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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, January 5, 1941.

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:

We received your telegram saying that you had written me by airmail Thursday night, and I have been anxiously awaiting your letter. Your two telegrams, however, told us what we were so anxious to hear, - that Philip was improving, and that though this improvement was slow, bith Ebright and Nafziger felt it was very definite. We could not have received a better tonic. I don't know why your letter has not come, and I am wiring you now asking you for Philip's condition. I wish that you would re ply to my wires collect. I don't want to charge you with all the fool wires that Mother and I may send to you.

We had a pleasant trip across the continent, save at the very end of our journey near Chicago, about fifty miles out of Chicago our engine broke down, and the time table gave us for change of cars at Chicago about an hour and a half, and we awaited with great concern for the

fixing of the engine, and the continuance of our journey. Finally we started again, and arrived fifteen minutes late in Chicago. However, the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad, upon which we had our reservations, met us on our arrival in Chicago and held the Pennsylvania train fifteen minutes, and we caught it, and reached Washington in due season next morning. We were very lucky in this particular, however, and I hope duly grateful to the officials of the Pennsylvania.

phere - I mean the mental atmosphere - in San Francisco and here in Washington. In Washington everybody is at fever heat. Those who advocate aiding the British to the extent of going to war are in command here. The Administration is a unit, and within the next few weeks or months we'll unquestionably see this country at war. It drives me crazy, but I see little possibility of averting it. The English interventionists have taught the people of the East that this is the only way in which we can hope to avert the horrible fate of the little countries that have been taken over by Hitler.

Tomorrow the President makes another speech.

He is pepped up to a delirious height by his broadcast last Sunday, and has met, apparently ( save from a few people like Wheeler, who, by the way, made the mistake of defining peace terms ) with almost universal eastern commendation. I hate to contemplate what the future holds for us, and particularly under Roosevelt.

A little incident occurred in the congress when we were being sworn in the other day, which, of course, was seized with avidity by the newspaper men. The custom has been for newly-elected Senators sworn in to meet at the head of the aisle leading down to the President's desk with their colleagues and be escorted down the aisle. I declined to be escorted by Mr. Downey, and went down by myself. I thought he acted in such a scrubby fashion at the time of the delivery of my speech, although in sympathy wholly with what I said and with my position, his attempts to break the effect of the speech . That he did not succeed was of no consequence, The intent was present, and I thought I would rather walk down by myself than be escorted by my colleague. Perhaps I should been satisfied have overlooked the whole thing, and that his unsuccessful

attempt had been a dud. I presume this would have been the wiser course, but I did not want him to feel he could get away with a dirty trick like he attempted to play on. me, and motioned him aside. The incident is just one of the little pin pricks of the game here, and I have thought since I might have been big enough to have forgotten what he did, and let him get by with chortling over the fact that at the next succeeding incident had had strutted down the aisle with me.

We're dining tonight with Dr. Willcutts and his wife. The doctor told your Mother that he knew Nafziger, amd that he was at the very top of his profession, and was a very successful surgeon. This is praise, indeed, from Willcutts, because he is the oustanding surgeon of the Navy. He is now on the new aircraft carrier, the Wasp, that has very many aircraft upon it, and about a thousand boys from the high schools of New England. He gets a day off now and then, and flies in here to be with his family.

We have run into a cold spell here, twenty degrees this morning, and now at two P.M. it is thirty, and we had a little snow flurry yesterday afternoon.

With our love to Miss Schow, Hiram, and Philip, and much to yourself, I am

Affectionately, Am

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, January 11, 1941.

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 January 10 was received this morning. Of course, we're in a turmoil here over the latest effusion of the President. The frightened members of congress, who know they are wrong, hesitate to espouse such a bill, and then reductantly There are enough of this sort to climbed aboard. pass the bill. On the spur of the moment I gave forth a little statement regarding it, and I doubt if I could improve on it, except in the days to come I will amplify it, using it as a basis for similar remarks. Of course, we're in the war. Long ago war would have been declared upon us if Hitler had not been restrained by the thought he could not very well carry the hostility of the United States, and so deemed discretion the better part of valor. We have given cause for war many times. If this bill passes it will simply emphasize what we have done heretofore. Washington of course is

full of Anglo-Americans, or, as Claude Bowers once referred to them, "The American Foreign Legion"; and the eastern press glorifies anybody that takes the English position, and cries down America; but I really believe the great mass of inarticulate people, those we never hear from, and who are the least vociferous, are opposed to war, even in behalf of England. is not because they want England whipped, for very certainly they do not, but because they fear the horrors of war, and want none of it; and it is absurd for us to pick up the war, and make it our own, but this is just exactly what we are doing today. A reasonable number of us will yell to prevent it, but it is coming now. Where is Mr. Willkie? His voice is not heard, although I am very glad to say Hoover's, Dewey's, Landon's, and many others have been heard.

I am very glad you devoted such space, as you did, to Philip. We have been in something of a turmoil the past week, and I assure you I have been worse than Mother. We got a letter from Miss Schow yesterday, and your letter today. You can figure back how long it was since we had heard about Philip. While the days have not been so many, it seemed an eternity.

I am wondering if I can arrange to get reports every other day, or some such difference in time, as to how the boy is. I would send Hiram envelopes addressed and stamped, and all I would expect him to say is "Philip is better today", or, "Philip is worse" and amplify it, of course, as he saw fit. Do you think it would be all right if I did this? I will not do it without your consent.

We have been in a cold streak here, and I suppose it will last until the end of winter. I went out Friday night to dinner at Senator Wheeler's. He offered to have about ten of us there at dinner to see whether we could organize. He had just ten, and we had a very pleasant time. They put the heat on me to lead the fight, and I was just as determined not to do so, and finally said there was no use arguing the matter — I was determined not to lead; thereupon we induced Wheeler to lead, and he will do so. I had enough of "leading" in the neutrality fight. I never saw so damned many prima—donnas in my life, and I grew perfectly insane with the details of speech making, and trying to keep them in line, and seeing them fall down one by one. I resolved I never would put myself in such

a position again, and I had sense enough two be firm and unyielding this time and decline the proffered honor (?). The Republicans are all split up; the Democrats reasonably solid. You can imagine the outsome therefore.

With my love, in which Mother joins to both boys and Miss Schow, I am Affectionately,

P:S: Does Philip care for letters? I would take time off to write him occasionally, but I have conceived the idea that he would rather not have letters.

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, January 19, 1941.

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 received this morning yours of January 17 and was glad to read the report upon Philip. Of course, we can't blame him for his little irritations, or his occasional fantastic ebullitions. He has had such a tough deal, and such a long time at it, that the marvel is that he isN8t crazy. I will be glad to see Dr. Naff-ziger when he comes back here. I don't like to hear that the doctors are going to take his leg out of the cast, and then put the cast back on again. However, I suppose they know best, and I am very thankful for his little improvement.

as practically everybody here calls it " the coronation". It gets me down a bit when I think of what it means, and the possibilities. I believe that the new law that the President seeks is in line with his secret thoughts and his dictatorship. He moves cautiously, but none the less

surely toward his goal. There isn't any need on the face of the earth why he should have such elaborate powers awarded him by Congress now. It's simply to acquire the powers, and then use them whenever he may choose for ulterior motives and for purposes undisclosed. They have succeeded, however, in so thoroughly propagandizing the nation that they will be able to carry by quite a handsome majority their purpose. He will very generously (?) accede to some fool or small amendment like limiting the power to two years, and then in his sanctum of sanctums laugh at the gullibility of the American people and the ease with which he deceives them.

Wendell Willkie has taken his little powder
like a little man. This is the influence of high finance.
It represents J.P. Morgan Company, and Aldrich of the
Chase National Bank. They have smoothed the way for him
to go over to England, filled him full of the necessary
poison, and he is going to deliver the Republican Party.
He is so damned vain that he cannot keep from personal
appearances everywhere Since he began to talk of going
away, he has made occasion to hold forth at the Town Hall

in New York during its meeting, and yesterday at some women's organization. He was told long before he began to campaign that he had a beautiful voice, and was a wonderful speaker, and he really beleives it; and he wants to afford/pleasure and enjoyment to large audiences of his marvelous gift.

Britain held forth. I never have had a bit of confidence in him since he came home during the campaign and made a speech for Roosevelt with his speeches made to many of us here still fresh in our minds. I listened with a great deal of doubt to what he had to say last night. He did say we ought not to go into the war, but he was in his argument "in" and "out", so that I did not think it had the force it should have had.

Damn this ceremony tomorrow. There have been one or two cartoons where old Mr. Common People is saying he hopes it rains, and snows, and storms, but the great bulk of the people play "God Save the King" and sing it, and think they are performing a patriotic service. This probably may be the last ceremony of the inaugiration of a President that we'll ever have. It is quite within the

bounds of possibility; but one old man, sitting here this Sunday afternoon, can't help but have his thoughts on the glories of our past, and the uncertainty of our future.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to both boys, Miss Schow, and yourself, I am

Affectionately your Father,

Arum M. Sohnson

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 26, 1941.

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 received this morning your last letter. In contemplation of his coming here, Dr. Naffziger wrote me very nicely, and copy of his letter I enclose to you herein. I assumed that he was going to ring me up when he got here. Yesterday was the day of his arrival, and I waited until the middle of the afternoon, and when I had not heard from him, I ascertained where the meeting place of the organization he was engaged in perfecting was, and rang him up there. He immediately began to talk to me about his letter, and said that he had told me in the letter everything that could be told me in an interview. I asked him to come and dine with us either last night or today, and he said that he got in that morning, and was going out at 5:45 to Chicago, and that it would be impossible. He added, that each time he came on here, he would report to me, try to take ad-

vantage of my kind invitation, etc. He made very plain to me in the little talk we had over the 'phone that he thought Philip would ultimately be all right, but that it would be a hard and a long road that he would have to travel. Your letter today shows continuous slight improvement. With this we'll have to be satisfied. My heart goes out to the boy, and I consider he has had sufficient to discourage anybody. I imagine we will have to watch this.

We begin work tomorrow in the Senate on the Dictatorial Bill. It is the wickedest piece of legislation that has ever been presented to the American Congress. I will be continuously engaged in long sessions until we conclude. Don't expect, therefore, anything more than a mere acknowledgment for the next week or two.

I agree with you that Lindbergh shone and scintillated in a deep morasse of witnesses. I did not like his statement that he was for neither side, and did not care which won, but he is entitled to his opinion, and these people here, who prate most of

civil liberties, the right of one to express himself as he will, were the first ones to take him to task. They tell me that he handled himself beautifully during the time he was on the stand, and he won the regard and the admiration of the audience. I am thinking seriously about putting him on the stand in the Senate, and let him repeat his testimony. The gist of it was, from the standpoint of the inquiry, that we could not be invaded under present conditions, and that the talk of England being the front line of our defense was all bunk.

The more I see and hear of Willkie, the less I think of him. How he could debase himself by crawling to Roosevelt to get a letter to Churchill is beyond me. He is evidently a thick-skinned public utility guy, and little else. He had all of us fooled during the latter part of the campaign.

With my love, in which Mother Joins, to Miss Schow and the boys, I am

Affectionately your Father,

Dad

P:S: Hiram has been worth his weight in gold in sending to me his reports on Philip's condition.

I am afraid I have over-burdened him in asking this, but he has done it magnificently, and won the gratitude of both his Grandmother and myself.

Huy.

The traction and all of the appliances, except the cast, were removed from his left leg a few days ago so that now he is able to turn about in bed with assistance. Also, he is now able to use his arms rather freely in helping himself to shift his position in the bed, and the soreness in his back is minimal.

With reference to the paralysis of his lower extremities, he has steadily regained movement and is now able, even with the right leg, which was most affected, to exert a very considerable amount of pressure. I believe that this leg would now support most of his weight. His sensations are still impaired but from present prospects there should be continuous and steady improvement.

I expect to be in Washington the twenty-fifth at a meeting of the surgical committee of the National Research Council, and if there is any laters news of his progress, I shall endeavor to reach you by phone.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd) Howard C. Naffziger, M.D.

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 2, 1941.

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 January 31 reached me today, Sunday. The burning subject with me is the condition of Philip. I think the doctors believe there is some improvement, but we'll never know, until the crisis is passed, and the issue absolutely determined one way or the other, just what is in these doctors' minds. In saying, I think there is a little improvement in the boy's condition I am not unmindful what dreary days he has spent in the hospital, and on his back. I think it is awful, and sometimes at night when I am unable to sleep, I lie abed thinking of the boy and the cross he has borne for so long, and if there is such a thing as thought transference I have communicated with him.

I feel guilty as Hell. I would not want what I say communicated to anybody else, but I have been conscience stricken at the conduct of the hearings on the Lease-Lend Bill. I am not feeling in very good shape,

and I gave each one of our few opponents a Member of the Cabinet for cross-examination. I did this with some trepidation, but they seized the opportunity with avidity. I gave Bennett Clark, because he was an outstanding Democrat, the cross-examination of Hull; and Vandenberg was entrusted with Morgenthau; to LaFollette, Stimson; and to Nye, Knox. I did not feel equal to the examination of all these people, and that was the reason I parceled out their examinations. All the examinations were poorly conducted, and each one I tried to round out at the conclusion. This has kept me just as busy, - our hours are ten to five as if I had undertaken the examinations of all of them, although, to tell the truth, I don't believe I could have stood it. But Clark got tight, and each one of the others, when they concluded, looked around triumphantly; and all but little Nye, have been absent strutting about since their performances. It was a hell of an examination they gave, although perhaps, nobody could have done any better, and I know it wouldn't have made any difference anyhow. But, all of these things have added to my woes, and I have been resorting to Mother's luminal to get some sleep of late.

I presume it is exceedingly conceited of me to feel that

I might have done better in the cross-examinations of these
men, and I was fair enough to say that no cross-examination
would have changed the result, but I have a feeling that I
have not performed my task well. I am glad to be able to love
somebody to make the confession, and so, mea culpa.

We're going to commence our testimony tomorrow.

With none of our side aiding, it is difficult to arrange witnesses, and witnesses throughout the Nation are frightened. My old standbys, John Bassett Moore, and Professor Borchard, the former I cannot have because of his advanced age and illness; and the latter is apparently frightened out of his skin. I hope tomorrow to get some good news from Chicago. I am going to lead off with Philip LaFollette, who can take care of himself, and Norman Thomas, who is equally apt. Well, so much for this. I'll make just one more remark. I have always had a very great respect for Walter George, and conceived an affection for him. I have seen him the last few weeks in the position that he occupies as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, simply crawling to the White House, and when I remember how the President tried to purge him,

I can not quite excuse his pusillanimity now.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to the boys and Miss Schow, I am

Affectionately your Father,

Aram W. Johnson

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, February 9, 1941.

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 February 7 has just been received. Thank you for your news concerning Philip. It does seem that everything possible in the way of a blunder has been committed on the boy, and when I read that there was a mistake in the cast that went 'round his heel I swore quite a bit. God, what a task he has had!

took the bit in their teeth and adopted a resolution for closing the hearings Tuesday night. They gave us tomorrow to finish our case, and then will wind up with a burst of fireworks, including Willkie and LaGuardia. It is just as well we close the hearings because our side ran out of witnesses. We could have had all sorts of cranks and crackpots, and a couple of these were put upon the stand yesterday against my advice, but fortunately they did us no particular harm. The vote of the committee to end the hearings was ten to five. We had at least five

more who were sympathetic with us, but unfortunately (?) they were absent. The vote indicates, in a measure, the strength of the two sides on the committee. It is a most singular thing how the most important witnesses dodged — I mean such men as Dr. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and Dr. MacCracken, who is the head of Vassar College. The Wheeler incident here was done with a subtle purpose by the President in order to frighten away good men, who were unaccustomed to testify before committees. Alf Landon, I am very glad to say, could not be frightened off, and came down and testified as best he could. Willkie will try to put us out of business Tuesday. Inasmuch as we are pretty well out anyway, I don't particularly care what he says. I will write you again after the hearings have been finished.

I wrote to Hiram a couple of times not to burden himself so greatly as, apparently, he was doing. He used to write us every other night, but this week he has not done so. I hope that he is all right.

The Bill passed the House last night as was expected, but I am very glad that Martin was able to hold most of the Republicans in line. As I hastily glanced at

the morning papers, they refused to adopt the prohibition of sending our troops across the water. If this be so, it ought to damn them forever.

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

Affectionately,

And

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 2, 1941.

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 taken time off this Sunday to write two or three letters, and of course, I wish the first one for you. I can't tell you how busy we have been here in the fight on the Lease-Lend Bill. It is practically over now. We have gained one or two votes, but this will not prevent the President from winning by two to one. It is a wicked bill. It is founded upon hypocrisy and put over by misrepresentation. There is a rotten conspiracy here among the papers, and they lie daily. I have never seen such a unanimity of sentiment in the big press of the country, that is, the press of the Atlantic Seaboard. I am certain it is not the sentiment of just the ordinary man and woman. I can gather this sentiment from the mail I received. some thousands of letters, unopened yet, that were the the result of my speech last Monday, and the ratio is more than twenty to one against the bill, and against any involvement by us in the war. However, it is a

case of "Truth Forever on the scaffold Wrong forever on the throne".

I think as good a fight as could be made has been made. That I feel rotten about it goes without saying.

I don't know what to make of Philip's condition. I think you have taken the right course in suggesting more f equent calls by Dr. Naffsiger. They may see through the professional eye. You view him affectionately. I think of him constantly, and I ardently pray for his improvement, and ultimate recovery.

This is just a letter that you may hear from us and know that we are well, but troubled in mind.

Affectionately,

Dra

# COPY

March 4, 1941.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., [3 d] 973 Green Street, San Francisco, California

My dear Hiram:

Your letter of February 25 was duly received. I was intensely interested in what you said of your own prospects. I would counsel you to have patience in your job, and the Court experience will ultimately come. What to say to you about the Navy, I have not the slightest conception. I feel just like you do about service there. I feel it will be very trying and irksome to you. However, these damned military and naval gentlemen are giwing us an enormous army, and certainly by the time they get a two-ocean Navy in 1946, they will be hollering for every man they can lay their hands on, and in order to be sure of them, they will take them in advance.

We have not received the record of your voice which you said you were sending. I will look for it in the next few days.

I have asked Miss Connor to send you today some more addressed envelopes, so that if you should want them you will have them on hand. You have been very, very good about sending the reports to us. We have been so hungry for news of Philip that you supplied the want. It probably is unnecessary in the future, but if you could send us, say two a week, or possibly one, we would appreciate it very much indeed. I have wondered how you have kept up your detailed statements, and on a couple of occasions I have written to your Father about them. It must be a terrible task. I don't want to lay any such burden on you, but if you could give us just an occasional one, it probably would suffice.

With my love, in which Gran joins, I am Affectionately,

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHPAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
ROBERT B. WAGNER, N. Y.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUVS, IND.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
ALBER W. BARKLEY, KY.
ROBERT R. REYNOLOS, N. C.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.

NEV., CH. JAN
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF,
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 9, 1941.

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:

No letter from you today. I am sorry because Hiram's last letter narrating what they have done to Philip was, to my mind, simply awful. There is no use writing about it because we could not adequately characterize it. I don't know what the end will be. Your Mother and I will pray God to be merciful to the boy. We're sorry we can't do more.

Last night we did the dirty deed. We assassinated liberty under the pretext of aiding a belligerent in the war. I am not quite in the humor of writing you about it, as yet. I will do so sometime soon. The long, gruelling fight has taken something out of me. I don't know just what it is. Although publicly I did not appear much, privately I was engaged every moment of my time, and the damned thing has left me in rotten shape.

I send you this letter today so that you may have something from us. I will write you again during the

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

Affectionately,

Jan

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN PAT HARRISON, MISS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND. JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA. GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO. CARTER GLASS, VA. JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF. ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH. WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN. GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 16, 1941.

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I came over this morning to the office in the expectation of a letter from you, but the last few weeks I have had to wait until Monday morning for that letter. It is not any fault of yours because you mail it, undoubtedly, in time to reach here in time for delivery Sunday, but our postoffice is so inefficient they just lock up on Sunday, and don't attend to business or their duties. I have not had any news for some days and I am growing very much worried again about Philip. I will wait until tomorrow morning, and pray God in the meantime.

I listened to the speech of the President last night, and I thought it was rotten. It was rotten from two standpoints; first, in its delivery, and secondly, in what it did not say as well as what it said. I don't believe that Roosevelt knows any more about the situation than we do. He has jockeyed himself into a position

where he thinks he may give orders to the world, and this is all he wants. Like the dog gone back to his vomit, this country has become English again, and the Atlantic Seaboard and the southern States are the most disgusting part of America. They won in the recent voting on the Lease-Lend Bill some of the southerners by their constant emphasis upon tobacco and cotton; they won some easterners by talking of textile mills, and some because they were worthy descendants of the Tories of the Revolution. Some Americans were won by their sympathies and their desire to see Britain successful. I confess this was my feeling, but I constantly differentiated between giving aid to Britain and becoming a participant in the war. It is a pretty thin line of demarcation, I admit; still, we had held it for some months now, and we could probably have held it for some months more. Above all, I wanted assurance our boys would not be sent abroad to fight a foreign war. This was freely given by the President when he was a candidate for office, and on many other occasions; and was as freely given by his spokesmen in the senate. But

since the passage of the Act, all these promises are forgotten. The fact is, we knew they would be, and that was why we fought for an amendment making it absolute. But these people can do anything now, and they are beginning the same sort of tactics that were in vogue in 1917, and beginning to smear every man who expresses the slightest difference of opinion from them. However, I am sick at heart of the whole thing. I wish we had it to do over again. I know I could do so much better. And during the whole turmoil this fellow Willkie struts about, and Roosevelt and those around him are playing horse with him. The severest blow came when McNary went back on us. He is a full-fledged advocate of the tight little isle now. His assistant leader has always been that. He could be purchased with a dinner at the British Embassy any time. McNary had held himself aloof until towardsthe end of the fight, and I imagine this gave him greater power.

I don't know what to do with myself. There are some things so intimate with one that he can not write about then even to himself. I don't know that I explain myself at all, but whether I do or not, at least I have made a feint at it, and we'll let it go at that.

I expect to have Wheeler at dinner tonight, and I will try to go over the situation with him. The trouble with my friends in this movement is that they all covet the limelight so, and really I don't want any. We had a meeting the other day of our group and 17 responded, which I thought was/very good number of the 31 votes we received. There were probably eight or nine who were prevented by engagements and otherwise from attending; but they all showed a good spirit and were willing to do anything that we decided. The trouble is deciding what we can do without making ourselves ridiculous.

I do wish I had some word about Philip this morning. Hiram has been so good in his reports that I can not adequately express our gratitude to him. It must be a great deal of work he has attempted, but if you could see how welcome his reports are, you would understand a little of our interest.

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

Affectionately,

Dan

# COPY

March 18, 1941

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

My dear Jack:

Your Mother and I have made up our minds very suddenly today that tomorrow afternoon if it be possible we will leave for Florida and stay there for a week or more. We're both very ragged in our nerves, and I reached the conclusion yesterday we are entitled to a brief respite. I had no vacation last year, neither did your Mother, and we had some anxious days.

If we leave tomorrow, as we are now contemplating we will leave Washington at 5:30 p.m. on the Orange Blossom Special, and arrive in Miami at 3:35 p.m. Thursday. WeSvill go to the Shoremeade, and doubtless, remain there during our brief stay. Our plans are not definite, but will be probably during the day. If they are changed in any way I will let you know.

Hastily and affectionately,

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R. B. WHITE PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD J. C. WILLEVER

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CA302 33 NT=LR MIAMIBEACH FLO 30

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR=

973 GREEN ST SFRAN:

892 mills Blodg.

THIS MESSAGE INTENDED AS STOP GAP WE ARE HOPING AND PRAYING
FOR PHILLIP HAVE BEEN HERE TEN DAYS FURTHER STAY DEPENDS
UPON WASHINGTON THE VACATION HAS DONE US BOTH GOOD LOVE
TO ALL=

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

W. 6. Bu 329a (71)