there is nothing to do but not pay any attention to additional candidates, and that I must go ahead exactly as if there were not any other candidates.

The Bridges case had the conclusion all of us expected, still it makes me a little indignant. While I was in San Francisco two or three people told me that some of the shipowners had said they would prefer to deal with Bridges rather than anybody else. I could not understand

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -3

this, and doubted it.

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

Affectionately,

Wm.