YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Mayors Project

Political Experience

O. H. 4

JOSEPH L. HEFFERNAN

Interviewed

by

Hugh G. Earnhart

on

May 2, 1974

JOSEPH HEFFERNAN

Joseph Heffernan was born in Youngstown in 1887, the son of John Heffernan, a puddler in the iron mills, and Rose Anne Flynn. One of eight children, Heffernan attended local public schools and St. Columba grammar school. After graduating from high school, he attempted college at Valparaiso University and Ohio State University, but for unstated reasons did not make a go of it. During his teen years Heffernan decided that education in the ways of the world was as important as a formal education. For a while he worked in the steel mills of Youngstown, but wanderlust struck and over the course of ten years he worked on a steam shovel gang in the middle west, as a cook on an Ohio River steamboat, as a fisherman on the Wabash River, as a rivet heater in Oklahoma, as a hotel clerk in Los Angeles, as a prospector in Death Valley, and on a construction gang building aqueducts in the Mojave Desert. In 1910 he returned to Youngstown as a reporter for the Vindicator, eventually moving on to the Ohio State Journal and the Cleveland Leader. He then spent two years in Europe as a free lance writer. After six years of informal study of law, Heffernan passed the bar in 1916, but intervention of the war led him to enter the army. Serving as a sergeant, Heffernan was asked to write for the Stars and Stripes, an official army publication. After the war ended, the army offered him the position of head of the School of Journalism at an army supported university in Beaume, France Instead he spent a year in Washington establishing Stars and Stripes as a veteran's publication.

Returning to Youngstown in 1920, Heffernan finally embarked on his political career. He joined the local Democratic party, and by 1922 was elected head of the Mahoning County Democratic Party and a state committeeman. Because of his support for Vic Donahey in his successful campaign for governor in 1922, Heffernan was appointed as a municipal judge in 1923, later in the year winning his own term in that post. In spite of the opposition of the Ku Klux Klan in that election, he ran ahead of the Klan supported victor in the mayoral race, Charles Scheible Heffernan was noted for his speaking ability, and as a judge he was rated humane, but firm. In 1927 Heffernan reached the peak of his political career when he was elected mayor of Youngstown. The city faced serious economic problems and still suffered from ethnic, religious and cultural splits. Heffernan's election resulted from his ability to relate to the ethnic groups from southern and eastern europe. During his term the city overcame its financial problems, and established a solid financial rating. Unable to run again because of the charter, Heffernan returned to the practice of law in 1931. Continued activity in the local and state Democratic parties led to his appointments to the Federal Communications Commission (1934-1935) and as an assistant attorney general for Ohio (1937-1938). Although running for prosecuting attorney in 1944 and for judge of the court of appeals in 1952, he never again won political office. Joseph Heffernan is presently retired and living with his daughter in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Dr. William Jenkins
December 2, 1976

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

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INTERVIEWEE: JOSEPH L. HEFFERNAN

INTERVIEWER: Hugh G. Earnhart

SUBJECT: Political Experience

DATE: May 2, 1974

E: This is an interview with Joseph L. Heffernan for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program Mayors Project by Hugh G. Earnhart at 1815 Juanita Drive, Youngstown, Ohio, on May 2, 1974, at 1:00 p m.

E: What do you remember about your parents and early childhood?

H: To begin my recollections of my boyhood and of my family background, it is my understanding that my paternal grandfather and grandmother, with their family, lived in County Tipperary, Ireland.

I understand that they had a farm near the city of Clonmel and the smaller city of Cashel, which is near the historic Rock of Cashel. Sometime in the early 1840's they migrated with their families to the United States. My grandfather, John Heffernan, in addition to being a farmer, was also an expert with horses, as many Irishmen were. I have always understood that they landed at New York City, and his first work was on the building of the Croton Reservoir, where he had charge of teams of horses and dump carts used in the excavation.

After they were there for some time, they began to move west with the railroads, and he did similar work along the right of way of the Erie Railroad In that way, they first reached Hubbard, Ohio They stayed there for several years. My grandfather

had charge of the mules and horses which were used in the operation of the Andrews-Hitchcock Blast Furnace at Hubbard.

Around the blast furnace and the mills in those days, they usually had men with horses who did such work as hauling the ashes away from the furnace to an area near the mill and near the city, where they built up a dump with the ashes. That was my grandfather's work at Hubbard.

Coming up to the Civil War, he had accumulated what might be called a competence; that's the expression used in that day; you might say a modest wealth. Then my grandfather came to Youngstown.

As I recall, he had five children. My father, John Heffernan, was the oldest. There was a brother who went west and was lost in the confusion of that period. One sister stayed in Youngstown, was married, and had a family here. Another sister married a man who was superintendent of the Steinway factory at Long Island City, and she and her family lived on Long Island. Another sister married a man of Youngstown, and they took up a homestead in the state of Missouri at the small village which was called Camp Branch, near Sedalia.

While my grandparents were still in Hubbard, my father grew up, and during his teens, learned to be a horse-shoer. When I later looked at his arms, they still were so muscular that they reminded me of the village blacksmith in Longfellow's famous poem. Just before the Civil War, Youngstown began to grow from a village surrounded by farms to a small town. Coal had already been discovered in the Mahoning Valley, several blast furnaces were in operation, and the first rolling mill for making iron was built in 1846. My grandfather decided that it would be wise to move from Hubbard, which was not growing, to Youngstown. Accordingly, he came here and bought a plot of ground on the lower part of Foster Street. It extended southward from what is now Arlington Avenue, but then was called Thomas Street. Below Thomas Street, he built a large frame house that was his home. Then he built two other houses, and they provided him with an income.

After my grandparents moved to Youngstown, my father went to work in the iron mills, and he soon became a puddler. Because of the industrial activity resulting from the Civil War, the mills had developed rapidly. The two large ones were the Brown-Bonnell Mill which bordered the river just east of the present site of Market Street Bridge, and the Cartwright-MacCurdy Mill at Westlake Crossing, which is the place where West Federal Street and West Rayen cross the Erie Railroad, as well as each other. The Valley Mill bordered Crab Creek to the north of Oak Street and near Valley Street itself. Near Wilson Avenue and Center Street was the Hazelton Mill, surrounded by a district known as Hazelton, and near a famous sulphur spring, which was reputed to cure almost every ailment known to man. The Brown-Bonnell property was absorbed by the Republic Iron and Steel Company. The Cartwright-MacCurdy mill was modernized by the U. S. Steel Company, and it later was dismantled. Both the Valley Mill and the Hazelton Mill faded away.

During that evolution in the making of iron and steel, the puddler's trade became extinct. The mill owners tried to transform manual puddling into machine puddling, but the puddlers themselves insisted that a machine could never puddle iron, and their prophecy was fulfilled. The last attempt of which I know was made by the A. M. Byers Company at Girard. Thus it is likely that there is in America today not one man who ever worked at a puddle furnace. That, in fact, is a notable social and industrial change in our community, as it is also in many other parts of the country.

The men of the iron mills, obviously, were a distinct species. As lawyers say, they were sui generis. Most of them came from the British Isles. They learned to make iron and later to make steel in the Midlands, or the Black Country; that is, the district of which the cities of Birmingham and Wolverhampton are the industrial centers. Apart from the native English, some were from Glasgow, Scotland, and from Wales, but many of them came from Ireland. The iron mills of Wales were mostly at Cardiff and Swansea. Swansea, moreover, was the center of the tin mills. Thus the Welsh tin wrestlers brought their skills to our district, and mills were established at Niles and New Castle.

Without going into all the details, it is fairly accurate to say that the men in the iron mills were divided into two main groups. Those groups included the puddlers and the men who worked at the rolls. A puddler did his work at a large furnace. He first put into the furnace a quantity of pig iron which he heated till it was red-hot. As it became soft, he stirred it with a heavy, long-handled paddle and shaped it into large balls. When he knew that the heat was ready to draw, he used metal tongs, suspended overhead, to take a ball from the furnace and place it in an iron cart resembling a wheelbarrow. Then he ran with the ball to a large rotary machine called the squeezer, which forced out the last impurities in the hot iron. During a full turn, a puddler and his helper could usually make four heats, but they sometimes, especially in hot weather, had to knock off at three heats.

The second group was composed of the roller and his assistants. They handled the iron the puddler made in his furnace and passed it through the rolls, so that it was shaped into the finished product. During that era, the rollers were, indeed, the "lords of labor." Puddlers were regarded as skilled workmen, and they received substantial wages, but rollers were often paid fifty or even a hundred dollars a day. On the basis of the value of their money, such pay would now be equal to five hundred dollars a day. Consequently, many of them became wealthy. In fact, one put his first assistant in charge of the rolls, and he went to Europe for a vacation.

On my maternal side, my grandfather was born and reared in County Clare, Ireland. My grandmother was born and reared at Glasgow, Scotland, in the suburb or village of Paisley. Evidently, my grandfather decided to migrate to the United States. At the same time, my grandmother, with a lusterware teapot, a pair of brass candlesticks, a paisley shawl, and her Scotch bonnet, also migrated.

The tradition that I have always had brought them together on shipboard, and they were married as soon as they landed. He found work as a stonemason, and they came into Ohio at Steubenville. My mother was born at Steubenville. My father, of course, was born in County Tipperary.

When they got to Steubenville, my grandfather became a stone-mason contractor principally with the railroads and sometimes on the highways of the state. He built stone culverts and stone bridges all along the railroads of northeastern Ohio and on the highways. I think that some of those culverts and bridges are probably standing today.

In following his work on the railroad, he advanced from Steubenville up through the state until they arrived at Niles. Evidently, they were at Niles for several years. My mother went to school there.

At that time, there were two predominant groups of people living at Niles. One group was Welsh, and the other was Irish. My mother talked so often about the families she had known that it seemed to me that I had known them myself. She also talked with us about a canal that came through Niles, probably from Cleveland, and went on to Youngstown. In fact, she got into serious trouble at the canal because she and several companions opened the lock, and when a boat came, there was no water for it to pass through.

From Niles, my grandparents moved to Youngstown. Why they moved I do not know, unless it was because of the work of my grandfather. In any event, they settled on what is now known as the East Side. To give a precise description, their new home was in the section of Smoky Hollow that was called Bottle Hill. I could understand the origin of the name Smoky Hollow, for the Valley Mill was the center of the neighborhood. It bordered Crab Creek, and was a short distance north of Oak Street. The section famous as Bottle Hill was farther north than the main part of Smoky Hollow, and it extended from the mill to McGuffey Street.

As to the origin of the name, Bottle Hill, I still am not sure, but one explanation was based on the custom of mill men to assemble on Saturday at their favorite saloon. When they later returned home, they often had in their pockets bottles of whiskey which they intended to keep for the next week. On the way home, however, they sometimes joined in finishing a bottle, and then they tossed aside the empty bottle. At that time, there were boys who developed a thriving business by collecting bottles which they sold to saloon-keepers. The

price was a penny for a half-pint bottle and two pennies for a pint bottle. Thus an enterprising boy could make as much as ten or fifteen cents. According to that explanation, the practice of the men in discarding bottles and the method of the boys in collecting bottles led to the use of the name Bottle Hill.

My maternal grandparents settled at the corner of Willow Street and McGuffey Street, which is now directly under the McGuffey Street Bridge. My grandmother was both thrifty and shrewd in business and was the dominant member in the family. My grandfather was a good mason, and he usually was busy at work. His name was James L. Flynn; hers was Jane Donnelly. For their new home, they built a large, two-story frame building. The upper floor was the residence; the first floor was a combined grocery store and tavern. That kind of business was fairly common They had a large lot that extended southward from McGuffey Street. They also built a barn in which they kept a horse for use with the store, as well as for driving with a buggy. As their business prospered, they built two houses which they rented. On a particular day every year, my grandmother hitched up the horse, put on her best clothes and drove around town to call on her relatives and the Scotch people she called her "townies."

E: About what year was it when they had the grocery store?

H: I think that my maternal grandparents came to Youngstown about 1870. I base that impression on the time of the marriage of my parents. They were married in the early 1870's. Youngstown was then changing from a village into a small town. My grandfather continued his work as a mason, and a large part of it was the building of stone walls for cellars, which we, of course, do not see in the houses built today I think that in some of the old houses there still are walls built by him Now most of the walls are made with concrete blocks.

My maternal grandparents had seven children, although one boy died when he was still young. My mother, the oldest girl, was Rose Anne Flynn The second girl was Mary Anne. The third was Sarah Anne. The fourth was Margaret Anne. Mary Anne married a

Youngstown man named Tom O'Mara, and they went to Montana where they first had a ranch, and then lived at Anaconda. There he worked at the smelter of the Anaconda Copper Company. Margaret Anne went to California, where she married a rancher, and later they lived in San Francisco. The two brothers were Peter J. Flynn and John K. Flynn. It might be worth noting that, after becoming bricklayers, they also went west, and both became building contractors at Portland, Oregon.

E: What did you do as a child and when you were growing up? Did you have a job?

H: I was born in East Boardman Street on February 8, 1887. Thus I am now 87 years of age. Soon after John Heffernan, my father, and Rose Anne Flynn, my mother, were married, they built in East Boardman Street a house that was typical of the houses built by men who worked in the iron mills. It had four rooms--two downstairs and two upstairs--and there was a kitchen projecting out at the back. They chose that neighborhood because my father was then puddling at the Brown-Bonnell Mill, which was just south of Boardman Street and Front Street.

When I was about four years old, my paternal grandfather died. Because of his death, my father and mother moved with their six children, later eight, to his residence in Foster Street. That was done so that they could be with Granny Heffernan, who was already past eighty. She was tall and swarthy, and her face was deeply wrinkled. She spoke with a brogue as rich as cream. She also had a superb talent for telling fairy tales. Thus we gathered around her rocking chair evening after evening and pleaded, "Granny, tell us a story." Whether or not she made up her own stories I still don't know, but she was, indeed, an artist. Finally, the sessions would end when my mother said, "Granny, please stop filling their heads." "Now, Rose Anne," Granny would softly say, "what's the harm? The children like to hear about the little people."

Meanwhile, my maternal grandfather had died, and Grandmother Flynn asked my parents to live with her. Because we went to her home, the first school I attended was the one in McGuffey Street called the little brick school. The classes, as I recall, ended at the fourth grade. The teacher was

Carrie Kirk, an admirable woman who lived in a large house near Science Hill, now Scienceville. It was at this time that the panic of 1893 struck Youngstown and my experience with what we called hard times colored my entire life.

Before the mills shut down, my parents had accumulated a fairly substantial amount of money. They decided to buy a farm and to live on it till the hard times passed. The one they got was on the extension of Oak Street at its junction with Jacobs Road. Jacobs Road, however, was then called Jackson's Lane. That name was derived from a large farm owned by Joseph Jackson. He was a real pioneer. Whether or not he bought his farm from the Shehys who owned land in Coitsville Township, he surely came at an early date.

As I remember, Joe Jackson was a Democratic leader in the eastern part of the county, and I feel sure that he served as county commissioner. He had two sons and a daughter who married John A. Cooper. One son was named John Jackson. He continued to live on the farm, but he also operated a sawmill and a cider press. The other son was called Lamar Jackson. His name was Sidney D. Lamar Jackson. He also was known as S.D.L. Jackson. He became a lawyer and a Republican leader, and then he was elected prosecuting attorney.

Johnny Jackson had at least two children. One of them was named Lamar Jackson. He is now the head of the big law firm which in my mind is called Arrel, Wilson, and Harrington. He has been there all of his life as a lawyer, and I think is now the head of the firm.

The other boy is equally well known, or perhaps he is better known. He served in the State Senate for several terms, and he is conspicuous in Youngstown as Clingan Jackson, the political editor of the Vindicator.

When we got out to the farm in Coitsville, I had reached school age. So I went to the school at Coitsville Center. That was a large two-story, frame building, but I think that the second story was not used in my time. Thus there was one large group of students on the first floor for all of the classes up through the eighth grade.

We stayed on the farm, I'd say from 1893 until at least 1898, and I went through my formative period in the school at Coitsville Center I had some excellent teachers, most of them men who lived on the farms. I recall one named Tommy Hitchcock, and another, Tom McGoeghan, and another, James Burnett. They all came from families that were well known in the Coitsville district.

I think that when I was at Coitsville, I had an experience which has shaped my thought until this moment. Our education was based on the McGuffey Reader, the McGuffey Speller, Harvey's Grammar, and a Geography. From those McGuffey Readers and under the guidance of those teachers, I learned about the patriots who led the Revolution, about Washington and Jefferson and Ben Franklin and Patrick Henry and the speech in which he proclaimed his challenge: "Give me liberty, or give me death." I studied the speech in which Lighthorse Harry Lee said that Washington was "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." I read all the lessons with a patriotic atmosphere, and I think that what I got in that district school gave an inclination to my life.

I also learned how to write compositions, how to recite poems such as Joseph Rodman Drake's, The American Flag, and how to perform at the literaries. It was later said that I had a fairly good talent for public speaking. I'm inclined to think that any such talent I had could be traced back to my experience in the school at Coitsville Center.

There was one romantic experience at a spelling bee that I still remember. I was then a good speller, but on one occasion a young lady named Jean Stewart spelled me down. Afterward, I was never able to decide that I did not know the word, and I have sometimes thought that chivalry urged me to miss it. So that's a pretty fair indication of the substance and the value of our old-fashioned education.

When we came back to town, I had an experience in the schools that later became a big advantage to me in politics We first lived in what was then Duquense Street, which is now Lakewood Avenue. Thus I attended Hillman Street School. The principal, who also taught the B Grammar, which was the highest

class, was Anna Thomas, and she was one of the most commanding and effective teachers in Youngstown. I had Miss Bell first for a short time, and then I had Miss Thomas.

After about two years, we moved from Duquesne Street, now Lakewood Avenue, to Foster Street to my grandfather's old home. In the meantime, my mother had me transferred to St. Columba School so that I could have the experience of a parochial education under an excellent teacher of boys, Sister Vincent. For some reason, I was restless at St. Columba, and I told my mother that I preferred a school like the one at Coitsville. Without knowing just why, I asked her to have me transferred to Covington Street School. There James A. Dixon, a famous teacher who was always called Jimmy, was principal and also the regular teacher of the high room, or A Grammar, but Rachel Jones, a pupil teacher in her first year, had us much of the time. As a result of these changes, I had the advantage of beginning at the little brick school in McGuffey Street, attending for several profitable years the District School at Coitsville Center, having at least two years at Hillman Street, having a year at St. Columba, and then having A Grammar at Covington.

Often in my political affairs, I met people who had been with me at each of these schools, and I always had a big advantage in supporters because each one of them claimed me as a schoolmate.

E: Can we move to that era when you were Municipal Judge?

H: As I grew up, I went to work at the Ohio Works, and I was there for awhile in the rolling mill under Harry Newman, a fine foreman and an Englishman. And then I left the mill and went to Business College My sister wanted me to be what she called a white collar worker. I tried two or three minor clerical jobs, but the pay was small and I wasn't satisfied so I went back to the Ohio Works, in what was called the converting mill; that's the Bessemer process. I worked there for nearly two years under Louis N. McDonald, who was one of the finest steel men in the United States.

In the meantime, I tried to continue my education and I was what is called "a voracious reader." So

I finally told Mr. McDonald that I thought I'd leave because I wanted to become a lawyer.

I had registered as a law student with Thomas J. McNamara, a distinguished lawyer of the early days. He was teaching me law and telling me what to study. At that time, it was not necessary to have degrees from a university in order to qualify as a lawyer. Many men prepared by having practicing lawyers register them at the Supreme Court and studying for three years with their sponsors. I had a small go at Valparaiso University and at Ohio State, but I continued my study of law while working successively on The Telegram and The Vindicator at Youngstown and The Ohio State Journal at Columbus. Finally, I reached the point of taking the bar examination, and I was admitted to practice in December of 1915. I then went into the office of Mr. McNamara, and when he retired, I continued by myself.

In the meantime, I had married Catherine O'Connor, with whom I had worked on The Telegram. Our marriage ended after three years when she died. I naturally was profoundly disturbed. We had one son, who was born when she died, and he now lives in this house where we are having our session. Since the war was then coming on, I decided to go into the Army.

To avoid some details, I enlisted in Base Hospital 31, which was organized at Youngstown. We first went to a training camp at Allentown, Pennsylvania, and then to Camp Mills, on Long Island. In December of 1917, we embarked on the "Vaterland," which was renamed the "Leviathan." The Germans had proudly proclaimed it the largest ship in the world, and we understood that there were 12,000 troops aboard. I had joined Base Hospital 31 largely because I was in France while writing for newspapers and magazines in 1913 and 1914. Thus I spoke French fairly well.

Some time after the Base Hospital was established at the town of Contrexeville, which is in the part of Northeastern France called the Vosges, I received an order to report to The Stars and Stripes, the Army newspaper. When the Armistice was signed, I was ordered to go into Germany and establish at Coblenz, headquarters for men assigned to The Stars and Stripes who were to cover the Army of Occupation. Thus I went to Luxembourg, and entered Germany at Wasserbillig. Then I drove down one side of the

Mozel River while I watched on the other side the defeated German Army march back to the Rhine.

When I returned from Europe, some of the men on The Stars and Stripes who were not yet discharged sent cables urging me to organize it as a civilian publication which would appeal to veterans. I had saved six hundred dollars during my time in the A.E.F. With that capital, I went to Washington and rented a room in the Willard Hotel. Then I found a trustful printer and brought out an edition of The Stars and Stripes which was intended to follow immediately the last edition printed in France. I was at Washington with that enterprise for a year. Then I returned to Youngstown.

I came back from Europe in June of 1919, and I opened my law office at Youngstown in 1920. In the meantime, I had met Beatrice Mary Jones, a young English woman, and we were married. Soon after I resumed my law practice, and we had settled in a new home, it seemed that a number of young men who had been in the war began to congregate around me. They were interested in politics. They urged me to become active. Perhaps they did not have to urge very strongly. Perhaps that already was my inclination. Anyway, I became a leader of the group, and soon we were busy as the younger element in the Democratic party.

Edmund H. Moore, a brilliant lawyer and a nationally known political figure, was at the head of the Democratic organization in Mahoning County. For some undisclosed reason, Mr. Moore did not welcome me to that circle. I talked with Newton D. Baker, a friend who had been mayor of Cleveland and later Secretary of War. He was the most brilliantly intellectual man I have ever known, as well as an adroit politician. I asked him how he would explain Mr. Moore's attitude. Mr. Baker said, "There are two types of men in politics. One is the type of Mr. Moore. He is like the old wolf. He wants to keep power himself, and he does not enjoy seeing young men getting ahead. The other type is the man like Mr. Johnson " Tom L. Johnson was a famous mayor of Cleveland. Then Mr. Baker added, "I was against Mr. Johnson when I first came to Cleveland, but he had a rare personality. Whenever he learned that a man with some potentiality was against him, he won

him over, took him into his organization, and tried to develop him."

So I might say that there was some rivalry between the young Democrats and the old Democrats, as well as some rivalry between Mr. Moore and me.

When I talked with Mr. Baker, he suggested that I organize a Young Democratic Club, and I did so. Mr. Moore tried to disrupt it, but we were able to keep going. Then we began to take in older men who were restive under the continual dominance of Mr. Moore. It seems that a political leader, because some men have conflicting views and others are dissatisfied in such affairs as patronage, inevitably accumulates opposition. That condition developed in Mahoning County, and there was agitation for a reorganization. As a result the precinct committeemen elected me county chairman.

In the primary of 1922, Vic Donahey, who had been state auditor for eight years, was nominated by the Democrats as their candidate for governor. Not only because I was county chairman, but also because Mr. Moore was hostile to him, I managed his campaign in Mahoning County. Soon after he became governor, there was a vacancy in the Court of Common Pleas. The governor, of course, appoints the judge who is to fill the vacancy. In this instance, the man in line for appointment was George Gessner, an active Democrat who also was judge of the Municipal Court. Governor Donahey appointed him, and then he appointed me to succeed him. Under that appointment, I was to be judge for nine months. Meanwhile, if I intended to seek election for a full term, I had a problem to consider, for I happened to be a Catholic. I asked several men who were Democrats and also Catholics what they thought. They advised me not to run. It seemed, however, that I had been able to make a fairly favorable impression in the community. In the election that year [which was] 1923, I got the largest vote of any candidate up to that time in Youngstown.

When I became judge, I announced my philosophy in a speech I gave to those who assembled in the courtroom to welcome me. After tracing a little of my biography, I said I was not sure that my view of justice was strictly judicial, but that I intended

to conduct the court in accordance with the ideal expressed by Portia in the Merchant of Venice:

> The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath. It is twice blest:
> It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes . . .
> It is an attribute to God himself;
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice.

That was my point of view, and that was the way I tried to judge the people brought before me. At one time, there was at Youngstown a man who organized and then looted a steel company. There was no arrest, and everything was smoothed over. The looter went to Europe to live. At the same time, I had in court men who, like Jean Valjean, were arrested for such petty offenses as stealing a loaf of bread or an article worth two or three dollars or even, at Christmas, toys for their children. In one case, I listened to the evidence against the defendant, and then I said, "We have a curious system of justice. If a man steals something worth a dollar, he goes to jail; if another man steals ten million dollars, he goes to Europe."

During my term as judge, Esther Hamilton christened me Judge Joe. Esther already had her column Around Town in The Telegram, which later was merged with The Vindicator. She came to me one day and said that she did not like to call me Judge Heffernan. It sounded too formal. She thought of other judges that way, but she always thought of me as Judge Joe. Then she asked whether or not I had any objection to her using that name in her stories. I told her that I had no objection at all. In fact, I saw that if I intended to take part in politics, it would be an advantage. Esther, accordingly, gave me the name Judge Joe, and that is the way I was known all the time I was at the Municipal Court, and even afterward.

From my experience at the court, I'll give a specific example of the social change which was soon to come, and which led to the enactment of the civil rights law. The Negroes, of course, were actually a down-trodden element in our society. Economically, they were at the bottom of the heap. Politically, they

had made little advancement. On one occasion, something happened at Belmont and Rayen Avenues. I don't recall the circumstances, but it seems to me now that there was a robbery in the street. There also was a report that a colored man was involved in it. We said "Negro" in those days; now we say "black." In any event, the police rushed up to Belmont Avenue, and they arrested about fifty black men At that time, there was a law under which they could file a charge of suspicion, or suspicious person, when they did not have evidence to justify a specific charge.

Consequently, all of those men were brought before me as suspicious persons. I asked the police why they were arrested. They told me about the robber and then they explained that they had put out a dragnet in order to find the person who was guilty.

"Let me ask you this," I said. "If you heard that a man who had red hair had done something, would you arrest all the red-headed men in the city?" Since they did not have a clear answer to my question, I told them, "I'm going to turn these men loose, and whenever you do this again, I shall turn loose all the men you arrest."

Of course, the story of that incident at the court soon spread among the black people, and they began to think that at least on a question of what we now call racism, I was a fairly decent man.

At the time I was appointed judge, the Ku Klux Klan began its period of greatest power in Ohio, and Youngstown was the center of its activity. In 1915, the Klan that had been organized in the South soon after the Civil War and later had expired, was revived by an Alabaman named William Joseph Simmons. He was a man of limited education who had been an itinerant preacher. The original Klan, which was organized by the Confederate general, Nathan Bedford Forest, was named the Invisible Empire. Following the example of General Forest, Simmons also called his organization the Invisible Empire, and he gave himself the title of Imperial Wizard Although he maintained that he alone created the new Klan, he was not a successful leader. In 1920, he was thrust aside by a Texan named Hiram Wesley Evans, and it was under the driving leadership of Evans that the Klan rapidly increased its membership and extended its power.

It was also in 1920 that the Klan first appeared in the North. A short time later, it dominated Indiana, where most of the public officials were Klansmen, and it then became almost as strong in Ohio. In 1923, the leaders at Youngstown decided to become active politically, so that they could take control of the municipal government. An election was to be held in November, and they prepared to endorse a candidate for mayor and a candidate for Council in each of the seven wards.

Although I was seeking election to a full term as judge at the Municipal Court, I knew that a campaign for a judicial office seldom roused much excitement. I also knew that the circumstances were unusual. Consequently, I began to think that the Klan might endorse one of the two candidates opposing me, and that I might be engulfed in a tide of animosity caused by the other contests. Then I organized a vigorous campaign of my own, and I was fortunate in getting strong support Evidently, my work as a judge, illustrated by newspaper stories about the court, helped me to overcome opposition caused by religious strife. In any event, even though one of my opponents was endorsed, I was elected for a full term that extended to December 31, 1927.

By that election, Charles Scheible, the candidate endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, became the mayor of Youngstown. At the same time, the municipal government was beginning to operate under a new charter, which provided for non-partisan elections, and Mr. Scheibel thus was the first mayor not nominated in a primary by either the Republican party or the Democratic party. He appointed Clyde W. Osborne, who later became grand dragon in Ohio, director of law; Arthur Williams, director of finance; and Kedge Powell, an ally of Osborne, chief of police. His administration, therefore, was generally regarded as a Klan administration, and the candidates for council endorsed by the Klan were also elected.

As the Klan activities continued, with parades in the streets and large rallies held on a farm near Canfield, a group of Catholics began to consider what might be done to offset the movement. During one meeting, somebody recalled the method of opposing the American Protective Association, a virulent anti-Catholic movement that developed in the 1890's. The main project was to get a list of

the local members and reveal their names in a publication known as the Blue Book. As soon as the Blue Book appeared, the A.P.A. began to dissolve.

I think that by this time, the statute of limitations has run out, but I still am not going to disclose the details of the method in getting the list of Klan members and publishing a new Blue Book. At any rate, as soon as it was out, a good many prominent citizens were kept busy explaining that they had always been broad-minded and earnestly protesting that they believed in religious freedom.

It seems to me that, when elected mayor, I still looked back to the lessons of patriotism and citizenship that we had been taught in the district school at Coitsville, and still believed in the dream of American democracy. My purpose and my desire urged me to live up to that heritage. I shall not say that I wanted to be the best mayor Youngstown ever had, but I certainly did want to be a good mayor. I'm sorry to say that I was largely frustrated. The City Council was composed of seven members, and most of them were Klansmen who did not gladly cooperate with me. Consequently, friction soon developed. I don't think that I was always right and that the Klan councilmen were always wrong, but I did have a conviction that the lack of cooperation developed because I was a Catholic. Thus I was deeply disappointed. I had hoped for support, but I felt that I did not get it.

At that time the minister at Trinity Methodist Church was the Reverend William E. Hammaker, who afterward became a Bishop. He and the Reverend Levi Batman, minister at First Christian Church, were interested in civic affairs, and they were especially concerned about enforcement of the liquor law. Thus they often called on me. When I met them one day at the City Hall, Dr. Hammaker inquired how I was getting along. I told him that I was disappointed and said that I could only do a small part of what I had hoped to do and explained my difficulty in dealing with the councilmen.

After hearing what I had to say, Dr. Hammaker himself said, "Mayor, when you took office, you overlooked one thing."

"What's that?" I asked.

"You did not make allowance for opposition," Dr. Hammaker said. "It's bound to come. It comes especially in politics and affairs of government. You have to accept it."

Whether or not Dr. Hammaker was right in his philosophy, I thought that, after I was elected mayor and had tried to prove my purpose to provide good government, not only the members of the City Council, but the people in general would support me. Some, of course, did. Many others, it seemed, opposed me for a reason that was not justified, and was even against our common interests as a community.

My campaign, I think, had a social significance, as well as a political significance, and thus it may have a special interest for those who study not only the history of our community, but also the evolving history of the nation at the time we are considering. To begin, I had to face the indisputable fact that my religion was a handicap in any political activity, just as Al Smith's religion, on a larger stage, was a handicap to him. A good many people thought that a Catholic should not hold any public office.

I also learned that some Catholics had similar views. Thus I was surprised when a prominent and wealthy businessman, whose support I sought, told me, "I think a Catholic should not run for mayor." When I asked him why, he said, "It causes controversies." After I protested that his attitude would make us second class citizens, he said, "Well that's the way I feel. It only stirs things up."

The Democratic party, moreover, had been moribund for a long time. During the period I recall--since 1908--the Republicans completely dominated Mahoning County, and they usually controlled the City. Thus one Democrat only had been elected mayor. He was A.W. Craver, a law partner of Ed Moore, the Democratic leader, who was elected for two terms, and later he was elected for a third term. During that period, too, only two Democrats were elected to county offices. Ralph W. Beard, a county Democrat widely known among the farmers, was twice elected prosecutor, and Ed Milliken, also a county Democrat, was elected sheriff. Apart from those two men, the Republicans held all the offices

at the Mahoning County Court House since the Civil War.

Thus I foresaw that in my campaign for mayor, I had to overcome some obstacles. At the same time, I knew that the old-line Democrats would stand aside. Consequently, I had to build my own organization. It was based on young men and on some enthusiastic women, most of whom had already been associated with me in politics.

E: Can you describe some of those political figures that participated in your campaign?

H: It was a long time ago, but maybe I can. In retrospect, they seem to represent a New Deal in local politics. One man with whom I had already been closely associated was Carl Armstrong. He was a scholarly lawyer who had formerly been a professor of law at Ohio Northern University. He was also allied with Governor Donahey, as I was. He could make a good speech, and he was a sort of advisor for the younger men. After I was elected, I appointed him director of law. Mark Moore, son of Ed Moore, formerly leader of the Democratic party who had died, volunteered to join me and he was an expecially bright young lawyer. Thus he was effective in presiding over meetings, and he also worked vigorously in trying to convert the older Democrats who had been associated with his father I appointed him assistant director of law, and later recommended him to Governor Donahey for appointment as a judge of the Municipal Court. He succeeded me as mayor.

William B. Spagnola was influential with the Italian voters. I appointed him police prosecutor and he then was elected a judge of the Municipal Court. Later he also became mayor. John Willow, a lawyer of Czech descent, was influential with the ethnic groups. He did not take office under me, but he became director of law in the administration of Mayor Spagnola. John W. Powers was able to help with the Catholic groups. He was later appointed director of law by Mayor Ralph O'Neil, became director of commerce for the State Government, and then was elected to a judgeship in the Municipal Court. Henry Bechenbach, another lawyer active in politics, became a judge of the Municipal Court and later was elected to the Court of Common Pleas, where he presided over the division of domestic

relations for twenty years. Several Callan brothers, one of whom had been a professional boxer, were front line troops effective in all details of physical activity and skillful in directing meetings. Gene, on my recommendation, had already been appointed to the State Liquor Department. I appointed Harry chief of the Fire Department, and he later became Fire Marshal of the State. John F. Cantwell, who had been an intimate friend since we were boys, was a prominent businessman and he was delegated to cultivate the voters in his circle. After getting a taste of politics in my campaign, he continued his activity. Thus he was repeatedly elected to the Legislature, and finally he was made Speaker of the House.

There were many others, of course, but I shall not overload the record by citing them all. One man, however, was of outstanding importance. He was Joseph F. Williams, a successful and prosperous lawyer, who was active in the Republican Party and also was president of the Republican Club. One evening, he came to my home. As I greeted him, I assumed that he had come because he had a case at the court.

"What brings you out here?" I asked. "What can I do for you?"

"What are you going to do about this mayor business?" he asked.

"I've been thinking about it," I said, "but I have not decided. Why do you ask?"

"Because I want you to run," he answered.

I was completely astonished. "Do you mind telling me why you are interested?" I asked.

"Well, you and I have been friends since we were boys in the old neighborhood," he said, "and my father worked with your father in the mill. They were good friends, and I often heard my father talk about Jack Heffernan. That's it. If you run, I'll be your campaign chairman."

"You have helped me to make my decision," I said. "I tell you now I'll run."

Joe was a Protestant, and I knew that he would give a new aspect to my campaign. He also was a Mason, and the Masons at that time, had a strong influence in the politics of our district. In fact, I think that Joe Williams, simply by acting as campaign chairman, contributed substantially toward my success. After the election, he was the first man to whom I offered an appointment. I urged him to become director of law, but he declined, and said that he preferred to continue his own practice.

E: Was Mike Kirwan active in the Democratic party at that time?

H: I'll get to Mike in a bit He was not yet active. Since we are talking about what happened fifty-seven years ago, perhaps I should explain that there were three candidates for mayor. My two opponents were Frank Vogan, then county treasurer, and Arthur Williams, director of finance in the administration of Mayor Charles Scheibel. Both were Republicans, and I, of course, was a Democrat. The city charter, however, provided for a non-partisan election. Consequently, our names appeared on the ballot without party designation, together with the names of the seven candidates for the City Council and the names of two candidates for judge of the Municipal Court. In my opinion, Mr. Vogan was not a strong candidate, so I decided to give little time to him. On the other hand, Mr. Williams was a strong candidate, and he had a large campaign fund. I thought that it would require a vigorous and a careful campaign to defeat him. The count of votes on election day sustained my analysis.

When I said that my campaign had a social significance as well as a political significance, I meant that it coincided with the emergence of the people who are now called ethnics. Up to that time, many of them had voted regularly, but that was the limit of their participation in politics and the affairs of the government. No one at Youngstown belonging to the ethnic groups had ever been elected to a public office, or had even been considered as a candidate for public office.

In planning my campaign, I felt sure that I could count on a substantial vote by Democrats and a smaller but helpful vote by Republicans I also felt sure that I could count on a substantial vote

by Catholics of both parties, who would naturally be inclined to vote for me and would still have fresh memories of the Klan activities, even though the Klan was then dying out At the same time, I knew that my work as judge of the Municipal Court helped me to establish friendly relations with the numerous racial elements of the city. Thus I hoped to effect a coalition composed of the ethnic groups, a strong majority of the Jewish voters, who had already shown their friendliness, and the black voters Evidently, my plan was well founded. I, of course, was the first Catholic elected mayor of Youngstown, and that fact in itself, obviously encouraged other people who were not Wasp, that is, White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant, to have hopes of attaining acceptance and advancement. In any event, it appears that we at Youngstown formed in 1927, a coalition which, on a small scale, was a prototype of the national coalition formed by Roosevelt in the campaign of 1932, and it has seemed to me that scholars will soon regard the emergence of the people called ethnics as one of the most notable developments in the history of the United States.

I also think that there was at the time of my campaign the beginning of a significant change in the voting of the black people. For many years, most of the ones who did vote were Republicans; at least they voted for the Republican ticket. That allegiance resulted from the carefully nurtured association of the Republican party with Abraham Lincoln and the emancipation of the slaves. There is no doubt, however, that they voted almost solidly for me, although I was a Democrat. It is likely, I think that they were influenced by my sympathetic attitude as a judge, but it also is likely that their allegiance to the Republican party had weakened, and that they had begun to accept the view that the Democratic party was the party of the people. That view certainly was emphasized by the depression which began in 1929 and the attitude of President Hoover. The result was that in the election of 1932, the black people almost unanimously voted for Roosevelt.

Before the home-rule charter was adopted in 1923, the city officials, including solicitor, treasurer, and auditor, were elected. Eventually, the people

decided that the division of authority among the subordinate officials resulted in a weak government. Thus there was agitation for a charter that would provide for a strong-mayor government In other words, authority would be centered in the mayor, as chief executive, and he would appoint the subordinate officials. Those officials would be a director of law and a director of finance, in whom would be combined the duties formerly shared by the treasurer and the auditor. The two directors would also join the mayor as members of a board of control, by which the business of the city would be transacted.

Soon after I was elected mayor in November of 1927, I had to begin organizing my administration. As I already indicated, I appointed Carl Armstrong director of law. For the director of finance, I went to Washington. James E. Jones was a Youngstown man who had been at Washington for many years and had held a succession of important positions in the government under both Republican and Democratic presidents. Though I had not known him before, he was recommended to me by Hugh W. Grant, president of the City Bank, who was one of my strongest supporters in the campaign and who was also a close friend. I then decided to retain George Turner, the city engineer.

The appointment of George Turner has significance in local history because it relates to the project called the grade elimination. At that time, the tracks of the Erie Railroad were even closer to Federal Street than they are now, and trains often blocked the five streets, including Wick Avenue, which extended from Federal Street to the North Side. For a long time there had been discussion of such plans as rerouting the railroad to another part of the city or lowering the tracks, but they were rejected as infeasible. Finally, the engineers representing the railroad and the city agreed on what was called the into-the-hill plan. According to that plan, the hill lying just north of the railroad would be cut back, so that the tracks could be moved farther north, and two large bridges and a footbridge built over them Since George Turner had taken part in the preparation for the grade elimination, I retained him.

Usually the police department of a city gets the most attention from the people. That, of course,

happens because it produces stories for the newspapers, some of which are sensational. Soon after I took office, I decided that the finance department was the key to a good administration. I then had a meeting with the director of law and the director of finance in order to discuss with them my views. In substance, I said to them, "I have been thinking of how the city government is organized and how the several departments operate. No doubt, the police department is the center of attention, but it seems to me that, if we are going to accomplish anything of real value, we shall have to give careful attention to finance. It's the old idea that money talks. We have to be solvent. We have to have money to pay our debts. We have to have funds for projects we hope to initiate and for those advocated by the councilmen. The whole program will depend on how we handle the money."

E: Can you give us some of the details as to what you did?

H: No, I don't recall the details. I'm sorry I don't have some notes. I never kept a scrapbook or clippings. The best I can do will be [to give] general impressions or recollections. I set policy, made decisions, and depended pretty heavily on Mr. Jones as the technical man. I recall that during the previous administration, the credit of the city was so bad that some firms refused to sell it tires and other supplies. I had discussed that condition during the campaign, and I no doubt, was influenced by it in thinking about my own administration. I suppose the basis of my thinking was to be careful of the public money.

Perhaps I can give you a few examples. One was the attempt to establish the first airport. Just before I became mayor, several local men interested in flying bought a farm near the northeast line of the city and built a port which they intended to operate commercially. After they encountered the difficulties of such an enterprise, there was a deal by which it was sold to the city. Then there was a campaign to enlarge it. When I learned that $85,000 had already been invested, I began to wonder about the wisdom of investing several hundred thousand more. At that time, Cleveland had established a large airport that was successfully operated. I decided to consult Major Berry, an experienced aviator who

had developed the port at Cleveland. He suggested that I, with Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Jones, meet him there, so that we could fly to Youngstown, and he could thus examine our port as he approached it and the area surrounding it.

When we passed over the North Side, Major Berry asked me how close to the port were the houses. When I told him that the eastern part of the houses almost adjoined the port, he said that he did not like such an approach. As we drew near the port, we had to fly over eight or ten railroad tracks. He pointed to the tracks and said that, if a pilot had to make an emergency landing, a railroad yard was hardly the best place for it. He also pointed to a ravine near the side of the port and said that if a pilot happened to overshoot the runway, there was no escape for him. Then he asked how big the port looked to me. I told him that it seemed to be about as big as a handkerchief. "Well," he said, "I'm going down, and that's what I have to hit." Fortunately, he made a good landing, but Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Jones and I were glad the flight was over.

Major Berry told us that he had never seen a worse site for an airport. To develop it would have required the purchase of much more land, the filling of ravines, and the building of runways and a hangar. Despite a barrage of propaganda, I said that I was opposed to spending another dollar of public money on such a precarious enterprise. Thus, with the support of Major Berry's report, the history of Watson Airport was ended.

Sometimes a mayor concerned about saving money has to make decisions that cause him to wonder whether or not he was right. I remember that on one occasion I had to make such a decision, and I'm still thinking about it. Mrs. H. K. Wick, who lived in the palatial home across the road from the Youngstown Country Club, telephoned me and said that she could not continue paying the expenses of keeping that home up properly and also paying the taxes. She then proposed that if I could arrange the transfer, she would give the entire property to the city. There was a large tract of land surrounding the house, with beautiful flower gardens and a vast lawn sloping down to the road. I was astonished at Mrs. Wick's proposal, and told her that she would hear from me within a few days.

My first thought was to accept the magnificent property. My second thought was the expense of maintaining it. I then called in Lionel Evans, the superintendent of parks, who was so good at his own work that he was generally commended. I told him about Mrs. Wick's proposal to give her home to the city and said, "I'm not going to tell you what I think. I want to know what you think."

"Well, Mayor," Lionel said, "It's a beautiful property, and I'd like to see the city have it, but do we need it? We already have Mill Creek Park, which is one of the most beautiful in the country. We also have a system of playgrounds that is second to none. Then we have to consider the cost of upkeep. That would mean a new force of men, more equipment, repairs to the house itself. I'm not sure that we could carry that new expense." I don't recall consulting the director of finance and the director of law, but it is likely that I had a chat with them Anyway, Lionel and I agreed in the final decision, and I then explained to Mrs. Wick that the City of Youngstown could not afford such a costly estate. In recent years, I heard that the imposing and beautiful home had become a night club, and I still ask myself whether or not I should have accepted it for the city.

I recall one episode that shows how we collected money rather than spent it. Mr. Jones, the director of finance, told me that the street railway company owed the city $150,000. He explained that it was required by its franchise to pay the cost of maintaining the devil strip. That meant the part of the street in which the tracks were laid. Evidently, the company had repeatedly failed to pay at the time the repairs were made. Having learned of the accumulated debt, Mr. Jones wanted to know what he should do about it. I told him to get the money.

A few days later, Raleigh Reese, the diplomatic agent of the company, called on me. He was tough and brassy, and he contributed generously in support of candidates he expected to be helpful to the railway company and the power company, which were interlocked. Although I liked him personally, I'm inclined to think that I got a malicious enjoyment from his visit. Showing me the letter from Mr. Jones asking payment of $150,000, he said, "What's this about the devil strip, Mayor? What are you

stirring that up for?" I told him, "You owe $150,000. We want the money "

"Why are you bothering about it?" he said. "Nobody else ever did."

"Listen, Raleigh," I said. "Times have changed."

"Don't be so tough," he said. "Nobody else ever bothered us."

"You better pay," I told him "If you don't, I'll have to take it to court."

As Mr. Reese left, I could see that he was not happy, but we soon received a check for $150,000.

At that time, as I recall, the public debt of Akron was $85,000,000 and that of Cleveland was $185,000,000. Ours stood between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000, and our credit rating in Moody's Manual for Investors was A-1. Several times, The Akron Beacon-Journal ran editorials discussing our financial affairs and used such headings as, "How Does Youngstown Do It?"

Although I can't hope to recall all the projects during my administration, I do recall some. Two of them were the widening of part of Market Street, with the building of the South Side Library, and the widening and paving of part of South Avenue, which was thus made a major thoroughfare extending out toward Boardman. A similar project was the widening of Andrews Avenue between Federal Street and McGuffey Street and its opening from McGuffey Street to Logan Avenue, so that it became a major thoroughfare of the North Side. I recall, too, that we built in the northeastern section of the city, near McGuffey Street, a beautiful fire station, which even had a tile bathroom. As a beginning of the grade elimination, we widened North Watt Street and built the bridge that now extends over the railroad. The grade elimination, of course, was the most extensive and the most costly project in the history of Youngstown. Although it was not completed during my administration, much of the work was done at that time, and we had to acquire the properties bordering Wood Street between the area east of Watt Street and Fifth Avenue, which included not only residences, but also the large building at the corner of Wick

Avenue owned by the Elks, as well as the First Christian Church.

Apart from such prosaic affairs, I had the liquor problem to consider; that is, enforcement of the prohibition law.

E: What about those gamblers and bootleggers?

H: As I now recall the circumstances, during the administration of Mayor Scheible there was a special group of men working as part of the police department, or under the authority of the chief of police. They were not members of the regular police force, and they were not under civil service. They were called the vice squad. From my observation post at the municipal court, it seemed to me that there was continual war between the vice squad and the bootleggers, with subsequent scenes in the court.

The law, which was embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibited the manufacture, sale, and possession of intoxicating liquor. Some of the offenders operated on a small scale They were called small-time or penny ante bootleggers. Often such a bootlegger sold drinks of whiskey from a bottle hidden in his home. Others operated on a larger scale. They not only sold drinks, but they also sold by the bottle, and even by the case. Some of these men used trucks to haul whiskey to Youngstown, and a few of them brought it from Canada.

The first part of the vice squad's job was to spot a bootlegger. The second part was to make a raid and thus to get evidence that would be admitted in court. That part was not easy, for the bootlegger usually had a watcher posted near his place. Often he also had his door reinforced with iron bars or a sheet of iron, and he had a drain into which he could dump his supply of whiskey while the raiders, armed with sledge hammers and crow bars, were trying to break in Sometimes the raids developed into rough skirmishes, with casualties on both sides.

When I became mayor, I continued with the vice squad as it was organized during the Scheible administration. At the same time, I knew from my observation as judge that the law was not effectively enforced, and I began to think that it never could be. The

basic difficulty was the desire of a great many people to have liquor and their willingness to break the law to get it. The newspapers ironically called these people scofflaws, but actually they included some of those known as leading citizens. On the contrary, the people known as drys demanded strict law enforcement. In fact, they seemed to think that there could be complete ending or abolition of the purveying and the drinking of intoxicating liquor. Because of my position as a judge, I not only avoided drinking liquor, but also avoided any place where there would be liquor. After becoming mayor, I continued that attitude, although I regarded myself as politically neither wet nor dry. I knew, nevertheless, that the drys still would be suspicious of me. Consequently, in order to protect myself, I appointed as chief of the vice squad a man I did not even know. He was Bill Englehart, a big sergeant who had earned a reputation as the toughest raider in the police department. My only order to him was to enforce the law. I think that he did try to enforce it, but I never thought that he had a perfect record. In fact, representatives of the Women's Christian Temperance Union called on me to complain about lax enforcement. Since I knew the history of their activities from the days of the great Frances Willard, I listened to them politely, assured them that I was committed to enforcement of the prohibition law as it was written, and said that I had appointed Sergeant Englehart as chief of the vice squad because he was famous as a crusader. I then suggested that they confer with him. It was evident that they were not satisfied.

Although I knew in the general way of what lawyers call common knowledge that men in both the state liquor department and in the local enforcement groups were subject to continual pressure to take easy money, I always thought that Sergeant Englehart tried earnestly to carry out the duties of his appointment. Actually, it seemed that he enjoyed making raids, and especially using a sledge hammer to batter down the door of a bootlegger's place of operation. Thus I had no reason to suspect that he had succumbed to the prevalent temptation. I shall cite one instance from my own experience to show how easily a man could get entangled with the purveyors of contraband during an era of prohibition and how cautious he had to be.

When I was getting ready to run for mayor, a lawyer I knew well told me that he represented a bootlegger who had been before me in the court, that I had treated him fairly, and that I had not humiliated him.

I said to the lawyer that I had found his client guilty and had sentenced him to pay a substantial fine, but that I had not imposed the maximum fine of $1,000, because I never imposed that on anyone.

The lawyer then said his client was grateful that even though I had found him guilty, I had not bawled him out and insulted him, and he wanted to support me for mayor.

"What would he like to do?" I asked.

"I'm authorized to bring you $1,000 for your campaign," the lawyer answered.

"Sorry," I said, "but I can't accept it. I don't want to get tied up that way."

A few days later, the bootlegger came to the court and asked to see me. After we stepped into my office, he took an envelope from his pocket and said, "I want to help you in the campaign."

I told him that I appreciated his interest, but that I could not take his money.

"Judge," he said, "You're a funny fellow "You were nice to me You put a fine on me, but you did not insult me like some judges would. Now I would like to help you be mayor."

"Maybe I am a funny fellow," I said, "but this is how I feel about it. If I take your money, I'm obligated to you You have a right to expect something. If the vice squad happens to knock you off, you might think you have a right to come to my office and expect me to take care of you. I can't do that. If I don't take your money, you might ask me to do what I can for you. That is the difference. You don't tell me what to do, or indicate what I better do."

"Judge," he said, "you sure are a funny fellow."

During the campaign, I heard that he was vigorously supporting me. After the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, he became a respected and prosperous businessman. I omit his name because his children and grandchildren still live at Youngstown.

You asked about the gamblers. During my term, they were not the same kind of problem as the bootleggers. Perhaps I was lucky. The organized gambling and the racketeers and the gang warfare came later. As far as I heard, the gambling at the time I took office was confined to betting on horse races. Evidently there were two bookmakers, although I did not know how they operated. In fact, I knew nothing of any kind of gambling, and still know nothing about it. I learned, however, that one bookmaker was backed by a wealthy lawyer, and that the other was backed by a merchant who was interested in horses. Soon after I became mayor, the man backed by the merchant sent an emissary to see me. The emissary said, "This is the message. If you don't disturb him, and he can operate quietly, so that his customers will not be uneasy, he will send you $200 every Monday morning." After I declined the offer, the emissary said, "The second part of the message is that if you're friendly, he will not have to worry. If you are not friendly, he will operate anyway. He'll be able to fix the police." I hardly knew what to think of that second part of the message. The man backed by the lawyer never sent an emissary to see me, and he soon closed his operation. The other one, I was told, tried to operate but he complained that it was difficult and business was slow. Even so, it did seem to me that the merchant had influence enough to get him some help

I think, however, that the gamblers you have in mind are those in the rackets. That kind of gambling was based on what we called the number game, and the number game did not appear at Youngstown till my term was nearly ended. It seemed to be confined to the squalid sections of the city, especially those in which black people lived. It also seemed to be ridiculous, because the bets were as low as a dime or even a nickel. At first, as I understood, several men began to operate individually. I still don't have a clear understanding of the details of the game, except that men, usually without jobs, or incapable of holding jobs, went through the neighborhoods taking bets. They became known

as sheet writers. They jotted down notes indicating the bets and gave the betters small pieces of paper which were to be presented for payment by those who won. The bets were based on a number that appeared in the newspapers, such as the total of shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange. The better had to pick that number, or a series of figures in the total. The sheet writers worked with, or for, a man called the banker, who had a place where the collections of the sheet writers were deposited. Then the banker would pay any better who won, that is, made a hit. There was one weakness in those early transactions. Some of the bankers were short of working capital. If several betters happened to make hits, a banker chose the better part of valor and disappeared.

After the number game had been in operation for some time, it was taken over by a few men with money enough to finance it. They were local men, but they still were competitors, and negotiations to establish territories were not successful. That was the beginning of an established number game, although it was not controlled by operators who would be classed as members of the syndicate. Just when that transition took place I am unable to say; I was away from Youngstown as assistant attorney general at Columbus, as an attorney for the Federal Communication Commission at Washington, and as attorney for the Bureau of Internal Revenue at Cleveland. In any event, a racketeer from Buffalo, who was commonly identified as a member of the Mafia, seized control of the number game here. His name was De Carlo, but he was called Cadillac Charley. That development in local history, of course, was meticulously chronicled by The Telegram and The Vindicator. The last chapter was written when Cadillac Charley, who then lived comfortably on the North Side, got into his Cadillac with his small son. As soon as he put his foot on the pedal, a bomb exploded. Charley and his son--a boy of eleven--were blown to pieces.

Since the interview is biographical and also a historical sketch of Youngstown and the surrounding community, I think that it would be fitting at this time for me to speak briefly of my own two marriages. My first wife, Catherine O'Connor, was in the editorial department of The Youngstown Telegram. She had charge of what was called the Society News and the Women's Page, and she also was assigned to write

special stories. We men on the staff admitted that she was the best. On one historic occasion, she was selected by the publisher, Samuel G. McClure, to cover the sinking of the "Titanic" on which several Youngstown people were returning from Europe Apart from her superb talent, she was attractive in appearance with a luminous smile and an unfailing cheerfulness. In fact, she was the most winsome person I ever knew.

In 1920, I married Beatrice Mary Jones, an English girl of Welsh descent, who was born and reared at the village of St. George's, near the larger village of Oaken Gates, in Shropshire. She was highly intellectual, and had attended Derby College in preparation to become a teacher. She also had a charming personality, as well as a rare intellect, and a dulcet voice. Thus she was helpful to me in all my activities, and had an important part both by writing and speaking, in my campaign for mayor

E: Can you give us a picture of Youngstown as it was when you were a boy?

H: Yes, at least, I shall try to give one. I'm doing so because I'm now 87, and it's not likely that there are available many men whose memories go as far back as my memory does, and whose associations with the city have been similar to mine.

I shall not dwell long on the foundation of the city. It is historically established that John Young bought from the Connecticut Land Company a tract of about 15,000,000 acres extending along the Mahoning River, and that he founded Youngstown. He was born at Peterborough, New Hampshire, and he went as a young man to Whitestown, New York. There he married a daughter of Hugh White, a pioneer from Connecticut who had founded Whitestown. In 1796, after acquiring his land, for which he later contracted to pay a little more than $16,000, he came to the part of Ohio which was the Western Reserve of Connecticut. He was accompanied by a man named Phineas Hill, Alfred Wolcott, a surveyor, and Daniel Shehy, a young Irishman who had come to America to buy land. At Beaver Town, which was already established near the confluence of the Mahoning and the Beaver Rivers, he met Abram Powers and his son Isaac. They guided him up the two rivers

to his land and to the place now named Spring Common. It was then June 27.

During the night of the day on which Young arrived at Spring Common, Colonel James Hillman, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, who had come by canoe from Beaver Town to trade with the Indians, discovered his camp. A few days later, they went together to Beaver Town, where there was to be a celebration of the Fourth of July. After returning, Young built a log cabin just west of Spring Common. He then sold 1,000 acres to Daniel Shehy, and Shehy built a larger cabin. While at Beaver Town, Young gave Mrs. Hillman a plot of six acres as an inducement to come to his town. She and Colonel Hillman did come, and they also built a log cabin.

Later in the year, Young went back to Whitestown, and then to Connecticut. In 1797, Young was again at his settlement, and he also was there during the summer of 1798. In 1799, he brought his wife and their two children there. Two more children were born at Youngstown. Although he had built a larger house, and the town was growing rapidly as more settlers came to the Mahoning Valley, Mrs. Young urged him to return to the more tranquil life at Whitestown. In 1805, he did so. Although he later came several times to Youngstown, he never again lived here. He died at Whitestown in 1825. The dates and the other data given here were authenticated by Clarence Horton, for many years a teacher at South High School, who is a descendant of Daniel Shehy.

Naturally, the first part of the town was close to the river, and Front Street, Boardman Street, and Federal Street were soon developed. As the town grew, the street now named Market Street was extended from the river northward to Federal Street. At the junction of the two streets, there was a large open space which in the early days was called the Diamond, although it was later named the Public Square. On each side of the valley, there were steep hills from which the land extended at a high level to the north and the south of the central part of the town.

Looking back now, I recall that as the town continued to grow, there were sections which might be forgotten unless they are put on record through some such means as these interviews you plan to preserve. If we

began at the western city limits, we were in Brier Hill. It bordered both sides of West Federal Street, but the larger part was to the north. As we came east along Federal Street, we reached the neighborhood called Westlake Crossing. It got its name from a pioneer family that lived in a large house near it and owned a tract of land surrounding it. At that point, there was area extending to the north between Covington Street, which was named after the Covington family, and Henrietta Street, which was named after Henrietta Crossman, a famous actress who had lived here, but later it was named North Avenue. It was known as Spraguetown. No doubt its name also came from a family that owned a tract of land. Foster Street, on which my Grandfather Heffernan built his home is between Covington Street and North Avenue.

Westlake Crossing is the place where the Erie Railroad crosses West Federal Street and West Rayen Avenue as they cross each other in the form of a large X. It formerly was a small business center for the people who lived in that part of the town. Then, of course, it was popularly called the Crossing. Its business developed because the Cartwright-McCurdy rolling mill was on the bank of the river near it.

As we went east across the North Side, which had no popular name, we passed Belmont Avenue and Wick Avenue. Then we came to the large section, beginning at Walnut Street and extending across Crab Creek and far to the east, which was called Smoky Hollow. It is likely that the name was derived from the smoke issuing from the rolling mill built near Crab Creek and known as the Valley Mill. As I have previously indicated a part of Smoky Hollow extending northward from the mill to McGuffey Street was named Bottle Hill Both are included in the district now recognized as the East Side.

As we continued westward along McGuffey Street, we approached Science Hill, which is now Scienceville, but then still separated from Youngstown. If we went out Oak Street to the Early Road, we came to the edge of the city and were near the Kennedy Farm and Kennedy's Spring. They were on a hill rising above the east bank of Dry Run and near the land that is now Lincoln Park. If we went southward along Dry Run, we came to Wilson Avenue. Then

turning eastward, we reached Hazelton. It, like Science Hill, was separated from Youngstown by both distance and open land, and I am not sure that it had been annexed before 1900. In any event, back in the horse and buggy days, the journey to the Diamond was a long one. At the intersection of Wilson Avenue and Center Street, there was a small business development, with a large general store, and near it was a hall in a frame building where Father Leming, the eloquent pastor of the small Catholic church, gave lectures for which he charged ten cents.

When we crossed the river from Hazelton, we reached Poland Road, which is now Poland Avenue. It began at South Avenue, followed the south bank of the river to the east, and finally ended at the village of Poland. On the high ground that rises from Poland Avenue, there was an area called Lansingville, which had a distinctive quality because it was the home of a colony of Swedes. To the west of Lansingville was a cluster of homes known as Flint Hill. There also was a Vinegar Hill, but I never knew its location. Continuing westward along the south side of the river, we came to the historic district known as Kilkenny. That name, of course, speaks for itself. The people living there were largely Irish. How many of them actually migrated from Kilkenny, I cannot say, but I can say that they were veritable specimens of the Irish you would see in Ireland itself.

Kilkenny was a rather large district, as well as one that had a character truly distinct. It was bounded on the north by the river and Poland Avenue, and on the west by South Avenue. Within that triangular boundary, it extended southward on the rising ground, which was sometimes called The Hill, until it reached the open land opposite Marion Avenue and South Side Park. At the turn of the century, there was a Catholic school that went only to the fourth grade, and then the students were transferred to St. Columba's School, which was at the corner of Elm Street and Rayen Avenue. Kilkenny produced many men who became prominent, but one in particular requires comment in any history of Youngstown. He went through the Catholic school which was known as the University of Kilkenny, and then he was graduated from St. Columba's school. After attending St. Charles College in Maryland, as well as St. Mary's

Seminary, Cleveland, and studying at the North American College in Rome, he became a priest. In a short time, he was Bishop of Rochester, New York. Then he was sent to Goa, India, where the Catholic religion has been established since the days of the Portuguese colonies. He was there as papal legate, and thus represented the Pope in solving problems with the Hindus and with the government of India. After returning to America, he was appointed Bishop of Detroit. Before long, he was elevated to the rank of Archbishop, and then through the later years of his life, he was nationally known as Edward Cardinal Mooney.

As I look back now, I can distinctly see Youngstown as it was in the 1890's. I think that I saw horse cars going along Federal Street, but I am not sure, for our memories sometimes lead us to see something about which we heard older people talk. On the contrary, I have a clear recollection of the first electrical car on at least one line. The Brier Hill-Hazelton line was the earliest of all, and it was operating in 1891. As the name indicates, it began in Brier Hill and came down West Federal Street to the Diamond. After continuing down Federal Street to what was called the East End, it veered into Wilson Avenue, and finally reached its terminal in Hazelton.

The second line installed was the North Avenue-Fruit Street line. It began at Burke Street, which is now the western part of Park Avenue, near St Elizabeth's Hospital, extended down North Avenue to West Federal Street, and then went eastward to the Diamond. After continuing eastward to the junction of Federal Street with Himrod Avenue and Wilson Avenue, it went up Himrod Avenue to Fruit Street, where it turned to the north to reach Oak Street and Albert Street, and then it continued northward in Albert Street till it came to the end of the line at McGuffey Street.

Later, the Elm Street line and the Mill Street, now Oak Hill Avenue, line were installed, and finally after Market Street bridge was built, the Park and Falls line ran out Market Street to Warren Avenue, went westward in Warren Avenue, southward in Hillman Street, and again went westward till it passed Glenwood Avenue at Fosterville and reached Idora Park.

I have a personal reason to remember the first electric car to run out Albert Street. In 1892, my family lived with my maternal grandmother at the corner of McGuffey Street and Willow Street. One day my mother told me to go out to the home of Carrie Kirk, the famous school teacher, which was on McGuffey Road near the edge of the town, to get some flowers for the altar of the church. I went with two other boys sent on the same mission. In order to get back home at Willow Street, we had to pass the corner of McGuffey and Albert Streets. When we got to that corner, a streetcar was there. Since that was the end of the line, the conductor was changing the position of the pole of the trolley, so that he could turn back. We stopped in amazement to look at the car. Then one of us had a brilliant idea. We asked the conductor if he would trade us a ride for half of our flowers He studied us thoughtfully for a while, and finally he decided to accept our proposal. He said, however, that he would take us only as far as Oak Street, and that then we had to walk back. That is what we did. I mention it now because I have the happy memory of riding on the first streetcar on the Albert Street line.

E: Judge, can you fix the time when the mills were built in the Mahoning Valley and began to make iron?

H: I think I have already said that when John Young came to the site of Youngstown in 1796, he built a log cabin. That same summer, Daniel Shehy built a large cabin. Evidently, those cabins were the first buildings at Youngstown. Sometime afterward, other settlers were in the valley. Historians agree that the first blast furnace in Ohio was built by Daniel and Thomas Heaton on Yellow Creek, near the present site of Struthers, in 1803. The first iron mill in Ohio was built at Niles by the James A Willard Company in 1841. During the second quarter of the century, Youngstown began to develop from a completely agricultural village to one that was also a center of coal mines, and thus there was an influx of men from Wales who were expert miners. After the conjunction of local coal and iron ore, it was natural that rolling mills would be built. Thus it is safe to say that, since the Willard Company began to operate its mill at Niles in 1841, the first mill at Youngstown was built soon afterward.

I think that the first one was the Brown-Bonnell Mill. It was built on the north bank of the river, just to the east of the place where the Market Street Bridge now extends from Front Street to the South Side. The second was the Cartwright-McCurdy Mill, which was built between the north bank of the river and West Federal, near Westlake Crossing. There was another at Hazelton, in the area near Center Street, and my impression is that it did not have as many furnaces as Brown's and Cartwright's. The fourth mill was the one built on the east bank of Crab Creek, in the section I have already identified as Smokey Hollow. Thus it was a short distance north of the place where the Oak Street bridge now crosses the railroad tracks and near Valley Street. Those mills were the centers of the iron industry at Youngstown in the early days and the four that I distinctly remember

I specifically recall that when my parents lived on Boardman Street, my father was a puddler in the Brown-Bonnell Mill. I also remember that when we sometimes lived with his mother on Foster Street, he worked in the Cartwright-McCurdy Mill. I learned my first lessons about a puddle mill by carrying my father's dinner pail to him while he was working at his furnace. That, then, was the beginning of the industrial growth of Youngstown The first chapter was the development of the mines, and the second chapter was the development of the iron mills

The mills developed well here, I think, because of the ore and because of the particular kind of coal which was discovered on the farm homestead of David Tod, Governor of Ohio during the Civil War. His farm and home were on the outskirts of the section called Brier Hill, that is, between the western section of Youngstown and the village farther west known as Girard.

This coal had a peculiar property, which made it better than most of the bituminous coal that was found in Ohio or in Pennsylvania. Thus it was a big advantage in developing the iron mills here.

Since the people associated with the rolling mills came mostly from the British Isles, they naturally were English, Welsh, Scots, and Irish Actually, the migrations were in three phases In the first phase, those identified as pioneers came from New

England--especially from Connecticut--and from New York. Sociologists classify them as the old stock. Some of them had been active in the Revolution and in the founding of the nation. In the second phase were the men who worked in the coal mines and the mills, many of whom brought wives and children. Meanwhile, there was an influx of immigrants from Germany, and they increased after the Revolution of 1848, when many men fled not only because of political persecution, but also to avoid compulsory military service. On arriving at Youngstown, some of the Germans settled in the upper part of Brier Hill; others made their homes on the hillside rising from the south bank of the river and Mahoning Avenue to the area lying to the south and the west of Oak Hill Cemetery. At this time, moreover, a large number of Jewish families, later prominent in business and whose names are still well known, immigrated from Germany.

In 1833, the Ohio and Erie Canal, extending from Cleveland through Akron to the Ohio River at Portsmouth, was completed, and in 1840, the Mahoning and Beaver Canal, connecting with it at Akron and following the Mahoning River and the Beaver River to the Ohio, near Pittsburgh, was opened. In 1848, Youngstown was incorporated as a town. Although it had been steadily growing, the population in 1880 was only 12,000. Then there was a rapid increase, and the population in 1890 was 33,220.

No doubt, such an increase in population reflected the expansion of the nation and the development of all industries, but it particularly reflected the growth of the iron and steel industry. In 1892, a group of local men who had accumulated wealth by operation of coal mines and iron mills, as well as blast furnaces, foundries, and machine shops, formed the Union Iron and Steel Company for the purpose of building the first steel plant in the Youngstown district. It was named the Ohio Works, and it began operation with the Bessemer process in 1895.

Andrew Carnegie had already built steel plants at Braddock and Homestead, Pennsylvania. In 1899, he merged those plants and other properties he owned into the Carnegie Steel Company. In 1900, the Carnegie Company bought the Ohio Works. In 1901, Elbert H. Gary, a Chicago lawyer and industrialist, in collaboration with John Pierpont Morgan, the New

York financier, organized the United States Steel Corporation. Carnegie sold his company to the new corporation.

With the building of the Ohio Works, the third phase of the immigrations began. Already western Pennsylvania was filled with people from Eastern and Southern Europe, and a common sight was an immigrant train stopped at a railroad station. To stimulate the mass movement, recruiters were sent to Europe to persuade impoverished peasants to leave their ancient homes, and the steamship lines, operating from Trieste, as well as the German ports, displayed alluring advertisements showing the opportunities of America. The people who came to Youngstown at that time included Slovaks, Czechs, Magyars, Italians, Poles, Bulgarians, Russians, Greeks, and other groups in smaller numbers. They were those we now, ungrammatically, call the ethnics.

E: How did those new people affect Youngstown as it was before they came?

H: Profoundly, they made it a new city, or a city of a new type.

E: Will you please explain how that happened?

H: First, it is necessary to remember that up to the time of the third phase of the immigrations, the people of Youngstown were predominantly natives of the British Isles and their children. They spoke English, and all but a few read and wrote English. In a word, they were literate. Since they understood the government of England, with its system of voting, they had no difficulty in understanding the government of the United States. In fact, they not only participated in political affairs, but also eagerly sought public office. During that period, of course, there was a large immigration of Germans, but they, too, were literate, and they soon spoke English, even if they did have a German accent. Thus they were easily assimilated.

In contrast, the new immigrants could not speak English. Consequently, as the sociologists said, they were retarded by a language barrier. Since many of them were illiterate, they could not learn to read and write English. Of those who could read, most continued to read newspapers printed in their

native languages. Having lived in monarchies, several of which were notoriously repressive, they knew nothing of self-government and a democratic society. At the same time, even their customs were different from those of the people who came from the British Isles. Thus they instinctively crowded together in distinct communities, preserved their traditions and folkways, established their own churches, and continued to speak their native languages. Many of them, in fact, hoped to save some money and go back to their homelands. Those who stayed did not find assimilation easy. Actually, these people were brought to the United States solely to provide cheap labor for the steel industry, and that was the reason they came to Youngstown. In 1905, the basic wage for laborers was fourteen cents an hour for a twelve-hour day When Andrew Carnegie sold his company and retired, he had five hundred million dollars.

To give an example of how the city was affected, the early immigrants, especially Irish and Welsh, built homes in the area west of Westlake Crossing, between the Erie Railroad and the river, and extending farther west to the gate of the Ohio Works. The new immigrants began to crowd into the area, and soon they occupied it entirely. About 1900, there were so many of them near the Ohio Works that real estate developers decided to build an addition to the city. Accordingly, they bought farms west of the plant and Salt Spring Road, laid out streets, sold lots, and built houses. As a result, Steelton was soon occupied by the new immigrants, and thus became a thriving part of the city.

In addition to the great influx of new immigrants, the building of the Ohio Works brought from the Carnegie plant at Homestead, Pennsylvania, men who already were expert steel workers. Many of them held supervisory positions. For example, Thomas McDonald was general superintendent; his brother Joe was his assistant; and Louis N., a younger brother, was superintendent of the converting mill. In fact, the McDonalds were the most remarkable family in the history of American industry. There were eleven brothers, and every one of them held high positions with the United States Steel Corporation, or with other steel companies.

During the early 1900's, the steel industry in the Youngstown district rapidly expanded. The United

States Steel Corporation built another plant, as well as a town, which it named after Thomas McDonald, who became district superintendent. At the same time, the Ohio Works was enlarged and open hearth furnaces were installed. Louis N. McDonald then was appointed general superintendent, and later, after Thomas retired, he became district superintendent About 1900, moreover, the Republic Iron and Steel Company was organized. It bought the property of the Brown-Bonnell Company near the Market Street bridge, and built there a Bessemer plant, which extends eastward along the river beyond South Avenue, and installed its main office in the building that abuts the bridge. Also at that time, the local men who had sold the Ohio Works to the Carnegie Company decided to invest in a new steel plant. Accordingly, they formed the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and its plant was built at the village then called East Youngstown, but later named Campbell, after James A. Campbell, president of the company.

Apart from the expansion of the basic steel industry, the Truscon Steel Company, which made metal laths used to reinforce concrete constructions, and the Republic Rubber Company built plants on the northeast side of the city between Albert Street and the railroads bordering Crab Creek. Meanwhile, the General Fireproofing Company, which makes metal furniture and office equipment, built its plant near Logan Road at the north edge of the city.

The period between 1900 and the first World War, it seems to me, was the liveliest and the most interesting period in the history of Youngstown. The expansion of the industries naturally created employment and prosperity--or what we then considered prosperity--and caused a rapid growth of the city. New homes were built in the district bordering Market Street between Warren Avenue and Indianola Avenue and later in that district extending from Indianola Avenue to Midlothian Boulevard. About the same time, the district between Market Street and South Avenue, which is bisected by Erie Street, was developed. On the North Side, more expensive homes were built in the district between Wick Park and Crandall Park, including the palatial ones along Fifth Avenue, such as that of Thomas J Bray, President of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, which was said to cost $25,000. In that period, too, the new Court House,

the City Hall, the Ohio Hotel, the Park Theatre, the Arcade Building with another theatre, the Public Library, and South High School were built.

During the daytime, Federal Street was always an animated scene. In the evening, the Park Theatre had big-time vaudeville, as well as the best shows to be seen in New York, and similar entertainment was provided at the theatre in the Arcade. Salow's restaurant was the best in the United States. On Saturday night, Federal Street was crowded with busy shoppers and with those seeking diversion. Soon after 1900, Youngstown was known as one of the greatest steel centers of the world; the population increased to 60,000, and we proudly told each other that it would surely go to 100,000.

E: Since the Great Depression came when you were mayor, will you please tell us about your experience at that time?

H: Well, it happens that I've made a study of depressions or panics. During the panic of 1893, I was a small child, and I was deeply influenced by it. All panics, I've discovered, have identifiable causes. They are speculation, inflation, or cheap money, and mismanagement of the banks. For example, during the second term of Andrew Jackson, there was wild speculation in land. There was cheap money to buy the land. The newly organized state banks were chaotic. In 1837, there was a financial crash. Two months after Van Buren succeeded Jackson, the country sank into a depression or panic. It lasted three years.

In 1857, soon after Buchanan became president, there was another panic. It followed a spree of speculation in western land and in railroads. Again, there was mismanagement of the banks, and many of them failed. Factories closed; thousands of men were jobless. This panic lasted three years.

During Grant's second term, there was another major depression. At that time, there was speculation coupled with the building of the railroads in the West. There also was a scandal that began with the bribing of Congressmen by a construction company owned by the Union Pacific Railroad. Again, there was inflation caused by the issuing of cheap money called Green Backs, which had no support in gold or

silver. Many of the banks were also involved. Then Jay Cooke, head of a large bank at Philadelphia, who had been prominent in the railroad and land boom, was unable to pay his creditors. A panic, or depression, soon began, and it lasted for five years.

Those three evidences appeared in every depression in our history and they were clearly revealed before the crash of the stock market in 1929, but the people of the United States refused to recognize them. In the middle of the 1920's, business was booming, and the corporations were making large profits. It was evident, though, that they did not divert any of their profits to increases of wages or to reduction of prices. Instead, they saw that it was easy to issue new stock and thus get more money Then some of their money went into speculation, and the price of stocks continued to rise Thus it was reported that the members of the Mellon family made $300,000,000 by increases in the prices of stock in the corporations they controlled. It also is history that shares of A.T. & T., supposedly a conservative company, which normally would have sold for $100, were listed at $300.

At that time, too, the holding company was developed, particularly in the field of public utilities. For such an operation, a man at the head of a company purveying electric power or gas bought a similar company by issuing stock to pay for it, and thus avoided investing his own money. After that combination was effected, he issued stock in it to buy more companies and put them into his holding company By this device, he formed such a pyramid that hardly anyone could understand what he had built. The man who best personified the magical holding company was Samuel Insull, a Chicago tycoon, but his fantastic conglomeration disappeared in the crash of 1929.

Meanwhile, millions of people began to play the stock market Many of them bought stock on margin. By that method, of course, the investor did not pay in full for his stock and thus actually own it. He paid only 25 percent, or less, of the price at the time he bought it. The balances in such transactions were covered by brokers' loans. If the price of the stock went up, the investor's money was safe, and he made a profit. If the stock went down, the broker called for his money, and the investor, unless he could pay, was wiped out As the bull market continued,

corporations began to use their reserve funds for speculation, and bankers hurried to New York with money for brokers' loans.

Thus the entire nation was caught in the feverish excitement caused by speculation. At the same time, the leaders of business and the officials of the government told the people that they were in a new era of prosperity. My own view at that time was peculiar. I happened to think that a crash was inevitable, and I tried to advise my friends to get out of the stock market. I knew, however, that I made few converts. In fact, the speculation, in keeping with mass psychology, had become a form of collective insanity. The speculators were not able to think rationally, and they believed the impossible was possible. They did not buy stocks as investments but solely for the purpose of getting rich quickly. To be specific, I had two close friends who were typical One of them said to me, "Mayor, we are going to put you in the market with us."

I asked him what that meant, and he said that when they bought for themselves, they would also buy for me. I then asked how much money I needed. He said, "None. We'll furnish the money."

E: Who were these friends, mayor, that wanted you to go in with them?

H: Daugherty and Brennan, building contractors Charley Daugherty and Jim Brennan. Jim talked with me. When I asked him about profits, he said that I got the profits. Then I asked about the losses, and he said that they would take care of the losses. I told him that I could not accept his deal. "If I get the profits," I said, "I should take the losses. I can't afford the losses, so I can't take your deal."

A short time later, Jim told me that he and Charley had made $800,000 in the market. They were buying stock in Briggs Body Company. I pleaded with him to take what they had and get out. He said that they would stay in till they had a million, and then they would get out. I said that $800,000 was a lot of money, that a crash was coming, and I thought they would never get their million When the crash did come, they not only lost the $800,000, but also everything else they owned.

After talking with Jim Brennan, I went to see Hugh Grant, President of the City Bank. I asked him whether or not the value of a stock depended on its earnings. He laughed, and then he said that I was old-fashioned. "You would have been right a short time ago," he added, "but that is no longer the rule." In this bull market, he explained, a stock is worth whatever a buyer will pay for it, with the result that one normally worth $25 sells for $100, and one worth $100 sells for $300. When I asked whether or not there was the danger of a collapse of the market, he said that it was likely a collapse would come, but since there was no way to stop the speculation, it would have to run its course.

Meanwhile, Herbert Hoover, a perfect representative of the Republican party at that time, had been elected President, and he had continued the policy of Coolidge who had declared that the business of the government is business. Hoover himself had based his campaign on a continuance of prosperity, and he had assured the people that they were near the final triumph over poverty. Obviously, he did not foresee that, before he was in the White House a year, the country would collapse.

E: How long after the crash of the stock market did the depression begin?

H: I think that the depression really began in 1930, when unemployment sharply increased, but economic conditions grew worse, and deprivation became severe in 1931. It happened that in 1930, my wife and I went to Europe with Hugh Grant, president of the City Bank, and his wife. While we were traveling in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and England, I tried to learn something about the social and economic conditions. It was evident that, in every country except Switzerland, the people were dissatisfied with their government, as well as with the circumstances of their life. No doubt, Germany was the worst. There was a high rate of unemployment, the money was continually depreciating, and many of the people were hungry. After the failure of the Weimar Republic, Von Hindenburg, the aged marshall, had been elected President of a form of republic, but he had been unable to govern. Thus Hitler saw his opportunity and seized power. England was almost as desperate as Germany. The government, with Ramsey

MacDonald as Prime Minister, could not solve the economic problems. Consequently, at least twenty percent of the workers were unemployed. In brief, I was convinced that the depression was rapidly becoming worldwide. Knowing that the depression during Van Buren's term had lasted three years, and that the one which began in Grant's second term lasted five years, I felt that our collapse would last much longer.

E: What were the conditions in Youngstown at that time?

H: Soon after I came back from Europe, it seemed that there was a pervading gloom, that the men with whom I talked were listless, or purposeless, and I began to observe the true meaning of the depression. By that time, several million men were unemployed, and it was becoming evident that they could have no hope of finding work of any kind. As mayor, I was forced to see the reality as few others would see it. I talked with discouraged men who had futilely hunted for a job, and then had come to me for help. I talked with women who came to my home, who struggled to hold back the tears as they pleaded with me to give their husbands a few days work, and told me that there was no food for the children. Never shall I forget one man who stood at my desk and said that he and his wife were so desperate that if I could not give him some work, he would kill himself. When my secretary asked me why, since there were so many to help, I was insistent that he be put on a payroll, I told him that the man had said he would kill himself, and I knew he meant what he said.

That, then, was my view of the depression. Consequently, I could not agree with those who proclaimed that it would soon be over, and while they lived in luxury, contended that nothing could be done about it.

After I came back from Europe, I was invited to speak at the Lions' Club. I told the members about what I had seen in the several countries through which we had traveled, and said that the depression, instead of being confined to the United States, was universal. I predicted that it would last ten years, and suggested that we face reality and forestall the suffering in advance. I then urged the people and the leaders to promote a bond issue of one million

dollars to provide for public welfare and to feed our hungry families.

The day after I made that speech, I went to lunch at the Youngstown Club. As I entered, Mr. C. S. Thomas, president of one of the steel companies, stopped me. We had been rather closely associated and he thought that he had a license to lecture me.

He said to me, "Mayor, you're all wrong in making a speech such as you did. Don't talk about the conditions and don't talk about these poor people and everything will be all right." I said to him, "Mr. Thomas, I'm not wrong; men like you and others who are leaders of the city of Youngstown are wrong. You refuse to face the facts, and you refuse to make any provisions for the suffering that is before the people of our city."

He continued his sermon, then turned and walked away. That was the attitude, I might say, of many of the leaders of Youngstown.

The day after I made that speech, Will Maag published in The Vindicator an editorial in which the theme was: "The mayor is borrowing trouble. The depression will be over before a bond issue can be passed."

With such an attitude in the community, how could the people expect or get much help. That depression showed us the weaknesses of our economic condition, and it showed us the vulnerability and often corruptibility of our financial and business leaders.

To look ahead for a moment, only two years ago we were going through exactly the same kind of collapse. Speculation was running wild, and the banks in New York were being completely prostituted.

Before the collapse actually came, and after a great many of the brokers in New York were insolvent and accused of using the customers' money, and after there were fictitious loans given by the banks to the brokers, somebody in New York had the sense to appoint a special committee to liquidate a great number of the brokers who were already broke, and thus save the stock market by an internal reformation. That is the only thing that saved us two years ago from going through the same kind of a depression

based on the same causes as the collapse and depression which began in 1929.

So if what I am saying is of any value or serves any purpose, you are welcome to have it and consider it, because it was spoken by a man who has no ulterior purpose, and is only trying to help the people of his community and of his country.

It was natural that the depression had a political effect. I was then at the City Hall and, of course, I was struggling with the problems of the depression.

E: Will you please explain that effect?

H: Well, for one thing, when the people felt the effect of the depression, and there was a political ferment, an old gentleman in California who was known as Dr. Townsend, advocated a plan by which all people over sixty who were unemployed and in need would be paid $200 a month, and they would be required to spend that money within a month after receiving it. Thus the money would stimulate business and the economy would not be harmed In fact, it would be improved.

Dr. Townsend's plan became an active issue in politics. The Republicans, up to that time, had dominated the country, and President Hoover, because of his own economic background and his view of life, completely refused to recognize the reality of the depression, or the need to help the people. For instance, he was able to use the Constitution to build the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which was essentially Socialism, and not Democracy. Through that governmental organization, he arranged to provide hundreds of millions of dollars as loans for the bankers who had neglected their own responsibilities, as well as for the officials of railroads who had similarly betrayed their trust. I remember distinctly that Charles G. Dawes, the Vice-President, got one loan of $90,000,000 for a bank at Chicago with which he was associated

While President Hoover could perform such feats for those we call the money interests of the country, he said that under the Constitution, he was able to provide hay to feed the cattle in Arkansas, but that he could not, under the Constitution, provide milk for the hungry children of Arkansas.

When he expressed such thoughts as that, Senator Borah of Idaho stood up in the Senate and said, "If that is the Constitution of the United States, then it is nothing but a filthy rag."

That was not the Constitution of the United States. The difficulty was that President Hoover and men like him, would not accept the responsibilities of the government to help their people in time of distress. They would help their business associates. They would help the corporations, but they would not help the people. So that atmosphere prevailed at the time I was mayor and at the time Mr. Hoover was president.

Just after I was mayor, we had political sessions in Youngstown, and we were selecting candidates for different offices. One office we strongly considered was that of the representative in Congress. Mr. John G. Cooper was then the representative. He was a man completely orthodox in the reactionary philosophy of politics. The question was who would be the candidate to oppose Mr. Cooper

Michael J. Kirwan, at that time, was in the City Council, as representative of the Fourth Ward on the West Side. He proved that he was a strong man in the Council. Somehow, he had himself made chairman of the Finance Committee, and that is the most important committee in the City Council.

Anyone who watched Mike Kirwan operating in Council, had to say that he was a pretty strong political figure. It was decided that he would file for Congress as the opponent of John G. Cooper. Mike openly supported the Townsend Plan. That was his strong issue in the campaign. So many people were in distress, so many men were unemployed that a prospect like Dr. Townsend's two hundred dollars a month seemed to be the bright star towards which they directed all their hopes. Mike had no other issue. He made no pretense of being a statesman, but he had been a railroader and he had worked around the country. He, therefore, was presented as a man of the people, who sympathized with the people, and he declared that, if elected, he would support the Townsend Plan.

To the surprise of a good many politicians, Mike was able to defeat John G. Cooper. I, of course, was

interested in his campaign and I went with him to Washington to help him get established there. He was a man of little education. As a boy, he worked in the coal mines of Pennsylvania when he should have been in school. I think he told me that he went only to the fourth grade He couldn't make a polished speech and he didn't pretend to, but he was able to talk convincingly, and he had native shrewdness and intelligence.

After we went to Washington, I advised him as best I could and introduced him to some of the Democratic leaders I knew I was not entirely sanguine that he would succeed in politics, because I still had the idea that a Congressman or a Senator should be a man somewhat resembling a statesman, who could stand up and make a speech. The truth is that Mike Kirwan was a remarkable man. With little education and little of the decoration which would indicate a man who was a statesman, such as Senator Borah or Senator George, or any of those spectacular men, he had an unusual shrewdness and a faculty of dominating people.

After he got to Congress, he made few speeches, although he later learned to make an effective speech, and even though he had but slight education, he acquired a fair command of correct English and the method of expressing it well. After he was in Congress a short time, his force of character began to reveal itself. The Appropriations Committee of Congress is one of the most important committees in that branch of the Government. Mike became a member of the Appropriations Committee and through such manuevering as often goes on in Congress, he had himself made chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Appropriations Committee, which handled the distribution of money for public projects.

It's an old idea and true that he who controls the purse really exercises the power. All the projects across the country, such as the dams and the irrigation systems, and all such developments as people want in their state and in their community, usually require federal help and federal finance.

Mike Kirwan actually became the man who told the people of the United States whether or not a project would be accepted and financed. He stayed in Congress one term after another, and I think I'm safe

in saying now that in the years just before his death, he was probably the most powerful man in the Congress of the United States. That is worth considering by the young people of our community. It shows the possibilities of American life and it shows what a man can do when he gets an opportunity, or when he has the skill to make an opportunity for himself. Father Keller, who was a moralist and philosopher, said that one man can change the world. Young people of our community would do well to observe the life of such a man.

E: What did Mike do for the community or the Mahoning Valley?

H: To bring the discussion to our own community, Mike Kirwan devoted himself for years to trying to have a canal built from Cleveland through the Mahoning Valley to join the Ohio River after passing down the Beaver River. It was a great dream, but it was not realized. The argument was that it would be beneficial to the industries here and help them to overcome the disadvantage of being in a part of the country where the cost of transportation was higher than in such areas as those near Pittsburgh and Chicago.

Unfortunately, after Mike had worked on that project for many years, with the vigorous support of The Vindicator, the governor of Pennsylvania suddenly announced that he would never permit the building of a canal between Youngstown and Pittsburgh. He would never let that canal advance across Pennsylvania. Obviously, he had that attitude because he desired to help his own industries in the Pittsburgh district. So Youngstown was finally denied the canal which would have extended from Cleveland through Youngstown to Pittsburgh.

There are a number of projects which Mike was able to have carried out in his home district. One splendid example is the Pymatuning Lake which was strongly supported by Mike in order to supplement our water supply. He had a number of such projects in the district, and a notable one is Mosquito Creek Reservoir, in Trumbull County.

It was fortunate for the people of the Nineteenth District that when Mike died, there was a worthy successor available. Charles Carney, as a young

man, began to work at the Republic Rubber Company. There he became active in the United Rubber Workers Union, and he soon was elected president of the District Council. He also became active in the Democratic party, and he was elected State Senator for successive terms extending from 1951 to 1970. When Mike died, he was appointed to succeed him. Later, he was elected to a full term, and it is likely that he will continue to represent the Nineteenth District for a long time.

Before Mike Kirwan was in Congress, we already had to struggle through the depression. In 1932, in a reaction to the completely do-nothing administration of Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt was elected. Hoover's mind, it seemed, was closed against any responsibility of the government to do anything for the people. In a way, I think of it as an implied contract. The people support the government, conversely, when the people need help, and it cannot be given by private means, the government should support them. After all, the government _is_ the people. It is their servant and not their commander. Hoover's attitude was completely negative.

In contrast, Roosevelt personified the hope of a change that would benefit the people, and he presented himself in that light. For instance, we now have the Social Security system. It is clear that Hoover could not even contemplate a law to that effect. We have Medicare. Mr. Hoover could never have considered Medicare, because he thought the relief of all suffering was a local problem and that the individual largely had to take care of himself.

There was a great change in 1932, and the political forces took entirely a new direction. The Republicans had dominated the nation since Harding's election in 1920. The change in direction came immediately after Roosevelt took office. He tried to put through social changes, and he was effective in many of his efforts. He brought about a reorganization of the banking system He created the Securities and Exchange Commission which was supposed to control the operation of the stock market. During his term, the law providing for what is called the "right to organize", or the labor law, as sponsored by Senator Wagner of New York, was passed and became operative. So there was a change in direction in

the government and in the leadership of the government, which was emphasized by the expression, "New Deal."

E: How did the "New Deal" policies of Roosevelt affect the Mahoning Valley? Was there any immediate effect in the Valley?

H: Oh, yes. [There were] work projects and all that sort of thing and the reorganization of the banks.

E: What projects?

H: We have to look back a little and try to recall the conditions at the beginning of 1933. Millions of people were desperate, hungry, starving. The men had no work. Many families were homeless, living in shacks. Evidently, President Roosevelt decided that he had to get fast action, to get relief to those desperate people. He immediately closed the banks; then he permitted the ones which were sound to reopen. He also organized several plans for relief. As I recall, the first one was FERA. That meant Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The purpose was to give money to the states and leave the details of spending it to them. At that time, many states were insolvent, as were many cities. No doubt, the grants of federal funds to the states brought about some relief, but the states were unprepared for such responsibilities. Consequently, the FERA was not effective, and it soon was ended.

Meanwhile, the Civilian Conservation Corps had been organized. It provided a method by which young men who were unemployed could go to projects in other parts of the country, such as building dams, lakes, and irrigation systems, repairing roads in national parks, and planting rows of trees to control the dust bowl of the Great Plains. These young men lived in camps, and they were paid wages, but the payments they received were small. At Youngstown, Ralph Klingler, who had been a captain in the 332nd Battalion which fought the war in Italy, recruited 500.

When FERA was ended, the CWA, Civilian Works Administration, was organized. Rather than sending money to the states, the federal government sent it to the counties and cities. Much of the work, however, was called "made" work, such as picking up paper and raking leaves in parks. As a result, people who

opposed relief and others who thought a direct dole would be cheaper, condemned the work as trivial and ridiculed it as boondoggling. Thus the CWA also was ended.

After both the FERA and CWA had proved inadequate, a plan more comprehensive and more effective was developed under the leadership of Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's chief advisor. It was the WPA. That meant Works Progress Administration. In the Mahoning Valley, hundreds of men were put to work repairing and building roads, bridges, schools, and other public buildings, as well as parks, playgrounds, streets, and sidewalks. In fact, for years after the Great Depression, some sidewalks had on them the stamp of the WPA. The purpose of the plan was twofold. Though it was primarily intended to provide employment and wages for men who otherwise would be impoverished, it also was intended to give an infusion of money to business, and thus to stimulate recovery. That was called pump priming. I have read that WPA provided relief for more than 4,000,000 people, so there is no doubt that our people in the Mahoning Valley got substantial help.

Several projects, which were called white-collar projects, interested me because of their originality, for they were intended to give relief to people especially vulnerable during a depression. They included musicians, actors, artists, professors, and others who ordinarily would not be considered for public help. In most cities, including those of our district, there were concerts by unemployed musicians, and shows were produced by unemployed actors. Artists painted pictures of genuine merit which still are seen in the offices of doctors who then bought them, in banks, and in art galleries Guide books of states were compiled by people trained in newspaper work and advertising, and histories of the states, based on thorough research, were written by professional historians, as well as by other writers. I have a particular reason for remembering that project, for Solly Adams, who formerly had worked on The Vindicator, was a member of the staff which wrote the history of Ohio.

E: What about the labor movement just before the depression began?

H: I think it was rather feeble. The leading organization was the American Federation of Labor. It was organized at Pittsburgh in 1886, and Samuel Gompers, a shrewd and forceful leader, was the dominant figure for almost forty years. Founded as a union of skilled workers in the crafts, it was not concerned about those in the mass-production industries. Before the First World War, it had 2,000,000 members. In 1920, there were about 4,000,000, but the total soon began to decline. At that time, the industrial activity caused by the war had subsided, several million men were unemployed, and a depression that lasted two years began. At that time, too, business leaders rallied by the American Association of Manufacturers, vigorously opposed organized labor. As a result of their attitude, many companies began to demand open shops and to promote company unions, which were really their own instruments and not unions at all. By 1929, the membership of the AFL dropped to 3,000,000. Meanwhile, it continued its policy of strictly craft unions and made no effort to organize the mass-production industries.

Consequently, at the time I was mayor, labor at Youngstown, apart from the railroad brotherhoods, consisted of skilled men working at the crafts, or trades. In addition to the officers customarily elected in similar organizations, each local had an officer called the business agent, who gave full time to such affairs as dealing with employers, and was paid the same wage as a journeyman. At the same time, each local had a representative in a district body, which met regularly to consider questions of interest to all locals. The locals, moreover, were united in the Ohio Federation of Labor, of which Michael J. Lyden of Youngstown, was president for twenty years, and then retired gracefully on pension so that the younger generation could carry on. Finally, the state federations were united in the American Federation of Labor. At the time I was judge and then mayor, I had cordial relations with most of the business agents and most of the members of the labor council. In fact, the labor council endorsed me for mayor, and some of the members were active in my campaign.

When Samuel Gompers died in 1924, William Green, a miner of Coshocton, who then was secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, was elected president of the American Federation of Labor Green also had

served two years in the Ohio Senate. He was a placid, amiable man without the shrewdness and force of Gompers. At the AFL convention in 1930, he opposed unemployment insurance, which was already in effect in England and was strongly advocated by Dan Tobin, President of the Teamsters Union. That was the same time I had asked the people of Youngstown to approve a bond issue of $1,000,000 for relief of those in distress. Anyhow, at the convention of the AFL in 1931, Billy Green not only talked as if he knew that there was a depression, but also warned that, unless something was done to help the workers, there was a danger of a revolution. It was, indeed, difficult for the orthodox people to realize that when private enterprise fails completely, the only way to effect a revival is to use the power of the federal government.

After the depression which began with the end of war-time industry and continued through 1921 and 1922, business was again booming and the corporations were making large profits, as I have said before, but it was evident they did not divert any of what might be called their extra profits to a reduction of prices and an increase of wages. At the same time, the mass-production industries could not be unionized, and the workmen in them thus unable to protect their interests until the Wagner Act, which became effective in 1935, established the right to organize and the right to strike. That inhibitory condition was confirmed by the Homestead strike. In 1892, the Carnegie Steel Company cut wages of the men working in its plant at Homestead, a small town near Pittsburgh. The men who belonged to a union named the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers called a strike. Andrew Carnegie fled to his castle in Scotland and left Henry C. Frick to resist the strikers. Obviously, Frick was fearless and ruthless. When brawls between strikers and strike-breakers developed, he hired Pinkerton agents. During the battles that soon took place, ten men were killed. The State Militia was then called out. Many of the men, feeling that the strike could not be won, returned to work. Others wandered about the country, homeless and hungry, as they looked for new jobs.

I still remember clearly an episode at our home. It may indicate to psychologists the age at which a child's memory begins to operate, for I was then five years of age. It may interest others because it reveals the character of my mother and thus illustrates

other women of that time in similar circumstances. Frequently, men came to the kitchen door of our home. One would say, "Misses, would you please give me something to eat?" Another would say, "Misses, I'm from Homestead. Would you please give me something to eat?" If one came at mealtime, my mother simply said, "Sit in." The man then got what we had for our meal. If another came between meals, she gave two thick slices of her homemade bread with a pot of tea. One day, I asked her why she had fed the man. "Joe," she said, "never turn a man away from your door hungry."

After the Homestead strike, the workmen in the steel plants, it seemed, felt that they could have little hope of organizing a union. In the meantime, Judge Elbert H Gary, the Chicago lawyer and industrialist who was associated with John Pierpont Morgan, the New York financier, in founding the United States Steel Corporation, insisted that the steel industry could not operate with a union and with an eight-hour day Even though a few men on jobs especially hard or requiring constant attention, already did work an eight-hour turn, he argued that the men in general must work twelve hours Since he was a dominant influence in the industry until his death in 1927, his policy was the policy of all the companies.

E: How, then, was the steel industry finally unionized? How were the workers organized?

H: It was done by the CIO. I've already mentioned the Wagner Act. The formal name is National Labor Relations Act. Since it was sponsored by Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, it was given his name. That act clearly established the right of men in mass-production industries to organize a union and to strike It also provided for the National Labor Relation Board, which has the authority to investigate both employers and unions accused of unfair labor practices, and to apply to a federal court for enforcement of its orders. In accordance with the Wagner Act, the presidents of eight unions affiliated with the AFL, formed the Committee of Industrial Organization, with John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, chairman. Since the miners, without regard to skills or jobs, were already organized in one union, Lewis was receptive to a plan to organize such unions in the mass-production

industries The chairman of the organizing committee, however, was Philip Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers. That committee first gave its attention to the automobile industry, and a union was organized at Detroit in 1936. Within a few months, seven unions were organized in such industries as rubber, cement, and aluminum, but the executive council of the AFL would not permit inclusion of members of craft unions. The committee, nevertheless, decided to continue organizing unions including all men in an industry no matter what their work was. Thus there was strife almost from the moment the new movement began, and the executive council of the AFL ordered suspension of the recently organized unions. Instead of complying with that order, the Committee for Industrial Organization, in 1938, adopted a new constitution and became the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In 1936, the committee of which Philip Murray was chairman also began to organize the steel industry. At that time, we talked of Big Steel and Little Steel. Big Steel meant the United States Steel Corporation. Little Steel meant the less formidable companies such as the Republic Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Inland Steel Company, National Steel Company, and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company.

Despite the opposition to unions in the steel industry often expressed by Judge Gary and the executives of other companies, Philip Murray and his associates had surprisingly little difficulty in organizing unions in plants of U.S Steel. At that time, company unions had already been established, and Murray adopted the strategy of having men he could trust infiltrate them, and then get control of their operation. It soon was evident that large numbers of men in the plants near Pittsburgh and those at Chicago and Gary, reflecting the change in conditions since the election of Roosevelt, had become aggressively independent In fact, they were demanding increases in wages, an eight-hour day, improved working conditions, vacations with pay, and pensions. To those who were active in politics, it also was evident that President Roosevelt, as he prepared his campaign for re-election, made labor an essential part of the New Deal.

Meanwhile, as was later revealed, the United States Steel Corporation, because of the depression, had

not been prosperous, but in 1936, its business had begun to pick up. At the same time, Myron C. Taylor, Chairman of the board, was able to foresee that, as Hitler continued his conquests, and England and France were forced to resist him, there would be a highly profitable demand for war material. Taylor also realized the advantage to labor that resulted from the attitude of Roosevelt, as well as from the operation of the National Labor Relations Board. Thus he decided that it would be wise to avoid a costly strike and get ready for the boom. Accordingly, while Philip Murray and his staff in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee busily recruited union men in the plants of U.S. Steel, Taylor and John L. Lewis arranged a series of secret conferences and developed the terms of an agreement by which the Corporation not only would recognize the union, but also would establish the eight-hour day and increase basic wages from 47 cents an hour to 52½ cents, or five dollars a day, with time and a half for overtime.

When the executives of the companies comprising Little Steel learned of the agreement made by Taylor and Lewis, they were astonished and enraged. Usually, they followed the lead of Big Steel, and some of them again did so, but Republic, Bethlehem, Inland, National, and Sheet and Tube were belligerent. Their attitude, I think, reflected the tough guy role of Tom Girdler, who had become president of Republic. He made no attempt to hide his hostility to unions and his hatred of everyone connected with them. In any event, even after the Supreme Court in the spring of 1937, upheld the authority of the National Labor Relations Board to define unfair labor practices and to order the signing of an agreement that recognized Philip Murray's committee as the bargaining agent of those who chose it, they continued to resist all efforts to unionize their plants by using company unions and legal maneuvering Convinced that their implacable attitude left no hope of effecting a peaceful agreement, Philip Murray called a strike against them.

E: What can you tell us about the strike in 1937?

H: In 1937 and 1938, I was at Columbus as assistant attorney general. Consequently, I do not have a clear understanding of what then happened at Youngstown. I do recall that at a plant of the Republic Steel Corporation near Chicago, the police shot into

a crowd and killed ten men. I also recall that, after Governor Martin L. Davey called out the National Guards, Joe Parilla of Youngstown, who was captain of the local company, talked with me at the office of the attorney general, and he appeared to be concerned about the authority he and his men would have to shoot strikers. I told him that, in my opinion, the law governing them would be use of reasonable force, similar to that in self-defense.

Judging from what I heard later, the strike was a tough one. After it was called by Philip Murray, who was at Youngstown, the Republic plant and the Sheet and Tube plant were closed, and there was little disturbance. Governor Davey tried to mediate, but Tom Girdler and Frank Purnell, president of Sheet and Tube, refused to meet him. He then asked President Roosevelt to intervene. Roosevelt appointed a board of mediation, including Charles P. Taft Girdler and Purnell ignored the board To understand these events, it is necessary to know that there is nothing haphazard about the breaking of a strike. Actually, it is as methodical as the building of a house. Of course, there is an advantage in having a well-disciplined company union at the beginning, and such unions were already established at Republic and at Sheet and Tube. The first step is to alarm the people by propaganda for law and order. Next, there are charges that outsiders are fomenting the strike, and it is a good touch to emphasize that they are Communists. At the same time, the agents of the company try to provoke the strikers to violence. Then a citizens' committee is formed to protest against violence, to demand protection of life and property, and to warn of the danger to women and children.

At Youngstown, the chairman of the citizens' committee was Carl Ullman, president of the Dollar Bank, and he was an example of perfect casting. After beginning his career as a Chamber of Commerce secretary, he came to the bank in similar work. The president had been a courtly principal of Rayen High School, and the officers were elderly gentlemen. When Roosevelt ordered the closing of all banks, they were paralyzed. Ullman was both bold and resourceful. He insisted that the bank could be saved. Then he set out to get a loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. During the reorganization, the old officers retired. Ullman emerged as president.

After the citizens' committee had performed effectively by issuing statements which accused Murray and his organizers of carrying on an armed insurrection and renewing the demand for law and order, it was time for the last act. That was a back-to-work movement, led by the employees in the company union.

Meanwhile, Ralph Elser, sheriff of Mahoning County, had deputized many of the members of the two company unions and had also received from Girdler and Purnell a large store of munitions. Soon afterward, a riot developed at a gate of the Republic plant. The company police shot into a crowd near the gate. Two strikers were killed, and many people, including several women, were hurt. Three days later, Girdler and Purnell announced that they would reopen the plants. President Roosevelt sent to Girdler a telegram asking him, for the sake of public safety, not to do so. Girdler did not even acknowledge the President's telegram. Sheriff Elser then informed Governor Martin L. Davey that, with the opening of the plants, conditions would be so dangerous he could not maintain order. Davey ordered the National Guard into Youngstown.

In 1937, James P. Griffin, who later became director of District 26 of the United Steel Workers of America, was working at the Sheet and Tube plant, and I feel sure, from what I later knew of him, that he was active in the strike. It seemed, too, that the leader--or at least the spokesman--of the back-to-work movement was Mart Murphy, a stationary engineer at the Republic whom I had known when we were boys, and Ray Thomas, a lawyer who had been the county prosecuting attorney for several terms, was associated with it in some way I never did understand In any event, after Governor Davey had sent the National Guard to Youngstown, the back-to-work agitation was intensified. A few days later the strike collapsed, and the men returned to their jobs.

Lee Pressman, the brilliant counsel of the SWOC, at once filed with the National Labor Relations Board a complaint that the Republic Steel Corporation had been guilty of unfair labor practices. The hearing was the most extensive in the history of the board, and it was also the most important in the development of industrial unions. The decision held that the company must end the use of labor spies and the harassment of workers, disband the company union,

rehire with back pay the several thousand men discharged for union activity or for striking, and bargain in good faith with the representatives of an independent union. A similar decision was made against the Sheet and Tube Company. Girdler and Purnell, however, did not accept defeat. One delay after another was effected by challenging the authority of the National Labor Relations Board and appeals to the courts. Thus they were able to evade recognition of the union till the Japanese, in December of 1941, attacked Pearl Harbor and the United States entered the war.

E: Who organized steel in Youngstown in the 1920's and the 1930's?

H: As to the 1920's, I have no information. It is my impression, however, that the steel workers were not organized in the 1920's Since I was at Washington as an attorney of the Federal Communications Commission in 1935 and 1936, I had no direct imformation as to who organized the union, but I think that it was done largely by Philip Murray and his staff in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Many of the men in that group were members of the United Mine Workers. They were well trained in organizing unions, whereas the steel workers, at that time, were not. They also had gained new experience in the campaign to unionize the plants of U.S Steel. It is likely, nevertheless, that local men were associated with Murray and his organizers. One man named James Quinn, I recall, became the first director of District 26 of the United Steel Workers of America, and it seems logical to think that he was an organizer. Of course, he might have come from Pittsburgh with Murray, but I'm inclined to think that he lived here. I know that Jim Griffin was associated with Murray at that time. He worked on the open hearth furnaces at the Sheet and Tube plant, and he was one of the men who infiltrated the company union.

Actually, there had been no independent union in the customary use of the word union. Everything had been done by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and Philip Murray had dominated the committee. With the National Labor Relations Board ordering the Republic and the Sheet and Tube to sign agreements, it was time to have a real union and bargaining agent After the United States entered the war, President Roosevelt wanted to stabilize labor and

thus to make sure that the essential industries would not be interrupted by strikes or lockouts. He, accordingly, created by executive order the National War Labor Board which had authority to settle all disputes. In August of 1942, both Republic and Sheet and Tube signed agreements with the newly constituted union. It was named the United Steel Workers of America.

E: What effect do you think the signing of the agreements by Republic and Sheet and Tube had on the labor movement in general?

H: It was immense. Those agreements established a pattern, and the other steel companies immediately signed similar agreements. Consequently, with U.S Steel already signed, the whole industry was unionized. That, of course, was a development of historic importance. Tom Girdler later said in his autobiography that he intended not only to win the strike, but also to smash the union so that there would never be another prospect of forming one in any steel plant, and he grimly declared that he would have succeeded if the other companies had held out with him. The effect of those two agreements, moreover, spread to other mass-production industries such as copper, aluminum, meat-packing, oil, textiles, lumber, and tobacco. Thus the great mass of unorganized workers was suddenly organized. Labor entered a new era

I previously pointed out that, at the end of the First World War, the AFL had 4,000,000 members, and that the total soon decreased to about 3,000,000. In contrast, at the end of the Second World War, the combined unions had 15,000,000 members, and the total continued to increase. It is also of historic interest that with this increasing number and consequent power, labor became increasingly active in political affairs. Whereas the AFL, under the guidance of Samuel Gompers, adhered to a policy of neutrality, the newly organized unions, as well as the craft union, formed an alliance with the Democratic party, and almost solidly supported President Roosevelt. In fact, during the war, the AFL and the CIO, although still separated as labor organizations, both pledged to avoid strikes. John L. Lewis, however, was not only an isolationist, but also had become hostile to President Roosevelt. Thus, in the campaign of 1940, he supported Wendell Wilkie and

while trying to take labor with him, declared that if Wilkie did not win, he would resign from the chairmanship of the CIO. When Roosevelt was elected to a third term, he was forced to resign. Philip Murray was elected to succeed him as chairman of the CIO, and then in 1942, he became the first president of the United Steel Workers of America.

At that time, Jim Griffin, after having been active in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, became a staff representative of the new union, and he also was made an assistant of James Quinn, director of District 26 of the United Steel Workers of America. In 1946, despite a union tradition that an incumbent should be re-elected, he opposed Quinn, and he himself was elected director. I have heard that Jim, before he worked at the Sheet and Tube plant, had a job driving an ice wagon, and I have also heard that when he talked with a neighbor at Struthers about marrying his daughter, the neighbor said, "On one condition. You first have to go back to high school and finish your education." Whether or not he went back to high school, he did get an education, for he wrote well, he spoke well, he made an effective speech, and he had a sharp, absorptive mind. In any event, he held the office of district director for twenty-three years. I first met him just after the war. At that time, I had resigned my last position with the federal government and resumed private practice. Jim consulted me about some legal affairs, and later for several years, we frequently had lunch with a group of men--mostly politicians, lawyers, and public officials--who met at the Ohio Hotel. Judging from my own observation, he was innately a remarkable young man. Because of his manifest ability, he became an outstanding member of the hierarchy of the USA, and he also became so influential politically that aspirants for public office in Ohio, especially those who were Democrats, deemed it essential to have his support.

E: Did you know Gene Green, the lawyer?

H: Only casually. I knew that he was a member of a firm that specialized in labor law.

E: How about Al Shipka? Did you know him?

H: Yes, I knew him. "Big Al" some people called him. There was no doubt about his size. He was more than

six feet tall, and he was fittingly robust. To me, he seemed a straightforward man who was firmly devoted to organized labor. I don't know what his title was, or what he really did for the USA, but I think it likely that he was a physical leader

E: What about the early strikes? There was a question at the time of their being Communist inspired.

H: Communists were active at that time, and they had a large part in forming some industrial unions, particularly the United Automobile Workers of America and the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America. When Walter Reuther got control of the UAW, he expelled them After James B. Carey led in the organization of the UE and then served a term as president, they put against him a candidate who said that he was not a Communist and defeated him. It is evident, however, that the Communists did not have a similar part in the organization of the United Steel Workers of America and the United Rubber Workers. Thus it would not be accurate to say that they inspired the strikes in those industries.

In fact, all the strikes considered together represented a collision of two social and economic, or socio-economic, forces. One was the surge of the mass of unorganized workers toward organization; the other was the unyielding opposition of the industrial leaders, except Myron Taylor, chairman of the board of U S. Steel, to independent unions. Whether or not the industrial unions could have been formed without the change in our national life represented by Senator Wagner and the law he fostered, together with President Roosevelt and his New Deal, is a question not easily answered.

Soon after Roosevelt was first elected, the workers in the mass industries began to develop a movement toward unionization, and even those in the company unions made demands that startled the employers. They also began to appeal to the AFL, then led by Billy Green, to organize them. As we have seen, the AFL made a fumbling effort, but the craft unions were so self-centered, so determined to protect those they considered the elite of labor, that they could not find a way to accept industrial unions. When the fumbling continued, John L. Lewis, as president of the United Mine Workers, decided to act. He then formed the Committee for Industrial

Organization, which later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations. After he also formed the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and appointed Philip Murray chairman, he and Murray established the headquarters at Pittsburgh and quickly assembled a staff. Most of the members of the staff they took from the United Mine Workers, although several came from other labor organizations. Then they recruited several hundred organizers who would be in the field. There is no doubt that some of those organizers were Communists. In fact, Lewis had no objection at all to their affiliation with the Communist Party, for he knew that Communists were trained to organize meetings, make speeches, write pamphlets, spread propaganda, manipulate crowds, create agitation, and resist assault. In other words, they were experts, whereas the steel workers, repressed since the Homestead strike, were totally inexperienced in such activities. Philip Murray, however, did not regard the Communists with the same tolerance as John Lewis.

Indeed, it would have been hard to find two other men so obviously different in appearance, in manner, and in character, yet they worked together in harmony for forty years Murray was born in Scotland, where his father was a miner, but he was of Irish descent, and he was a devout Catholic. After the family had come to America, he began to work in a coal mine near Pittsburgh. A short time later, he became active in the United Mine Workers, and the dominant purpose of his life was to promote the welfare of the miners and then the steel workers. Manifestly, he controlled the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. In view of his character, his devotion to his religion, and his fervent commitment to American democracy, coupled with the fact that most of his organizers were members of the United Mine Workers, of which he had long been vice-president, it is not easy to think that Communists inspired the strikes against the companies composing Little Steel Contemporary reports, moreover, reveal that he himself called the strike at Youngstown, and pictures then taken show him making his speech near the plant of the Republic Steel Corporation.

E: What about Gus Hall and his activities?

H: I cannot say what was Gus Hall's philosophy, and I'm unable to recall whether or not he was an avowed Communist, but he certainly resembled a Communist.

His policy, as we might say, appeared to be that of those who call themselves activists. I got the impression that he preferred the vigorous action of a strike to the calm and peaceful endeavor of negotiation. Thus it seemed that he always popped into Youngstown at the time something was happening.

I had a similar mental picture of Harry Bridges, leader of the International Longshoremen's Association at San Francisco. He certainly was an activist, and it was obvious that he loved a fight. There was no doubt that he associated with Communists, and there was no doubt that he accepted their help. For twenty years, his opponents insisted that he was a Communist, but he denied that he was a member of the party, and no one ever succeeded in refuting his denial. Just as I have to say about Gus Hall, I have to say about Harry Bridges I do not know that he was a Communist, but he seemed to be one. Perhaps a good way to judge is to remember an anecdote about James B. Carey, the first president of the United Electrical Workers, who was ousted by the Communists To someone who asked whether or not an opponent was a Communist, he said, "When I see something that looks like a duck and waddles like a duck and quacks like a duck, that's a duck "

E: Mayor, what was the practice of law like in the 1930's?

H: I think that one group notably affected by the depression--and this may be a little suprising--was the confraternity of lawyers. There still was work for lawyers, but there often was no pay. Perhaps it was different with doctors. When people are really sick, they have to get a doctor. On the contrary, they may decide that they can do without a lawyer. Just before I finished my term as mayor, John Boyle, a lawyer friend who had asthma, talked with me about a trip to Arizona, where he had taken up 160 acres, on which he had built a cabin. A short time after I left office, he drove up to my home, came in and said, "Are you ready?"

When I asked him what he meant, he said, "We're going to Arizona. All you need is an old suit and some blankets."

That explanation, of course, took me by surprise. I glanced inquiringly at my wife, expecting her to

say no. Instead, she said, "Go ahead. You need a good rest."

John had an old rattletrap Nash that steamed up and came to a stop every twenty miles. It took us nine days to reach the cabin which was in the desert west of Phoenix. We stayed there together for six months. Then we drove to Tucson, and I went to Sonora, Mexico, to look for gold at a new field near the Altar River.

When we got back to Youngstown, I learned that the prospect was not bright. I talked with one established lawyer who previously had offered to guarantee me a substantial income to join him, and he said that he was just waiting for the depression to go away. Carl Armstrong, my director of law, who was associated with two other lawyers, said that he was thinking of "closing the shop." John J. Buckley, a scholarly doctor of jurisprudence, who later became a judge of the Court of Appeals, said, "If I got paid for the work I do, I could be rich, but nobody has any money." Two men of middle age went back to the villages where they grew up and never again practiced law. Another man, who was a really good lawyer, became a deputy sheriff, and gave his time to filling out legal forms.

These are just a few instances which indicate what happened to men who thought that they were secure in a profession. I am inclined to think that, during the depression, many of the lawyers in Mahoning County were not prosperous Fortunately, while I was judge and mayor, my wife and I methodically saved some money. Despite the gloomy prospect, at the beginning of 1933, I opened a new law office. I do not recall my income for that year, but I feel sure that it was not large. In 1934, I was elected a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and then I was elected vice-chairman. Thus I worked at the Columbus headquarters, traveled around the state to encourage the local Democrats, and helped to organize a campaign to elect Vic Donahey, the former Governor, United States Senator.

After Senator Donahey was elected, he and Jim Farley, with whom I had also worked during the campaign, arranged my appointment as an attorney at the Federal Communication Commission. In 1936, Herbert S. Duffy, another political friend, was elected

Attorney General of Ohio, and he asked me to become his assistant. Two years later, he ran for Governor, but he was defeated. A short time later, Frank Gensche, a lawyer at Cleveland, whom I knew as an ally of Senator Donahey, was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for northern Ohio, and he appointed me his counsel. I held that position until 1943. Then I resumed my own practice at Youngstown in association with Andrew M. Henderson, a brilliant lawyer, whose son Charles later became Mayor, and now is Judge of the Probate Court. Mr. Henderson and I were together for ten years. Then I decided to retire, for I wanted to prowl around British Columbia and go down the coast to San Francisco.

Meanwhile, I had again become interested in local politics, and thus I had taken part in the campaign of Frank X. Kryzan, who in 1953, was the Democratic candidate for Mayor. He was a young man; that is, compared to me, he was young. After serving through the Second World War, he was elected President of Council. When he was elected Mayor and began to organize his administration, the men he appointed to the other offices also were young. I think he then decided that he could use an older man, especially one who had experience in municipal government. In any event, he appointed me assistant director of law. After making my tour of the West, I joined him with the expectation of staying for his first term. It happened, however, he was elected three times, and I stayed with him for six years.

The sequel is that I again had been thinking of retiring, and Felix Mika, the Director of Law, and Mayor Kryzan had said that before the term ended, I should take a vacation of six weeks to which I was entitled. Since I was a boy, I had been interested in the explorers of North America, and my avocation was to write a history of their exploits. I decided that it would be helpful to make a trip to Newfoundland and Labrador, so that I could see the places where Jacques Cartier and Champlain, Humphrey Gilbert, and Martin Frobisher had been, visit the Eskimos, and perhaps catch a polar bear. Thus I'm now hoping to finish a history which, I'm sure, will displace Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

E: One more question. Can you relate some of your experiences when you were on the bench at the Municipal Court and were known as Judge Joe?

H: Well, Professor Earnhart, I thought that, with my visiting the Eskimos and capturing the polar bear, your interview would have a fitting conclusion. Now you ask me to turn the clock back fifty years. Since that is not easy for a man of any age, you will have to accept responsibility for whatever I say, but nevertheless, I shall try to revive a few illustrative episodes. I mentioned earlier that my guiding rule was taken from Portia's speech in the Merchant of Venice:

> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice.

I often thought of the authority given to someone simply because he was a judge. If I said a few words, he went to the grand jury; then, if indicted, he stood trial, and perhaps went to the penitentiary for several years. At the same time, I saw the influence of wealth and power, and I could not avoid thinking that we did not have what we call even-handed justice. On one occasion--a Monday morning--when we had a good many prisoners in court, I looked them over and saw one man, rather young, who seemed alert and intelligent. I asked him his name. He said it was John Davis I had just had a thought. I told him to come up beside me on the bench. Then I said, "Mr Davis, I'm going to find out, if I can, whether or not our system of justice works fairly for all people. I also want to find out whether or not I'm doing my work the way it should be done Am I too lenient or am I too strict? It's easy for me to sit here and pass sentence on you men, but I'm anxious to learn for myself whether or not I'm passing the proper sentences, so I want you to take my chair, examine the prisoners, and then give your judgment. I hereby appoint you judge for a day."

Judge Davis did an excellent job. He called one man after another, talked with them just the way I talked with them, got the elements of their offenses, questioned the police and any witnesses the prosecutor brought in, considered any mitigating circumstances, and then made his decision. After he did so, I entered it in the docket as my official judgment. When noon came, I handed Judge Davis the gavel and said to him, "Judge, it's time to close the court."

He said, "Not yet, Judge. You have forgotten something."

"What's that?" I asked

"You have not sentenced me," he said "You have not tried me."

"Oh, that's right," I said. "Well, I think you should try yourself. What do you think should be your sentence, or do you think you should be found innocent?"

"No, Judge," he answered. "I should be found guilty of drunkenness and disturbance."

"What would be just punishment for you?" I asked.

"I think I should pay a fine of five dollars and cost," he said. "Since I've been here before, I also think I should get three days in jail."

"Isn't that a little too severe?" I asked. "Are there any mitigating circumstances?"

"I can't say much for myself," he answered, "but the days in jail would be tough on my family. I've a good wife and three nice children. I'm a painter by trade, and I have a good job. If I lose three days' work, they'll suffer more than I do."

"Do you have anything to recommend?" I asked

"Well, Judge," he said, "I might recommend that the three days be suspended because of my family."

"Very well," I announced. "The defendant is found guilty as charged, and it is the sentence of the court that you pay a fine of five dollars and costs and serve three days in the city jail. The three days in jail are suspended during good behavior." I then thanked Mr. Davis for his collaboration, assured him that he was an excellent judge, if only for a day, and the court was adjourned. For those who always like to know what happened next, I'm glad to report that, as long as I was judge, Mr. Davis never again was in the court.

I might relate this episode because it suggests the attitude of a judge who might desire to be humane as

well as just. No doubt, it was unusual, but I hoped that a purpose would be served It did stimulate an interest in the court, and it caused discussions of our justice. In fact, I received editorials from such influential newspapers as the New York Times which commented on my effort to find out whether or not the American system of justice actually did work.

On another occasion, a young man was arrested for stealing an overcoat. He was charged with petit larceny, and the merchant from whom he stole the coat was in court to testify against him. After he said that he did not have a lawyer, I read the charge to him, explained the procedure, and asked how he would plead--guilty or not guilty. He looked at me, and I knew how lonely and helpless he felt. "I guess I'm guilty," he said. "I tried to steal it."

I asked him to tell me something about himself. He said that he lived at Pittsburgh, that he could get no work there, and that he had come to Youngstown to look for a job. The night before he was arrested, he had tried to sleep in a boxcar. He was still wearing his summer clothes In the morning, he had no breakfast. As he walked along Federal Street, he was shivering. When he saw the clothing store, he thought of stealing an overcoat. He entered the store, walked around till he saw the coat rack, slipped on a coat, and began to walk out.

Evidently, the merchant, after first seeing the young man, had become suspicious and had watched him. As he approached the door, the merchant stopped him, quickly examined the coat, and asked for the money to pay for it. He then told a clerk to hold him and then he telephoned the police. While our dialogue continued, and I tried to determine the young fellow's character and to decide whether or not he deserved help, Nathan Kauffman, a lawyer who was frequently in the court, stepped up to the bench and said, "If Your Honor please, I do not represent this young man, but I think, judging from what I've heard, that he has had a pretty tough time. If Your Honor will permit me, I should like to help him pay for the coat."

Mr. Kauffman then put a ten dollar bill on the desk. I admit that I was surprised, but I decided that I should not let my judicial dignity interfere with

the little drama. Before I could say anything, another lawyer stepped up, said that he also would like to help, and put a five dollar bill on the desk. Then two policemen made contributions, and a man came from the public seats and asked whether or not he was permitted to contribute. As I sat benignly looking at those who should have been held in contempt for disturbing the court, the merchant stood up. "Judge, if Your Honor please," he said, "let the boy keep the damn coat."

I was again surprised, and I told the merchant that, since we had a fund of about twenty dollars, it would not be fair for him to take such a loss. I then suggested that he accept his cost. "All right," he said, "make it seventeen dollars and the boy will have enough to get back home."

I preached a little sermon and made my entry in the docket. Then I said, "Case is dismissed on the ground of insufficient evidence."

The young man looked at me as if trying to take in the meaning of my judgment, and his expressions indicated that he could hardly believe what had happened. "Judge," he said, "can I say a word?"

"Certainly," I told him. "Go right ahead."

"I never knew that courts could be like this," he said. "I never knew there could be so many kind people. I'll try to make good for what you all have done for me."

So we shook hands with him, and he walked out of the courtroom with his new overcoat on his arm. I felt sure that he would go back home, and I hoped that he would make good.

I could recall from my experience as a judge many such episodes, but I think that, as lawyers say, I should not overload the record. I'm now 87, and that is the reason I'm expressing myself in this way. As part of your oral history, I am trying to relate clearly my own experience in dealing with our people. Thus I hope to give an actual view of Youngstown as I have known it since boyhood and of the people who have united their efforts in building a great American city that is their home.

E: Judge, before we close our session, is there anything you yourself would care to add?

H: Before we close our session, I should like to emphasize again the emergence of the more recent immigrants who are now called ethnics. It seems to me that the First World War marked an advance in their Americanization which has been overlooked, although it was historically momentous. Up to that time, they had largely lived apart from the people who regarded themselves as the real Americans. There is no doubt that when the war began, many of them sympathized with the Germans and their allies rather than with England and France, for they were born in the lands held together in the patchwork empire of Austria-Hungary. It also is obvious that when Germany, after announcing a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, began to sink American ships, their attitude quickly changed, and their loyalty to the United States was never questioned. At the same time, the sons of foreign-born parents who had taken part in the war returned home disenchanted with the Europe they had seen and with a confidence that they had proved their right to unreserved acceptance.

In 1920, it was evident that not only veterans, but also millions of other people were sour on the war and were in a mood of resentment directed toward the Democratic administration. At the national convention of the Republican party, Senator Warren H Harding was nominated for the Presidency, and the Democrats nominated James M Cox, governor of Ohio. Harding was elected by a landslide with a lead of 7,000,000 votes. There is no evidence as to how the members of the ethnic groups did vote, but it appears that many of them joined the swing to the Republican party. For the next twelve years, the Republicans, with Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover successively in the White House, controlled the national government. As I recall the early 1920's, the ethnic citizens, although they voted, did not take an active part in the affairs of the political parties. It is true that public officials frequented their social events and candidates always sought their support, but even the sons of foreign-born parents were not identified with the party organizations.

In 1927, however, those groups were active in my campaign for mayor, and I could not have been elected

without strong support by them. In 1928, moreover, both the foreign-born members of the ethnic groups and their native sons and daughters almost unanimously supported Al Smith in his campaign for the Presidency. Actually, he was to them more than a political leader; he was the personification of their own struggles and aspirations. Thus I think that their highly emotional participation in his campaign forecast the status in the community they were soon to attain.

To examine the change already taking place, it will be helpful, I think, to consider the sequence of mayors elected during the period subsequent to my term. The first one was Mark E. Moore, whom I appointed assistant law director and later recommended to the Governor for appointment as judge of the Municipal Court. After serving the four-year term as mayor, he was succeeded by Lionel Evans, a Republican who was born in Wales. When a young man, he had worked as a heater in the rolling mills. Then he was appointed superintendent of parks, and he was so successful in his work that he continued in that position under the mayors of both parties. He was succeeded by William Spagnola, whom I had appointed police prosecutor. Spagnola was later elected judge of the Municipal Court and then mayor. He was the first man of Italian descent to be elected to either of those offices. His director of law was John Willow, whose parents had migrated from Czechoslovakia. He was an alumnus of Fordham, and was the first young man of Czech descent reared at Youngstown who attended a university. He was also the first man of Czech descent elected or appointed to such an office. Mayor Spagnola was succeeded by Ralph O'Neill, a Democrat who came to Youngstown from Toledo. He established such an impressive record as city engineer that he became a popular candidate for mayor.

Up to 1945, the charter provided that the mayor would be elected for a term of four years, and would not be eligible to succeed himself. In 1945, the charter was amended to provide that the candidates would be nominated by the parties, that the mayor would be elected for a term of two years, and that he would be eligible for re-election. Under those provisions, Charles P. Henderson, a Republican, then judge of the Municipal Court, was elected mayor, and he was twice re-elected. At this time, he is judge of the

Probate Court, and he is so highly esteemed that he appears to have life tenure. Meanwhile, Frank X. Kryzan, who represents on one side of his family Polish immigrants and on the other side Slovak immigrants, had been elected president of the City Council. He succeeded Mayor Henderson, and he also was twice re-elected. Subsequently, Governor John Gilligan appointed him to fill a vacancy as judge of the Municipal Court, and he now has been elected to a full term in that office. The director of law in Mayor Kryzan's administration was Felix S. Mika, whose parents had migrated from Poland. He is an able lawyer, with long experience in the office of the clerk of courts of Mahoning County, and a popular leader of the Polish group. Apart from Mayor Kryzan, he is the first man of Polish descent to be appointed or elected to such an important office as director of law. Mayor Kryzan was succeeded by Frank R. Franko, a lawyer of Slovak descent who held office for one term. His director of law was Samuel S. Feckett, a skillful and scholarly lawyer whose parents had migrated from Romania. He, however, is one of four children born and reared at Youngstown. It is historically significant that he is the first man of Romanian descent to become prominent in political affairs and to hold an important office in either the city or the county. Mayor Franko was succeeded by Harry Savasten, a Republican lawyer who also served one term. Meanwhile, Anthony B. Flask, a Democrat who was an accountant and businessman, had been elected several times to the City Council. He then was elected to succeed Mayor Savasten, and was re-elected for a second term. He, of course, was the second man of Italian descent to be elected mayor. His director of law was Patrick J. Melillo, also of Italian descent, who formerly had been solicitor of Lowellville, and was an expert in municipal law, as well as a leader of the Democratic party. The present mayor, Jack Hunter, was a Republican banker. He was drafted into politics, and he has been re-elected to a second term. He appointed William Higgins, a black lawyer of obvious ability and of highest repute, director of law, and it is historically significant that Director Higgins is the first black lawyer appointed to that office.

A glance at the Court House confirms the historic development manifest at the City Hall. For example, Stephen Olenick is the first man of Slovak descent

elected to a county office. As a young man, he was a star pitcher on the teams that played baseball in the sandlot league, and thus he became the hero of a multitude of fans. At that time, too, he began to work in the strip mill of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. While still a young man, he became active in the Democratic party, and he was elected to four terms as councilman of the Seventh Ward. After appointments as deputy sheriff and deputy clerk of courts, he was elected three times to the State Senate. Then he was elected county auditor, and he is now serving his third term in that office. Meanwhile, he has become nationally known as treasurer of the Slovak Catholic Sokol Thus he is an exemplar of a man who proves himself thoroughly American and also preserves the traditions and folkways of the homeland of his ancestors

Anthony Vivo, like Stephen Olenick, was widely acclaimed as an athlete, and he was recently inducted into the Curbstone Coaches Hall of Fame because of his prowess in basketball. He had been especially influential as a leader in the Democratic party, and he is the first man of Italian descent to be elected clerk of courts Mike Pope has also been a leader of the Democratic party, and he has had an important part in organizing the campaigns. He is the first man of Italian descent to be elected county treasurer. Both Anthony Vivo and Mike Pope have been re-elected. As a young man at Youngstown State University, Harry Meshel assiduously studied political economy and government. He later received a master's degree from Columbia University's Graduate School of Business and did additional study at the University of Wisconsin. He decided to use his education by taking an active part in the campaigns of the Democratic party. Then he became the first man of Greek descent in Mahoning County elected to the State Senate.

At the Court of Common Pleas, two of the judges--Clyde Osborne and Elwyn V. Jenkins--are classified as Republicans, but the Democrats, as well as the Republicans, support them so strongly that venturesome opponents have slight hope of displacing them. A third Republican is Judge Sidney Rigelhaupt, who has proved for twenty years that he, indeed, is learned in the law, and is now about to retire It is of historic interest that he is the first Jewish lawyer in Mahoning County elected a judge of either the Municipal Court or the Court of Common Pleas.

The other three judges include Forrest J. Cavalier, a Democrat, who is the first one of Italian descent elected to the Court of Common Pleas; John Leskovyansky the first one of Polish descent, and Michael Joyce, the first one of Irish descent

At the Court of Appeals, which had jurisdiction in nine counties of eastern Ohio, the three judges at this time are John J Lynch, Jr , Joseph E O'Neill, and Joseph Donofrio All are Democrats. As an indication of the change in the life of our community, they are also Catholics. Judge Lynch, long associated with me in law, was a member of the State Legislature for ten years, and then in 1964, he was elected to the Court of Appeals. He has since been re-elected Judge O'Neill, a son of Ralph O'Neill, the former mayor, was an assistant director of law in the administration of Mayor Kryzan He now is in his second term. Judge Donofrio was previously a judge of the Municipal Court. He is the first lawyer of Italian descent elected to the Court of Appeals.

Finally, Frank Battista, who was assistant director of law in the administration of Mayor Kryzan and then a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, is the first lawyer of Italian descent appointed to the prestigious United States District Court.

From that list of men who have become leaders of our community and have been entrusted with the responsibilities of public office, it is manifest that since the time I was mayor, there has been a great change in Youngstown and in the Mahoning Valley. I then determined that twenty-eight racial elements were gathered together within the limits of the city. Now those racial elements have coalesced, and they by their united effort, have made Youngstown one of the great industrial centers of the world. I think that there is, indeed, reason to be proud of that achievement and of all who have helped to make it possible. I know that I'm proud of my small part in it, and I cherish fond recollections of the city that is our home. So I not only say, in the words of Irving Berlin's song, God Bless America, I also say, "God bless Youngstown and all its people."

E: Thank you

END OF INTERVIEW