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Interview with Paul W. Walter, Class of 1932 (transcript)

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Paul W. Walter, 1932 graduate
Walter, Haverfield, Buescher & Chockley
Interview with Oliver Schroeder, December 12, 1988
transcription by Kerstin Ekfelt Trawick

We're located in Bratenahl Place, the residence of Mr. Paul Walter, to conduct an oral history interview, a part of the Case Western Reserve Law School's preparation for its hundredth anniversary. The date is December 12, 1988.

Paul, curiously, I've always wondered, how did you ever decide that you wanted to go into law?

My father, Carl Frederick, from the time my older brother Carl and I were able to understand what he was saying to us, told Carl he would be a doctor, and he told me that I would be a lawyer. So through our entire education in grammar school and high school, each time we had a discussion at home he made it very clear what our careers would be. Carl was slated to get the Harvard scholarship from West High School, and I was slated to get the Yale scholarship. Principal Simpson had the reputation in the entire country of placing more of his seniors in illustrious schools than any other principal in the country. Now Carl was successful in getting the Harvard scholarship, but I engaged in some actions which were not satisfactory to the principal in my senior year, and so I was advised I was not going to get the Yale scholarship.

From the time I was twelve years old I earned my own living and supported myself, and all during junior high school I had the biggest Curtis publishing route in the country. I also worked as a cashier in the cafeteria at 25 cents an hour all during junior high and high school.

And so I had to make a decision where I was going to go to school. And I made the decision I'd go to Adelbert College of Western Reserve. I went out there on the streetcar and walked into the bursar's office, Mr. Agnew's office. I put down a hundred dollars for my semester's tuition and three dollars for the student activity fee. As I walked out of the office there was a bulletin board across the hall and there was a 3 by 5 card which stated, "Cashier needed--Eldred Hall cafeteria." I took down the card and asked where Eldred Hall was and started walking up to it.

As I went up the walk, I saw an apparition coming toward me. There was a very dignified gentleman with a tam o'shanter, a cloak with a red lining, flowing white hair and red cheeks. He had a big badge hanging around his neck on a chain. And when I approached him, he stepped in front of me and hit me on both shoulders with his hands and said, "Who might you be?" I said, "I'm Paul Walter." He said, "What are you doing here?" I said, "I just enrolled in Adelbert College." He said, "Where are you going?" I said, "To get a job in Eldred Hall." He said, "I'm Prexy Thwing, and I have tea and crumpets at my home on Bellflower Road every afternoon at four o'clock. If ever you are in trouble, please come and see me."

With that introduction to the school, I went to see the woman in charge of the cafeteria. I got the job for a dollar an hour, and my meal, which stood me in great stead later on in my career in law school. During my time at Adelbert I became very active in student affairs as well as my classes. I was one of the founders of the Redcat, I became sophomore president, I started Foil and Mace, I became the senior president and the junior prom chairman. And during all this time I had great difficulty with Dean James, but that's another story for Adelbert.

During this time we heard a great deal about the prestige of the law school and the medical school. They were the two outstanding schools, and I did not take the senior year in absentia because I was senior president, but I went over to the law school and applied and was admitted. In the meanwhile I had been working at Hiram House and had numerous other jobs.

But just before I entered law school I had gotten to meet John Elder, a prominent lawyer, and Attorney General Turner had been counted out in his attempt to be governor in the August primary. I was hired to be a deputy attorney general and I worked in the old courthouse on the Public Square which is where the CEI building now is installed. We were on the fourth floor, and all the ballots had been seized from that primary election. I went to work every night at eleven o'clock, and I worked till seven in the morning seven nights a week. I then got in my Tin Lizzie and drove to the law school, where I was in school from eight to eleven. I then went to Eldred Hall to work from 11:30 to 2:30, and then went down to Hiram House to work from 3:30 to 10:30. I had this existence for two years, during my first two years of law school.

In the meanwhile, they had asked me to run the Progress City program at Hiram House, and also to start the new camp. At the end of my sophomore year, I was asked to split my senior year and go into graduate school to take a course in sociology. And I then took half a course in the law school. President Thwing was also on the Board of Trustees of Hiram House, and when Hiram House went broke and couldn't pay me, he made arrangements for my salary, if I was ever paid, to be assigned to the law school to pay my tuition.

I kept at this until my senior year, and in April Dean Dunmore called me to his office. He said, "Walter, the time has come that I have to certify you for the bar, and I also have to certify you for graduation, but I cannot do that without your tuition being paid." I said, "Dean Dunmore, you have the assignment of my wages." He said, "Paul, that isn't worth the paper it's written on, and you'll have to give me a decision very quickly."

I went downstairs, took a nickel out of my pocket, and called Prexy Thwing. I said, "Can I see you right away?" He said, "Walter, you know that tea and crumpets are at four o'clock, and you can come over then and I'll see you." I said, "I've got to work at Hiram House at that time." He said, "Let them not pay somebody else to take your place." I went to see him, we had tea and crumpets, enjoyed a half

hour or forty-five minutes' discussion, but when I left I had not even heard what was going to be done about my tuition, if anything. He said, "Just keep on working, go to school every day, behave yourself, and things will work out."

About a week later, I came in the law school about eight o'clock and in my box was a small white envelope with a Bellflower address on it. I opened it, and it was a handwritten note from Prexy Thwing: "Dear Walter-- Enclosed are two autographs which in future years will be worth a great deal of money. I suggest, however, you use them to pay your tuition." One was from Justice Clark of the Supreme Court, and the other was from Al Dalton. I took the checks up to see Dean Dunmore and handed them to him, and he of course accepted them with great pleasure. And so I got my degree from the law school and was certified to take the bar.

The wonderful thing about the law school was the faculty. Dean Dunmore taught property, real property. He was a small, slight person. Talked in a very soft voice. Always had his fingers across his mouth as he talked. He knew real property so well he could just recite it from memory. All of us in the class would lean forward to catch every valuable word, which was very difficult to do. But the classroom was very, very silent, so we had an opportunity to make our notes.

Professor Finfrock was a great bird viewer and always carried a heavy briefcase with him. We always wondered what was in it. He had a good sense of humor, was a very well loved and able professor, and we learned domestic relations from him. One day we found the reason he carried the briefcase was because that's where he had his lunch.

We had Professor Throckmorton, who was a very distinguished, slender, straight as a rodpole, very great disciplinarian. He was known as a gentleman from Virginia who never forgot he was from Virginia but often forgot that he was a gentleman, particularly when he was talking about Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes. He was blind, but you would not know it. He came to work in a Dodge sedan. He had a chauffeur, and he had a Dalmatian dog sitting up in the front seat. The chauffeur would stop the car in front of the law school, come around and open the door, remove Throckmorton's lap rug, and Throckmorton would come out with his gold-headed cane, with his homburg hat, and walk to the steps of the law school, go up the steps, enter the building, and go to his office. He had this so well established that even though he was blind, you wouldn't realize he was blind, the way he entered the law school. He entered the classroom with the same method, knowing exactly when to step on the little platform and how to get in front of the rostrum.

Fortunately, he told us, Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes retired rather than dying. If he had died, he would not have the opportunity to tell us why he disagreed so strenuously with the justice. Much to our amazement, they hauled in three cartloads of books, all of them with tags in them. He said, "I'll now tell you very clearly what is wrong with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes." And as he called the cases by name, the librarian would hand him the book and open it to where it

was tabbed, and then from memory he'd recite the parts of the decision with which he disagreed. He did this for three hours, the most amazing thing I ever saw occur. He went into every one of those books and was able to pick out exactly what his disagreement was with the justice. At the end of the lecture, he said, "Gentlemen, I did not want to deride Justice Holmes. I want you to understand that he was a very poor justice." Whereupon he said farewell, walked out, and left us in our amazement.

Dawson was a very collegiate type of person, and his wife was the registrar. His classes were always of great interest because he was full of humorous anecdotes. He was well beloved by all the students and was one you could talk to if you had any difficulties.

Brightman was a teacher in contracts. He was tiny. You'd have thought he'd had alum for breakfast because his lips were so tightly sealed, and the words about contracts just squeaked out as if he were dropping little pennies out of a penny machine. He never smiled, he never changed his expression, but he knew his law well and he was able to discourse and keep your interest.

These professors-- You remember them well even though you may not remember all they taught you. But the character of that law school was one of the finest things that happened to me. And when Prexy Thwing wrote his note to me, down at the bottom of the note he said, "Walter, all I ask you to do is go out in life and do likewise." Which I have remembered ever since. The whole experience at the law school was a very uplifting one. I thought it was an experience that-- I would hope that the law school can always keep that flavor and have the closeness between the students and the professors that we were fortunate in having.

The law school was very much as I anticipated it to be. In those days you did much of contract law, you didn't get as much theory, and you had to get yourself well prepared for the bar exam. I was successful in passing the bar in July of 1932. At the time George Bellamy was anxious that I would stay at Hiram House. I told him that I was going to practice law.

Judith Laughlin was one of my girls at the Hiram House, who had come up to teach in Progress City, and she was from Muskingum. She told me that T. Rusk Haverfield was at Harvard and she thought we two should practice together. Well, August 13th as I was going down the steps of Hiram House she was there waiting for me and said, "This is the day you'll meet Rusk Haverfield." I went down to the Engineers auditorium, to be sworn in by Tarrington T. Marshall, and I asked in a loud voice, "Is there someone by the name of Haverfield in the house?" He stood up, and I said, "Stay standing till I meet you." I went over and met him, shook his hand, and said, "I'd like to have you practice law with me." He said, "I have to get a job because I'm married." I said, "There are no jobs." So we went over to 416 (?) Building, and we rented that small office. I took the last \$60 I had to pay the rent for the first month, and that's where we started our practice. We opened the office on September 26th.

We had interesting anecdotes told us by a number of the professors. Judge Hadden had been a teacher at the law school and also a probate judge. They say that Judge Weygandt, who was later to be a Supreme Court chief justice, was one of his students. And when he came down the row each morning he would say "WEE-gant." And Weygandt stood up and said, "Judge Hadden, our family uses that name as WYE-ant." This happened on several occasions, and after each time the protest being made by young Weygandt Judge Hadden laid down his glasses and said, "Let me tell you a story. There was an old seaman who was retired in Gloucester, and every day he'd go down to the dock and try to see the ships coming in. One day a beautiful yacht was approaching and as the sun was shining down on it he put his hand over his eyes to shield them from the sun and said "P-S-Y-C-H-E. If that isn't the goddamnedest way to spell 'fish.'"

The fellow students were all for the most part working to get their way through law school. It was much easier in those days for all kinds of jobs to appear. I think that my memory of my fellow students is that they were all anxious to be good lawyers. I know many of them in practice today, and they've all been outstanding attorneys and have always reflected well on the law school.

I think that my experience from the time I was 12 years old and working in all kinds of activities was sort of topped off by the law school experience, because it gave you the opportunity to know that you could be helpful to people. The thing I found in the law school was that they taught you how to make law a useful tool in doing many other things. It gave you an entry into not only the law practice but into the affairs of municipal government, state and federal government. It gave you a good overview of what kind of a challenge there was lying ahead of you.

As a result of my experience in law school-- When we started the practice of law in 1932 the country was in tremendous depression. People were out of work by the thousands, and it was a challenge to know what to do. There was no organized relief as we know it now, and families that were out of work had to find ways to feed their families and keep them going.

My first experience at Hiram House in seeing this situation was, so many blacks had been brought up from the South to break strikes during the early part of the 20s. Their entry place into the city was around the area of Hiram House, where we'd had 57 different nationalities, but as people prospered the Italians moved out toward Mayfield, various groups moved into other areas, and so the area began to be infiltrated with black people who came off the plantations, where they lived in small shacks with no windows or doors, where they all slept in one room on burlap bags, and here we were in a city, having no knowledge or a care as to what would happen to them. These people would take the siding off the houses, they took their front porch and the back porch off the house, to make heat to keep themselves warm.

At the time the big freight terminal was right across from Hiram House and trainloads of produce would come in from the West. They would call the East to see how the price was on various produce. If the

price was too low, they would open the car doors and dump the food, which was vegetables and fruit and potatoes and so on, out on the side of the track, and these poor people would fight like rats to get their share of what was thrown out of the cars.

I went down to see Charlie Adams, who was head of the then Community Fund, to tell him about these people, and he said, "Young man, the law of supply and demand is working. And when they get hungry enough, they'll go down south, and you'll not have them around you any more." This was the first time I talked to him, around '27 or '28. When I was out at the university, he came in as a speaker, and he spoke to us about altruism, and how altruism was a very selfish thing because if you help people it kept you from having them destroy you. I was amazed at the change in this man's outlook on life in two or three years.

So when we started to practice we tried to get ideas how we could help people. And we started the Cleveland city reforestation project. I met Mrs. Kermodie Gill, who lived up at the top of Cedar Hill. I also met Donald Gray, who was an excellent architect. I got the three of us together, and we decided that if people would send in a dollar we'd have relief people plant a tree or two in their front lawn. For commercial places the charge for a tree was four dollars, which was somewhat larger. And all these trees were growing into each other out at the city nursery, out in Cooley Farm. This project went so well, and Mrs. Kermodie Gill got so thrilled about it, and she loved Cedar Glen, she asked Donald Gray to plan an entry into Cleveland Heights. And today we see the beautiful stonework which was done by WPA labor. He put in niches, so that shrubbery could be planted in each niche and hang out over the beautiful stonework.

My next interest was Wayfarers' Lodge. Ned Worthington was a preacher's son, and he had deep sympathy for people. I met him through the YMCA. I had been student president of the YMCA at Adelbert, and he asked me to come out to Wayfarers' Lodge. I went with him, and he went there once a week to eat the food to make sure it was good. So many men had left their families because they were ashamed to stay with them after they couldn't bring home a paycheck, and so we had scores and scores and scores of fine people coming through Wayfarers' Lodge. The city brought all the fallen trees to Wayfarers' Lodge, and these men spent their time sawing up wood and making it into cordwood.

From that interest I got involved with Cedar Y, which was the Negro YMCA at 76th and Cedar, and met Cap Frye, who was the secretary of that YMCA. For five years I headed their Back a Boy membership campaign. Our goal was \$500 cash on the barrelhead, and for five years we made the goal. Looking back, that money is worth thousands of dollars now as compared to what we raised in those days.

In the meanwhile I had run for Board of Education because I thought my experience with the youth at Hiram House would be a good thing for the board. But I did not make it in 1933, so I ran for state representative in 1934. The Republican Party was in charge of Maurice Masche, and Turk Murphy was his henchman as was Gus Herstius. In the

vote fraud investigation of 1938-- Attorney General Turner was a very short man but would sit on his legs to give him greater height in his chair and he had a huge [?] watch. On the Saturday before the election we had uncovered enough grand jury testimony to show that 450 precincts in Cuyahoga County were never counted, and public officials were appointed rather than elected. The attorney general had made his mind up to fire the Board of Elections except for Bernice Pike, and the clerk Gus Herstius was also being fired, and he wanted new precinct workers in the 450 precincts. He had called Clarence Brown, who was then secretary of state, to meet him in the courthouse at 12 o'clock.

Secretary Brown arrived, he was a huge pompous fellow, and he had great ambitions to be governor and to go on into the White House if possible. Attorney General Turner said, "Mr. Secretary, I have the evidence here that justifies dismissing the Board of Elections and replacing the precinct workers in 450 precincts." The secretary of state said, "What do you expect me to do?" Turner said, "You are the secretary of state in charge of the election machinery, and I expect you to carry out my findings." He pulled his big watch out, laid it on the table, and said, "Mr. Secretary, you have five minutes to make a decision." I never saw anyone crumple as fast as he did. At the end of one minute Turner said, "Mr. Secretary, you now have four minutes." He sweated a little bit more, and finally Turner said, "You now have three minutes." The secretary said, "Can I make a phone call?" and Turner said, "Yes. It's on your time." So he phoned Maurice Maschke and was saying to him, "I have a problem here." And Maschke said, "If you don't know what to do, go to hell." We could hear this over the phone. At that point there was one minute left and the secretary then pumped himself up to real dignity and said, "I'll take charge." He called in reporters and said, "I'm firing the Board of Elections, and I'm firing the people in these 450 precincts."

What was going on, the chief judge of the precinct at 6:30 would step out and say, "Oyez, oyez, oyez! The election has now been conducted and we'll burn the unused paraphernalia." Instead of that, they burned the voted ballots. They then locked the door, and they had a new roll of ballots, and an instruction sheet how they should vote them, and how to place the tally in the tally books.

But they had gotten so careless that they just shoved the unused ballots in the ballot box and locked it, and instead of putting the tallies in the tally book they wrote out the official returns and just put the instruction sheet in the tally book. We opened bag after bag to find that this was how the vote had been conducted. We then realized the city manager plan had a proportional representation system of electing and there was a deal between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party that the auditors annually [?] would always be elected and all the other county officers would be Republican. The manager plan that went into effect to make a better city out of Cleveland and have a proportionally representative elected council at large-- You could vote all the way down for everybody on the ballot by numbering 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. They had the open counting of these ballots in the Public Hall, so people could see how honest the election was. However, the various ward leaders would keep their

ballot bank in the basement at their homes and as they would elect someone and they had the next one they wanted to elect, they would send the word out who needed votes to make up the count. The result was, the entire Council was appointed except for four or five who ran so well that they had all the votes they needed on the first ballot.

As a result of this, the City Council and the city became corrupt. And there were more playgrounds purchased and more city money spent to make profits for people, that it finally resulted in Councilman Potter being murdered, Councilman Schooley went to the penitentiary. The whole era smelt so bad that about 1930 Peter Witt and two or three other folks decided to amend the charter. And so they had the charter election and the new charter won, the PR system and the manager plan was thrown out, and we went back to a mayor and 33 councilmen.

I became involved in this situation because Harold Burton had been the law director under Dan Morgan, who was the manager. And he stayed as the interim mayor until the first mayor was elected at the next election. That happened to be Ray Miller. I was so much impressed with Harold Burton-- Abernathy, who was the secretary of the Cleveland bar, asked me to be president of the junior bar, and I had to arrange for speakers to meet young lawyers each week. One of the first ones I had speak was Harold Burton.

So in 1934-- Miller had been elected in '31, and Harry Davis in '33, and he was so corrupt that we had two characters name of McGee and Campbell who extorted money out of the downtown merchants by threatening to mark their windows with diamond rings unless they paid off. The Stouffers became prominent at this time because they refused to put glass windows in and refused to pay off McGee and Campbell. In 1934 when I became a candidate for the legislature I had to put up \$100, which was very hard earned money. The big issue in that campaign was parochial aid. Martin Davy was the suave owner of the tree servicing business in Ravenna, and Clarence Brown was the Republican candidate, and neither of them would reveal how they stood on parochial aid. I remember being in Chardon--at that time all campaigning was done from the courthouse steps--there was no TV and very little radio, and so all the electioning was done through talking from courthouse steps and the reporters would pick up the precious words and print them.

There was a little chap who was editor of the Geauga County Republican. When Davy was speaking on a beautiful fall day and commenting on the beautiful blue sky and the wonderful white clouds and the pink-cheeked children and how lucky they were to have the Amish, this old fellow would say, "But Mr. Davy, where do you stand on parochial aid?" And then Davy would point to the animals and say what beautiful cattle the Amish raised, and he finally came down the steps and this little Republican fellow would say, "But Mr. Davy, where do you stand on parochial aid?"

Well, it just happened, he never answered that question. So one Sunday night about four weeks before the election, Clarence Brown was with a group of 33rd Degree Masons in Toledo, and thinking the meeting was very secret he announced to them he was against parochial aid.

Ralph Donaldson, a political writer for the Plain Dealer, had a headline the next morning, "Brown Against Parochial Aid." Turk Murphy, who was Maschke's man to run the headquarters, was a professional Catholic, so he closed the headquarters and I saw my \$100 going down the drain.

Another thing that occurred in that year-- Inspector McMaster ordered McGee and Campbell to be followed constantly. And so these two arrogant people one hot August day had a parade with a brass band and they were in an open landau with a doorman and a footman and a chauffeur in uniform and they sat in the backseat with gold-headed canes and top hats and morning clothes, and they came down Euclid Avenue at the lunch hour and people were out by the hundreds laughing at the two poor detectives that had a beaten-up Ford following this parade down Euclid Avenue. Inspector McMaster was waiting at Ontario and Superior. As they turned to come down Ontario, he stepped out and arrested these two gentlemen for having a parade without a license. In those days they could keep people in the bullpen for 72 hours for investigation. So he took those well-dressed gentlemen, put them in the bullpen, picked up all the drunks and everything else he could find, turned up the heat, and sweat them for 72 hours.

As a result, the Cleveland Press decided to run McMaster for sheriff as a write-in. Sheriff Salzman, who had been a councilman, was the sheriff, and in those days the sheriff made his money out of food. He got to be known as the Applesauce King, because he bought more applesauce than was ever produced in this country. It was that scandal put him out of office, but nothing kept him from running again. So the Democrats had Salzman, the Republicans had Twelvetree, and the Cleveland Press was running McMaster as a write-in. As a result the Republicans realized they were going to lose the sheriff's office to the Democrat Salzman, they were all in this together.

At that time people voted a straight ticket, a rooster with a circle under it for all the Democrats, and an eagle with a circle under it for all the Republicans. This was the first time that they taught the blacks how to vote a straight Democratic ticket. The result was, we were all defeated except for Coroner Pierce, to clean up us dead Republicans, and Chester Bolton, who was running out in the suburbs.

This infuriated me, and in the meanwhile WPA had been established and so I decided we had to get rid of Harry Davis. I went to see Harold Burton and talked with him and asked if he would run for mayor. He said, "Young man, I wouldn't have a chance to be elected." I said, "What would you want to assure your running?" He said, "About a couple of hundred fellows like you. And if the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland News endorsed me, I would consider running."

So I went to work and in January I called him to arrange a luncheon date. I took him across the street to the Hickory Grill and took him upstairs. I had a couple of hundred young men yelling, "We want Burton!" He was shocked and well pleased. After lunch he said, "I'll go back to the office," but I said, "No, I have a date for you to see the editors of the three papers." By four o'clock we had visited all

the editors and had their assurance of support, and he then agreed he would run for mayor.

This was a very interesting campaign because so many people were out of work, and theaters were all cold. You didn't have any difficulty getting theaters to have meetings and people came just to get warm. So we had a system worked out. Dan Morgan, who was a ruffle-haired, hard-bitten Welsh character, wore the same clothes day and night. I think he slept in them, they were so rumpled. And every meal I ever ate with him was down his front. And we took him in one truck, and we had an old rocking chair and a floor lamp, and he had a big briefcase full of newspaper headlines. And a little table next to his chair and we'd have a spotlight focused on him, and he would have his glasses down low on his nose. He'd reach in his briefcase, pull out an article, and say, "Well well well. This shows Harry Davis was stealing; here's what he stole this day." And he kept going through these papers. He was the hatchet man.

Then we'd bring Harold Burton in with his wife Selma, who was a tremendous campaigner. We had a ragtag Legion band that would march into the theater, with Harold Burton and Selma behind them, and he'd shake hands with Dan Morgan and one of our crew would then take Morgan to the next theater. Then Harold would take off his coat and say, "Hats off to the past! Coats off to the future!" and give his speech. And then Selma would say something.

The result was that on October 1 I was inspector of elections, and we had sent out a blue sample ballot. Davis had sent out a pink one, Miller had sent a yellow one, and Gorman had sent a green one. I went into each booth, and as I went in I picked up the sample ballots, which was part of my job. We then counted them when we got back in the car with John Elder, and we were impressed with the fact that there were more blue ballots than any other ballots. So I called Earl Hart, who was running the campaign in the Hanna Building, and I said, "You've got a new mayor."

I was down at the Board of Elections when the first precinct came in, and it was from Willard Avenue and West 96th Street. It showed that Burton had 85 votes, Miller had 75 votes, Davis had about 50 votes, and Gorman had about 12 votes. Maurice Maschke said, "Oh, that's where that preacher is. This'll be the last precinct Burton will carry." Well, by the time 10 precincts came in Burton was still ahead. By the time 50 precincts came in Maschke turned to Mary Forest and Gus Herskius and Alec Bernstein and Herman Fink and said, "Well, I guess we've got ourselves a new mayor. I never thought the Boy Scout could win."

I called Earl Hart and I said, "The gang's coming." I got to headquarters and Maschke had a table out by the elevator predicting the election and taking charge. Well, we had him nominated, and I went to see him said, "You know, I had two promises that you made for me, and one was to be mayor and one was to clean out the party." He said, "Paul, I'm going to be mayor of all the people. I don't think I should get into partisan politics." Well, as I was talking I didn't realize it but Dan Morgan was waiting to see the mayor, and I said,

"Mayor, if I were you I would announce that Dan Morgan is my chairman and I won't recognize Harry Davis." And Burton said, "No no no, I just should not get into politics."

Well, just then Morgan walked in and said, "Mr. Burton, the young man is right. If you will announce that I should be chairman, I will act as chairman." And Burton said, "No, I'm just not going to be a politician. I'm going to be mayor of all the people." Well, we elected him and he took over. He offered me a cabinet job, I think the pay was \$8500 a year, and I was a broke young lawyer and courting my wife, but I never wanted to become dependent on politics for a living, so I said no. I told my wife that night, and she couldn't understand why I would give up a fixed income, but she went along.

But I was the outside man for Burton. I led the campaign to save the light plant, and I led the campaign for the city to take over the street railway system. He made me the acting chairman of the WPA committee. And I had about 275,000 people on WPA getting \$18.75 a week, and we made all different projects for these people to work on. And so in 1937 the relief burden had gotten so great and federal relief had come in and thousands of people were on relief and the newspapers were saying that there was a lot of graft in relief. At that time they paid relief people with a voucher, not in cash, and these women had to buy safety pins, diapers, and other things which they couldn't buy with these vouchers. So they would go to the storekeeper and sell the vouchers at tremendous discount to get cash.

So Burton called me down and put me in charge of investigating relief. He gave me 12 detectives, headed by Lieutenant Molnar, and four policewomen. We uncovered about 20 women who each had had 10, 12, or 14 children, all by different men, and who were all getting relief under different names. We brought them to trial. The first one was before Judge Walther; she had 14 children. Walther took me back to his chambers and says, "Young man, fining this woman is useless because she won't pay it. The only thing I can do is put her in the workhouse for six months, and that will be a lesson to everybody." I said, "Well, that's fine." He said, "But I'm concerned about the children. You go down and tell Mayor Burton that he'll take care of five, and tell Director Ramsay he'll take care of five, and since you're not married you'll take care of four. When you come back here tomorrow morning and tell me you've arranged that, I'll sentence her."

I went down to City Hall and saw Burton, and he congratulated me on the conviction and said, "That was great work. I hope you get all of them." I said, "Well, Mayor, there's a condition to this. I wish you'd call Director Ramsay." So he called him, and he came in, and I said, "The judge said he'll send her to the workhouse." Ramsay says, "Good good good." "But," I said, "you're supposed to take five children, the mayor is supposed to take five children, and I'm supposed to take four children while she's in the workhouse." This sort of silenced the meeting.

After full discussion we decided to dismiss the charge against all these people and try another tack. So then I started investigation of the merchants, and I got the evidence that the big chain stores had a

policy of giving their managers bonuses, depending on how good a deal they made in picking up the vouchers for cash. So after about two or three weeks of investigation I came in to see the mayor and I said, "Mayor, and Ramsay, these are your best friends. These are honorable people, they belong to the Union Club, they're very decent people, but this is what they're engaged in."

Well, it was shocking to them, and they said, "We just can't indict all those people." I said, "Well, Mayor, the only way to solve this is to pay these people cash." So I convinced him to put an ordinance in and we arranged to pay the relief people in cash. Then, when the first checks were ready, I said to the mayor, "Would you please have them sent to the sub-basement of the City Hall," where I had two hard-boiled broads, and they went through the checks and took out every tenth one. And we mailed the other 90 percent. We did this on the theory that if they needed relief they would come in, and if it was fraudulent they would not come near us. We did this for ten weeks and reduced the relief rolls about 60 percent. I then told the mayor I had finished my job and that was the end of it.

During this period I continued to be active in politics and ran for legislature again in '36, when Alf Landon was running for president. And in that I had been an usher at the 1934 Republican convention and I was a sergeant at arms at the '36 convention and I met John D. M. Hamilton, who had brought Alf Landon to a successful nomination.

But before that I had gone to see Burton and I said, "The county convention is coming up, and I think we've got to get rid of Harry Davis." He said, "Well, you know, Paul, I'm not interested in that." So I went to see Dan Morgan and I said, "Dan, would you run for county chairman?" He said, "You know, Paul, since Burton's in office he never once asked me to come down to see him." I said, "Would you consider it if I could arrange a dinner between you and the mayor? Would you consider it if he asked you to run?" He said, "He'll never ask me for dinner."

So I called Selma, who was an excellent political person, and I said to her, "It's very important that you have dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and yourself and the mayor and have the mayor ask him to run for county chairman." She always said to me, "Now, Paul, list 1-2-3-4 what the reasons are." And I said to her, "You recall when we got your husband to run for mayor, we were doing two things. One, to clean up the city government, and two, to clean up the Republican Party." "Yes, I remember that." "Well," I said, "Harold has decided he's not interested in the party, but Dan Morgan, who did so much for him, is very much upset because the mayor has never asked him to even come down to the City Hall." "Well, what do you want me to do?" I said, "Would you arrange a dinner for your husband and Mr. and Mrs. Morgan?" She said, "Certainly."

So I called Dan and said, "You're going to get an invitation for dinner. Please accept." So he got the invitation, and the day after the dinner meeting he called me and said, "I had dinner with Mr. Burton and Mrs. Burton and my wife, and I'll run for county chairman. So he wasn't a precinct committeeman, but we got the man who had been

elected to resign, and the first thing that happened at the county convention was to elect Dan Morgan unanimously as a replacement. As a result we made him the county chairman. And this was a situation, as we went into the convention, here in Cleveland, and we had succeeded in getting Harry Davis out of politics, and cleaning up McGee and Campbell, who were indicted and sent to jail because of the Stouffers' courage to testify against them, and we felt pretty good about it. The Literary Digest was the major weekly magazine at the time, and they always conducted a poll, and by the end of the campaign they predicted Landon would take every state except two. And of course Landon lost every state except two, and the Literary Digest went out of business.

[GAP -- HERE THE FIRST SIDE OF DUB TAPE ENDS]

we started our law practice on the 26th of September '32. The man was painting the sign on the door and there was a group of widows, black, waiting at the door for their lawyer to become able to protect them. I had heard from them all during law school that I was going to be their lawyer, but we found that these poor women had lost their husbands but also had lost the estates. At that time so many lawyers were broke that they lived off of the assets of the estates they were handling. So the first work we did in the law practice was to attempt to recover from these miscreant lawyers the assets that they had diverted from the estates. And we were successful to some degree to get something back for these poor women. But in doing this the Probate Court became impressed with what we were doing, and they asked me to come down to see them and I went down. They said, "We have some huge estates going through here, such as the Mather estate and other estates, and it's important that we protect the children." At that time the law provided for guardian ad litem to be appointed to protect the interest of minors or incompetents, and so I began to get the appointments to stand up for the rights of these children and investigate and file a report and journal entry for the court to have the money set aside in trust.

These experiences got us quite a reputation as being a fighter and not being afraid to fight the interests. So we had a chap come in to see us whose wife, who had been Judge Fiedler's widow, had a huge estate, but she got nothing out of it. And as I investigated that, I found one of the most prominent lawyers in town was the executor. So Rusk and I went to see him, and he was quite shocked that we would even bother him, but I finally said to him, "Here are the facts. You either put the money back in, or I'll go see the county prosecutor." At that time, his whole attitude toward us changed. We worked out an agreement that we wouldn't give any publicity, but he would on a regular basis pay the money to the widow.

As a result of this, Mayor Burton had talked to me a number of times about the light plant. He was quite shocked at the conditions. And the husband of this woman happened to be an employee at the light plant. He asked if I would attend a meeting, which I did, and they had about 40 or 50 people in the meeting, and they told me what the conditions were at the light plant. Over the next two or three weeks I went with him and saw the entire situation.

When Harry Davis was defeated, there was no civil service and everybody knew they would lose their jobs, so they stole everything they could steal. They took batteries, tires, wheels. We went to City Hall when Burton was elected and toilets were running water out on the floor. They had stolen the faucets, they had stolen the toilets. It was as though the Huns had raided the place. And so the light plant was in a condition where trucks had no tires, no batteries, there was nobody able to service it. As I investigated the thing further I found that this was a deliberate policy, on behalf of the CEI, to put the light plant out of business. And every time an ordinance would come up, to supply new equipment or wire for the light plant, it would be defeated. And so I formed the Cleveland Municipal Light Plant Association. At the time, when there was no money coming from the federal government for relief, they used the money that was due the light plant for relief money, and that had come to 6 million dollars.

As a result of my activity, we built the new light plant on the lakefront, we collected the money from the city that was owed, we got Emil Crown finally appointed the director of the utilities, and we put the whole utility system in order. And then Ed Schweig was named the traction commissioner for Burton, and we went to work to get the street railway system taken over by the City of Cleveland. At that time the Cleveland Trust had most of that stock in their trusts, and Evan Crawford was president of the CEI, Harry Crawford of Squire Sanders was the general counsel, and Ben Ling was their lobbyist, and the Jaffe brothers, who were the ones that took control of the City Council. One Saturday morning I got a call from Harry Crawford. He was the kind of person that when he walked into court his big feet would make noise on the floor and all of the judges would tremble. He said to me, "You son of a bitch, what do you want to do? Drive our stock off the market?" I said, "Well, Mr. Crawford, it's down to 16 and the city's offering you 45. If you don't take it pretty soon, it won't be worth anything."

Well, the Cleveland Trust had filled their trust accounts with the Cleveland railway stock which they considered a gold bond at the time they put it in there. And they were probably right, but by this time the city railway had come to a point where it was not able to operate. As a result, I made a campaign with Bill Stinchcome to put somebody on their board. Mr. Jones, the head man at Jones Day, called me up and offered me a directorship if I would quit the fight, and I said, "No." But we did elect Bill Stinchcome. As a result of all this, we started the procedure of taking over the city railway. Alex Demuris was the president of Council and Herman Finkel was his hatchet man. So we decided we had to take control of the Council. So I had five Republicans, and 12 Democrats under Bill Reed, and we kept the five Republicans in my office and Bill Reed kept his twelve Democrats in his office, and when they had the Council meeting that night Victor Cohen, one of our five, was made the acting chairman and president of the Council, and we had Tom Gunning as our candidate. And we had four other Republicans--Jim Hudek, Perry Jaffe, and McCafferty. And so when the nominations were made Gunning was nominated and Demer was nominated, and Yahovic, who was the councilman from the 32nd ward and

was in the front row, and it came out 16 to 16 and Yahovic had the last vote. And he was a Democrat. Bill Reed sat right behind me and yelled at him, "Gunning!" And Yahovic reacted and yelled "Gunning!" and as a result we took control of the Council. By doing that we set up the procedure to take over the railway.

In the course of that the Insull empire had collapsed, and the CEI was one of the empire, and they were auctioning it off. And so we had arranged to buy the CEI, and we had the votes in Council to do it. But just about that time in January one of the councilmen was drafted into the armed services so we had to get a replacement. Mrs. McHugh, who was a very fine woman, came to me and said, "My husband hasn't worked, and I wish you would make him a councilman. And I'll pledge you that he'll stay loyal." So we did. We took McHugh, her husband, and made him a councilman, and when it came to the key vote, he disappeared for a week. His wife was hysterical. Evidently they had a process of taking him out to the brewery and working him over a bit. It came to the night of the vote, and I had the financing assured, through Cyrus Eaton and the oldest brokers, and we lost, by 17 to 16. That's how close we came to taking over the CEI.

In January of '38 I got a call from Harold Burton, and he said, "I've had lunch with Bob Taft and David Enkels. And he asked me how I was elected, in the face of Roosevelt majorities of 300,000 or 400,000 in this county, and I told them that you were the one that was responsible. And he said he wanted to run for Senate, and I said to them, 'If you run and Paul runs your campaign, you're all right. If he doesn't, don't run.' Would you meet with them?"

I said, "Well, Mayor, where will you be in this?" He said, "I'll be neutral but Selma will be for Taft." So the next morning I went to see Dave Engels and Bob Taft, and he said, "Would you run my campaign up in northern Ohio?" I said, "I don't know. I don't know anything about you. I know two things about you. In 1936 you were speaking on the gold standard at Cleveland Heights High School and I drove in a blizzard from Rocky River to hear you speak. I got in the auditorium, and it was colder inside than it was outside." I said, "I heard you withdraw at the Republican convention in 1936, and as hot as it was people put down their fans when you began to talk." I said, "You chilled them all. Now we have Harold Burton here; his valuable asset is Selma." And I said to him, "What kind of wife do you have?" And David said, "She's a honey, she's a lot like Selma." I said, "Well, will she be active in the campaign?" And he said yes, she would be. And I said, "Well, are you willing to drink hot beer and eat cold bologna sandwiches in church basements? Will you spend 60 percent of your time up here?" He said, "Yes, I'll do all those things." I said, "People here think you're a silk stocking." "Oh no no," he says--"I have wool socks!" That's the first time I got any humor out of him.

He said, "Are you ready to go to work, and what will it cost?" I said, "No, I'll let you know in three or four weeks." He said, "I'm anxious to have you do it, because I can't make a decision that I'm going to run unless I have you run it for me." So I got myself a bag of nickels, I got in my little Ford, and the newspapers were saying,

"Day cannot be defeated. Taft can't win. Day is well known." And so on. Well, I went to each county seat, and I took 20 nickels and I called at random, and I asked people, "How do you feel about Day and Taft?" Most of them said they hated Davy, who by this time had turned into a crook. I said, "No I'm calling about Day and Taft." "Oh," they said, "William Howard Taft, anything he wants we're for." Well, this was the general reaction and I realized Day didn't have much. Bob Taft didn't either, but at least the name William Howard Taft--

So after covering all 44 of the counties I came back to Cleveland and I then checked all the ward leaders that I had created under the Burton regime. I told them I was not going to fight them but I wanted a man and a woman in each of their wards, and they agreed. Then I called Taft and asked him to come up to the Tippecanoe/McKinney Day banquet at the Carter Hotel on the 30th of January. I was secretary of the Tippecanoe Club, so I arranged for him-- They had made Day the speaker, and I arranged also for them to have Taft as a speaker. So I told Taft to go up with Selma early Saturday morning. I got a chap by the name of Owen Winston, a black who I was very close to, to take Mrs. Taft to drive around to see the women ward leaders. The first one she saw was Lucinda Baker, who was scrubbing her floor. And Lucinda fell in love with Martha, got dressed, and went with her the rest of the day to see the women ward leaders. Meanwhile Alec Bernstein had a meeting planned for lunch at the old Hollenden House to endorse Day. So I arranged to have the ward leaders come in to see Taft in my office, every fifteen minutes starting at eight o'clock. And the first one was Wilbur Walker from the 4th ward where the West Side Market is located, and I would say 90 percent of his people were on relief. I brought him to meet Taft, and Taft had a pad in front of him and was writing, and I took Walker in another room and said, "Bill, what do you think?" He said, "I couldn't get a vote for that cold-hearted son of a bitch." I went in to see Taft and I said, "What do you think he thought of you?" He said, "It was all about his ward." I said, "But what do you think he thinks of you?" He said, "Well, what does he?" I said, "He thinks you're a cold-hearted son of a bitch. So put your pad and pencil away and from now on warm up to these people. I've got all of the facts of the ward, you don't have to have them." So I brought Wilbur back, and Jeez, Bob just jumped all over him, talked about his family and so on. I took Wilbur in the next room and said, "What do you think now?" He said, "What did you do to him?" I said, "Well, that's the real Taft you just met. So will you be my sergeant at arms and keep bringing these ward leaders in?"

Well, by noon we had interviewed most of the ward leaders, and when Alec had his meeting he couldn't get the endorsement. I'd written a speech for Taft for that night in which he praised the city of Cleveland, all its leaders, how Cleveland had developed, where it had come from, what it could do. And they introduced Day and Day got up and did this fancy stuff and sat down. Taft got up and made this wonderful speech about Cleveland. The next day the Plain Dealer said what a great senator he'd make but he can't be elected. So this was our problem in that campaign. And I give you this to show you what I got out of law school.

The Cleveland Press was part of Scripps-Howard, and they had papers in Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Toledo. Powerful, powerful influence. And every year they ran a poll. They started in Cincinnati and went up through Springfield, Dayton, Columbus, Akron, Cleveland, Toledo. Taft had asked me to break their young son Bob into politics, and he was just graduated from Harvard. He was with me the entire summer. He lived at the YMCA, and I'd pick him up every morning, and we'd campaign. I got him, and my brother Armon and Owen Winston and Lou Navario and Bert Fuller.

I bought an old car and a truck. We filled the truck with Taft signs and literature, and we sent the truck and the car down to Cincinnati, and they started up the 3-C highway. Every crossroads the truck would stop, and they'd nail a Taft sign on each telephone post. And the two guys with the car-- the one would drive, and the other two would circulate window cards and pamphlets to all the houses and stores. We did this about ten days before the poll was to start. The first issue that came out said Cincinnati is 10 to 1 for Taft, but it should be: he lives here. Dayton and Springfield were 8 to 1 for Taft. Well, they could understand that was close to Cincinnati. But when they got to Franklin County then Day's strength would start to appear because he was a Supreme Court justice and so on; we beat him 6 to 1. By the time we came to Cuyahoga County and Akron, it was 5 to 1. In Cleveland they announced where they were going to have their polls, at various streets like 55th and Euclid, so I hired two busses and we would leapfrog the polling places so that we always had about 50 people voting at each of these stops.

So by the time they announced that Taft-- I was in the office that day and I had 3500 volunteers. I arranged for Dick Maher and Ralph Kelley and Jack Cannon and political reporters to be there when we opened these drawers, and Taft said, "I think I'll beat Day in his own county." Out came the Press news headline: "Taft believes he can beat Day in his own county." Well, I had two kids run down to Canton to the hotel where he was speaking that afternoon. They walked in, handed him these headlines. He left the women's meeting, came back to Cleveland, and made the announcement, "Taft may have the money but I have the friends."

All of the executive committees in the state had endorsed Taft by that time. After this poll result came out, we began to get the telegrams that they're shifting their endorsement. So by August 9th primary it was going to be a run all right. In the middle of July-- I had told Taft in our first meeting that I had some very bitter enemies--Evan Crawford, Ben Ling, and Harry Crawford--and that very likely they wouldn't want me anywhere near him if he was ever elected. In the middle of July I got a phone call from Dave Engels, said "I just had lunch with three people who said they'll pay for the whole campaign on one condition, and that is that you're out." I said, "Dave, you had lunch with Ben Ling and Evan Crawford and Harry Crawford." He said, "Why, were you there?" I said, "No, but these are the gentlemen I talked to you about last January." I said, "You'll have my resignation as fast as my secretary can type it."

So the phone rang, I dictated my resignation, and the phone rang, and

Bob was on the line. He said, "What in hell is going on up there?" I said, "It's come to pass. I told you that there would be a day when it looked like you were going to be the senator and they wouldn't want me anywhere near you." He said, "I've told them to go to hell. I wouldn't be elected if it wasn't for you. I don't need them."

So the Saturday before the primary I was down in the vault of the Cleveland Trust at 9th and Euclid arranging for my money and for Brinks to bring it over. I was the first one that had ever paid the workers what they were promised. Much to my surprise, in comes Bob and Martha. He said, "We're ready to go to Cincinnati, Paul, but how much money do you need." I said, "I'm short about 50,000 bucks." He said, "Here's a check; you go up and get the money." He could have gone to Cincinnati and forgotten me, because he was elected by this time.

So we got him elected. And that same year I raised the money for a new Cedar Y building, we pushed the activity for taking over the railway-- I was pretty busy. And I got married on March 19th and I was riding through the Public Square with Taft on March 18th and he said to me, "Paul, you'd better put me on the train to Cincinnati" -- an 11:50 p.m. train -- "You'd better marry that girl before you lose her."

The next morning I went to Halle's, I bought myself a black suit for 19 bucks, and a wedding ring for 19 bucks. I called Ellis Ripner to have him meet me in front of the courthouse with a signed wedding license and application for marriage. And then I went to Segelin's and got myself a little orchid corsage for Susan and 24 long-stemmed American Beauty roses, which I put in the trunk of the car. So I waited for Susan to come out of work at the relief office at 96th and Cedar, and I said, "We're getting married. We're driving down to get our wedding license."

So I went down and Ellis Ripner was out there, with the application, and I gave him a dollar and he handed us the marriage license. So we stopped in at the apartment where her mother was putting up drapery and stuff for us and announced we were getting married. She said, "We'd have liked to have had a wedding." I said, "In times like these you don't need a wedding." So we went down to Hudson and had Joe Hayden, who was the headmaster at Hudson, Western Reserve Academy, and he married us. So we drove on down to Granville and I told the country bumpkin who took my car that there were 24 roses in the trunk, will you bring them up in about 20 minutes. Well, we got into our room, were settling down, a rap on the door, and here's this guy, he had cut all the heads off those roses and handed them to me in a big soup bowl. So we had a one-night honeymoon and came back and kept on campaigning.

The day after the August primary I called Taft and I said, "We're going to have a campaign called 'Taft vs. the Rubber Stamp.'" And I had the first pamphlet printed and there was an actual rubber stamp. That's all we called Bulkley, the rubber stamp. I had 280,000 people on relief. Each week Harry Hopkins ? we'd spend and spend, and elect and elect, and more people would go on relief. We kept this agitation

going, and I kept getting reports from the reporters how mad Bulkley was getting. He was an intellectual and fine gentleman, graduated from Harvard I guess. Had a fine family.

Finally, about the middle of September I thought the time was right and I told the three reporters, "You go up to Bulkley's office in the Bulkley Building tomorrow morning about ten o'clock and you'll have a good story." So we drafted a telegram. The postal union was in the Leader Building, and they delivered a telegram challenging him to debate. So he walked in while the reporters were there and Bulkley, without talking to anybody, said he'd debate him. So we had our debates arranged.

The first debate was on October 1 in Marietta. We had it there because it was the first capital and the New Deal had built them a beautiful fieldhouse. So that's where we had the debate. And it was hailed as the next Lincoln-and-Douglas debate. There would be six of them. The platform was about six feet high and they had a full-life figure of Bulkley on one side and a full-life figure of Taft on the other. The president of Marietta was to make the introduction. They had fans all over the place because it was so hot. And there was a fan right up behind the Bulkley figure.

We had spread the word that Bulkley couldn't vote unless he got a call from the White House--he was a rubber stamp, rubber stamp, rubber stamp. We agreed that Bulkley being the sitting senator, and his name began with B, he would make the first opener. And the next debate it would switch. So Bulkley was beautifully introduced, he gets up, and this guy plugged the plug in and Whissssssh, down goes the big figure. And another guy was pushing it up and it went down again. And the whole time he was trying to speak it was terrible, just awful. The newspapers came out the next day, all over the country, saying it's true, he can't say a word till he hears from the-- It was awful. By the time we were done with those debates, it was all over.

I did another thing. I hired some guys and gave them a suitcase full of barber supplies. And in those days public opinion was formed in the barber shop. The guys in order to get away from their wives would come down and smoke and play pool and hang around the barber shop. So these fake salesmen would go in and start to talk, and they'd start an argument: Who do you think can get you a job quicker, Taft or Bulkley? After they got a good argument, they'd go to the next barber shop. So we covered all northern Ohio with these salesmen.

And then I hired a hundred guys, I paid them 25 bucks a week for four weeks. And I sent them out to all the WPA projects. And they'd say, "Do you want to stand with this shovel the rest of your life, or do you want Taft to get you a job? And we only lost this county by 42,500 votes and elected him senator. In that time there were 17 Republicans in the Senate. Day wanted the primary election investigated. The Senate being Democratic, they sent a young man out here by the name of McClurkin. McClellan was the chairman of the Judiciary Committee. So he got to see Taft in Cincinnati and he said, "Paul, I have this young man McClurkin here to investigate the election," and I said, "You just send him up here and I'll take care

of him."

He came up, I got him a room at the Hollenden Hotel. I said, "Don't interfere with my campaigning in the daytime, but every night at midnight I'll arrange for my workers to come in and you can interview them." So at midnight these workers would come in, and I'd have ten or twelve come every night, and he'd ask them to give an affidavit, "Did you get the money from Mr. Walter? Did you do this? Did you do that?" So he filed a report that they could find no evidence that any money was spent that wasn't reported. So that's how we got him into the Senate.

On December 24th we had the election on the light plant. We had gotten a 3 million dollar grant from the federal government and the CEI put up a referendum. I used the same women I had used in the Taft campaign to campaign for the light plant. We carried it by 94 and a half percent. That night Selma gave me a big kiss and said, "You've done so much for my Harold."

So then he was reelected in '39. As I went around the state getting the delegates lined up for Bob--Bricker was governor--we had a tremendous problem. But I learned how much they hated Ed Schor, the state chairman. So I got convinced that this was the time to run Burton for Senate, and that we could win. I went down to see him, and Ramsey? said, "You know Paul, he has a contract with the people here to be the mayor." I said, "Fred, the people don't have a contract with him. Remember Johnson was defeated when he ran the third time by a no-account name of Bayer." Now was the time for him to move up to the Senate.

Selma as usual talked to me about it and said, "What are the reasons? What can we do?" So I got him to agree. I got Roy Jameson and Earl Hart and we started the draft campaign, got the signatures, and took them in for Burton to sign. And we were off to the races.

We had a big meeting of the Republican Party in March, with our delegates, at a state convention. And Ed Schor was supporting W. D. Weich. Cleveland and Cuyahoga County were hated by the rest of the state. So we had gotten a letter from Schor that he wanted each candidate for senate to give a ten-minute speech. So he introduced W. D. Weick, and W. D. goes across the platform, waving at people, and says nothing. Martha Taft is on one side of me, Selma on the other, and he introduces the Honorable Harold Burton, mayor of Cleveland. The mayor put on his specs and he began to go through his speech and it was awful. People stamped their feet and booed and yelled. Selma began to cry, and Martha was getting angry. She said, "What did you get this man into?" I said, "Don't worry about it. The people hate this guy around the state. The worse he does today, you tell Harold, the better off we are." They couldn't even get a hotel room, that's how bad-- So they used my room. Selma was in tears. It was after dinner and Burton said, "Paul, you've got me in one awful mess."

Well, Ralph Donaldson was downstairs. And I said, "Mayor, if you announce you're the off-Schor candidate you're nominated." We talked about it. I said, "The deadline's coming, it's eleven o'clock and the

state issue goes out. Ralph Donaldson is downstairs; will you tell him you're the off-Schor candidate?" So Ralph came up, and Burton said, "Ralph, I'm the off-Schor candidate and we're going to beat this man." And all the headlines, "Burton is the off-Schor candidate." And he was elected.

I have to go now. . . .

Well, I got involved with Hiram House and I became president of the board. And I became president of the Y-- I got a lot more to tell you--