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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Thursday, July 4, 1940.

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 been trying to write you all week, and finally have taken my holiday for the purpose. I received this morning yours of July 1st, and the copy of letter sent by you to Mr. Mitchell. I await anxiously his reply.

In addition to being overwhelmed with work, I have been laid up since my last letter to you with what has been lately an ever recurring colitis. I have diagnosed this myself without agreement from the doctors, until recently they have just reached the conclusion that probably I am right. It is an inflammation of the colon, that I would rather be without. It is as painful a thing as ever I have had. I am all right again, and I hope that the damn thing is gone, not to return any more.

Now, having disposed of my own ills, the most important subject to any individual, - I mean his own ills are important, not mine - I will proceed to write you as I had intended.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Great events have happened of late. The fall of France possessed mysteries for most of us, who had been taught to regard the French Infantry as irresistible, and the French soldier as of greater ability than any other race. It is beginning to seep out that the debacle in France came from within, as well as from without, and that those who are going to be placed in charge of the new government will be well-known names affiliated now with the Nazis or with Mussolini. The tough thing developing in France is the intensity of the hatred for the British, whom they accuse of not coming to their aid in their darkest hour. The French, too, blame us, only in less degree than the British, for their misfortunes, and some of them hint positive commitments were made by the United States. I don't believe this; although, there were implications in what was said by the President, doubtless to France, and by Bullit and Kennedy, that might have justified their conclusions.

There has been an element of disappointment, and worse, in the British these days arising from the same reason. Of course, I have no information upon the subject, but I think the French and British place a great reliance upon what was said by Roosevelt to them, and upon his denunciation of the Germans. He went far beyond what the re-



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

sponsible head of a nation should, and repeatedly indulged in denunciations that he might better have left unsaid. However, we could speculate until doomsday and we would not know the truth until some "white paper" or "red paper" or "blue paper" is published by some government after we're all dead. The story may be summed up in what we used to say that if you don't put your nose where it can be tweaked, it won't be tweaked, and Roosevelt has meddled and muddled so much with the foreign situation that it is no wonder with disaster in France, and defeat, and worse, staring the British in the face, that they should look for a scapegoat, and lay all their misfortunes upon the devoted head of Uncle Sam.

The morons in our electorate, and perhaps they are in a majority, have been so confused by the President's tactics that they do nothing else but wonder about what he is going to do, and give to him a blind adherence. This he lacked a short time ago, but it is now his greatest campaign asset. It makes it a little difficult for me to follow my usual bent where I am asking the two nominations in the primary. I am going to though, even if it defeats me for one of those nominations. I don't believe in "pulling fast ones" or doubtful positions in a primary fight, or in any other fight for that matter; and I fear that following this course I will lessen



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

very greatly my support in one primary, at least. I have made no statement about the recent Republican Convention, although I think I know exactly what I am going to do. Predicted upon a candidacy for a third term for Roosevelt I will have to be for his opponent. I think the tradition established by Washington, Jefferson, and others of our most highly worshipped Presidents is a perfectly sound one, and it must be preserved in order to preserve our Republic. If any one man can run for, and be elected for a third term, there is nothing to prevent him following it up with successive elections, and there is nothing to prevent him from making himself an absolute dictator then. The urge for this procedure is already firmly implanted, in my opinion, in Roosevelt. To permit him by tricky devices and by even seizing upon the course of events to do this will set at naught our orderly government processes, under which he has always been restless and impatient. I did not care much for the Wilkie nomination. His friends predict he is a marvelous fighter, and in some respects, a very great man. I am suspicious of his friends, but not too suspicious to accept him in place of the greater damage of a totalitarian government or a dictator. I would rather have seen Tom Dewey named, but he could not rise to the occasion, and unfortunately,



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

one ballot exhausted him. I am a little critical, too, of the great uprising for Mr. Wilkie, and I think that if we could find the gentleman behind it, we would have discovered the same old crowd that we became familiar with in California long ago, and later in the nation. The trouble with the situation is that Roosevelt has been so intemperate, so little inclined to see things through, so intolerant of other peoples' opinions, that, of course, he has aroused intense hatreds, and in many instances, they are justified.

Well, this does not mean that I want to see back in power the old masters whom we drove out of California, and Roosevelt drove out of here in the early part of his career. I don't think thoughtful men trust Roosevelt now, and I mean men just like myself, who were in sympathy originally with what he was trying to do, but who have reached the conclusion, first, that he did not know how to do it, and secondly, that he would take whatever means he could, however disgraceful and dishonorable to gain his ends. His ends even when good were marred by this sort of procedure, and when his ends sought were bad, as frequently they were, he endeavored to attain them by downright bribery, and the most corrupt practices politically.

Well, I did not intend to give you a long dissertation on the present politics. I think I shall let the Demo-



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

cratic Convention pass before I attempt anything in the national sphere. This I do because so many friends of the Administration lie about his desire for a third term. I know they lie, but on the chance that I may be mistaken, I will endeavor to hold matters in abeyance for a short time. I have not written anybody else but you how I feel on the national fight, and of course, I know that you will say nothing about it, at least for the present. But I can foresee trouble ahead for me, even in the primary.

I am very glad that Philip is feeling fairly good again. I keep my fingers crossed, however, because I fear another operation. I want you to tell him, and to tell Hiram that I have endeavored to write them somewhat at length but I have not succeeded, and I will try to do so at the earliest possible date. Tell them that I have not forgotten their good letters at all.

The last few days I have been engaged on the Naval Committee in listening to the testimony on Frank Knox. The President nominated Stimson for Secretary of War, and Knox for Secretary of the Navy, and in doing so struck the Republican Party a body blow; but I don't regard the appointments as political. There is a greater issue, fundamental in character underlying these appointments. They were not appointed for



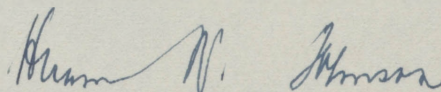
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

their ability, nor because they were peculiarly fitted to render a public service at this time. Not a bit of it. In my opinion, their appointment was solely because their views approximate the views of the President, and solely that he might have two men of whom he was sure on the question of getting into war. Both may deny it, but I think this pure subterfuge on their part. With my views I would not vote for either one of them, and I propose to do as I damn please. We finished with Knox yesterday in the Committee on Naval Affairs. You can see the weakness of human nature, and the pusillanimity of Senators when I tell you that the original vote when Knox's name came to the naval committee was with a very slight majority against, and yesterday he was approved by a vote of nine to five.

It is less than seven weeks now until the primaries. Can you suggest anything I ought to do. What is your opinion of both primaries?

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

Affectionately your father,





Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 8

P:S:           Try your hand at writing a 15 minute or a half hour speech, will you not? I will have to put one or two of these speeches on the radio between now and the primary. This I will do as Girvin suggested by speaking from here to California and contacting enough of the stations there to give wide publicity. It is perfectly futile for a man at this time to talk anything but war, and we can only emphasize the views we've expressed that we are opposed to our entry. As I have written you before measures " short of war" are perfect poppycock, and the great body of people who are talking of them must mean, if they mean anything, that with the failure of measures " short of war" they would enter the conflict. Besides, and this is an admitted fact, we are not prepared to enter any war with any country. We could not furnish a tithe of what is required, and every expert of the army and navy has so testified. If you want their testimony I will send it to you. But I would be very glad if you would write on this subject, or any other that occurs to you that is pertinent to the campaign. The more I think about the matter, the more doubtful I become of success in the Democratic primary,

*W. H. Johnson*



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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, July 7, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

Here's a copy of letter I have just received from Neylan. I think probably he has the same ideas in his head that I have had, although I am not clear. I wanted you to know that I have had this answer, although I have had no other answer either from Girvin or from anybody else.

I want Mr. Mitchell to go to work for me.

You have suggested in your letter received today the main objection, - that is, that his employment might be misconstrued by Doherty. I have received a letter from Doherty this morning which contains a rather comprehensive view of what is being done in the south, but I am not satisfied with what has been done in the other counties there that I named to you in my last letter. I am trying to work this out, and to work it out with perfect frankness, and hope to do so within this next week.

Yesterday I had a long talk with James A. Guthrie who is now in charge of what used to be the Harbison papers in San Bernardino. He will do anything that he can and will par-



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

participate in forming an organization in that county and aid in surrounding counties. He is here for the purpose of attending the Democratic Convention, and will not return until that Convention has been held. I mention this to you to show you that there are people in those counties who are ready to do anything they can, and people who are influential. He has not been approached by anyone in respect to any organization there. You will hear from me again in a day or two about Mitchell. How much do you think he ought to be allowed for expenses? I don't want to go on any such basis, but I would want to send him at once what he'll require for expenses alone.

I was tickled pink over your report on Philip's condition.

Affectionately,





C O P Y

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Chief:

Bob Girvin has submitted to me a proposed pamphlet on your Labor record.

The first page of the pamphlet would be a reproduction of William Green's letter to President C.J. Haggerty, of the California State Federation of Labor.

Another suggested page for inside of the rear cover is the resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor at Hollywood, in March.

It seems to me these two documents tell the whole story and for many reasons that I could discuss with you more in detail I think they constitute a succinct and conclusive statement of your Labor record without raising a lot of issues.

I am writing you this hurriedly as I understand from Bob Girvin that you wanted my view of it.

With best wishes to your Boss.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Jack.



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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 12, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

I have received yours of July 9. Guthrie is the man that I referred to in San Bernardino. He has succeeded to the Harbison papers; indeed, he was a partner of Harbison for many years prior to the death of the latter. He is very strongly for me, and will aid in any way he can. He is one of the men that I am going to send Mitchell to see. I wrote to Doherty telling him about my desire to have Mitchell do some work for me in his territory, and the south generally, and I am simply awaiting his reply before communicating with Mitchell. I have got old enough now not to do things in the dark, but will advise those who are interested of just what I am doing.

I was delighted to read your note about Philip, and I hope he continues to improve.

I have about given up hope of being able to come to California for the campaign. Girvin has an idea I should deliver one speech over the radio ( a tie-up of the regular chain in California ) about the first of August, and then two



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

or three during the last week of the campaign. What do you think of it? What nobody understands about politics is the habit they have of tightening up the last few weeks of a campaign. For instance, in my own case, Roosevelt will be nominated for a third term. The situation will tighten up then, so that I may lose the bulk of my Democratic support. Among the Democrats, probably 90 per cent are either acquiescent in a third term, or strongly in favor of it, and I look for trouble after the Convention meets. What a horrible situation for a great party to be in! The members of it are going to Chicago without knowing what they are going to do, waiting to be told, and then waiting to cheer. They can not even select a vicepresident because the one man has not told them, and they have to sit about for a subordinate nomination of this sort until the word comes. I think it disgraceful, and that it can be made to appear so during the campaign.

The difficulty with the Wilkie campaign will be that there are too many fellows here in the Republican Party accustomed to go in the back door of the White House, and they can not rid themselves of the habit.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

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

Affectionately,

*Ma*



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 14, 1940

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

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

My dear Jack:

I am sending you herein pamphlet written by Girvin that he wishes to print immediately for circulation. I wish you would go through it carefully, and if you want to submit it to anybody else before printing, please do so. I have gone over it twice, stricken out some little things, and put interrogation marks by others. Some little things that I have stricken out may be absolutely correct, but they are not worthy the discussion to which they might give rise.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would give me the benefit of your knowledge of the proposed pamphlet. Remember, that I am in poor condition to determine what should be done, and remember, that others will forget what always happens in a political campaign, the tightening up of the opposition in its closing days. With love,

Affectionately,

*DW*

P:S: I am enclosing copy of C.K.'s dedication of our Progressive Hand Book. This was written April 5, 1913. Perhaps it could be worked in some way.



# COPY

"Never before in the history of California has there been a state administration which promised so much and which has kept so many of its promises.

"Never before in the history of the State has there been a time when the throat of California has been so free from corporate cluthh

"Never before in the history of California has there been a governor who has honestly, and earnestly and faithfully, and conscientiously, and pugnaciously, endeavored to do so much for the people.

"And never before in the annals of this golden state has there been a governor who has succeeded in accomplish ing so much.

"No need here to recapitulate.

"The record is before the eyes of all men.

"Big business, the interests, the Southern Pacific, the grasping and greedy public-service corporations, the unclean and the vile in politics and in social and in commercial life - these no longer dominate in the halls of legislation.

"The money-changers - the legions of mammon and of Satan - these have been lashed out of the temple of the people. "

Sacramento Bee, April 6, 1913. Chas. K. McClatchy.



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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 17, 1940

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

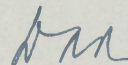
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,  
Attorney at law,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

Hastily replying to your recent letter,  
travel by air is out. I would not subject your mother to the  
suffering that I know would be hers to be reelected. Secondly,  
if I see a possibility of being able to come out I will seize  
it.

Would you please give me your unbiased view as to  
the situation as concerns both nominations? I think in doing  
this you can take into consideration the fact that Olson will  
come out into the fight before we finish in behalf of one of  
the Simon-pure Democrats(?) I don't know who this is for I am  
informed both Ford and Patterson were formerly Republicans.  
They are all running now for all nominations. This relieves  
me of a lot of silly abuse for running for two or three.

Hastily and affectionately,





KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 19, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

I am sorry to bother you so much or to fill my letters so completely with my politics.

I received from Girvin the other day a letter telling me that Dunne was going to write me about the situation, and tried to tell me the things he wanted to know. I have received Dunne's letter since, and I think I understand it. Copy of it I send you herein. I think you know the answers to all of the questions that he asks. Girvin ought to know them. I hate to write this sort of letter even to the chairman of my campaign committee. Let me see if I can put Dunne's letter into plain language.

He wishes to know, first, the relationship which should exist between my campaign, the Presidential campaign, and the various congressional campaigns. He suggests in respect to the general features there seems to be no disagreement - I must conduct my own campaign. In this he is absolutely correct. I do not mean that I would wish to conduct a campaign in opposition to any of the other parties named, but I don't desire to tie myself up this early in relation to all of the campaigns.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr/ 2

Dunne states that a determination will be made as to who is to head the campaign, particularly in reference to the Democrats, and of course, in matters of finance. I don't know anything about the financial part of the campaign, and as to finances, I can not answer anything. He is familiar with the Democratic committees we have in the various counties. Those committees will conduct the campaign, of necessity, separately, because they are Democrats, and do what they can in my behalf. Personally, the fact that I have Democrats thus working for me would make no difference in my attitude toward the Presidential ticket.

Dunne asks what my attitude toward the Presidential campaign will be; first, between now and the primary; second, after the primary in the event that I obtain both Republican and Democratic nominations; and third, after the primary in the event I obtain only the Republican nomination. I would like to get along, if it be possible, up to the date of the primary, with as little friction as possible. The speech of acceptance of the Republican candidate will be made on the 10th day of August, and of the Vice-President about the 17th of August. So you see that we'll know little of the Republican candidates' stand until two and a half weeks before the primary is actually held. After the primary, I don't expect to have any wraps on me, and I shall do exactly as



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr/3

I think I ought to do, come what may in the primary.

I don't know whether Dunne wants me to write, as he says, "directly" to him, but this letter I intend to be an answer to his. As you know, I could never tolerate a third term, and I think it is fraught with greater danger to the country than any other issue. Of course, I should hate to see the Republican candidate adopting an interventionist stand in the war, and if he does, I will be very hard put to it to support him the way I would wish to support a man who was fighting a third term attempt of his opponent.

I think this answers Dunne's letter. You can tell me whether I ought to write him personally or not. I barely know the man, and it is a difficult thing for me to write to one I barely know my innermost political thoughts. The Democratic Convention that has just been held was a stench in every honest man's nostrils. From the domestic standpoint, we have no issue that measures up to the transcendent importance of the third term. It is true that in the international field, war overshadows everything else, but there would be little use for us to fight a war, with all its attendant horrors, only to find ourselves with a dictatorship in the United States.

If you deem it wise, you may use this letter as you deem appropriate, keeping in mind the caution that I display

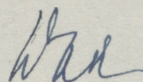


Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr/4

in writing to you instead of to Dunne. I don't want our plans, vague and inchoate as they are, to be published, or to be given indiscriminately to a Wilkie management. There remain thirty-eight days only until the primary, and I repeat, I would like to keep from undue friction in that time.

With my love,

Affectionately,





Law Offices

DUNNE & DUNNE

Insurance Exchange Building

San Francisco

July 15, 1940

PERSONAL

Dear Senator Johnson:

I arrived back in San Francisco a week ago today. I found my desk piled pretty high and have had a chance to talk to Bob Girvin only once, for a short time. Among other things, we discussed the relationship which should exist between your campaign, the Presidential campaign, the form of which is only beginning to take shape, and the various Congressional campaigns. In respect of the general features, there seems to be no disagreement,-- you must conduct your own campaign. Meanwhile, the form of the Presidential campaign is taking shape, determinations will shortly be made as to who is to head the campaigning, how it shall be conducted, particularly in reference to democrats, and, of course, the matter of finance. It is expected that I shall discuss certain of these matters very shortly with the chairman of the Finance Committee. That committee is very anxious there there be only one drive for campaign funds; that the various candidates do not conduct separate drives; that a single fund as a result of a single drive be established and that from this single fund amounts be allotted to the various candidates. I have thus far assumed that you would have no objection to such procedure.

I have anticipated, however, that in discussing



Hon. Hiram W. Johnson

DUNNE & DUNNE  
2

July 15, 1940

these matters I may be asked what your attitude toward the Presidential campaign will be, first between now and the Primary; second, after the Primary in the event that you obtain both Republican and Democratic nominations; and third, after the Primary in the event you obtain only the Republican nomination. Bob Girvin has indicated to me what your position is, but I am taking the liberty of asking you if you won't write to me directly, so that in discussing these matters here, I may be in position to say what I have heard from you.

I appreciate that it is utterly impossible at this time to say definitely how close it will be desirable to draw your campaign to the Presidential campaign, or how far it should be kept away, or what your attitude should be toward the Democratic New Deal Administration and the Democratic nominee. The results of the Democratic Convention itself may require some adjustment in point of view. If I understand Bob correctly, these shifts are large to be in emphasis and in technical campaigning position. Upon the whole your attitude will be one of opposition to the Democrats and supporting the Republican nominee.

If you can find time to let me have your views I would appreciate it very much.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Arthur B. Dunne

Honorable Hiram W. Johnson,  
United States Senator,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
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TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday,  
July 21, 1940

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

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

My dear Jack:

MR. HIRAM  
Attorney  
I am still mulling over the query I put to you recently as to my coming to California, and whether or not I should brave the criticism that would attend it, or risk the harm that may come from my absence. I have written quite a number of letters to Los Angeles, and a few to San Francisco. Perhaps my views will clarify in a few days, and I will write you again.

I received a very good letter from Girvin this morning from which I learned that he was holding various meetings in the smaller towns, and he gave me the names of three men -  
*of our organization who are doing the job,*  
Howard Freeman, Warren Burgess, and David Oliver. I can not recall any of them.

What a diabolical cunning it was to toss into this campaign the war abroad. It is utterly impossible for people to be interested in our domestic issues, which mean so much to us, and upon which a successful assault at any other time could be made upon the President.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr - 2

I am sick of writing you of my politics.  
Each day I get further enmeshed, but I tell you, my dear  
boy, I doubt my own judgment, and I doubt, what I will say  
to you alone, my ability to campaign.

With love to all, I am

Affectionately,

*dad*



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.  
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
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ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 25, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your letter containing your response to Mr. Dunne, and I enclose you copy of mine to him of this date. I took your advice and simply said your letter expressed my views.

I can't tell you how badly I feel over the Mitchell incident. I think I wrote you that I felt, under the circumstances, it was my duty to inform Doherty of what I was doing. I did this, because were I in charge of a campaign, and the principal selected somebody to do certain work without consulting me, I might feel a certain hurt, and that hurt I intended to lessen by notification in advance. I am more sorry than I can tell you that Doherty monkeyed with the situation at all, or that he received Mitchell in the cavalier manner that you indicate. I will write Mitchell a letter of apology tomorrow.

It was my intention to have him go into the ~~other~~ counties other than Los Angeles where I assumed nothing had been done by the Doherty organization, and endeavor to do what he could in regard to those who were friendly toward me there. There was nothing in this that should have angered Doherty, and he never expressed any irritation or pique concerning it to me. I don't know what to do now. I can't ask a man to go to work for me under the circumstances. I can only apologize, and that I will do.

Affectionately,

*H.W.J.*



COPY

July 25, 1940.

Personal

Mr. Arthur B. Dunne,  
Attorney at law,  
Insurance Exchange Bldg.,  
San Francisco.

My dear Mr. Dunne:

Soon after the receipt of your good letter of July 15 I forwarded a copy of it to my son, Hiram W., Jr. This has been a method we have had of consideration of my communications, because of my absence three thousand miles from the scene. I am just in receipt of the reply sent to you by him, and with the views he expresses I am in agreement.

You'll pardon, please, this cumbersome method of dealing with a subject, but the result is what counts, after all, and I think he has specifically responded to your queries.

May I say to you how very much I appreciated all that you have done for me in this campaign, and the association begun thus I trust may continue, and that opportunity will be accorded me in the near future to demonstrate my very great thanks.

With my fond regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, July 28, 1940.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday afternoon, just before five o'clock, Earl C. Bassett, International Legislative Statistician of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio, called on me, and told me that there was an attempt being made to rescind the endorsement of me by the Railroad Trainmen. He had with him various papers relating to the matter, which indicated that the local committee composed of G. W. Simpson, chairman, 5472 Wadean Place, Oakland; F. G. Pellett, 3336 Idell Street, Los Angeles; and Harry See, whose office is in one of the office buildings in San Francisco; and one other, whose name has escaped me; had already taken action, and unanimously resolved to reconsider their former action, and to endorse Ford. Among the papers that he had were long reports from See saying I had degenerated into a no good fellow, and quoting Governor Olson as being in favor of the action, and as being a very bitter enemy of mine. This action came like a bolt from the blue. It was worked out, Bassett told me, at the Chicago Convention, where Ford, Olson, and others, were delegates.



Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I immediately wired you. I wired Mike Kelly in the hope that he might have some relations with the member of the committee in Alameda, and wired Doherty in the south. Today I have written Whitney, the head of the organization. I have written him simply saying that because of the long friendship that has existed between his organization and myself, its unbroken cordial relations, it was a pity after thirty years to see them broken, and I left the matter practically in that situation. I won't beg any bastard on earth to vote for me, or any organization. These fellows, like Harry See, have wriggled an office out of Olson, and they are paying for it. Well, let them pay. Perhaps some other names will occur to me before tomorrow. I am sure McCabe was very close to See, and I thought likely that Roche was. That is the reason I mentioned their names to you.

Will you let me know upon receipt of this letter, the reaction of Hiram and Philip to the Conscription Bill. There is going to be a rather heated argument upon this bill. It will pass unquestionably, but some heat has already got into the discussion. I may want to get into the discussion. I am tentatively against the law in peace time. I think it is a mistake to fasten the military mind upon our country. It is



Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

no answer to say - we had a draft law in the last war, because we were then in war. The only way we are in war at present is a "wordy" war started by the President.

I am not coming out probably, and I will have to take my medicine accordingly. From the accounts that I have northern California is in pretty good shape, the southern part not so good. If I had to do it over again, perhaps I would do differently, but I have got so far in now, no one man can change it, and I can not build anew another organization.

You are quite right. I have had an extreme hesitancy in taking your time. It is good of you to say that you are willing to do it, but I shrink from asking.

The last two weeks we have had a perfect hell here. The hot weather is due to cease tonight, but the weather man has lied continuously for two weeks, and one more lie won't make any difference. I don't see how we've ever survived living here without air-conditioned homes. Practically everybody has one or two units. Our poor old one in our bedroom is not sufficient, but it does relieve us and make it immensely more comfortable.

D--- the election. I guess I am getting too old. Give my love to the boys, in which Mother joins, and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,





KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
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JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
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ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.  
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.  
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.  
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA  
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 31, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

I send you herein copy of letter received by me today from A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio, which was written in response to my letter to him. His letter reassures me. I thought, inasmuch as I had wired you in regard to this matter, I ought to send you this letter.

Hastily with love,

*Hiram W. Johnson*



A. F. Whitney  
President

L. R. Harvey  
Assistant President

G. W. Anderson  
General Secretary and  
Treasurer

COPY

GRAND LODGE

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN

In reply refer to  
File No. AFW:BW

General Offices. Cleveland, Ohio.

July 29, 1940

The Honorable  
Hiram W. Johnson,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 28th, in which you advise you have learned that our California Legislative Board "either had, or was contemplating," rescinding our endorsement of your candidacy for re-election as United States Senator from California.

Please be advised that our California Legislative Board has no authority to set aside our endorsement of yourself and such endorsement will not be set aside. In order that our Legislative Board may be directly informed, I am sending each member a copy of this letter.

Our representatives have advised me that at the time they called on you with reference to the Harrington Amendment to S. 2009, the Omnibus Transportation Bill, you were most cordial and cooperative and assured them that you would not support any transportation legislation that did not protect railroad workers against unemployment resulting from railroad consolidations.

I want you to know that we fully appreciate your many years of friendliness toward us and cooperation with us. You not only have our hearty endorsement, but I can also assure you that you will have the votes of the railroad boys.

With high regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Copy to:

J.A. Farquharson, Nat. Legis. Rep (Signed) A. F. Whitney  
G.W. Simpson, Chairman, Calif. Legis. Bd. President  
F.G. Pellett, Secretary, " " "  
H. See, California State Legis. Repres.  
E.C. Bassett, Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C.



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.  
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
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  
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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, August 4, 1940

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

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

My dear Jack:

I feel like a man who was walking along the street and suddenly had a whole parapet fourteen stories up, come down upon his unsuspecting head. Upon looking up I discern the countenance of the President in his usual merriment at his misdeeds, and apparently the whole building had fallen about me. I don't know what led me to believe that I could get through this campaign without being smashed. I admit it was out of character, but I did think this time I might escape the usual fight. Well, it was not to be. You are quite right in saying that this is not the end of it either, and we may expect when we least expect it - another smash, and another, and another until the primary is over. I tried to go him one better in my reply, but I think I can save the main facts until I am required to reply again. There never was <sup>done</sup> <sub>^</sub> in my opinion, <sup>of</sup> <sub>^</sub> the necessity for a reply. I wired a few friends in San Francisco out of courtesy, and I thank you very much for your response. It struck an answering chord with me. I may say to you, that



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

your Mother and you wrote my reply. Now, of course, the next move will be to endeavor to have the labor unions that have endorsed me withdraw their endorsement. I can't tell at this distance what possibility there is of this. The only man who is against me in union labor that I have seen is Senator Shelley. After an hour's talk, in which half a dozen people were present, he left this office wishing me luck. Paul Scharrenberg is on the ground now, living at the Elks' Club in San Francisco. You can call upon him in any way you desire. The net result of this exchange with the President, of course, will be to my disadvantage. His method will be to pick out some single vote of mine as proof of the fact that I am no longer liberal or progressive. In the multiplicity of votes I have cast, undoubtedly this will be done. It is perfectly absurd to assume from the fact that I did not in some single instance follow the course he marked out that thereby I had lost or turned my back upon my progressivism or liberalism. I think I had better make up my mind to the loss of the Democratic nomination, and begin to think of a stright out fight as the nominee of the Republican Party.

It was mighty fine of Wheeler, unsolicited, to answer him Friday night. I did not know it had been done until the next day, and I felt the more grateful to Wheeler,



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

because without suggestion from me or anybody else, he had the nerve to do as he did. You said something in your telegram today about other statements following. You ought to understand our politics better than that. I might by arguing at length obtain two or three, but even that would be doubtful. This is a filthy game, and that is why men who have little to recommend them beside a certain obstinacy and courage can ~~only~~ occasionally rise to the top. It is utterly without courage, or manhood, or decency or honor. To oppose the President in this sort of fashion with statements on behalf of somebody else is quite unknown, and I can<sup>r</sup> imagine how my friends, and they really are my friends here - would tremble at the very suggestion. I would not ask them to save myself under any kind of circumstances. I would be very glad if you could through Judge Roche, or any others of our group, ascertain the reaction and let me know.

Here is a story that I think is accurate, but which I would keep between us. I believe the President struck at this time because he learned that on Wednesday night Joe Martin, the right-hand man of Wilkie, dined with your Mother and myself with Mrs. West, a friend of Mother's. We had a very pleasant evening, and of course, a delightful dinner. Just before seven o'clock, the time fixed for dinner, the rain came down in torrents here, and Martin who had just



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

started on his way met Sam Rayburn, the democratic leader of the House, who is simply the poltoon of Roosevelt. You'll understand what he is when I tell you he was a lifelong friend of Garner, and was ready to desert Garner at any moment. He simply does the bidding of the President in the House. Martin asked Rayburn to give him a lift to save him from getting drenched, and Rayburn did so. Of course, Rayburn knew where we lived, and I have no doubt Martin told him he was coming to dinner there, and that Rayburn at once smelled a rat, and rushed to the White House, and disclosed it. I can't think of any other reason for Roosevelt choosing the particular time he did, and the particular method.

I have been intending to write Hiram since the receipt of his letter. Make my apologies to him, please.

Girvin has written me about some speeches over the radio. I will do this, of course. He suggests Tuesday, August 20 and Sunday August 25. I don't know whether these are the best days or not. I have told him to remember the difference in time so that it will be between seven and eight o'clock your time, in order that we might get the best audience. This might not be so on Sunday night. These talks are to be talked directly into California, and are not to be canned speeches. I prefer this, don't you?



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

With my love and my thanks for your telegrams,  
in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately,

*Dad.*

P:S: I received your telegram regarding Mr. Day and we  
immediately filed his recommendations with the Navy De-  
partment - Admiral Morrell and Mr. Manning. They were  
very nice about it, but of course, said nothing definitely,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 9, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

I send you herein copy of letter from  
A. F. Whitney, the head of the Brotherhood of Railroad  
Trainmen. This ought to be given to Paul Scharrenberg  
to deal with. He is familiar with the circumstances;  
or, if he does not care to deal with it, will you see  
that somebody in the organization investigates it for  
Mr. Whitney, and notifies me quickly?

Hastily and affectionately,

*Hwd*



A. F. Whitney,  
President

L. R. Harvey,  
Assistant President

G. W. Anderson  
General Secretary and  
Treasurer

COPY

Hiram W. Johnson Papers  
Bancroft Library

GRAND LODGE

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN

General Offices, Cleveland, Ohio.

In reply refer to  
File No. AFW-W

August 8, 1940

Confidential

Honorable Hiram Johnson  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I am advised by Mr. Harry See, State Legislative Representative, B. of R. T. for California, that the letter issued by the President and National Legislative Representative of the Brotherhood endorsing you will be released to the membership in California on August 12th or 15th.

I will greatly appreciate it if you will have your California people check in on this matter, and if the information is not released as indicated by Mr. See, kindly advise me. I will also appreciate any information concerning any effort on the part of Mr. See or his staff to undertake to retard or block your nomination, directly or indirectly.

Wishing you lots of success, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) A. F. Whitney

President.



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.  
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.  
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THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.  
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.  
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ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, 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

August 11, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

Yours of August 9 has just reached me.

I will answer briefly the three points that you make, first telling you, however, that Girvin arrived on schedule yesterday, and spent the day with me, and last night was at dinner, and remained with us until after twelve o'clock. He came on because he was tired, and because he wanted to distract his mind for a brief period in other ways, and recover his equilibrium. This was all right with me, and I think about ended it. He will return right away, and be better for his couple of days off. He explained to me in ~~the~~ detail the situation in the north, and is extremely confident of what we'll do there. He told me enough about the situation in the south for me to realize it.

Now answering the points in your letter of today -

1. Roy Howard. Last night, in response to my letter to him, in which I recited that the NEWS' people - I did not identify them - had told some of our people they



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

should not assume the NEWS to be with us because of their editorial on my liberalism, and in reply to my direct <sup>request</sup> to have the NEWS support us more actively, I received the following telegram:

"San Francisco Calif. 10 1939.  
"Senator Hiram Johnson,  
Washn DC

"While I completely disagree with you and believe that we should have registration of every male between 18 and 21 and while I am certain that every demand of self preservation dictates a sane program of selective service to increase as we have the foundation to equip and train men, such increase to continue until we have a trained force adequate to protect the liberties which our people today so greatly undervalue, no difference of opinion has ever diminished my love and admiration for you. Since you are still my favorite all time Senator I have today done my boy scout deed with the editor of the San Francisco News whose respect for you is no less than my own - even if you are wrong on the above mentioned points. In consequence I think you can scratch the News off your worry list for the next twelve years at least. Meantime we will hope that you yet see the light on conscription. Am leaving today by plane for Australis, Dutch Indies, Singapore, Hongkong, Tokyo, and Manila. Hope to be back in San Francisco September 17. A kiss for the Boss and the best of luck to you. Of course you will win. Roy".

This ends that, I guess, and Howard, as usual, was fine.

2. I am very doubtful of the second individual that you mention, and particularly so after talking with Girvin. He said that he knew certain people who would be against us if they thought that we had the support of the



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

individual in question. I don't pay much attention to this. I always doubt at the end of a campaign when men have become set in it, whether one man's direction will be controlling. I will think of this this week, and then decide whether the approach ought to be here, or let you people deal with it in California.

3. At least a one day appearance in Los Angeles.

I don't agree with you at all that a one day appearance in Los Angeles would be worth a rap. The advertisements you suggest might be valuable in a certain way, but however, pages of publicity could not amount to very much. If I could go down there and spend three or four days, have two or three meetings- of course the meetings would develop into twenty or thirty - I think I could do myself a great deal of good, but with a one day appearance I am very doubtful of.

The criticism that you recite you found generally is deserved, I recognize that, but I will say to you what I would say to nobody else, and would not wish it repeated, I have not been up to par; and there are certain other reasons which I will disclose to you after the fight is over. So I think we'll dismiss the one day appearance in Los Angeles.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

I believe that I will win the Republican nomination. I believe the Democratic nomination is extremely doubtful. I don't know whether to attack Yorty and Ford, or not because of their foul attacks. I have thought, thus far, that I would not give publicity to them by mentioning them. This is the old way of a coward that I have never taken, and it is not from cowardice now, but because I have learned from long experience that if you have a fight in hand, and then begin to pursue another course, you are very likely to undo the good that you have accomplished. Still, I don't like the way in which my opponents are playing the game, and I don't like to take from anybody a blow and give no return. You saw this exemplified in the exchange with the President recently. I have no doubt that four-fifths of my friends counseled me to pay no attention to the matter, and I had to go by myself, so I would not be bothered by them, and do the thing that was characteristic of me. I think it turned out beautifully.

Now, I would like you to write me what you think I ought to do with these opponents of mine.

I will try to make a record for Girvin for use on the 20th. This is the best I could do at present. With



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

the imminence of the bleitzkreig we better move rather warily setting up two weeks in advance, or even ten days any other speeches.

Affectionately,

*Dad*



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 13, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

Just a line to let you know that Girvin is still here, but expects to leave this afternoon. Don't labor under the delusion that he made his trip on account of me, or on account of our politics. I don't know exactly what is in his head, but it certainly was not the necessity of coming here for us. I don't blame him a bit. He was tired, and he thought he would get more rest, and I have a sneaking idea that he thought he would be welcomed by the United States Senate with open arms. He has been disappointed in this, because knowing how busy the men are here, and how they hate to be disturbed with interviews by gentlemen who simply want to "pay their respects" to them, I have not felt like annoying the Senators, and he has been rather disappointed not meeting them. I have seen him constantly while he has been here. He has dined with us two nights in succession, and I must say I would rather he had not come. I might have been able to have the first record done by this time had he not come. I don't want you to divulge the contents of this note, but I did want you to know



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

that I was not frittering away my time here. He is going home the southern route. I don't know why unless it is to enlarge his acquaintance in Los Angeles. I think he has done a marvelous job. I have no idea how effective it will be, but I am sure it could not have been done better, and so I feel very kindly toward him. I would not even wish him to think that I would be ungrateful, for the world, but I did want to notify you so that you would not labor under any idea that he was here because of me.

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

Affectionately,

*Mad,*



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 17, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

Of course, as we approach now the end of the campaign, I can think of nothing else, and therefore, don't expect me to write any gossip letters, and please pardon my absorption in the primary election on the 27th.

At the instance of Girvin, which he said represented the views of all of you, I tried to make some radio records. It was difficult for me to do so for various reasons, the principal one being that nearly everybody advised me my contest is in as good shape as possible, and I did not want to do anything to disturb the equilibrium. Moreover, day to day events in Europe leave us in doubt as to what may transpire; and if it should happen that England falls as France did, no one can foresee the result, or foresee the result on our people. For these two reasons principally I was very careful.

Girvin sent me by wire this morning six legal documents to sign, which constituted indemnification of the Broadcasting Company, and its affiliates, even to the extent



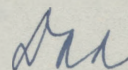
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

of guaranteeing the attorney's fees in case they have any trouble over the broadcast. I ventured the assertion to Girvin that this was not required of my opponents, and I feel quite certain they view without tremor the characterization of me that has been going on by Yorty and Ford. However, this makes little difference.

I don't know what to talk about in subsequent records to be made by me. I wish, on receipt of this, after due deliberation you would wire me what to you would seem appropriate speeches.

Give my love, in which Mother joins, to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

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



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
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GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, August 25, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

Of course I am not fit to write of anything else today except the primary. I feel very grateful to you all for what has been done, and I feel that nothing more could be accomplished than has been accomplished. I am very thankful to all the good fellows who participated in the fight. As we near the end, the whole thing becomes rather cloudy in my mind. With our storm of presidential disapproval, and apparently, the State administration chiming in, I looked for more activity against me on the part of both. I shall very quietly get my returns at 122 Maryland Avenue, northeast, Telephone Lincoln 5357. I will be there until the curtain is rung down, and we know the result.

In my last broadcast ( how I hated them ) I used your story. I thought it was singularly appropriate in this campaign. In the first record of this last one that I made I severely took the army to task for their unpreparedness, and stated what the papers, and all of the pictorials showed us in



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

New York - the militia with stovepipes and broomsticks, tanks, with signs painted upon bakery wagons "these are tanks" and the men generally lying down and saying "bang". The night that I sent this record, various individual members of the staff, the high ranking officers of the army, insisted that these stories were false, and I thought that inasmuch as I was really relying upon pictorial papers, and others here, that I ought not to make the charge; and therefore, I asked Girvin to send back the record. Friday morning, early, I corrected it and made a new record. For myself personally I believe the stories were true, but if challenged concerning them I knew I could be met with a plethora of evidence, and I personally could not substantiate them. Rather than be unjust to the army I cut out this from my record, and that was the reason I sent for it. It was a great deal of bother that I went to to prevent an injustice.

You say in your letter today with four hours difference in time, and with the closing of the polls in California at eight o'clock it makes 12 o'clock, or midnight in Washington. We're not on daylight savings time, and the difference therefore is three hours. I would like either a telegram or a 'phone call just giving me the returns from northern California before we retire. I have arranged for news from Los Angeles.



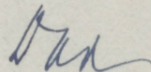
3.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Come what may in the primary, I want to thank you, my dear boy, for all that you have done in my behalf. I don't need to tell you how I feel, because I think you can understand; nor do I need to tell you how all this makes me feel very mellow, very kindly, and affectionately, and very, very grateful. Good-bye until the sun goes down.

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

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be "Dan".



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

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

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 30, 1940.

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

My dear Jack:

Well, the victory was ours. Your Mother and I were mighty happy. We were up nearly all night Tuesday, and Wednesday, we got little rest. Thursday, I was enjoying myself opening my telegrams, which have come in great number, and are very, very touching to me. I was enjoying myself immensely on Thursday, when a telephone call from Neylan came. He talked on the 'phone literally for more than three-quarters of an hour; and, after starting with the plea that he wanted my advice, he proposed the following to me: That immediately I should go to work, take over the State Committee from the people who are in control of it, and use it as I saw fit. I told him the State Committee did not amount to a tinker's damn, and I would not put forth any effort to get it, and I knew nothing about the detail of which he was speaking. He was severe in his criticism of the Committee, and said that it wandered back to old Merriam. Upon this possibility of a suggestion from Neylan I turned "thumbs down". He then asked if I would approve of Girvin



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

taking charge of part of the Wilkie fight. I did not get him at first, but finally it turned out that he wanted what organization we had immediately transferred to Wilkie, and Messrs. Doherty and Girvin to maintain their positions in respect to that organization. I told him, and I repeated it again and again, as you have to do in talking to him, that Girvin and Doherty were free agents, and I could not hope to control what they personally did; that I would prefer that no attempt to transfer what were organizations for my election be made; that in my opinion an effective transfer of the whole organization could not be accomplished because in San Francisco a part of the organization was Democratic, and in Los Angeles, the whole of the organization had been built upon the theory of getting the Democratic nomination, and neither could effectively be transferred to any other as was desired by him. Of course, his purpose was to get me and my organization continuing, and continuing to function now as a Wilkie organization. This, I don't believe could be done in the first place; and in the second place it would lead to immense bickering and ill-will between the members of the organization and myself. Finally I disapproved of this particular scheme.



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Later in the day I received a telegram from Neylan as follows:

"Immediately after talking with you I called young Girvin and advised him he should do nothing until he had cleared with you first. I took this precaution to avoid any possible misunderstanding and because I knew he had been approached to go into other fight. I emphasized to him that organization was naturally yours and that he must do nothing which would savor of transferring any part of it without your previous approval. He assured me he would follow my advice. Neylan. "

From this, it is obvious that the scheme had been already taken up with Girvin.

In the south our effective organization consisted almost entirely of AFL members, all of whom are Democrats, and most of whom are Roosevelt men. I am sending you this immediately so that you will know if anything arises.

Of course, ultimately I expect to be for Wilkie, although I confide to you that he has raised hell with us here by adopting the Roosevelt foreign policy, and being for conscription, etc. He really broke the back of the opposition to the conscription law, and lent a great deal of assistance to the Austins, and others, in the Senate, who were playing the game of Roosevelt and Great Britain. He slapped every one of us in the face, who were thinking American, and acting American;



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

whose sympathies were all with Great Britain, but who did not wish to let those sympathies carry us into war, and this is the big fight that will be made hereafter. He left a good deal of resentment here by obstinately taking his stand.

I wish to God that Neylan had kept out of this scheme of his for a few days. It was the first free day I had since the primary, and I was just reveling in the letters and the telegrams, and feeling as happy as a clam at high tide, when he telephoned me; and there was much more back of his telephone conversation than appears here.

It was a tremendous victory, greater than I had any idea it would be, and I feel very grateful to everybody who did anything. I am trying to acknowledge everybody's wire, and to write thank you notes to all of those who participated.

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

Affectionately,

*dad*



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# WESTERN UNION

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(17)

R. B. WHITE  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
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J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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- DL = Day Letter
- NL = Night Letter
- LC = Deferred Cable
- NLT = Cable Night Letter
- Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1940 AUG 30 PM 6 22

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR=

Hiram W. Johnson Papers  
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AIR MAILED YOU IMPORTANT LETTER SPECIAL DELIVERY MILLS BUILDING TODAY PLEASE READ IT CAREFULLY. SINCE SENDING IT I HAVE TALKED TO GIRVIN WHO BELIEVES AS I DO THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE AND WORSE TO TURN OUR ORGANIZATION OVER TO ANYBODY NOW HE WILL KEEP OFFICE OPEN FOR WEEK OR MONTH IF NECESSARY AND THEN HE CAN DETERMINE HIS COURSE HE SAYS STENOGRAPHERS AND OTHERS CANNOT BE PREVENTED TAKING JOBS AND THAT IS ALL RIGHT HE WILL KEEP OUR OWN HEADQUARTERS HE IN CHARGE JUST AS HE HAS BEEN IN THE PAST. YOU MIGHT IF YOU HAVE TIME TELEPHONE HIM AND THEN WIRE ME COLLECT=

HIRAM W JOHNSON.



# COPY

August 31, 1940.

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

My dear Hiram:

What a fine letter you wrote me on the result of the primary! We were very happy about it. We carried every county in the State, and it was very pleasant to me to see the returns from the little counties of northern California. This, of necessity, will be the last primary in which I will be the principal (nature will take care of that), and I am glad to have the record left unbroken. Since the primary, I have done little else than write telegrams and letters in acknowledgment of those that have come to me from all over the country. I confess that I like to do it, and it is a very pleasant task. It is a rather difficult thing to acknowledge all of them, but we're trying to do it.

I am sitting here this Saturday afternoon watching it gently raining outside, and wondering whether you and your Dad are pursuing your usual course, the one at the beautiful place in Marin County, and the other upon the boat. By the way, the Communists published the story that I was the owner of a \$250,000 yacht, and then indulged in animadversions upon a man so wealthy not being a friend of the people. At first, I did not understand what they meant, but then when finally the Communist paper in San Francisco published the story, a great white light dawned upon me that they referred to your Dad's boat.

We passed the other night the most sinister law we have passed since I have been here,--the conscription law. It was perfectly useless to oppose it, but a group of us did and obtained 31 votes. When Wilkie followed Roosevelt in favoring it, he broke the back of the opposition among the Republicans, although I doubt very much if we would have had that anyway. The people favoring the law would not distinguish