YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Labor and Management in the Steel Strike of 1937

The Steel Strike of 1937 O.H. 53

MR. CHARLES HOGG, SR. Interviewed

Ву

Dr. William Jenkins

On

November 7, 1974

CHARLES RICHARD HOGG, SR

Charles R. Hogg, Sr., a local civic and labor leader, was born in Youngstown, Ohio, on August 22, 1887, the son of James and Charlotte Alice Hogg. He attended Oak Street Grammar School for nine years, graduating from there in 1902. Mr. Hogg was instrumental in organizing many union locals in the Mahoning Valley.

From early adulthood Mr. Hogg participated actively in organizing. He joined the post office in 1911 as a letter carrier. In 1926 he was elected president of the East Side Civics Club and later became the first president of the Youngstown Federation of Improvement Clubs. With increasing popularity in his role as labor leader, Mr. Hogg became president of the local letter carriers association in 1930. He also participated in the formation of the local chapter of the American Federation of Labor.

For several years Mr. Hogg served as secretary of the United Labor Congress. He was elected to the executive board of the Ohio Letter Carriers Association, then was elected vice president for Ohio of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

After so many years of dedicated community service, Mr Hogg retired from his position at the post office in 1957 and turned his attention to working with senior citizens groups.

As a tribute to his long and distinguished career of community service, Mr Hogg was presented a trophy as Golden Union Counselor from the Community Services Committee of the AFL-CIO district local. In 1975 the local chapter of the National

Association of Retired Federal Employees was named for him. He was selected "Knight of the Road" by the Hoboes of America at their national convention.

Mr. Hogg was an active member of St. John's Episcopal Church. His wife, Dora, died in 1942, leaving nine children, five daughters and four sons. Mr. Charles Richard Hogg died on January 28, 1976, after a long and fruitful career as a dedicated civic and labor leader.

Silvia Pallotta June 17, 1977

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INTERVIEWEE: MR. CHARLES HOGG, SR.

INTERVIEWER: Dr. William Jenkins

SUBJECT: The Steel Strike of 1937

DATE: November 7, 1974

- J: This is an interview with Mr. Charles Hogg, Sr. for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program by Dr. William Jenkins on November 7, 1974. The subject is the steel strike of 1937.
- J: Mr. Hogg, what part did you play in the steel strike of 1937?
- Well, of course, the AFL-CIO, that is, the Youngstown H: Chapter, we weren't affiliated with them at the time. We didn't affiliate until 1941. Anyway, in 1937, when the strike came on, the building trades were absolutely opposed to the strike of the steelworkers. They weren't together. I was condemned, of course. Whatever I knew I kept away from the building trades, although they were in the United Labor Congress and I was secretary. What happened was that I took part in it when they didn't know anything about it. John Lewis is the fellow that started it. He was up in the Ohio Hotel, room 1200 and he and I worked together a great deal and then first we got together to talk to Council to stop the mayor from hiring the veterans of the war before that and put them on as guards. We had a meeting in the Council chambers and Ewing, I think his name was, didn't recognize us. other words, they met and adjourned right away. So they got together and they went up and Marty Higgins was the secretary of the Stagehands and we met on West Federal Street, right across from where the Warner Theatre /Powers Auditorium is now. They decided they would sue the mayor to stop him. Lionel Evans was his name. They had a meeting and I found out that I was a plaintiff and I

didn't know anything about it. I didn't realize. I said, "I own a little home. What if we lose this case, then where am I going to be?" They said, "Don't worry about that." Some of the men had money, they gathered in money for the fund. I said, "Okay. Let's go." I never backed down on anything.

So we hired Bill Kaneely who is dead now. He had been in Youngstown; he was raised here. He had a case. He went to Cleveland. He had the Stacy Wells case--you wouldn't know anything about it, Tommy Wells and Stacy Wells. It was a millionaire's case and he left Youngstown and he lost his shirt. He went to Cleveland and then they hired him for the job.

We met over in the Court House and we claimed that they didn't need these extra men. I say "we," although I was a plaintiff and we had it before Judge Jenkins who is dead now. What happened was we thought and felt that he [the mayor] didn't need the guards. Well, then the city attorney and the council came over and they were in the case, too. Ray Thomas was the prosecuting attorney and his brother, Vern, was an assistant or something. Anyway, we came into the case and they decided there was trouble, that the mayor had trouble because I remember that Jenkins said, "You see those guards down there in front of the County Jail? Anybody knows there's trouble." So Jenkins, although he was a very good friend, decided there was trouble and I had the case and I won it and I lost it. In other words, there was trouble. We claimed under the charter that the mayor did not have the right; Council would have to give him the right to hire them and I won on that end of it, but as I said I lost it when I said there was no trouble when there really was trouble.

I got word from the carpenters' hall that there was a case up, the City had appealed the case. The case was up before the Appellate Court and I didn't know anything about it and in the meantime, Bill Kaneely had died and I understood from a fellow named Welsh that Lininger and those fellows would take up the case. Lininger didn't know anything about it. I was called in on the case and the next day was the trial, the appellate trial. I went down to find out what it was all about and they said, "Well, it's tomorrow." I said, "I don't know anything about this." They said, "Well, you'd better get busy on it."

So I called up John Owens and I told him the story. I said, "Well, I'm stuck in this thing. I have no lawyer. I just learned about it today and tomorrow is the trial." He said, "Well, we'll take care of that."

So the next day there was a fellow that came in from Pittsburgh, a lawyer, Segal was his name. He was pretty sharp. Anyway, he knew more about the charter than Ray Thomas did. Ray Thomas was the prosecuting attorney. I was surprised at his [Segal's] knowledge. So when I got through that day, they said to me, "What about the case?" They decided as I said that that's the way it was done, there was trouble and so forth. To settle it. they asked me if I ever talked to the judges. There were three Appellate judges, Mr. Bennett; one judge from Warren whose name I don't know; and Nichols from Clairton, Ohio. Anyway they said, "They're meeting upstairs. You might go up there and talk to them." I said, "Sure, I'11 go and talk to them and find out what this is all about." I went up and they let me in and they said that they would disqualify Bennett because he was a city attorney just before he got on there. I told him that they didn't have to disqualify him because we were personal friends and if he said I was guilty, I'd take it because I know he is honest.

"Well," they said, "Charlie, the strike is over, everything is okay." The strike was over and we might as well forget about it. "Well as far as I'm concerned," I said, "I'm ready to." It was dropped. That was the Court of Appeals. They said, "We'll just wipe it out," and that's the way it was done.

- J: Let me ask you a question first to clarify something. You said you were a secretary of the United Labor Congress?
- H: Yes, in 1937 I became secretary.
- J: That's when you became secretary and you were from what union--the letter carriers' union?
- H: Well the letter carriers' was 385 and we'd been a member of the AFL since 1917. Before that of course, we weren't, but I've always been in labor, or you might say, unionization. I joined up with the Labor Congress, naturally, and I became secretary of it and there was a split between the building trades. The building trades dominated the Labor Congress because the streetcar men and the letter carriers and the retail clerks and so forth were the miscellaneous end of it. Finally, I reorganized the truck drivers two or three times. Anyway, they got together one time and the carpenters didn't work with the building trades a lot, so they met down on East Federal Street at the truck drivers' hall at the 300 square down there and this miscellaneous group decided they would elect their own officers.

I was elected to run for secretary and I said, "I can't do it, because you meet the same night that the letter carriers do." We met twice a month then. I said, "How can I be it?" They said, "We'll ask the letter carriers to forego." And they did. So I became secretary in that election. I thought I wouldn't win because there were others. I kind of remember that night because I kept saying "I'm not going to win," but at the end of it I was voted secretary and we worked together with the building trades, as we always have. I never drew lines of any kind.

- J: Was that in January or February of 1937?
- H: Well, it was around that time. I don't know just what month. It was before the steel strike.

I was for the unionization of the steelworkers because I had worked in the mills in 1918 when I quit the post office job because we were starving to death. There were very few of us left, if you know what I mean. I worked down there when the company representation plan came into existence. I remember talking to them because I was safety inspector and I'd go all over the plant. I remember well that I said then that this plan wouldn't work because nobody in the department can be selected to carry the grievances over to the men on Poland Avenue every Thursday, because he is working for the company, too, and he's not going to endanger himself for that. So I advised them to get an outside union.

When the war was over in 1918, I was still down there, but in 1919 the veterans were coming back from across the sea and they came back to the jobs they had had before the war, not like they're doing now. They wanted me to move over to the fire department down at the Sheet and Tube. I said, "Okay." I moved over there. I had charge of the drinking water system, cleaning one thing or another. Of course, I could go into a lot of detail about that. Then finally, it ended up where they started in with this company-buying plan, where you bought through the mill. They tried that. Well, I was put on to take orders up at the plate mill. I remember that well. The men didn't go in for it very much, though.

- J: What kind of things could they buy?
- H: Well anything they'd buy, they bought it through the company.
- J: Like clothing and food?
- H: Yes. They bought it through there and they'd pay for it out of their pay. They bought shoes or whatever.

It was like the old days of the mine workers. Anyway, it didn't go well and they asked me if I would go back to the drinking water system. I said, "I'll tell you why I won't go back there. The veteran has got it who had it before the war. He's back in and he's entitled to it."

I went over to the company office and said, "I'll take my chances." I went over to the employment office and a cousin of mine worked over there then, Phil Whiting. I knew he had gone to Brier Hill. That was when they were by themselves. I said, "I'll take my chances." That was in 1919.

The strike came on in 1919 and I learned that you could be fired any day and you couldn't find out what you were fired for. The strike came in 1919 and I was put in as head of the protection, that is, the police department. They chose one of the turn foremen, Clyde Maxwell, to be the head of the safety department, but Clyde said, "Charlie, you're the man for the job." I said, "What do I know about this thing? Now wait a minute." I'd been working with the police department safety end of it down at the Sheet and Tube, so I became the big end of it. I could have gotten killed up there at the time, and I had to set out all this stuff myself; I had to do it.

- J: You were in charge of the police force in the Sheet and Tube in 1919?
- Of course, the strike was on then. I said to the H:fellows at the plant at Brier Hill, the 184 and 182 mill, "Are you fellows going out on strike?" They said, "No, we're not." That's when McCadden came in here. They pulled them out on strike before they had them organized, to tell you the truth. I learned about the inside of a lot of this. So, anyway, I became the head of that. I often laughed about it, because I used to come home, nobody bothered me, but I didn't like the idea of being in the plant when the strike was on. They said, "Don't worry about us." They went out on strike anyway. The night turn came out. I worked nights all the time. night sergeant. I said, "Now wait a minute. The fellows are milling around the gates." They said, "The day turn went home early and we don't know what to do; we're going home and coming back tomorrow," but they didn't come back. They went out on strike. I said, "Why are you putting me in the middle?" They said, "Don't worry about you. You're all right.'

I had to lay out this and that. I could tell you a lot of things that I did, but I don't think anybody would do

them today. I had my own men, my own group with the addition of these straw bosses and others that they put in during the strike. We used to feed them at twelve o'clock. You see, they'd work six hours and then you're home and the other turn would come in. So my men worked twelve hours and we were supposed to be paid time-and-a-half after eight hours. I said to the fellows, "If you guys get fed coffee and everything else, my men are going to get fed, too." What I used to do was heist a milk can and a basket of sandwiches and hike it on my back and I went around to all the men-I had about ten of them--and I fed them. I carried food to them and I often laughed about it because you never knew what I was going to do from one day to the next.

- J: How old were you then, in 1919?
- H: Well, I was born in 1887, so I'd be thirty-two. I was in the draft when I was twenty-nine.

I've got nine kids living. During the 1937 steel strike, as I said to you, the building trades, of course, wanted no part of it. I kept a lot of things away from them because after all, John Owens was secretary of the Mineworkers. That's when John Lewis was head of it. They each set in to organize the steelworkers; he sent in Rino Cappellini and Slevak and Mayo was there. His son, Mayo is in the real estate business here now. Anyway, they came in and I worked with them and I went down and protested to the mayor and the chief and I was burnt up, and the Communists were around me, too. I worked with them all; I didn't care what they were. I can tell you a history of my part in labor where you'd say, "It's a wonder you didn't get killed half the time." Well, I tried to play the game all the way through because I believed in organized labor.

In 1937 I went down to Rosenbaum's shoe store. It used to be on the corner of Basin and Federal. It's gone now, but anyway I was in there and when I came out, they said to me, "Mac, do you know what's happened? You can't get up or down Federal Street. Trucks are crossways and everything." Well the truckdrivers were up the street a little way and I went up there. Sidney Frank, who's dead now, was the main one that really organized the teamsters. I had reorganized them two or three times before that. Sidney was working for Zerski Brothers. I had to give him credit.

Anyway, I said, "Sidney, you can't do this here." He said, "I know, but they're having trouble at Stop Five at Republic." I said, "Yes, but they're not out on strike yet." He said, "Well they're having trouble." I said, "You're

an AFL; you don't have anything to do with that. Here you're breaking down all your contracts with the AFL, with the teamsters, like McKelveys and Strouss'." And they did. They broke every bit. Sidney was a Trotskyite communist. They were a different kind from the Leninites. I said, "Well, it just can't be done." What happened was that they had a Lucian McKelvey. Lucian was one of the greatest fellows I ever knew. He got them to recognize that it was just a mistake they made. They had no business going out because they weren't in it. I said, "Well, wait, the Ohio Works is not out, the Republic's not out, so why in the world are they out?" We got the whole thing straightened out. I became secretary about that time.

- J: What specific issues were involved in going out on strike?
- H: Well, the issues of the steelworkers were that, first, the only union members in the steel companies were the old Amalgamated Iron and Tin Workers. There were no steelworkers then because they didn't make that much steel. Afterwards they started to make steel. Then of course, the industry grew and McGavin came in to organize them. As I said, that was in 1919, and from then on, it grew. Finally I said to the company, "You went to work and taught these fellows how to organize with the company representation plan. That broke down later on, and in 1937, the idea was that these men were not recognized because the company thought that it could break them down, you understand. They had learned organization and how to manipulate.
- J: So wages and hours and things like that weren't a real issue, then, as was recognition?
- H: In 1937 they really organized because they had learned before that of the fact that men were fired and they didn't know what they were fired for; they had no recourse. But finally, as I said, they met and they organized and Phil Murray broke with John Lewis. Murray was with the mineworkers. He was really the mainstay of the steelworkers when they called a strike. I was up at Wick Park with them. I wanted the steelworkers organized and my people said to me, "Charlie, we can't." I said, "Wait a minute. Why shouldn't they be organized? The more I have to work with the better off I am. I want them organized. Everybody has the right, if they're going to be fired or moved, to know what it's all about." Anyway, that involved the wages and the right to be recognized and the right for a contract and so forth, which the miners had.

Phil Murray was the mainstay and he was elected head of the steelworkers united and we had a fight between them,

with men on both sides. That was in 1937. Then, as I said, they had the Youngstown Council of Industry and Unions, and they decided they would merge. We finally did merge in 1941, locally. Then I became a trustee of the group and I'm still a trustee.

- J: What do you think broke the strike? What caused it to end?
- H: The fact that caused it to end was that they began to recognize the unions.
- J: No. I mean in 1937.
- H: It was on the recognition. They were organized and finally forced it. The recognition of the unions was when Phil Murray organized the steelworkers to be recognized as unions and to be able to negotiate contracts. They got together and we finally merged into the AFL-CIO later.
- J: When were the unions finally recognized here in Youngstown?
- H: Well, it was in 1941. The steelworkers were organized before that, but the merging of the steelworkers and the AFL was held off for a long time. Phil Green was the head of the AFL. Then we didn't get together locally until about 1941. We finally decided that we'd have the merge here in Youngstown, which we did, and Sammy Kamen became secretary. He lived in Pittsburgh and was with the steelworkers from the Ohio Works. Anyway, we merged and from then on, I can tell you a lot about trouble.

Of course, the steelworkers didn't know what organization was, to tell you the truth. They took advantage of it. A man would work for the steel company and then he'd go out and work for the building trades. Well, we had trouble with that. Naturally, the building trades wouldn't stand for that because, after all, a steelworker's a steelworker; he's not a carpenter or a bricklayer. We had trouble with that with the teamsters. I used to have to batter them around. The idea was that they finally became powerful enough to be recognized because of Phil Murray and his organization.

- J: In 1937, were the steelworkers well organized; were they very strong?
- H: They were fairly well organized, but not altogether. I think it was in Homestead where the steelworkers really got started being organized. They weren't as well organized as they are today, naturally. They were in the

state of organization, you might say. Some were in, some were out, and in their meetings it seemed as though if you got up to talk, you were put down, or castigated if you didn't go to the meetings. A few men dominated, the business agents, district men, and you were a marked man if you got up to talk. Naturally, we were different in the AFL. We did things a lot different. So after we organized, that kind of thing worked out by itself.

- J: Do you think that that kept some of the steelworkers from siding with the union?
- H: Yes, it kept a lot of them from siding with the union because they wanted to make a closed shop out of it. You know, if you worked at a place, you had to join. I don't know, maybe it's the same way today. I worked with an open shop in the post office. You could work for the government and not join if you didn't want to; it's the same today. I wanted a closed shop because I wanted to make each person pay; there are free riders all the time.

Anyway, it was a slow process of working it out. The steelworker or any member of a union said, "What's the use of going down there? They won't let me talk. They shut me up. " He didn't realize what it was all about, because, after all, he had to push his own cart. They really killed each other, you might as well say. It was a hard time getting them together. You'd talk to a fellow and he'd say, "What's the use in going down there? You can't say anything." The officers dominated. It was a hard thing to get them together. Another thing is that I always thought, in steel plants, there are really no trades. If you go from one place to another with a carpenter, you're a carpenter, but not in a steel plant. They had to work things out so that each job had rules for what he could do and what he couldn't do. Amalgamated was really organized. They had the puddlers and the sheet mill men and the open hearth. There were only three in there that were under the Amalgamated.

It worked out that I wanted Tigue, who was the head of the old Amalgamated Iron and Tin Workers to meet with the steel men, they called them rabble rousers and renegades. I said, "Meet because they're going to become the dominant factor in the steel plants. You can't hold it off. There is no use holding." Well, they didn't do it. They said, "Oh, we've done that." I said, "You get in there. You had better work this thing out." But he didn't do it. The result was that they organized it anyhow. That was the CIO, the Committee for Industrial Organization. But the fate of the steelworker was like anybody else's; it didn't seem to work out the way he wanted it to, although he condemned the idea that he was fired at any time. I

was fired when I left the police force up there in Brier Hill and I don't know why even today. I knew I didn't get my money. The chief had a system and this fellow, Hogan, if you said anything, he knew it. They had a spy system. I ran across that. The steelworkers were hard to organize because where the old Amalgamated Iron and Tin Works a puddler was a puddler, no matter where he worked, a sheet mill man was a sheet mill man wherever he went and so was the open hearth man. Wherever you went, you couldn't go out and say, "Well, I'm this or that." If there were any trades, then I don't know where they were. There were no trades. You couldn't go from one place to another like the machinists.

I wanted them organized because I felt this way. experience down there when I was safety inspector. I worked for an old post office inspector, who was down at the Sheet and Tube and I had quit the post office in 1917 and then they got me back to run the parcel post. What happened with these organizations was that the steelworker wanted something, just like he does today. I was talking about that the other day and someone said, "Charlie, you know what's the matter with the steelworker today? He's too fat. He's got everything." "Well," I said, "I don't know how they are today, but before the old miners were really organized." John L. Lewis was a big man; he was a hard man to deal with, but if it hadn't been for him, we wouldn't have the organization today. That's where Phil Murray learned all his ideas. In the old days, some of my people were miners, and when you went into a town, you walked up the street and some fellow would say to you, "Hey, where are you going? You're not on the street, but you're on my property."

So it was through John and the persistence of Phil Murray when he broke with John Lewis and headed up the steelworkers that the steelworkers were organized. John Lewis, of course, dominated and there was a feeling there in the AFL between the trades and so forth. John Lewis and a man who was the head of the carpenters had a fight one time at the convention and John Lewis walked out. One hit the other and the other hit back, but anyway John walked out and he brought vengeance down on them. What he did do was put himself out on a limb where the Communists wanted him to be. That's what he did. He didn't realize it, I don't think. I was talking to Davinski and they got behind the walking out but they didn't want to scab. One of the carpenters, I can't think of his name now, but he dominated in the AFL. He wanted to come back and he did come back, but John Lewis thought he had something. He had his own trade unions and he was strong enough, but the Communists had their tactics. I worked with them and I knew their tactics.

J: What were some of their tactics? Could you identify some of the people who were Communists locally?

H: Oh, yes. There was Joe Dalut, who was a Leninite and Sidney Frank, who was a Trotskyite.

- J: Was Frank with the Teamsters?
- Yes, he was with the Teamsters and Joe Dalut was with H: the steelworkers. They, the carpenters, were mad at me, I mean Andy Hubbard, Helen Blumenthal. I worked with these people and I said, "Now wait a minute." How many times they met at my house. I don't believe in all they did, but they were involved in the strike down in Garfield. That was in textile. The German company owned the patents for all of them. So, they had a strike down there and they came in. Mother Brewer met with me and we organized a relief committee and I was chosen. I was always into all these things. They met with me. Joe Dalut was killed in the war in Spain. Joe didn't have to do that. He was very well educated. His father was a stockbroker in New York and he had worked in the steel plant in Pittsburgh and he saw the conditions and so forth, so he took up that cause. His wife was really a Communist. They became national figures.
- J: What did they do in the 1937 steel strike here? Did they have tactics other than with steel?
- Well, they worked with the steelworkers. They called it a communistic organization. Well, I said, "I don't H: care what they call it; the idea is that they want to be organized." Well these Communists, they had a way to work. I never denied them anything of any kind, but I knew what they were doing. I wanted to be in $\mathcal{L}a$ position where I knew what the guy opposed to me was doing. So I worked both sides of the fence. Anyway, they called it a communistic organization because the Communists helped organize it. The Communists organized the steelworkers. Lee Pressman, out at Pittsburgh became nationally known as a Communist and so did Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party here. Gus worked with me and I know him. The suspicion was that the Communist stand, or whatever you want to call it, on the steelworker was what made it slow-working. Take a Catholic. The Catholic Church took a very strong stand against Communism and they pinned it on the steelworkers. The steelworkers had that to deal with because so many steelworkers were Catholic, and that spread and held the organization back for a long time. I could tell you personal experiences I've had with them. Finally I said, "I don't care what they are, so long as we get organized." I never denied anybody the right of that. People would say, "What are you doing with that fellow? He's dangerous." I'd say, "I don't care how dangerous he is." Then they'd say, "Well, Charlie, you want to watch them." I said, "Don't you think I'm big enough and strong enough to overcome that? I worked with them all. Don't worry about me becoming a Communist.

I knew Communists way back before you probably ever knew them. Anyway, their ideas are all right. After all, they came from a despotic nation, Russia, and that's what brought it all about." Anyway, that's what held back the steelworkers, the Communist association with it, until they finally overcame that. That's what held up the merger between the steelworkers and the Congress of Industrial Organization, the AFL-CIO. What held back the merger was the idea that it was a Communist organization. Well, that wasn't true.

John Lewis, when he walked out having that fight with the head of the carpenters, he walked out vowing vengeance on them. He didn't realize that the Communists were around him. The Communists figured this was their chance. So they got him out on a limb and they cut the limb off. That's what they did with John Lewis. There is no use in saying they didn't. Dave Davinski of the Amalgamated Garment Workers stayed back in there and I had the pleasure of telling Dave that years ago. He was the wise man. He never left the AFL. What was really one of the factors was that the steel organizations carried on a campaign of firing men from their jobs and never telling them what they were fired for. There were only three of them that were really organized and those were the puddlers, the sheet mill, and the open hearth.

- J: So the workers really weren't looking for Communist ends? The real issues were otherwise?
- H: Yes. That Communist label was pinned on them on account of religion. They were told they were Communist. I could take you right now to a kid that was branded a Communist. He was a Catholic, but he worked with them in the Republic and I saved him from a lot of things. He could tell you some things. It was the Communist label that was put on them, no matter whether it was true or not, that hurt. It didn't hurt me, though. I organized the Federation of Improvement Clubs, and The Vindicator, of course, was against all that, but the way they worked it, they didn't condemn me. They put me down as something unstable. Some people wanted me to sue The Vindicator once because they put in an editorial against me.
- J: When was that?
- H: It was when I had the Improvement Clubs going. It was in Esther Hamilton.
- J: Could you explain what the Improvement Clubs were?
- H: Improvement Clubs were clubs that were formed for getting improvements for each ward. We had one on the East Side, one on the North Side, and they were separate. Council met and asked me to get these people together. It sounded like a good idea to me. Father Kenney was somebody that

was a big factor in that. He's dead and gone now. He and I and a few others went over the Oak Street bridge, to East High School and the library and all these places to organize these clubs. We even used religion in this. The Vindicator was a factor in this, too. Then the Masons, they had their punch in the Board of Education. I had a fight with them.

- J: Is this in the 1920s, say? Are you talking about the 1920s and 1930s?
- H: I'm talking about when we organized, in about 1924 or 1925. Well, we really started in 1911, with the different clubs. We used to meet at a fire station. Religion was brought into it, too. Well, that was our trouble. I was raised as a Protestant, but I never drew any lines. In those days, I would have been stoned. Years ago, you'd be surprised how they held religion.

In the Improvement Clubs, they went to Council to get something done for their own side of town. Bill Buchanan was up at the Lincoln School for a long time. We used to meet there once or twice a month and he said, "Why don't you get together?" He was from the Fourth Ward. Father Kenney said, "I don't think it can be done." I said, "Let's try it."

I went out and traveled among all these Improvement Clubs that we had and there was a group of us. I would like to see an Improvement Club in each ward today so the Councilman knows what he's doing. You put him in there and he doesn't know what he's doing. I was lucky enough to get meeting places like the Ohio Hotel, which didn't cost much. The Republic only cost me a dime. I met in all of them.

They wanted me to join the Chamber of Commerce and I said, "No, we're not going to do that. I want to be in a position where I can approve. If I join them, I only have one vote." Fred Labell was Secretary at that time. He's dead now. I said to him then, "Fred, if I join I get one vote. So you people could all murder me; I wouldn't have a chance. But if I stay outside, I can approve of what you're doing or disapprove, one or the other."

Yesterday I was talking to retired government employees up at the church and I said, "Listen, I learned long ago that you'd better keep on the ball. We old people don't need or expect the young people to look after us. They've got their troubles." I've learned that long ago and it still goes when you're retired. You've got to push your own cart. If you don't, you're not going to get anywhere. That's all there is to it.

I've lobbied in City Council; I've lobbied in Washington, and they've said, "For Christ's sake, give that guy something, because if you don't, he's going to be back tomorrow." So I learned to be persistent. Now I realize that at my age I get a lot of respect, and I enjoy that. When I was in politics, when I was out of the service, and even while I was in it, I learned this: If you don't have respect, you don't get anywhere.

I remember the old days, in 1920, they'd say, "In the first ward, he's okay; in the third ward, he's okay, but you'd better go over and talk to that fellow in the second ward because he's going to jump." Well, that was me. I was that way in politics. Many times I've held them up.

- J: Did you ever hold a political office?
- H: No. They wanted me to run for mayor two or three times, but I would have to have given up the post office job, since it was under civil service. I could hold any office where it didn't have payment. I didn't run for mayor, although I was asked to and even Clingan Jackson of The Vindicator could tell you. I said, "No. I'm getting \$150 a month as a letter carrier and I know I've got that job, regardless." I went through a depression, too, when I was out of the service. I learned to work at anything in order to bring home fifty cents. That was during the depression in 1919 when I was out of the service, not the 1937 depression.

I've said to my two older boys, "Don't do anything that won't bear the light of day, because that is something that will show up just when you don't want it to." Another thing I've said is, "Get along with the other fellow, no matter how hard he is to get along with. Learn to get along with other people." People have said to me, "How can you get along with that fellow?" I say, "Well, he and I are friends. I agree that he has his ideas and I have mine. I listen. I'm liable to learn something from him. He may have something important to say. How do I know? We're all people." That's the way I worked. I couldn't figure out how all this happened. I was an honored guest with the Chamber of Commerce for twenty-two years.

I practically raised Charlie Carney, you might as well say. So many of these boys have carried mail, and they have gotten into things and they belonged around me and I enjoyed that. They'd say, "Well, Charlie, you ought to be out doing it." I said, "Why? As long as the job is done, I don't care who does it." Now that's the story. I don't have any jealousies about anything. Of course, I have been put into things and given plaques for my work. I got a statue from the hobos. The old hobos, years ago, in 1908 with Jeff Davis, were fellows who were

friends of yours down where the old railroads were. A hobo will work and a bum won't, and a tramp can't, I think that's the way we looked at it then. I was down in a town in Alabama and I was given a big statue there. Well, I never looked for these things, I never looked for anything for myself. I've been in all these different movements. I said, "Listen, I'm in there because I believe in them." My wife used to give me the devil because I've had money laid down in front of me and I wouldn't take it.

- J: Would that be a bribe or would they just want to pay you?
- H: No, it wouldn't be a bribe, really. I wouldn't take it. I'd say, "I didn't do that for the money." They'd say, "You're nuts. Everybody is getting theirs. Why don't you go up and get yours?" My wife is the one. She wanted to kill me for not accepting it. As I have said to my boys, "I can walk down the street and it's the greatest feeling to be able to walk down the street and not worry about somebody putting their hand on your shoulder and saying, 'Come with me.' Now that's a fact.

I've gone through a lot of things. People have done things to us, torn the house apart, bombs, and everything else.

- J: Was that during the time when you were an organizer?
- H: Oh, yes, it was when I was an organizer. Then it seems as though whatever I get into, I take part in it. I don't ask for these things. It worried me a long time and it worries me yet. In my Labor Congress we had a paper called the Labor Advocate and it went by the board because all those papers at the time didn't stand up and finally the Labor Union came in from Dayton and we accepted it as our paper and we got ten percent of the ads. I'm showing you how people used to look at me. I had fifteen hundred letters printed when Mr. Emerald used to go out and sell ads. He was from Dayton. He said to me one day, "You know, I don't understand you. I never ran across a fellow like you." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well, you know those letters you had printed? Well, Randy Hubbard, the president, they have something against him, but you, to lay down that letter and they just look at it and say, 'Sign me up." They haven't even read the letter. They just see your signature on the bottom and they sign up." Well, that worried me because I can make a mistake, too. I'm human and I make them. I've made a lot in my day. I'm afraid I might get behind something that isn't good. How do I know? I'm just as liable to do that as anyone else. So I told myself I had to watch out. That's the way it was. I was determined to do a lot of things and I can look back over them now.

What surprises me is my affiliation with the American Civil Liberties, with Morris Slavin, Sternberg and Levin. We're going to meet Sunday night at Sidney Robert's house. He's up there at the University and Pat, his wife, is there, too. I get into these things and I really don't know how. I'm an honorary member of the Civil Liberties; they won't let me pay dues. I say to myself, "How did I get into this? I don't even have a high school education." Somehow I've been able to do it and I can't tell you why, but I do say that one thing that helped was being able to get along with people, no matter how they are. You're liable to learn something from them that you really need. Is there anything about the steel strike that you would like to ask me?

- J: You mentioned religion as a factor in the earlier period. What about nationalities? Were there any clashes because of people being immigrants, people from Italian or Slovak backgrounds?
- H: In my experience with the Improvement Clubs and others, I found out that the immigrants were easier to organize than American-born men. In the old country the immigrants were oppressed and then they came over here and found out the amount of freedom and it wasn't hard for them to step into something in an organization. I found that to be true. That's the way we were organized in America.

Religion was brought in then and the Catholic Church used to frown on that an awful lot.

- J: On unions, strikes, or what?
- H: No, not on unions, but on the fact that they believed the CIO was Communistic.
- J: Did any of the preachers preach in Youngstown at that time against the unions?
- H: Oh, yes, a lot of them did, even our Protestant people did. We had clashes, verbal clashes and religion was a factor in that, too. I never was really an anti-Communist. I didn't believe in a lot of their ideas. I could go back with that a long way, especially to the despotic days. People have said, "How do you know?" I told them I've been to things. I learned a lot about Germany and I was condemned then because I gave the Germans credit for a lot of things that were done there, which we didn't do at the time, but which we are doing today, like safety ideas.

People have an apathy today. They seem to go in for Bingo and the lottery and that type of thing. First, let's get together on the essential things. You know what the cost of living is. Get that out of the way first, and then spend money on the rest. If you don't get any more money than what it costs you to live on, how are you going to spend money on this other stuff? We want more then that. We want more than money for the cost of living. We want enough so that we can educate ourselves and work. The only reason I explained some of these things to you is to figure out man today.

One night at a meeting down in the Ohio Hotel, some man said, "Now don't run away. I've got the boys to set up a table downstairs along the furnace and we're going to have some of that food from upstairs and you and I can sit down and talk." They always had room 1200 for drinks before the meetings.

So I sat with him down there and I remember the Chief Counsel from the Sheet and Tube came past and he said, "What are you fellows doing?" I don't remember this fellow's name. Anyway he said, "Charlie, why don't you come in and see me? You know, the door is always open." Then there was Packard, who had been an Army Colonel. He was very, very neat in his appearance. Anyway, he said to me, "You know, you and I sitting here, I enjoy this far more than I do that BS upstairs." Well, that's the way we were.

During this steel strike a big factor was that they labeled the steelworkers a Communistic organization. I explained to you that the head of the carpenters and John Lewis had a fight. That was in the building trades. John thought he had something and the Communists got him out on a limb and they cut it off.

- J: What about The Vindicator during this strike?
- H: Well, The Vindicator didn't go with the steelworkers.
 Oh, no. I said to them, "Listen, you know who is the power structure, Bill Maag and Judge Ford." They were both friends of mine, dear friends. They condemned Jimmy Griffin. They used to put big ads in the paper reading, "If the steelworkers organize, Youngstown will become a ghost town." These were full-page ads.

You can't even trust your own people. I wouldn't trust a lot of men in labor and I'm not kidding you, because they condemned me. Sidney Frank was one of them. You see, I had men from the LaFollett Committee visit me. Shapiro and another fellow used to come here and I gave them what I knew.

Somebody wrote my name on one of those back-to-work movements and of course, when the hearings came out and were printed, why my name showed up on it and I didn't know anything about it. I'm down there on East Federal Street and Sidney Frank came to me and I said, "What are you talking about?" They said they saw my name on it. I said, "Wait a minute. I don't know anything about it." He said, "Well, you just resign and we'll cover it all up." I told him, "You're not covering up with me. Brother, here I am among my own people and you want me to do that. No you don't. I'm going to fight this thing back." Well, I got hold of a man who knew something about it and he said, "Well, your name appeared in there and I don't know how we're going to get it out." I said, "Now you couldn't trust your own people." Here they wanted me to just pass out. Well, I don't do those things. I said I'd rather fight that and I did. I was going to sue the pastor of one of the churches on Lincoln Avenue. He was the head of the back-to-work movement and that's how it came to be in there.

- J: The back-to-work movement?
- H: Yes. Well, he was the head of the committee at the Chamber of Commerce. He said, "I've never seen it." I said, "I know who put it in there. Red Johnson was probably the one who put it in there."
- J: Did you do any organizing of the steel strike itself? Did you work with the picket lines and so forth?
- H: Well, I worked with them, as I said. I helped them whenever I could, but I wasn't an organizer for them, no. I remember telling Jimmy Griffin and Shipka, "Listen, you're going to become just like the AFL. You say that all they do is fix up a little there and a little here. Well, you're going to become the same thing. You're in the high day of organizing and all that and you're going to do this and you're going to do that and have low dues, well that isn't so. As the thing goes, you're going to add on." You know the dues in the steelworkers are not now as low as they were. They were going to have it for a dollar a month. I said that can happen, but anyway, in organizing, I helped them.

Sometimes I wonder. St.Peter won't let me into heaven because he says I'll have everybody organized and he's short of help as it is. I have to laugh. People say that I have a sense of humour. I say, "If you don't have, where are you?"

I used to know some hobos. I've always given Jeff Davis credit. They used to work in one place for awhile, then they'd go someplace else. They rode the rods. My uncle

was a hobo. I would have been on the roads, too, if it hadn't been for my grandmother. I was an orphan, you know, and she and I lived together. My mother was dead. I've often said that he [my uncle] had a story that I've often told. He used to work for Clown cigarettes. Clown cigarettes had been unionized, the only unionized cigarette company there was, until later when Brown Williamson came into the picture. The Camels were the ones that weren't unionized yet. Al Skipka said that they were going to hold an election one of these days. Anyway, my uncle used to say, "You know, we haven't got as much sense as a banana does. A banana stock grows down like this, but the bananas themselves grow up like this. They support each other. There's not a banana in that bunch that doesn't know that when he leaves that bunch, he's going to be skinned. Well that's true." And how true it is today when you stop to think it over. What can you do by yourself? You're in the picture, I'm in the picture. If it weren't for you, I wouldn't have this interview today. We're all dependent on each other. What affects one, affects the other, especially in this complex society of ours. At one time it used to be that we could go out to the west, or to the north and live by ourselves, but you can't do that today. Back in 1920 I said the same thing to Pickenell, the head of the McKelvey Company. I said to him when I was talking for the Building Service Employees, "Listen, I have enough sense to know this: You see this group of people here? If you would shut your store up tonight, where would they go tomorrow? If I would demand more than you could stand in union wages, and you had to close your store, I'd be killing myself at the same time. I know that you have part of the pie and I have part of the pie. You can't take more out of the pot that what's in it. If capital doesn't have their share, they can't operate, and I haven't got a job." That's the way I used to work it. I always got along with people because I looked at both sides of it.

- J: Have you always been in Youngstown? Were you born here?
- H: I was born right here.
- J: Here in this house?
- H: Yes, it was a two-room house at the time. My father was a stone cutter. I really never knew him. He took sick when I was a year old. The old Scotchmen used to drink. They said it cut the dust out of their lungs. My oldest brother was born in 1881. Willy was born in 1885, and I was born in 1887. Well, my father quit drinking. I have a Bible where he signed it and wrote that he quit drinking. I think my mother was born in Greensburg, Pennsylvania. In those days they used to go and be on jobs for a long time. I think my father died of croup. This kind of croup was

very, very bad because I can remember my grandmother saying that she burned sulphur and he would cough, but when he didn't cough, she knew it was the end. He's buried up at Oak Hill Cemetery. He died up in Newburgh, which is right outside of Cleveland. That was like Massillon is today. He was home six months. He went blind. He had gotten sunstroke at the Brown residence on Wick Avenue. Then he had another one in Sharon and it dried up the optic nerves. He knew there was a past, but he couldn't recall it.

He used to call my mother Kate, but her real name was Alice. He used to say, "I used to have a little wife named Alice and two of the prettiest boys you've ever seen." One of my brothers died. My father died in 1891 I think. They brought him home and buried him. I saw him then in the coffin.

From then on, my mother cleaned offices and I helped her. We had a schedule. In those days there was no union in the cleaning industry. My mother worked herself to death. She died in 1901 and I think she had fourteen different offices to clean.

- J: Was that here in Youngstown?
- H: Yes, right here. I'm going to write that up for Jane Lamb. I wrote that up for Esther Hamilton, I know her pretty well. I can tell you a lot about the buildings, where the parking lot now is in back of the Stambaugh Building, on the corner of Commerce. That was the old Maloney block. Council met on the third floor and my mother cleaned practically all the offices. I can name them all. Esther never printed them, but I'm going to write up all that stuff because Jane Lamb wants it. I often think of the old days and some of the characters that used to be around Youngstown then. Those were the days when I was raised among them and I can remember a lot of things.
- J: During the time you were growing up, Youngstown was also growing, particularly between 1900 and 1920.
- H: The population was about 23,000 way back then. We had a depression under the Cleveland administration. The depression is what elected McKinley with his full dinner plan, and so forth in 1896. We went through a depression. My mother was a widow and my grandmother was a widow. My grandfather died; he was a blacksmith. So she came to live with us and the three of us lived together. In those days they had a place on Oak Street where they'd give you a bag of beans or whatever. That was during the depression in the 1890s. In 1897 naturally they all voted for a full dinner pail and that was when McKinley was elected. Hanna was a big wheel in that. My mother naturally became a Republican, although they didn't vote in those

days. She was a business woman in her own way. She was very, very reliable. I found out from her to be reliable, that people could depend on me and know I was going to do what I said. That's where I probably learned this. She'd never try to change me, but I'll never forget her. She had red hair and she was determined about things. If Mrs. Hogg said something, she meant it.

We walked in those days so much more than we do today. We went downtown and back twice a day. She worked herself to death; she wouldn't listen to my grandmother. My grandmother lived until I was married. I got married on account of her. I don't know whether I did the right thing or what, now that I look back. Life is life. You never know. That's why I love the parables of Christ. I take him as a practical person. I said if you read the thing like a cook book, you'd be better off, because Christ was a normal person. He had a job to do and he had to do it, regardless of how hard it was. That's what I say about Abraham Lincoln. He didn't go to war because he wanted to free the slaves; he went to war to save the nation in a war he didn't want at all. It wasn't too bad as far as the colored people were concerned. It was the politicians that spoiled the picture because they got down in the South and ruined everything. As a rule the slaves were being fed and clothed. As bad as it was, they didn't have to worry about where they were going to lay their heads down.

- J: In the 1920s, do you remember anything about the Klan in Youngstown?
- H:Oh, yes. I remember the Klan well, because I was offered a job in it. Jimmy Mills and I were pals. We fought with each other every day on this. Jim lived on the East Side and he came to see me. We were both in politics. He said, "When are you going to join the Klan? I'll pay the ten dollars." I said, "Listen, I don't want any part of it. The Klan's rules and regulations, what they want to do is and what the object is, is all right, but this thing cannot stay together. It's a movement in which you cannot divide people and that's what you're doing. You're dividing them against the immigrants, the fellow who came across the pond. He's an American the same as I am." Jim was born in England. He fell out with the Klan later because they formed the Royal Red Riders. Now the Royal Red Riders were Americans-first. They were born in America and a fellow that was born in another country couldn't join them. One of Jim's neighbors was talking to him about it and was telling Jim how the organization was dividing and Jim got pretty mad. He was born in England and he said, "To hell with a place like that. I'm just as good an American. Just because I was born elsewhere doesn't mean I'm not." He didn't stop to think of that when he joined them.

I was offered what they called the Grand Keagle or something like that. I was around with them a good deal, but it was a mistake. I couldn't figure out how they could stay together. Those kinds of movements don't stay together. It doesn't make any difference where you were born. I used to say to my son-in-law, "The minorities are the ones who make themselves opposites because they form the Italian Democrat Club or the Slovak Club or Lithuanian Club, or whatever it might be. You're born an American. The only reason your parents joined these organizations was that they couldn't speak English." In my Improvement Clubs, men would say, "I'd like to come down and talk, but I can't talk English." With the American boys and girls, it's different; they're American, but they're going down to City Hall to represent the Italian organization. Who am I going to represent? My father was born in Scotland and my mother was born in England. I think they are spoiling it for themselves.

So I've been in all these movements. There were many of them.

- J: Did you know Clyde Osborne?
- H: Oh, yes.
- J: Was the job you were talking about his job or would you have been under him?
- H: Oh, nationally, I was just some kind of member. I didn't enjoy it. I said it couldn't be done. I remember going out Market Street to follow the parade. They met out at the end of Oak Hill Avenue, way out. There was a field out there. I was with the oldest boy. I wasn't shut out from anything. I said to them, "It just doesn't fit. You're dividing people up." They showed me the white sheet and so forth. I said, "I don't go in for that kind of stuff." They said, "Oh, Charlie, we're going to do this and that." Here was a fellow running a grocery store and they said they were going to do such and such to him. I said, "You're not going to do anything."
- J: What were they specifically trying to do in Youngstown?
- H: Well, they wanted to control Council and politics, and business. That might go all right in a country like Germany where the people are all German or in France, where there's only French people, but this country is made up of so many different nationalities. It just can't be done in this country. The Knights of Columbus, that's a different thing. I often said to my kids, "You're born here in America, so you're Americans and you can have respect for your country." This country is made up of all different types of people. Before when someone

would marry an Italian, people would say, "Look at that." Today, we don't look at those things. That's one reason why I like Christ's philosophy. Look how many years have gone by and the Christian religion has persisted, and whatever is wrong with it, man has done that himself. Still Christ is the basis of the religion. One thinks he looks this way and another thinks he looks another way.

America can't do those things. We're all together, one for all and all for one. We boast too much, that's my opinion, big business and the Pentagon. If I had my way I'd blow it all to hell. A general will go out and get a job in industry and so on, then he condemns labor. The little private, what does he get? He gets nothing, but his blood is laid on the line. Now Russia doesn't do that. Russia plays the game. Here's the money, a million dollars, take it, use it however you want to. Not here. When we do anything here we give money to big business, they lay it out and say, "We're going to tell you what to do." The trouble in America is that they commercialize everything. They've commercialized religion and everything else.

- J: Did you know Heffernan, the mayor during the 1920s?
- H: Yes, Joe, I knew him pretty well. Joe, in the first war, published the Stars and Stripes. That was a little newspaper. Then he became mayor and he's in his nineties now. He and I were great friends. There's one thing I remember about him. He never had a college education, but he told me, "When a speaker uses a word and I don't understand it, I write it down and then look it up." He educated himself that way. Joe was a good mayor. He was all right.
- J: You thought he did a good job as mayor?
- H: Well, he thought he did and I guess he did. There's no use in saying he didn't because as mayors went, I had a great deal to do with them, especially Fred Warnock. Fred is dead and gone now. He trusted his own people and they misled him. His own brother stole money out of there. Warnock is the fellow that really put over the Oak Street bridge.
- J: When was that built?
- H: That was built in the 1920s, about 1926 or 1927. The railroad paid 65 percent to eliminate a crossing and we paid 35 percent. We had to pay more for the Oak Street bridge because we extended it. They put the bridge over Rayen Avenue. We had to pay for the extension of it. The Belmont Avenue bridge we paid a lot more than that. In other words, we paid for 40 percent of that and for the other one, the railroad paid 60 percent. I've always

thought of the need to have a canal. That's an old idea. I learned the other day that England is part of the canal system over there, very much so. The canals were going when I was in Germany, when the railroads were not, during the first World War.

The reason I'm for the canal and where it's to be is that it's the shortest distance to connect the Ohio River and the Great Lakes together. If only we could get Pittsburgh to cooperate, but the United States Steel owning and operating the Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad is what's held it up a great deal. I wouldn't give U. S. Steel any credit for staying in Youngstown, because they'd pull out tomorrow.

If we had our way, I think there are 167 miles of canal and what they would do is build from the lake. start with the lake above Warren and all of the rivers have got to be canalized. Then they should work it all the way down to Beaver. The Beaver River runs into Rochester. But Chicago would take it in a minute. want it because they'd turn the Illinois River and run it backwards. They'd have done all that. Now here's Pittsburgh, the center of the metal and steel industry. The steel would go down the Mississippi River into Cairo and then up the Ohio River, where this other way, you'd have it right close at hand. People don't seem to under-I claim that this is practically one of the best sections of the United States. How close are we to everything? You've got the Pocono Mountains in Pennsylvania, the big Smokies in Virginia. We're close at hand to the Great Lakes. We've got everything here. We don't have to go very far if we want to go to the mountains and how far are we away from the sea? Not very far. So I think we're in one of the best sections of the United States.

- J: In promoting the canal, how do you feel that it would benefit Youngstown?
- H: Well, it would benefit Youngstown and benefit us all because that Mahoning River is not what it used to be, because I used to camp on the Mahoning River. The steel companies turned their wastes into it. It killed all the fishing, all the bass. We always holler about foreign trade, but the American manufacturer can do better than any manufacturer in the world. It doesn't make any difference. Canada's got all the resources and all that stuff would come down through Youngstown and plants could be put here. Even the railroad sold the railroader something. I said, "They're back of you now, but all you have to do is ask for an increase in wages and you're going to be castigated." That's the way they work. Where are the railroads today? You know where they are. Bethlehem Steel made rails, but that doesn't go today

like it did then.

The railroads have found themselves in a dilemma. always said that if I could have every main river in the United States canalized and connected, I'd be the happiest fellow in the world. I have learned that the dry weather dams are the greatest things that have ever happened because all the good earth that was in the North and South Dakotas and Nebraska is all down there in the Bayous. It all floated down there. When you're in the South, you don't go down the river, you go up the river in the Levees. You wouldn't need all that if they had the dry weather dams working. They'd have them open in dry weather and close them up one at a The Mississippi would never overflow like it does now. It has carried all the good earth down to the Bayous.

They've just become the masters and we've allowed it, which we shouldn't have done. That's the way it has been done and what can we do now?

We've got inflation and what burns me up is that the essentials of life itself are the things that are inflated. I think our old people on fixed incomes are going to starve to death because they can't buy food. It's just as bad as when we were in the Depression. We had the supplies but we just didn't have money to buy them. It's costing too much today.

I say this to you: Religion has had a factor in the steel strikes. Communism really started the steelworkers, that's really what did it. But they were different than they are today. Russia today will give you a million dollars and say, "Go ahead and spend it." In America, they give you a million dollars and they want to tell you how to spend it. Do you see the difference? That's why Castro is as big a man as he is. I don't like to see these religious wars like with the Protestants and the Catholics in Ireland. The Catholic Church is breaking down. There's no use in saying it isn't. There will be more freedom in the future. I always give Pope John credit. There's no use kidding ourselves. We've got a lot to learn. We cannot commercialize on everything we do.