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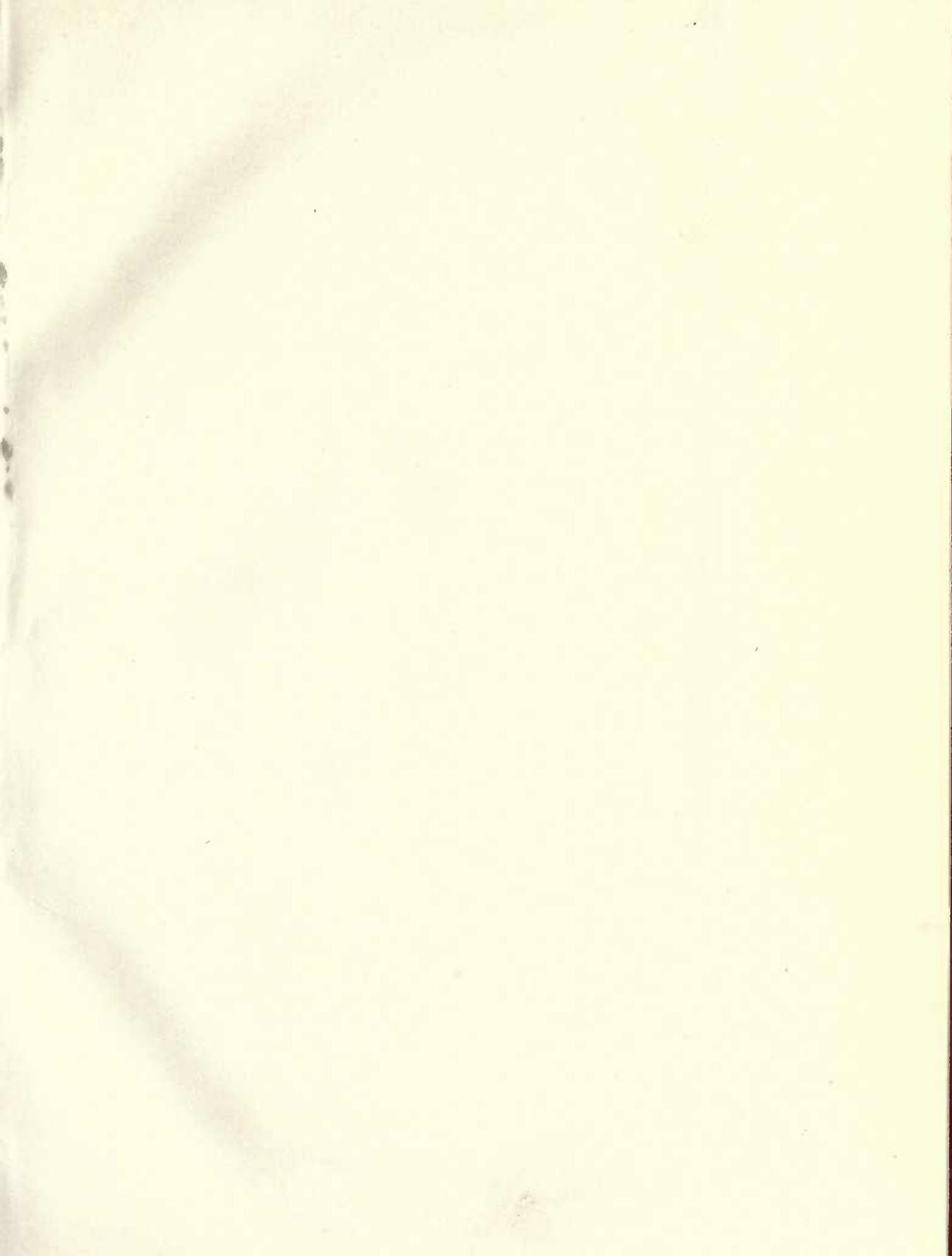
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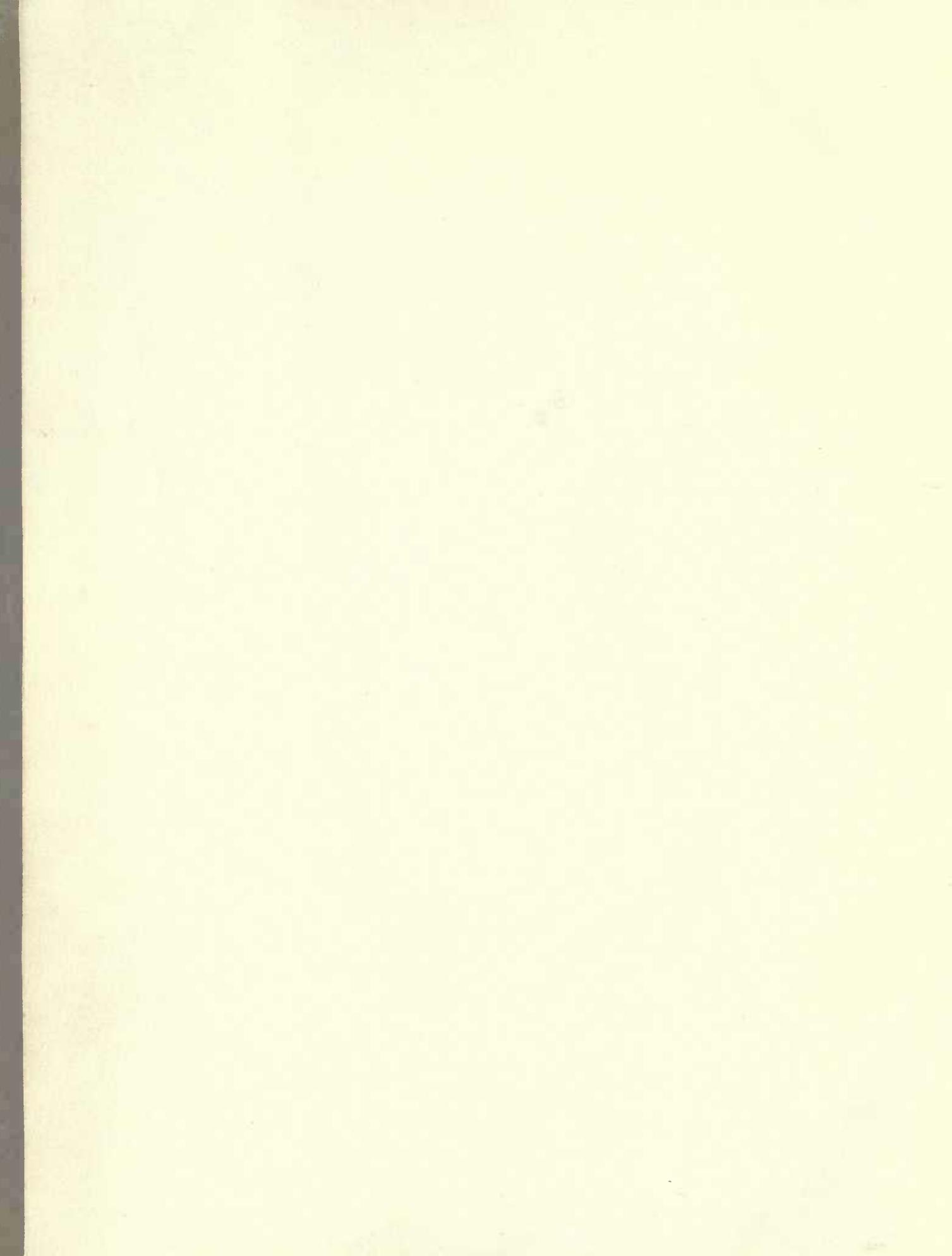


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**FRANCK ROBERTS HAVENNER**

**REMINISCENCES**

A tape recorded interview  
for the Bancroft Library.  
Sept. 1, 1953, San Francisco.

FRANCIS ROBERTS FLEMING

MEMORANDUM

A tape recorded interview  
for the Bancroft Library,  
San Francisco, Calif., 1983.

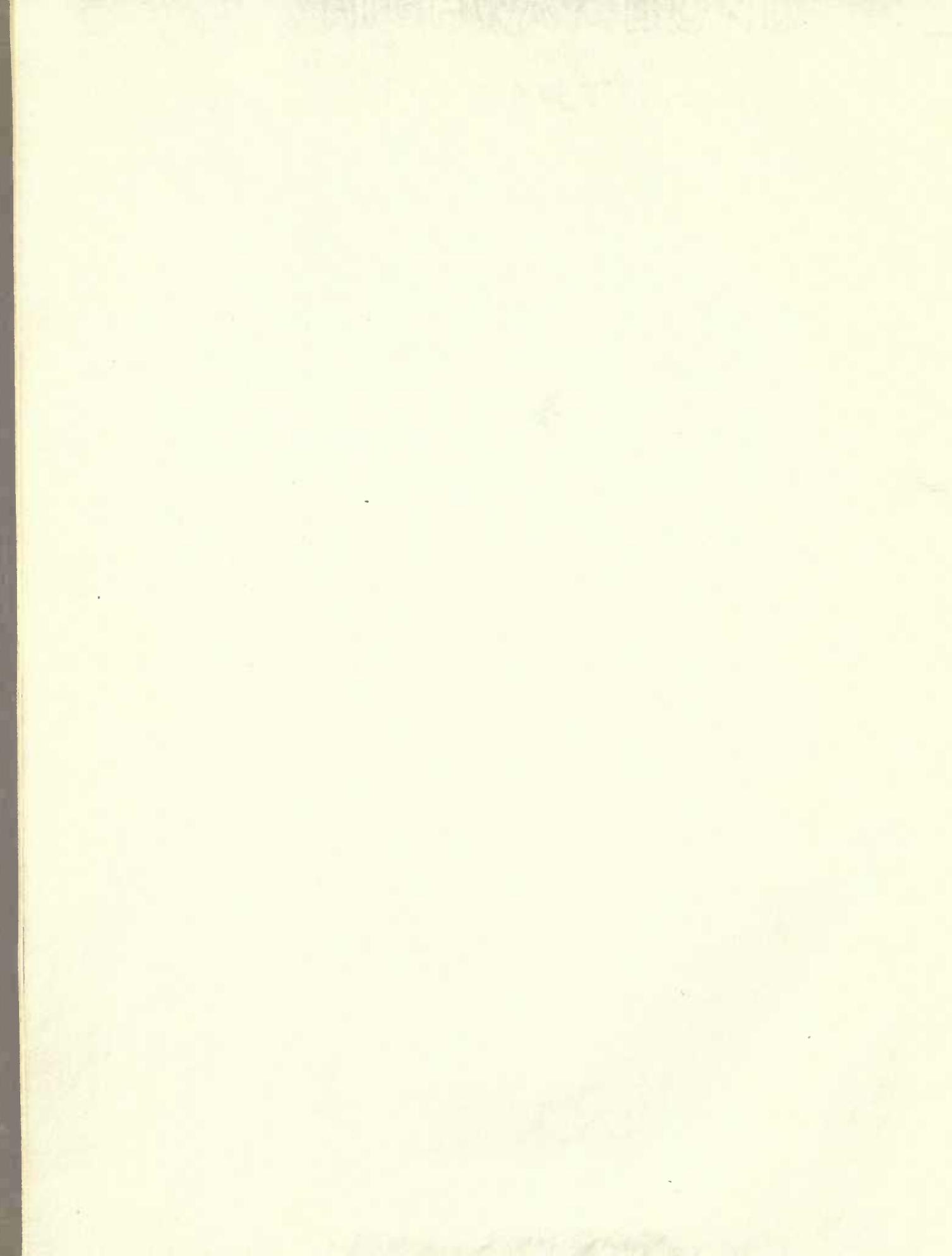
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Virtually any human achievement, big or small, whether we realize it or not, is a cooperative affair and so was the following manuscript.

Robert E. Burke, director of Bancroft Library's Manuscript Division, arranged the interview and gathered a substantial part of the background information. The San Francisco Chronicle let us look into its library files on Havener. Mary Ellen Sherry (nee, Leary), former political editor of the San Francisco News, gave us a wealth of facts and information, as did Frank Hankiewicz, former member of the California Democratic State Central Committee. Pat Frayne, Havener's one-time campaign manager and present secretary to attorney General Pat Brown, contributed a preliminary tape-recorded interview on Havener. And Mr. Francis R. Havener, himself, the willing victim of all this earnest endeavor, donated time, memories, research, and editing, a gift of no small order.

When the tape-recording of the interview is played, Mr. Havener's voice sounds against a continual backdrop of San Francisco Mission District street noises -- the grinding of truck gears and the shouting of newsboys -- and it is an entirely appropriate backdrop. Havener is a man of loyalties, to the men he has admired, the causes he has espoused, and above all to San Francisco and "my constituents." Where these interests are touched,



he is a fighter. Otherwise, he is a mild and gentle  
man, amazingly unvindictive toward his political enemies.  
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Since this was the first of a series of interviews designed to preserve the memories of men and women who helped to make contemporary history, our approach was frankly experimental. We attempted not to create a product complete in itself, but rather to furnish a guide for more detailed research. Noting the highlights of Mr. Havenner's life, bringing in essential names and dates, getting an idea of his policies and attitudes, we had to rest content, hoping that others will take it up from there. Mr. Havenner corrected and approved the manuscript.

Bancroft Library  
3 December 1953

Corinne L. Gilb

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Harvard Library  
3 December 1953

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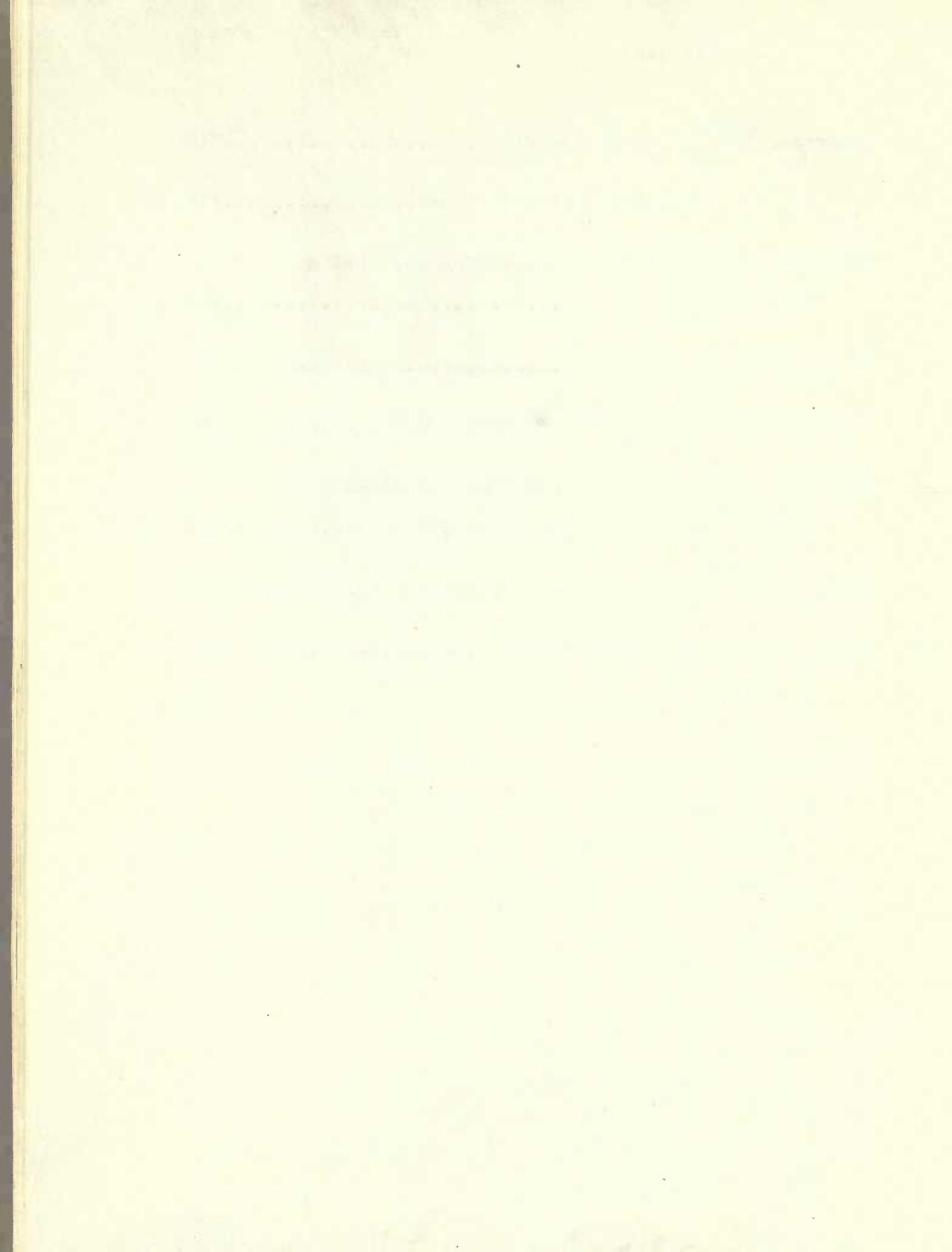
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(Reel 1)

911. This interview with Franca Ravener was recorded in the offices of the Union Labor Party, the Labor Temple in San Francisco, California, on September 1, 1953 by Corinne Gib. Cor for University of California library. Mr. Ravener, who is currently director of the Union Labor Party in San Francisco, was a member of Congress from 1927 to 1940 and from 1944 to 1952. He was for a few years secretary to Elmer Johnson. He was on the California Political Commission under Governor Earl Warren. He was a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors from 1926 to 1935, and was active for Bay Area and Sacramento newspapers during the ten years preceding the First World War.



(Reel 1) EDUCATION

Gilb: This interview with Franck Havenner was recorded in the offices of the Union Labor Party, the Labor Temple, in San Francisco, California, on September 1, 1953 by Corinne Gilb for the University of California library.

H: Near Sherwood, Maryland, a town which I believe is not on the map today. And I believe you've told me, Mr. Havenner, that your father was a Methodist minister? He was on the California Railroad Commission under Governor Olson, a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors from 1926 to 1936, and a reporter for Bay Area and Sacramento newspapers during the ten years preceding the first World War.

H: I don't think it had any influence on my political or social philosophy. It was not a political family. But I am sure that the atmosphere and environment of my home did have an influence on my life. We didn't have any discussions of political or social problems at home, as far as I can remember.

G: They stressed the virtues of honesty and good will and so forth -- And then you went to the public schools in that town?

H: Yes. I went to a kindergarten in Washington, D.C. I attended the public schools in Monkton, Maryland, Baltimore, and for a brief time in Cumberland, Maryland -- and Washington, D.C.

G: Did you enjoy school in those days, did you like

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## (EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION)

Gilb: Mr. Havenner, would you mind telling us the exact date of your birth?

Havenner: I was born on September 20, 1882.

G: In what town?

H: Near Sherwood, Maryland, a town which I believe is not on the map today.

G: And I believe you've told me, Mr. Havenner, that your father was a Methodist minister?

H: Yes.

G: And he was -- all during your childhood.

H: Yes.

G: And you felt that that had some influence on your later views?

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- G: to go to school or did you concentrate on time outside  
H: of school?  
H: Oh, I think I enjoyed going to school, yes.  
G: Did you think of yourself as a good student, or were you  
H: told you were a good student?  
H: I don't think I had any particular ambition to be a good  
H: student! -- at that time.  
G: Where did you go to college?  
H: After I got through high school, the Western High School  
in Washington, D.C., I went to Columbian College, which  
is now George Washington University.  
G: What years were you there?  
H: I think that my freshman year was the year of 1900-1901;  
and I think I attended the first semester of the following  
year.  
G: What were your studies there, then?  
H: Well, for some reason, I think mainly because I was  
interested in it, I majored in mathematics. Then I took  
courses in economics and history and languages -- French  
and German --  
G: You were in Washington --  
H: Latin  
G: -- when Roosevelt became President, weren't you?  
H: Theodore Roosevelt? I think I was in Washington at the  
time McKinley was assassinated.  
G: Do you have any memories of that event?  
H: Oh yes. I recall reading about it very definitely. I  
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G: Did you ever see Roosevelt?

H: Yes, we -- of course the inaugural ceremony was one of the great events in Washington.

G: And did you go?

H: Oh I went to several of them.

G: What ones did you go to?

H: Well, I think I attended the inaugurations of -- watched the inaugurations of -- Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, I guess those were the ones.

G: Did you have any political views at that time, or did you just like to watch them?

H: Oh, I think I was an enthusiastic advocate of the incumbent most of the time.

G: That would have been Republican, wouldn't it?

H: Yes.

G: And then what brought you out to California, Mr. Havenner?

H: Well, in my second year of college, I think my father decided that I was on the verge of a physical breakdown. He sent me out to Phoenix, Arizona for my health.

G: And you stayed in Phoenix --

H: I stayed in Arizona, let's see, during 1902, part of 1902 and 1903, and part of 1904.

G: Yes, and then did you come on to San Francisco from there?

H: I went home in the spring of 1904, as I recall it. I remember meeting some of the members of my family at the St. Louis Exposition. And I went on home from there to Washington, stayed for awhile, and that year -- that fall -- my father sent me out to Stanford.

Q: Did you ever see Roosevelt?

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G: To go to school.

H: To enroll there.

G: And how long were you at Stanford?

H: Off and on for quite a number of years. During the latter part of my career there, I was trying to earn my way through college, and I was in and out. I'd work for a semester and then go back to college and then went to try to earn a little more money and then back again. I was not a candidate for a degree. I was a special student.

G: And what did you study?

H: I majored there in mathematics.

G: Did you feel your instruction was good -- there?

H: Oh yes, I think the instruction was good.

G: Do you have any memories of David Starr Jordan?

H: Yes, I didn't know him intimately, but he was a great big man who walked around the campus in the late afternoons -- tried desperately to be friendly with all the students -- walked up to you when he met you on the campus and strolled along with you.

G: And you had conversations with him?

H: Yes.

G: Do you remember any other members of the faculty?

H: Well, the head of the mathematics department was Professor Green, whom I knew quite well. I knew his family.

G: Where did you live when you were going to Stanford?

H: I had joined a fraternity in the East, and the fraternity had recently established a chapter -- a charge as they called it -- at Stanford. I went immediately to the

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- H: fraternity house when I got to the Stanford campus and lived there.
- G: What fraternity was that?
- H: Theta Delta Chi.
- G: Theta Delta Chi. And did you live there while you were working too, or did you just --
- H: I lived quite a while, while I was working, at the University of California chapter house, of my old fraternity.
- G: Oh!
- H: I lived out there after I went to work on the newspapers.
- G: I understand that you were interested in sports at Stanford. What sports did you go out for?
- H: I didn't go out for any sports. I wasn't -- I was rather a frail boy, and I wasn't good enough to make the varsity. I played on the fraternity baseball team.
- G: -- baseball team. Yes. What was your first job?
- H: My first job was on the San Francisco Bulletin.
- G: Had you worked before that at all?
- H: I had, in the East. I had worked for a real estate firm, and -- perhaps I ought to correct that. I think that I worked for a while, prior to my job on the Bulletin, with a building and loan company, which had its offices on Powell street near Market, prior to the earthquake.
- G: How did you get that job?
- H: The president of the company was a member of my fraternity, lived in Palo Alto, and through him, I think he gave it to me.
- G: Were you in San Francisco at the time of the fire?

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Q: Were you in San Francisco at the time of the fire?

- H: I left here the night before the earthquake and went up to Marysville to visit a fraternity brother of mine who had a vineyard outside of Marysville.
- G: And so you didn't return for awhile?
- H: I didn't return for two months or more, I guess.
- G: When you came back to San Francisco, did you find that the spirit of the place had changed -- that the fire caused anything besides physical damage? Or did you just take up where you'd left off?
- H: Well, for awhile after I came back, I worked for that building and loan company. I think they had built a little wooden shack, which they used as an office, on Mission street near the present Federal building. And I used to drive back and forth from Palo Alto.
- G: Was this in a car?
- H: A buggy.
- G: Did you own this buggy -- I'm interested --
- H: -- not every day. No. I don't remember just exactly why I drove back and forth, except that my boss lived down there in Palo Alto and I think he wanted me to bring that buggy up here for some reason.
- G: Did many people commute in those days?
- H: Well, of course there was a tremendous amount of commuter traffic on the Bay.
- G: There was?
- H: The ferry boats, yes.
- G: The ferry boats, and the trains of course were running, weren't they?
- H: Yes. Trains running north and south.
- G: Yes, but when you worked in San Francisco, mostly you

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H: The ferry boats, yes.

G: The ferry boats, and the trains of course were running.

H: weren't they?

H: Yes. Trains running north and south.

- G: felt you had to live here?
- H: No. I commuted for a long time myself, after the earthquake. When I was working in San Francisco, I was living in Oakland for quite a number of years. Part of the time I lived at the fraternity house in Berkeley, as I spoke of.
- G: Yes. You mentioned something about living at a settlement house here in San Francisco -- when was that?
- H: That was just before the earthquake, in 19-- the early part of 1906 and I guess the latter part of 1905.
- G: And how did you happen to be there?
- H: Mrs. Mary Roberts Smith, who was a member of the faculty at Stanford when I first went there and was a sister of one of my fraternity brothers was the head of that settlement, on South Park between Second and Third Streets.
- G: Did you join --
- H: The settlement was in the old Hearst mansion there, half-way up on the North side of the block.
- G: And did you do any settlement work?
- H: I taught some of the classes there. Some of the manual arts classes.
- G: Tell me how you happened to get the job on the Bulletin?
- H: I got that through one of my fraternity brothers, who was a graduate of Stanford and engaged in the advertising business here. He knew the business manager of the Bulletin, and at my request asked if there was any opening there that I could have and finally -- he finally called me one time, one day, and told me that if I'd go up there I could probably get a job.

Q: And what year was that, do you remember?  
H: It was after the earthquake. I think it was in the fall  
of 1906, the latter part of 1906.  
Q: Were they still operating in temporary buildings at that  
time?  
H: The Bulletin was in an old icehouse, -- on Lombard Street,  
off of Sanson Street, at the base of Telegraph Hill.  
Q: What was your job there?  
H: My first job was making a report on the number of papers  
that came off the press each run.  
Q: And how long did you work at that job?  
H: Well, for several months, probably to the -- about the  
end of 1906.  
Q: And then you went back to school?  
H: No. That I got a job as a -- first of all, during the time  
that I was working on the Bulletin in the circulation de-  
partment, and immediately after that, I got a job writing  
foot ball at Stanford.  
Q: Oh, yes.  
H: I believe I had enrolled at Stanford again, in the first  
semester of -- the last semester -- the first semester of  
the academic year, 1906-1907. And I wrote football under  
the name of Frank Roberts, my first two names. I didn't  
use Haverman.  
Q: Frank Roberts. Oh, Roberts is your middle name, is it?  
H: Did you ever use that name again?  
H: I don't recall that I did. No. I don't think so.  
Q: While we're on the subject of names, can you tell us how

you happened to get a "c" in Franck?

H: My father spelled his name that way, and all I know about its origin is that they told me that he had been named for a family friend whose last name was Franck.

G: What nationality is your family, Mr. Havenner?

H: Well, I guess we're products of the melting pot, but I think the Havenner branch of the family is -- was originally German.

G: They've been in this country a long time now?

H: Oh yes.

G: Well, did you have --

H: Not regularly, however.

G: Did you cover them or just go as a listener?

H: No, I was sent up there as a reporter -- details, to tell you. I was never regularly assigned to it, however.

G: Present Order, in his memoirs, describes San Francisco of that period as a city of vice and a gross deal of corruption. Do you have any memories of that sort of thing?

H: Yes, yes. San Francisco was a wild town when I first came here.

G: How long did it stay that way, and do you think it's still that way?

H: No, I don't think it is that way now, no. It stayed that way until the period when the -- after Johnson became Governor -- that's covered in this book about the

you happened to get a "c" in French?

H: My father spelled his name that way, and all I know about the origin is that they told me that he had been named for a family friend whose last name was French.

F: That nationality is your family, Mr. Havener?

H: Well, I guess we're products of the melting pot, but I think the Havener branch of the family is -- was origin-

ally German.

F: They've been in this country a long time now?

H: Of yes.

(WORK AS A NEWSPAPER REPORTER: A REPORTER'S VIEW OF  
 G: SAN FRANCISCO AND CALIFORNIA POLITICS PRIOR TO  
 H: WORLD WAR I)

G: Well, you were writing football, and did you go back to  
 G: work for the Bulletin after that?

H: Yes, after I wrote football that season, I got a job as  
 H: a reporter on the newspaper.

G: And what did you cover?

H: Oh, general assignment details on the Bulletin. I was  
 G: copy reader for a while and I covered at various times  
 H: police headquarters, city hall, and occasionally sat in  
 G: on part of the early graft prosecution trials.

G: Yes, did you have --

H: Not regularly, however.

G: Did you cover them or just go as a listener?

H: No, I was sent up there as a reporter occasionally, to  
 G: fill in. I was never regularly assigned to it, however.

G: Fremont Older, in his memoirs, describes San Francisco  
 H: of that period as a city of vice and a great deal of  
 G: corruption. Do you have any memories of that sort of  
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H: Yes, yes. San Francisco was a wild town, when I first  
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still that way?

H: No, I don't think it is that way now. It stayed

that way until the period when the -- after Johnson be-  
came Governor -- that's covered in this book about the

California Progressives, I think walking along the streets.

- G: Yes. quite an imposing figure -- a handsome man with a
- H: Passed the Red Light Abatement Act and passed the Anti-Race Track Gambling Act. The Barbary Coast was closed -- during that period. years later. I did know him just
- G: You don't think it was the fire then that caused the dramatic change? the Board of Supervisors. The year that
- H: No. I don't think so. I think that after the fire, as far as vice was concerned -- it just moved its location, that's all.
- G: Do you think the graft prosecutions had any effect upon San Francisco at all?
- H: Oh yes. reformed? (laughter)
- G: Do you think it helped to wipe out corruption to a high degree? think so.
- H: The graft prosecution was aimed at the men who were responsible for vice; it wasn't aimed at vice itself.
- G: And so it only affected the top level.
- H: It was aimed at the men who were responsible for the political corruption in San Francisco at that time.
- G: I see. And so it took Governor Johnson to really make headway against the vice itself. of Supervisors, he
- H: Johnson, I don't think, ever posed as a moral reformer. However, he did, during his administration, the legislature did pass some of those laws, particularly the Red Light Abatement Act. I think eventually responsible for the closing of the Barbary Coast. the graft prosecution
- G: Do you remember Mayor Schmitz, Mr. Havenner? once or twice
- H: Those early days, I didn't know him. I had seen him in

1: Yes

2: Passed the Red Light Amendment but was passed the Anti-

3: -- How much business did the Judiciary Court was closed

4: during that period.

5: You don't think it was the time that caused the

6: economic changes?

7: No, I don't think so. I think that after the time, as

8: far as what was concerned -- it just moved the location,

9: that's all.

10: Do you think the state's responsibility was not closed when

11: San Francisco was all?

12: Yes.

13: Do you think it helped to wipe out corruption and

14: bribery?

15: The state's responsibility was aimed at the man and was to

16: responsible for what it was aimed at, it was aimed at

17: and so it only affected the top level.

18: It was aimed at the man who was responsible for the

19: political corruption in San Francisco at that time.

20: I see. How so it took Governor Johnson to really

21: backed against the vice itself.

22: Johnson, I don't think, ever stood as a moral reformer.

23: However, he did, during his administration, the legis-

24: lature did pass some of those laws, particularly the Red

25: Light Amendment Act. I think eventually responsible for

26: the closing of the Judiciary Court.

27: Do you remember Mayor Schmitt, Mr. Haverstick?

28: Those early days, I didn't know him. I had seen him in

court, and I remember seeing him walking along the streets. He was quite an imposing figure -- a handsome man with a vandyke beard. He spoke to everybody he passed on the streets. I remember him as a figure, that's all. I didn't know him 'til years later. I did know him just before I was elected to the Board of Supervisors. He had -- he was on the Board of Supervisors. The year that I was elected, he was defeated.

G: What kind of work did he do there?

H: On the board?

G: Yes.

H: I just don't remember.

G: Was he reformed? (laughter)

H: No....

G: You don't think so.

H: He was a member of the Board of Supervisors for several years, made a sort of political comeback after his --

G: How did he manage to come back?

H: Oh, he had a big following in San Francisco.

G: And he never lost the following?

H: Well, he was losing some of it obviously, because the year that I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, he was defeated and so were all the men that he was associated with -- almost all the men that he had been associated with on the Board.

G: Do you remember Abe Ruef at all?

H: Yes. I didn't know Abe Ruef during the graft prosecution trials except that I probably contacted him once or twice

count, and I remember seeing him walking along the streets. He was quite an imposing figure -- a handsome man with a sandy beard. He spoke to everybody he passed on the streets. I remember him as a figure, that's all. I didn't know him 'til years later. I did know him just before I was elected to the Board of Supervisors. He had -- he was on the Board of Supervisors. The year that

I was elected, he was defeated.

Q: What kind of work did he do then?

H: On the courts?

Q: Yes.

H: I just don't remember.

Q: Was he a lawyer? (laughter)

H: No....

Q: You don't think so.

H: He was a member of the Board of Supervisors for several

years, made a sort of political comeback after his --

Q: How did he manage to come back?

H: Oh, he had a big following in San Francisco.

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year that I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, he

was defeated and so were all the men that he was asso-

ciated with -- almost all the men that he had been asso-

ciated with on the Board.

Q: Do you remember Abe Ruef at all?

H: Yes. I didn't know Abe Ruef during the great prosecution

trials except that I probably contacted him once or twice

H: as a reporter, but I didn't know him. I got to know him pretty well later on.

G: When was that?

H: Well, I was detailed as a reporter for the Bulletin to cover the story of his release from San Quentin, when he was finally paroled, and all of the reporters, as I recall it, all of the reporters who went over there that morning with the idea of interviewing Ruef when he got out of prison went to the West gate of San Quentin. The warden apparently had determined in advance that he didn't want a lot of publicity for Ruef that day, so he sent Ruef out the gate on the opposite side. I guess you'd call it the East gate, probably, at San Quentin; and he was out of the prison before we knew anything about it. And then I was ordered, and I think most all of the other reporters who were over there, were ordered to try and find him. And I got a tip somewhere, maybe through Older, that he had gone north. We drove north, oh, for a good many miles. We got up around Ukiah somewhere. Then I got the tip that he had gone to a resort called Vichy Springs, outside of Ukiah. I went out there, and he was there. Far as I can remember, I was the only newspaper man there that night. I spent that evening there with Ruef and spent the night there.

G: What did you talk about? It's a long time ago, I know.

H: Well, my memory just doesn't serve me as to the kind of an interview I wrote with him the next morning. I guess it could be found in the Bulletin files.

as a reporter, but I didn't know him. I got to know him pretty well later on.

Q: What was that?

H: Well, I was detailed as a reporter for the Bulletin to cover the story of his release from San Quentin, when he was finally paroled, and all of the reporters, as I recall it, all of the reporters who went over there that morning with the idea of interviewing Rust when he got out of prison went to the West Gate of San Quentin. The warden apparently had determined in advance that he didn't want a lot of publicity for Rust that day, so he sent Rust out the gate on the opposite side. I guess you'd call it the East Gate, probably, at San Quentin; and he was out of the prison before we knew anything about it. And then I was ordered, and I think most all of the other reporters who were over there, were ordered to try and find him. And I got a tip somewhere, maybe through Gibby, that he had come north. We drove north, oh, for a good many miles. We got up around Ukiah somewhere. Then I got the tip that he had gone to a resort called Vichy Springs, outside of Ukiah. I went out there, and he was there. For as I can remember, I was the only newspaper man there that night. I spent that evening there with Rust and spent the night there.

Q: What did you talk about? It's a long time ago, I know.

H: Well, my memory just doesn't serve me as to the kind of an interview I wrote with him the next morning. I guess

it could be found in the Bulletin files.

- G: Did you feel sympathetic toward him that evening?
- H: Ruef was a very affable, congenial sort of man -- had a great deal of personal charm. I think most of the people who just knew him in a social way or had social contacts or business contacts, I think they mostly liked him, yes.
- G: Did he feel that he deserved what he got, or was he bitter about it?
- H: I don't recall that he indulged in any bitterness that night.
- G: Well, you were working then on the Bulletin for how long that first time?
- H: After I finally left the Oakland Tribune, I came back to Bulletin.
- G: What did you do on --
- H: And I'm not sure about the date.
- G: What did you do on the Tribune?
- H: On the Tribune, I was a copy reader first, rewrite man, city hall reporter. One of my regular jobs was covering police headquarters and city hall, city offices. And then for a time I used to write these -- a lot of the sports page every day; that was part of my daily chore.
- G: On the Tribune?
- H: Yes.
- G: You mentioned you worked for the Post for awhile. When was that?
- H: I lost my job on the Tribune when a new city editor came over there from one of the San Francisco papers. He and

Q: Did you feel sympathetic toward him that evening?

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H: And I'm not sure about the date.

Q: What did you do on the Tribune?

H: On the Tribune, I was a copy reader first, rewrite man.

city hall reporter. One of my regular jobs was covering

police headquarters and city hall, city offices. And then

for a time I used to write these -- a lot of the spots

came every day; that was part of my daily chore.

Q: On the Tribune?

H: Yes.

Q: You mentioned you worked for the Post for awhile. When

was that?

H: I lost my job on the Tribune when a new city editor came

over there from one of the San Francisco papers. He and

I didn't hit it off in the beginning, although afterwards we became very good friends. But I lost my job, and came back over to San Francisco and had a job for a while on the Evening Post.

G: What did you do on the Post?

H: I was detailed to cover the financial district, stock exchange, mining exchange.

G: Patrick Calhoun had some connection with the Post then; was he the editor -- he was publisher?

H: No, he wasn't the editor. He was President of the United Railroads, I guess it was called, the street railroad company here.

G: Yes.

H: And the paper was owned by the street railroad company.

G: Yes. Do you have any memories of Mr. Calhoun?

H: I had very little contact with him personally, no. I remember, of course. He was a very controversial figure in San Francisco at the time.

G: Did you ever have any personal contacts with him?

H: I don't think I did. I don't remember ever interviewing Calhoun. I got a story -- a scoop as a matter of fact -- from the railroad commission. The railroad commission released the story that their examination had disclosed that there was approximately a million dollars worth of IOUs left by Calhoun in the cash drawer of the Market Street -- of the United Railroad. After he left San Francisco. He left at that time, and as I recall it he never came back.

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that there was approximately a million dollars worth of

money left by Calhoun in the cash drawer of the Market

Street -- of the United Railroad. After he left San

Francisco. He left at that time, and as I recall it

he never came back.

- G: Where did he go, do you know?
- H: Well, I don't know. He went East somewhere. But he wasn't prosecuted. The story, as I recall it, was that a great part of this money had been used in the development of a real estate project in Solano county, not far from Vallejo. I think it was called the Solano Irrigated Farms. The money was supposed to have been invested; and that project was a failure; and the money was lost.
- G: How did he --
- H: But the other directors of the Market Street Railroad Company made no effort to prosecute.
- G: He seems to have escaped prosecution right down the line, how did he manage this?
- H: Well, he got into politics and was instrumental in the election of a district attorney.
- G: Which one was that?
- H: Mr. Fickert.
- G: Fickert, yes. Charles, isn't it?
- H: Yes. And the indictments against him were dismissed. That story is told in The California Progressives.
- G: Mowry's book, the Progressives. Yes. So you have worked, then, on the Bulletin, and on the Tribune, and on the Post.
- H: And on the Morning Call.
- G: And when did you work on the Call?
- H: I got my first job on the Call while I was working on the Tribune. I used to work on the Tribune from seven o'clock in the morning to about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the manager of the Oakland office of the

Q: Where did he go, do you know?

H: Well, I don't know. He went east somewhere. But he wasn't prosecuted. The story, as I recall it, was that a great part of this money had been used in the development of a real estate project in Bolinas county, not far from Vallejo. I think it was called the Bolinas Irrigated Farms. The money was supposed to have been invested; and that project was a failure; and the money was lost.

Q: How did he --

H: But the other director of the Market Street Railroad Company made no effort to prosecute.

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Q: how did he manage that?

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Q: Which one was that?

H: Mr. Fickert.

Q: Fickert, yes. Charles, isn't it?

H: Yes. And the indictments against him were dismissed.

Q: That story is told in The California Progressives.

H: Mott's book, the Progressives. Yes. So you have worked, then, on the Bulletin, and on the Tribune, and on the Post.

H: And on the Morning Call.

Q: And when did you work on the Call?

H: I got my first job on the Call while I was working on the Tribune. I used to work on the Tribune from seven o'clock in the morning to about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the manager of the Oakland office of the

Morning Call -- whose name was William Jordan -- asked me if I would care to cover the same beat that I covered for the Tribune for the Morning Call after my work for the Tribune was finished each day. And I did. For a long time, I worked on both papers.

G: And that was the city hall beat, police?

H: City hall beat and police, yes.

G: And how long did this continue? Do you remember when you left?

H: Can't be exactly sure. I think it was around 1910 when I left.

G: All this time, after you left school, were you concentrating just on newspaper reporting, or did you have any other activities?

H: No, I did nothing but newspaper work, after I got into it.

G: You really liked the work, did you?

H: Yes.

G: In those early days, up to 1910, do you remember any particular people with whom you worked that were of interest?

H: Well, William Jordan, who was the manager of the Oakland office of the Call was a -- subsequently the chief political writer for the San Francisco Examiner for some years. He was very well-known, covered all the legislative sessions and all the politics of the state. In Oakland, I worked on the sideline writing sports for the Oakland Tribune, I worked with Eddie Smith, who was the sporting editor of

Morning Call -- whose name was William Jordan -- asked

me if I would care to cover the same beat that I covered

for the Triune for the Morning Call after my work for

the Triune was finished each day. And I did. For a

long time, I worked on both papers.

G: And that was the city hall beat, correct?

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He was very well-known, covered all the legislative sessions

and all the politics of the state. In Oakland, I worked

on the sideline writing sports for the Oakland Triune.

I worked with Eddie Smith, who was the sporting editor of

the Tribune. He was a well-known fight referee. And Tommy McGilligan, called himself Taypay McGilligan, one of the best-known sports writers of the day. He was over there.

G: And on the Bulletin with whom did you work?

H: Well, I worked with, I don't think I went to work --

(Reel 2)

G: Who else do you remember, Mr. Havenner, from the Bulletin?

H: Well, I worked with Carl Hoffman, who was the city editor on the Bulletin for years, under Fremont Older, afterwards editor of the Oakland Inquirer; Edgar T. Gleason, better known as Scoop Gleason, also city editor of the Bulletin later on; Lem Parton, who became a nationally known columnist in later years.

G: I understand from Fremont Older's memoirs that he had a number of very good young reporters -- your name was mentioned among them -- and he lists such people as John Francis Neylan. Do you remember him as a reporter?

H: I knew Neylan as a reporter. I didn't work on the Bulletin with him. He had left the Bulletin before I -- at any rate he had left the Bulletin before I was employed there the last time.

G: And I understand that Maxwell Anderson at one time was on the Bulletin, was that --

H: I don't remember him.

G: And how about Sinclair Lewis, do you remember him?

H: No, no, I don't remember working with either of those men on the Bulletin.

the Tribune. He was a well-known light referee. And  
Tommy McGiligan, called himself Topsy McGiligan, one  
of the best-known sports writers of the day. He was over  
there.

Q: And on the Bulletin with whom did you work?  
H: Well, I worked with, I don't think I want to work --

(Real 2)

Q: Who else do you remember, Mr. Bennett, from the Bulletin?  
H: Well, I worked with Garry Holtzman, who was the city editor  
on the Bulletin for years, under President O'Gar, afterwards  
editor of the Oakland Inquirer; Edgar T. Gleason, better  
known as Scoop Gleason, also city editor of the Bulletin  
later on; Lew Fulton, who became a nationally known  
columnist in later years.

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H: I don't remember him.

Q: And how about Sinclair Lewis, do you remember him?

H: No, no, I don't remember working with either of those  
men on the Bulletin.

- G: Did they come before or after you, do you remember?
- H: Those two -- I don't recall their employment on the Bulletin at all, no.
- G: Did you have any contact with R.A. Crothers on the Bulletin?
- H: Oh, yes. Mr. Crothers was the owner of the paper. Yes, I knew him very well.
- G: What kind of man was he?
- H: Well, he was a picturesque figure, who talked very little, often walked through the offices of the paper three or four times a day. He was a kindly man, but they told a story about him that one time he strolled down into the press room while the -- the composing room -- while the paper was being made up, and the city editor of course was very busy around there, scurrying around, and showing the makeup men how he wanted the pages to be made up, and Mr. Crothers, who watched him for a while, finally went up to him and said, "Young man, are you interested in newspaper work?" He didn't know most of the people who worked on the paper in the editorial department, but I got to know him quite well and became very friendly with him and liked him.
- G: Did you agree with him in his political views?
- H: I don't think he and I ever discussed any political problems.
- G: Did you know what his political views were?
- H: Well, I knew that Older was continually complaining that he couldn't do this or that or the other thing, which he wanted to do and which he believed to be in keeping with

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H: Those two -- I don't recall their employment on the Bulletin.

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H: Yes. Mr. Crothers was the owner of the paper. Yes, I knew him very well.

Q: What kind of man was he?

H: Well, he was a picturesque figure, who talked very little. Often walked through the office of the paper three or four times a day. He was a kindly man, but they told a story about him that one time he straggled down into the press room while the -- the composing room -- while the paper was being made up, and the city editor of course was very busy around there, courtying around, and showing the makeup men how he wanted the paper to be made up, and Mr. Crothers, who watched him for a while, finally went up to him and said, "Young man, are you interested in newspaper work?" He didn't know most of the people who worked on the paper in the editorial department, but I got to know him quite well and became very friendly with him and liked him.

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H: I don't think he and I ever discussed any political problems.

Q: Did you know what his political views were?

H: Well, I knew that Cider was continually complaining that he couldn't do this or that or the other thing, which he wanted to do and which he believed to be in keeping with

the policy of the paper as he had established it. And he finally left the Bulletin because of his disagreements with Mr. Crothers and Mr. Pickering, who was his nephew and was also one of the owners of the paper.

G: When did you first meet Older?

H: Oh, I imagine when I went to work on the Bulletin. I hadn't known him before that.

G: Did you have close contact with him?

H: I did during the latter part of my employment on the Bulletin, yes.

G: What years were those?

H: My closest contacts with him were after I had been appointed to do -- to cover the state legislature and do the political work.

G: That was after 1910?

H: Yes, I didn't have much contact with him in the early part of my employment there. He was a -- he didn't fraternize with many members of the staff. But he always had a few members that he liked very much and called in for intimate conversations and discussions. I finally got into that class.

G: We have a few other names of people in that early period of San Francisco history which interest us; do you remember William F. Herrin, of the Southern Pacific?

H: I had very little contact with him. I think I met him once or twice, but my newspaper work didn't bring me into contact with him. Of course, I knew of him -- very intimately.

the policy of the paper as he had established it. And he finally left the Bulletin because of his disagreements with Mr. Groves and Mr. Pickering, who was his nephew and was also one of the owners of the paper.

Q: When did you first meet Gifford?

A: Oh, I remember when I went to work on the Bulletin. I

didn't know him before that.

Q: Did you have close contact with him?

A: I did during the latter part of my employment on the

Bulletin, yes.

Q: What years were those?

A: My closest contacts with him were after I had been appointed

to go -- to cover the state legislature and do the political

work.

Q: That was after 1910?

A: Yes, I didn't have much contact with him in the early

part of my employment there. He was a -- he didn't

associate with many members of the staff. But he always

had a few members that he liked very much and called in

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Q: We have a few other names of people in that early period

of San Francisco history which interest us; do you remem-

ber William F. Herrin, of the Southern Pacific?

A: I had very little contact with him. I think I met him

once or twice, but my newspaper work didn't bring me into

contact with him. Of course, I knew of him -- very in-

timately.

G: Did the Southern Pacific have all the control that it was reputed to have, from your observation?

H: My knowledge of the Southern Pacific machine has principally been gained through what I've read about it. I wasn't doing newspaper work in the days when the machine was in active operation, that is, I wasn't doing political newspaper work.

G: Oh. Do you remember Justice Fred Henshaw?

H: Yes, I knew him slightly.

G: You had no special contact with him?

H: I didn't have any special contact with him.

G: Did you have any contact with Charles Fickert?

H: In later years I did, yes. I didn't know Fickert, I believe, when he was first elected district attorney, but later on I got to know him quite well.

G: When was that?

H: Oh, shortly before I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, I guess.

G: Oh, in the 20's?

H: Yes.

G: Yes. Had you any contact with him when you covered the Mooney trial?

H: I had no more personal contact with him than to see him in court and occasionally perhaps to ask him a few questions.

G: Were your relationships with him in the 20's friendly?

H: Yes. Yes. He was always very friendly with me.

G: Did he ever make any comments about the Mooney trial in

Q: Did the Southern Pacific have all the control that it was reputed to have, from your observation?

H: My knowledge of the Southern Pacific machine has principally been gained through what I've read about it. I wasn't doing newspaper work in the days when the machine was in active operation, that is, I wasn't doing political newspaper work.

Q: Do you remember Justice Fred Hendon?

H: Yes, I knew him slightly.

Q: You had no special contact with him?

H: I didn't have any special contact with him.

Q: Did you have any contact with Charles Eicker?

H: In later years I did, yes. I didn't know Eicker, I believe, when he was first elected district attorney, but later on I got to know him quite well.

Q: When was that?

H: Oh, shortly before I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, I guess.

Q: Oh, in the 20's?

H: Yes.

Q: Yes. Had you any contact with him when you covered the Honey trial?

H: I had no more personal contact with him than to see him in court and occasionally perhaps to ask him a few questions.

Q: Were your relationships with him in the 20's friendly?

H: Yes. Yes. He was always very friendly with me.

Q: Did he ever make any comments about the Honey trial in

those days? -- I didn't have any opportunity for

H: Not to me, no.

G: You didn't -- it didn't arise?

H: No. We've stopped our narrative now at 1910 to ask it

G: Did you know Mayor McCarthy? -- to you from 1910 on? did

H: Yes. I continued to work for the Bulletin at that time.

G: What kind of contacts did you have with him? Bulletin.

H: Well, most of my contacts with him were about the time

that I was elected to the Board of Supervisors. I knew him in those days, better than I had known him before.

I don't think that I knew him when he was mayor.

G: Did he ever comment to you in those later days about his work as mayor?

H: I don't think so, no.

G: How about Francis Heney, did you know him?

H: Yes, I knew Heney. I knew him quite well.

G: Quite intimately. When did you first meet him?

H: I was -- I came up from Stanford -- with a group of boys who were brought up here to watch the polls -- election watchers -- on the night of the election in which he was a candidate for district attorney, when Fickert was elected. I had met him before that, and then later on I got to know him fairly well.

G: Do you feel he was a good mayor, or would you care to comment on that?

H: Who, McCarthy? -- say so, no.

G: McCarthy. Yes. sympathetic with Progressives, weren't

H: I would rather not comment on that because I just didn't



have the personal -- I didn't have any opportunity for personal observation.

---

G: Well, we've stopped our narrative now at 1910 to make a little summary. What happened to you from 1910 on; did you continue to work for the Bulletin at that time?

H: After I -- after I took my final job on the Bulletin, and I'm not -- my memory doesn't serve me as to the exact date, but I worked then continuously on the Bulletin up to and including 1917, when I went -- Hiram Johnson asked me to become his secretary, and I went to Washington in the early part of 1918 -- and served as his senatorial secretary.

G: Didn't you ever work for the Bee. I understood that you did?

H: Yes, I worked for the Bee.

G: When was that?

H: Again, my memory doesn't serve me as to dates. I think I was the first San Francisco correspondent for the Sacramento Bee, and my recollection is that I worked, say, from about 1913 up to and including 1917.

G: Oh, while you were working for the Bulletin, too?

H: Yes. While I was working for the Bulletin.

G: Were the policies of the two editors more or less the same?

H: Oh, I wouldn't say so, no.

G: They both were sympathetic with Progressives, weren't they?

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the early part of 1918 -- and served as his secretary

secretary.

G: Didn't you ever work for the Box. I understood that you

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H: Yes, I worked for the Box.

G: When was that?

H: Again, my memory doesn't serve me as to dates. I think

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Government Box, and my recollection is that I worked,

say, from about 1915 up to and including 1917.

G: Oh, while you were working for the Bulletin, too?

H: Yes, while I was working for the Bulletin.

G: Were the policies of the two editors more or less the

same?

H: Oh, I wouldn't say so, no.

G: They both were sympathetic with progressives, weren't

they?

- H: Yes, yes. McClatchy was a supporter of the Progressive movement after -- certainly after Hiram Johnson became Governor. He was very friendly with Hiram Johnson.
- G: How did they differ -- the two men?
- H: Who do you mean, which two men?
- G: Older. Older and McClatchy.
- H: I don't believe I -- I don't know exactly how to answer that question. What aspects did you have in mind?
- G: Well, for instance, did -- was McClatchy the kind of person who befriended the underdog, who was known as a crusading editor, that sort of thing?
- H: Oh, yes, yes.
- G: Same temperament?
- H: Yes, that was an era of crusading editors in California. Older and McClatchy and, in a different way, Rowell of Fresno, and I don't think there has been any -- there haven't been any successors to those men in the modern journalism of California, so far as I am aware.
- G: Do you think there's no place in modern journalism, or just accidental that they haven't happened to arise? Is modern journalism so big now that there's no room for men of that sort?
- H: Of course, modern journalism has become syndicated to a very extensive degree, as you know. And in the evolution of the newspaper business the old personalized reporting for a while almost died out. I think it's been revived somewhat, recently.
- G: What examples -- recent examples -- can you give?

H: Yes, yes. McClellan was a supporter of the Progressive movement after -- certainly after Hiram Johnson became Governor. He was very friendly with Hiram Johnson.

G: How did they differ -- the two men?

H: Who do you mean, which two men?

G: Older, Older and McClellan.

H: I don't believe I -- I don't know exactly how to answer that question. What aspects did you have in mind?

G: Well, for instance, did -- was McClellan the kind of person who patronized the underground, who was known as a crusading editor, that sort of thing?

H: Oh, yes, yes.

G: Same temperament?

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G: What examples -- recent examples -- can you give?

H: Well, I'm thinking about the columnists; the syndicated columnists of today are something like the newspaper feature writers of 40 years ago. They weren't syndicated very much in those days. The syndicate hadn't come into its full fruition. I think the men who in those days wrote literature in newspaper reporting, like Edward H. Hamilton, men of his type, would today unquestionably be syndicated columnists. Can you tell us anything about

G: When you were working in these later years, were you always just covering the legislature or did you have any other subjects to cover?

H: Well, I was assigned to cover the legislature, and then I was assigned to cover political campaigns. I covered the campaign of Hiram Johnson for -- the second campaign for Governor, in 1914. I went around the state with him. I went around the state with him when he ran for the Senate in 1916. I covered -- I covered other political campaigns, occasionally covered some of the campaigns of Kent for Congress. I guess. I think I went almost

G: Was your contact with the Progressive movement in California solely that of a reporter, or did you take an active part in it?

H: Well, at first it was, you might say, solely that of a reporter. When I first came in contact with it. I became more or less a part of the political life of California after I became secretary to Hiram Johnson.

G: And not until then? From reading Henry's book that older

H: Prior to that time my contact had been that of a news-

H: Well, I'm thinking about the columnists; the syndicated columnists of today are something like the newspaper feature writers of 40 years ago. They weren't syndicated very much in those days. The syndicate hadn't come into its full fruition. I think the men who in those days wrote literature in newspaper reporting, like Edward H. Hamilton, men of his type, would today unquestionably be syndicated columnists.

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G: Was your contact with the Progressive movement in California the solely that of a reporter, or did you take an active part in it?

H: Well, at first it was, you might say, solely that of a reporter. When I first came in contact with it, I became more or less a part of the political life of California after I became secretary to Hiram Johnson.

G: And not until then?

H: Prior to that time my contact had been that of a news-

paper man. since you were working for Older, you managed

G: When did you become secretary? What was the year?

H: The early part of 1918. very apparent. I think they

G: All this time before that you'd been a reporter, and you hadn't -- because of Older's efforts to get Rust out of

H: I'd been a reporter, yes.

G: Do you remember anything of the early movement for Hiram

H: Johnson's governorship? Can you tell us anything about that? matter of matters between Older and Johnson at that

H: I doubt if I can add anything to what's been written by --

G: Mr. Mowry's book. issued to contact Older all the time

H: Mr. Mowry, yes. I read his book with a great deal of interest, and I think it's a pretty complete story. Or

G: It tells the early story. You went with Mr. Johnson in the 1914 campaign. Was there anything special about that campaign you'd like to tell us? want to. Will you, for

H: Well, I found it very interesting. We travelled by automobile. There were two or three newspapermen who made the entire trip, I guess. I think I went almost everywhere that Johnson went during that campaign. Travelled with him. Stopped at the same hotel every night. of the whole system of -- punishment.

G: What year was that incident of the -- I guess that came a little later; I'll ask you about that later. I wanted to ask you --

H: Yes, that was 1916. (laughter) it sounds a little --

G: 1916, yes. I noted from reading Mowry's book that Older and Johnson were angry at each other in 1914, and I wond-

paper man.

G: When did you become secretary? What was the year?

H: The early part of 1918.

G: All this time before that you'd been a reporter, and you hadn't --

H: I'd been a reporter, yes.

G: Do you remember anything of the early movement for Hiram Johnson's governorship? Can you tell us anything about that?

H: I doubt if I can add anything to what's been written by --

G: Mr. Kowry's book.

H: Mr. Kowry, yes. I read his book with a great deal of interest, and I think it's a pretty complete story.

G: It tells the early story. You went with Mr. Johnson in the 1918 campaign. Was there anything special about that campaign you'd like to tell us?

H: Well, I found it very interesting. We traveled by automobile. There were two or three newspapermen who made the entire trip, I guess. I think I went almost everywhere that Johnson went during that campaign. Traveled with him. Stopped at the same hotel every night.

G: What year was that incident of the -- I guess that came a little later; I'll ask you about that later. I wanted to ask you --

H: Yes, that was 1916.

G: 1916, yes. I noted from reading Kowry's book that O'Dier and Johnson were angry at each other in 1916, and I would

- G: ered how, since you were working for Older, you managed to get along with both of them?
- H: Well, that anger wasn't very apparent. I think they disagreed -- I think Mowry says that Johnson was incensed at Older because of Older's efforts to get Ruef out of prison, did he say that?
- G: Yes. But that didn't --
- H: Well, of course, there was a difference of opinion there on a number of matters between Older and Johnson at that time, but it didn't actually bring about a breach, because Johnson continued to contact Older all the time that I was on the paper.
- G: Did you have any opinion on any of these subjects? Or did you remain neutral?
- H: On what subjects?
- G: On the subjects on which they disagreed. Did you, for instance, agree with Older's campaign to get Ruef out? Or did you disapprove of it?
- H: Well, Older was consistent with some of his policies there. He was against capital punishment. Matter of fact, at one time, he was against -- he was very critical, let's say, of the whole system of penal punishment. And I think he thought it was good newspaper policy, after he'd played a large part in putting Ruef into prison to be magnanimous and --
- G: -- get him out again -- (laughter) it sounds a little --
- H: -- get him out. Might as well be frank about it, it was good newspaper policy from a number of standpoints. It made friends for the paper in quarters where the

28  
 ered how, since you were working for O'Leary, you managed  
 to get along with both of them?  
 H: Well, that wasn't very apparent. I think they  
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 G: Did you have any opinion on any of these subjects? Or  
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 H: -- got him out. Might as well be frank about it, it  
 was good newspaper policy from a number of standpoints.  
 It made friends for the paper in quarters where the

- G: Yes, except that I understand that he had to leave the paper just because of that very issue, because of a disagreement with Crothers over it. Isn't that true?
- H: Oh, I don't know. No. I think that -- No, I'm not sure. I wasn't on the paper at the time that Older left there. I was back in Washington, but --
- G: On what else did Older disagree with Johnson, or perhaps I should say, Johnson disagree with Older?
- H: I don't recall offhand. I don't -- well -- the Ruef -- the disagreement over Ruef I do recall quite vividly, but -- I think that probably Johnson didn't agree with Older on the Mooney case. But I'm not clear, my memory's not clear on that.
- G: Do you remember Johnson's hostility to Francis Heney?
- H: No, that was before I got into the picture.
- G: Oh. So you don't know that story.
- H: I had no personal contact with that, no.
- G: I wanted to backtrack a bit and talk about the incident between Hughes and Johnson in 1916. I understand that you were at the Virginia hotel when --
- H: I don't believe I can add a thing to what Mr. Mowry has said there. I think his story was substantially accurate. I'm sure that the -- in my own mind, I feel that the responsibility rests where he said it rested, with Mr. Keesling and Mr. Crocker. Keesling -- I don't believe he mentioned in his story, but Keesling, himself, had been a candidate for governor at one time -- against Hiram Johnson.

G: Yes, except that I understand that he had to leave the  
 paper just because of that very issue, because of a dis-  
 agreement with Crocker over it. Isn't that true?

H: Oh, I don't know. No, I think that -- No, I'm not sure.  
 I wasn't on the paper at the time that O'Neil left there.  
 I was back in Washington, but --

G: On what else did O'Neil disagree with Johnson, or perhaps  
 I should say, Johnson disagree with O'Neil?

H: I don't recall either. I don't -- well -- the fact --  
 the disagreement over that I do recall quite vividly, but  
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 on the Money case. But I'm not clear, my memory's not  
 clear on that.

G: Do you remember Johnson's hostility to Franklin Henry?

H: No, that was before I got into the picture.

G: Oh. So you don't know that story.

H: I had no personal contact with that, no.

G: I wanted to backtrace a bit and talk about the incident  
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 you were at the Virginia hotel when --

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 Keating and Mr. Crocker. Keating -- I don't believe  
 he mentioned in his story, but Keating, himself, had been  
 a candidate for governor some time -- against Hiram  
 Johnson.

- G: Oh.
- H: There was a terrific bitterness there, yes.
- G: What year was that -- do you remember? Oh, I'm sorry --
- H: I'd have to check the record to tell you the year, but --
- G: Was it true that Johnson did become very lukewarm in his support of Hughes, and so you think that he did help lose the election, at that time?
- H: He spoke for Hughes in every speech that he made in the -- after Hughes became the nominee of the party?
- G: And you don't think losing California can be blamed on Johnson?
- H: I think that the major responsibility for alienation of votes from Hughes lies with Mr. Keesling and Mr. Crocker.
- G: Mr. Crocker. Why did Johnson hold on to the Governorship so long after he became Senator?
- H: Because he wanted to put over a certain program -- an unfinished program -- in the legislature, and that was the story. He just wouldn't, he wouldn't resign as governor until he had succeeded in getting this program completed.
- G: Well, did he hurt Stephens by doing this, or did he feel that he was hurting Stephens?
- H: Why, there was an estrangement between them, due I suppose to Stephens' resentment of what Johnson had done.
- G: In remaining so long, you mean?
- H: Yes.
- G: Would you care to make any assessment of Johnson's work as a governor, as an administrative man?

Q: ...

H: There was a terrific bitterness there, yes.

Q: What year was that -- do you remember? Oh, I'm sorry --

H: I'd have to check the record to tell you the year, but --

Q: Was it true that Johnson did become very lukewarm in his support of Hughes, and do you think that he did help lose the election, at that time?

H: He spoke for Hughes in every speech that he made in the --

Q: And you don't think that California can be blamed on Johnson?

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Q: Mr. Crocker, why did Johnson hold on to the Governorship so long after he became Senator?

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Q: Well, did he hurt Stephens by doing this, or did he feel that he was hurting Stephens?

H: Why, there was an estrangement between them, but I suppose to Stephens' resentment of what Johnson had done.

Q: In remaining as long, you mean?

H: Yes.

Q: Would you care to take any assessment of Johnson's work as a Governor, as an administrative man?

H: Oh, I thought he was one of the ablest and most efficient governors I had ever seen. I thought he put over a program there that I think was compared by contemporary historians with the program that LaFollette put over in --

G: Wisconsin.

H: Wisconsin. And even with the program that Hughes had put over in New York. I changed my opinion of Hughes later on after -- I think that Hughes was somewhat to blame, for just turning himself over to Crocker and -- apparently somebody had convinced him that Crocker was a tremendously popular man in California. Well, he wasn't anything of the kind. He was an old dodo who had a lot of money. He was affable, I guess, ordinarily kindly fellow who wasn't -- I can't say he was disliked, but he certainly wasn't a popular figure, and the only reason he was in politics was because he had a lot of money, and they gave him this honorary title as national committeeman.

G: Did Johnson have any defects as a governor, in your opinion? Did he have any drawbacks?

H: As a governor? I don't think so. Of course, Johnson was a man of intense likes and dislikes. He was very bitter in his dislikes, but that was temperamental. I don't think it interfered with his administration of the office of Governor. I thought he was the best Governor I'd ever seen. I was very enthusiastic about him.

G: Certainly left a very good record in this state. Did you know Rudolph Spreckels in those days?

H: Yes, well, yes. I had my most intimate contacts with

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 H: seen. I was very enthusiastic about him.  
 H: Certainly left a very good record in this state. Did  
 H: you know anybody else in those days?  
 H: Yes, well, yes. I had my most intimate contacts with

Rudolph Spreckels during the LaFollette campaign in 1924. I was appointed state manager of that campaign. Rudolph Spreckels was one of LaFollette's chief supporters in Northern California.

G: I understand that the Progressives began to break up, quite early, before Johnson left for the Senate. Can you contribute anything that we don't know about that?

H: I don't think I can contribute anything that hasn't been written in Mr. Mowry's book.

(Reel 3)

G: This part of the interview with Franck Havenner was recorded on September 3, 1953.

Before we leave the subject of Hiram Johnson's early years, Mr. Havenner, I'd like to ask you if you remember anything about his relationships with Theodore Roosevelt?

H: No, I had no contact with him during the time that he was a candidate for vice-president on the Bull Moose ticket, and no personal knowledge of his relationships. I've heard him talk about Roosevelt.

G: What did he say? Was he entirely favorable toward Roosevelt, or did he feel a bit antagonistic?

H: I don't recall that he ever said anything to me or in my presence that indicated that he was antagonistic!

---

G: Well, this period we're covering was a period in which you were a reporter, and I'd like to ask you a bit more about the newspaper business and about your work before

Robert Roosevelt during the La Follette campaign in 1924. I was appointed state manager of that campaign. Robert Roosevelt was one of La Follette's chief supporters in Northern California.

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Q: What did he say? Was he entirely favorable toward Roosevelt, or did he feel a bit antagonistic?

A: I don't recall that he ever said anything to me or in my presence that indicated that he was antagonistic.

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Q: Well, this period we're covering was a period in which you were a reporter, and I'd like to ask you a bit more about the newspaper business and about your work before

- G: we leave it. Can you tell us what kind of man C. K. McClatchy was, from your observation?
- H: Well, C. K. McClatchy was a man of very definite, strong opinions. He took a clearcut stand on almost every issue. He expressed himself daily in his own paper. He had a daily column which he called, as I remember, Merely a Private Think by C. K. He let the public know all the time what he thought and where he stood on all the issues of the day. I had a great admiration for him. I thought he was a man of principle and fine character, and a man who pursued a fearless course in journalism, tackling problems squarely and head-on in the way that he thought they ought to be met.
- G: Do you think he played any significant part in helping Hiram Johnson with his program?
- H: He certainly did. After Hiram Johnson became Governor. I am not qualified to discuss their relations before Johnson became Governor because I didn't know anything about it. In the latter part of Johnson's career, both as Governor and as United States Senator, up to the time of McClatchy's death, he certainly was one of Johnson's most influential advisers and friends.
- G: Yes. You know Mowry doesn't mention McClatchy at all, or scarcely.
- H: He doesn't mention him at any length, and I did make that observation once that I thought that he hadn't given McClatchy sufficient prominence in his appraisal of the California Progressives.

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observation once that I thought that he hadn't given

McClatchy sufficient prominence in his appraisal of the

California Progressives.

G: Yes. Did you know Chester Rowell?

H: Yes.

G: What kind of man was he?

H: Well, Rowell was a very thoughtful and very scholarly man. He -- I think from a theoretical standpoint -- played a very important part in the Progressive era in California.

G: Yes. Were there any other editors in the state who measured up to these two men, and to Older?

H: Irving Martin, of Stockton, who about that time, as I recall it, acquired control of the Stockton Record and later built it into a very successful newspaper, very influential newspaper, in that section of the state, was a crusader in the newspaper field. Never achieved the prominence, I believe, in state-wide opinion, of Older and McClatchy and Rowell.

G: You were a reporter covering the legislature as well as the political campaigns, weren't you?

H: Yes, my -- I think my first detail on the Bulletin was to cover -- which had any contact with the field of politics at that time -- was to cover the state legislature.

G: What would you do? What would be a typical day in such work?

H: Well, of course, I attended all the sessions of the legislature and reported, without duplicating the reports that went out on the news service wires -- Associated Press and United Press -- covered those issues which I knew from my contact with my own editor the paper was

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particularly interested in. And then I would go to the committee meetings where bills were being considered in which the paper had a special interest. Of course, I was allowed to exercise a certain amount of individual judgment and discrimination in picking out issues in which the paper had not expressed a special interest.

G: Was there a substantial amount of lobbying in those days?

H: Oh, yes, there were a lot of men around there, to cover certain special interests.

G: Did you report on their activities?

H: I don't know that I specialized, I don't remember that I specialized in reporting on lobbying activities. I'm sure that from time to time I discussed certain aspects of it.

G: During that period, was there anything going on in California politics that was not mentioned in the newspapers, that the public didn't know about and should have?

H: Nothing occurs to me now.

G: Do you think that the labor movement was fairly represented in the papers?

H: My own opinion is that the labor movement never has been fairly represented in the newspapers.

G: Not even in Older's or these other men's papers?

H: Older became pretty much the champion of labor in San Francisco. He fought editorially and in his news columns, fought for certain issues which were of great interest to labor. I thought you meant in the way of general

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G: news coverage. I don't believe any newspaper, even those that have been friendly to labor, except perhaps the Scripps papers in their early days, really gave adequate news coverage to the activities of labor.

G: How do you account for this? their political bias?

H: It may be a cynical observation, but my experience would indicate that it's due largely to the fact that labor was not an advertiser.

G: Were there any nefarious goings on which were kept quiet by the papers for their own particular reasons?

H: Do you mean in state government?

G: In politics, yes.

H: Nothing occurs to me right now.

G: You never looked for --- Secretary

G: Well, I wonder also, after you came back from Washington, D. C., if you ever did any newspaper work again.

H: Yes, after I left Hiram Johnson's office and returned to California, I worked for a year or two in the office of the State Insurance Commission, in California. One of Johnson's former secretaries, his principal secretary when he was Governor, Alexander McCabe, was the Insurance Commissioner under Governor Stephens at the time that I returned from Washington, and he gave me a place on his staff. And I did a considerable amount of work, mainly appraising work, traveling around the state and examining the real property which had been mortgaged to the insurance companies.

G: Oh, yes. Did you work for any paper during the 20's?

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the real property which had been mortgaged to the insurance

companies.

Q: Yes. Did you work for any paper during the 20's?

- H: Not at that time. After I left job, which was -- oh, at the time that Friend Richardson was elected Governor, shortly after that, then I did return to the newspapers. And I worked for several years, again under Older on the Call-Bulletin, which had been -- which was a Hearst newspaper. Hearst had bought the old Bulletin and consolidated it with the Call and converted the Call into an evening paper.
- G: What did you cover in those days?
- H: Principally the city hall.
- G: About which you probably knew a great deal by that time. And did you work for any other papers?
- H: I think the Call-Bulletin was the only paper I worked for, after I returned to San Francisco from Washington.
- G: You never worked for the Examiner?
- H: Never on any regular assignments. I think from time to time I did some fill-in work for them over in the Oakland office when I was in Oakland.
- G: Oh, yes. Did you notice any change in Older when you came back. Had his policies changed or his outlook?
- H: Well, of course, when --  
(phone rang)
- G: We were talking about Mr. Older.
- H: Well, I think that when Fremont Older left the old Bulletin and went to work for Hearst, he realized himself that he had relinquished a considerable part of his former independence in the field of journalism.
- G: And yet he had complained so against Crothers, hadn't he?

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that he had relinquished a considerable part of his former

independence in the field of journalism.

G: And yet he had complained to Arthur Crothers, hadn't

he?

H: Well, he exercised independence there in conflict with the wishes of the owners of that paper, in his own eyes, anyhow. I think he left there because he was running into so much conflict, endeavoring to carry out the policies that he had established for the Bulletin.

G: And yet he had even less independence under Hearst?

H: Well, I wouldn't say that. I think so far as the control of local policy was concerned, he was given a free hand. But he was, of course, subject to the overall controlling policies of the Hearst newspapers.

G: Did you notice any general changes in the business of newspaper reporting?

H: After that -- Yes, I thought that the newspaper business was becoming -- the influences of syndication, if that's the word, were becoming apparent in the complexion of newspapers. It seemed to me that they had lost much of their old individuality and personality. And I think that has been true in this whole age.

G: You know, you went from newspaper work to politics, and I wondered if that's a fairly common pattern for newspaper reporters?

H: Well, quite a number of them do it. I wouldn't say that it was a very common pattern. Would be interesting to look through the Congressional Record and find out how many members of Congress were former newspaper men. I think quite a number of them were, quite a number of them were publishers of newspapers.

G: Yes. I should imagine they would share the honors with

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G: You don't. Well, before we leave this part of the narrative and go on to your work in Washington, I'd like to ask you this question: thinking back over your years in San Francisco, from 1910 to 1918, what did you consider the highlights? of 1913; why did they have the feeling against

H: From my own standpoint? evidenced?

G: Yes. there was a very strong anti-Oriental sentiment in

H: Oh, I think I was conscious of the fact that association with men like Older and later Hiram Johnson had a very considerable influence on my life, on my outlook and thinking, my ideals. If you wanted to ask me what I thought the two most important events in my own life, during that period, I would say the opportunity to be associated with Older and Johnson. was very, very strong.

G: Did you approve of all the measures of the Progressive Party in California under -- when Johnson was Governor, or did you disagree with any particular ones? they were

H: I don't recall that I was hypercritical of any of their measures. I think it's probably true, as Mr. Mowry says in his book, that there wasn't a great amount of sympathy in the upper echelon of Progressive political organization in Southern California, a great amount of sympathy with the ideals of labor. as a member of

G: And you did feel sympathetic with those ideals?

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says in his book, that there wasn't a great amount of

sympathy in the upper echelon of Progressive political

organization in Southern California, a great amount of

sympathy with the ideals of labor.

G: And you did feel sympathetic with those ideals?

H: I did. And I think that Hiram Johnson, despite the

opposition to labor which was manifest in at least part of that Progressive group in Southern California, I think that Hiram Johnson went ahead with a program of great advance for labor. Somewhat comparable in California to what LaFollette had done in Wisconsin and to what Roosevelt eventually did in the nation.

G: Yes. Did you -- why did the Progressives back the Alien Land Law of 1913; why did they have the feeling against the Japanese that they evidenced?

H: Well, there was a very strong anti-Oriental sentiment in California at that time. Some of the heads of the labor Movement were in the, I think they called it the Asiatic Exclusion League. My memory's not too certain about that title, but that was substantially it. One of the McClatchy brothers, V. S. McClatchy was an extremely active member of that organization. Opposition to any influx of Oriental manpower in California was very, very strong.

G: It was based on their sympathy with labor, was it?

H: No, I don't know that it was. Labor, of course, was fearful at that time that big employers, if they were given an opportunity to do so, would import large numbers of Oriental coolies, cheap labor, and make it impossible to carry out the aims and objectives of the labor movement, out here.

G: I notice Hiram Johnson continued to oppose the influx of Chinese or of Mexicans, and so forth, as a member of Congress. Did you share this attitude?

H: I think that my only knowledge of it was a rather historical

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knowledge. I knew that this movement had been in progress in California. I don't believe that I was ever conscious of racial prejudice. I think that I would have been sympathetic with the idea of labor that the importation of cheap foreign labor ought to be restricted, because I think it would have defeated the purposes of the organized labor movement in America. I think that's true right today. They still have this problem, you know, with respect to the importation of Mexican labor.

G: Yes, I know. Of course, it was encouraged for a while, I think, when we had a migrant labor shortage.

H: It's still encouraged.

G: It's still encouraged, yes. Do you remember the years when the women got the vote? Did you have any opinions on that subject?

H: I was detailed to cover part of the women's suffrage campaign, when the suffrage amendment was finally adopted here in California.

G: Did you feel sympathetic toward that?

H: Yes, I was quite an enthusiastic advocate, as I recall it.

G: How about prohibition? Were you behind that movement?

H: No. I can't say that I ever had any personal interest in prohibition. I thought it was contrary to the whole theory of our bill of rights and our constitutional liberties.

G: Before we leave the subject of the Orientals, I wonder if you have any memories of Chinatown in the early days

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Q: Before we leave the subject of the Orientals, I wonder if you have any memories of Chinatown in the early days

of San Francisco? like to talk about that at a later time,

H: Well, when I was on the Bulletin, I was detailed during the Sun Yat Sen revolution in China to cover Chinatown, because the three or four Chinese newspapers here used to get cablegrams from China which seemed to be in advance of the news that was carried by our American wire services, and that was part of my daily work during the Sun Yat Sen revolution. I went to Chinatown every morning, called on the Chinese editors, and got from them copies of the cablegrams which had important news about the war in China.

G: Have you noticed any significant changes in the Chinese community since then? in their way of life or in their attitudes?

H: Yes. I think that during the middle decades of the first half of this century, there was a tremendous advance in education among the younger Chinese. I think that those Chinese who could, sent their children to the University here. Yes. I think there was a marked and apparent increase in enlightenment and intelligence among the Chinese groups.

G: Do you consider today the problem of racial adjustment in California an important one?

H: Yes, I do.

G: Have you supported any particular measures for this?

H: I have always supported the measures that came up in Congress and elsewhere in my public life, which tended to prevent or certainly reduce any racial discrimination.

H: Well, when I was on the Bulletin, I was detailed during the Sun Yat Sen revolution in China to cover Chastown, because the three or four Chinese newspapers here used to get copygrams from China which seemed to be in advance of the news that was carried by our American wire services, and that was part of my daily work during the Sun Yat Sen revolution. I went to Chastown every morning, called on the Chinese editors, and got from them copies of the copygrams which had important news about the war in China.

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G: Yes. Well, I'd like to talk about that at a later time, too.

LATER RELATIONS WITH JOHNSON

Q: Now I'd like to move on, if you don't mind, to your work in Washington. Do you remember exactly when you started to work with Elmer Johnson as his secretary?

A: It was shortly after New Year's in 1918.

Q: What were your duties then?

A: I was his principal secretary. The job of being a secretary was mainly concerned with handling the tremendous volume of mail that came to a Senator, and returning out the mail. One of the things with the volume of mail was concerned in this tremendous amount of mail. A Senator can't communicate with his constituents at all. He has to depend upon his staff to handle all the correspondence that they have with any department, every department, of the federal government.

Q: And you think a Congressman should conform to all these conditions?

A: Well, tradition has made it part of the Congressional life and responsibility back there so we sort of a sort of a representative of his constituents.

Q: Even though it may take an enormous amount of time?

A: It does take an enormous amount of time and that is one of the principal activities of every Congressional office. Of course, the extent of that kind of work in a Senator's office is much greater than it is in any individual Representative's office because he represents

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(HIRAM JOHNSON'S SECRETARY, 1918 to 1921;  
LATER RELATIONS WITH JOHNSON)

- G: Now I'd like to move on, if you don't mind, to your work in Washington. Do you remember exactly when you started to work with Hiram Johnson, as his secretary?
- H: It was shortly after New Year's in 1918.
- G: What were your duties then?
- H: I was his principal secretary. The job of being a secretary was mainly concerned with handling the tremendous volume of mail that comes to a Senator, and carrying out the requests or dealing with the requests that are contained in this tremendous amount of mail. A Congressman's constituents write him for help on all kinds of problems that they have with any department, every department, of the federal government.
- G: And you think a Congressman should conform to all these requests?
- H: Well, tradition has made it part of the Congressional life and responsibility back there to be a sort of a Washington representative of his individual constituents, yes.
- G: Even though it may take an enormous amount of time.
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- H: the whole state whereas a Representative confines his attention to the 350 odd thousand people who live in his Congressional district.
- G: When did you go to Washington with Johnson? when he left?
- H: No, immediately after New Year's in 1918.
- G: Oh, you did.
- H: He had been there a few months before that.
- G: I see.
- H: And his first secretary had left to go into the air service.
- G: Did you find Washington changed from what you remembered as a boy?
- H: Well, I think that World War I produced the first great change in the atmosphere of Washington, D. C. When I was a boy, outside of the governmental circles, Washington and Georgetown, where I lived, were still under the influence of the Old South. I would say that Southern culture still dominated, in the social life of a large part of Washington and almost all of Georgetown.
- G: And World War I changed all this?
- H: World War I changed it. World War converted Washington into an international capital of first rank, and that evolution has continued since then through World War II. Washington has become a great cosmopolitan center, now, in which the old influences, I think, have largely disappeared.
- G: Of course, that's more appropriate to our national capital, isn't it? Did you take any part in the Johnson for president movement?

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G: Did you find Washington changed from what you remembered

as a boy?

H: Well, I think that World War I produced the first great

change in the atmosphere of Washington, D. C. When I was a boy, outside of the governmental circles, Washington and Georgetown, where I lived, were still under the influence of the Old South. I would say that Southern culture still dominated, in the social life of a large part of Washington and almost all of Georgetown.

G: And World War I changed all that?

H: World War I changed it. World War converted Washington

into an international capital of first rank, and that evolution has continued since then through World War II. Washington has become a great cosmopolitan center, now, in which the old influences, I think, have largely disappeared.

G: Of course, that's more appropriate to our national capi-

tal, isn't it? Did you take any part in the Johnson for

president movement?

H: Oh, yes. I was his secretary at that time, and I traveled all over the country with him. Went out and organized political clubs in a number of the states. I guess I did the first job -- I went out to South Dakota in the midwinter of 1919 and organized Johnson for President clubs in South Dakota. That was the first place they'd been organized. Then I went on to --

G: And then you went into --

H: North Dakota and, oh, subsequently, into a number of other states. I went with Johnson on his campaign tour in Indiana, and Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois. That was the year the Republicans had said that they could win with a yellow dog, and they proceeded to demonstrate it -- perhaps. (laughter) At any rate they ignored the fact that Johnson had made a showing, something like that Eisenhower made in the primaries. He won almost every primary election that he went into, but the Republicans would not nominate him for President. He was offered the vice-presidency in a number of different ways. When I went into Pennsylvania with him prior to the convention -- to the national convention -- Boies Penrose, who was then the acknowledged leader of the Republican party in the Senate, really the acknowledged leader nationally, was very ill. He was a member of the Senate, himself. His secretary, whom I knew, came over to our hotel on several occasions, and very anxious to have Johnson go and see Penrose. Johnson declined to do that because he thought that the Progressives might

H: Oh, yes. I was his secretary at that time, and I traveled all over the country with him. Went out and organized political clubs in a number of the states. I guess I did the first job -- I went out to South Dakota in the winter of 1919 and organized Johnson for President club in South Dakota. That was the first place they'd been organized. Then I went on to --

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misunderstand, although personally he was on rather friendly terms with Penrose, but politically they were at the opposite poles of the Republican party. Penrose was the conservative leader of the Republican party, and Johnson was one of the most prominent Progressives. So he didn't do it. And then finally, the secretary came over and asked if I'd give this message to Johnson: Penrose believed that a ticket composed of Philander Knox, Senator from Pennsylvania at that time, for President, and Johnson for vice-president, could be nominated. And I guess it could have been. Penrose knew that Johnson was very friendly personally with Knox. It was true; they were seatmates in the Senate, they went around together socially a lot. I guess Johnson was more intimate with Knox than he was with any other member of the Senate during the time they served together there. But Johnson wouldn't do it, because he felt that the Progressives would feel that if he entertained such a suggestion as that he would be betraying the Progressive cause. He was making a fight to convert the Republican party to Progressivism.

G: A losing fight, wouldn't you say?

H: Yes. Didn't succeed, no. At any rate, what I was going to say was I think that ticket could have been put over. I think that Penrose had the power in the Republican party to put that ticket over -- I think that Knox would have been acceptable to most of them. Knox was a very able man. He had been Secretary of State. He was a very able man and a man of good reputation, but very con-

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servative. Although Johnson was intimately friendly with him in a social way, he wouldn't entertain the idea of going on the ticket with him.

G: Was Johnson --

H: Knox died only a few months later, so that if Johnson had -- if that ticket had been nominated, Johnson would have become President. Harding, after his nomination, came over and personally asked Johnson to accept the vice-presidential nomination. Johnson refused. Harding died the next year, and if Johnson had accepted, he would have become President that way. I was in the Johnson headquarters at Chicago during the national convention one afternoon when the leading contenders for the presidential nomination in the early balloting were Johnson, General Leonard Wood, and Governor Lowden of Illinois. They polled, as I recall it, for a while about the same number of votes, and then they got -- the convention became deadlocked, and just at that time, just at that stage of balloting, old General Wood came stomping into our headquarters -- he was a cripple, you know -- wanted to see Johnson. I couldn't get the Senator -- I didn't know, I called his hotel rooms at the Blackstone hotel, but he wasn't there, no reply, and I just couldn't reach him. And then he told me what he had in mind. He said, the Senator and I, if we could get together now we could control this convention. Of course, I think he had it in mind that he would like to be the presidential nominee and Johnson the vice-president. At any rate, he didn't

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get the Senator, and nothing happened at the time, but so that might have been done. It was another possibility. He died in a very short time after that, so that in any one of those three ways, if Johnson had accepted the vice-presidential nomination, he could have become President.

G: Did he ever express any bitterness to you over that or any sadness?

H: No, he did not. No, he never indulged in any bitterness so far as I -- in my presence.

G: What did Johnson concern himself with most in those first few years there at the capital? What issues did he feel the most strongly about?

H: He was -- well, I guess his career there was -- the outstanding feature of his early career there was his opposition to internationalism, his opposition to the League of Nations and to Wilson, when he espoused it.

G: What did he feel about Wilson personally?

H: I don't think I ever heard him say. I heard Wilson speak before Congress several times after I first went back there. He certainly was a very impressive orator. I think he was more of an elocutionist than an orator. He had a very impressive manner of delivery which wasn't in accordance with the platform oratory of the day.

G: Did Johnson oppose anything of Wilson's policies other than the League of Nations problem?

H: That was his principal occupation there during 1918 and 1919, the early part of 1920, until the League of Nations

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covenant was finally rejected by the United States Senate.

G: Did Johnson continue to be isolationist throughout the rest of his career?

H: I don't think he ever abandoned his opposition to the idea of internationalism. I think he still adhered

G: What was behind his idea of isolationism?

H: Oh, I think he was sold, as a great deal of people at that time were sincerely sold, with the idea that we ought to still follow the advice and admonitions of George Washington, that we ought to keep out of these endless quarrels of Europe. And if I thought it were possible for us to do that today, I think I'd still be in favor of it. I think most of us who were converted from an original belief in the doctrine of George Washington, so far as non-involvement in foreign disputes was concerned, were converted because we became convinced that with the evolution of transportation and communication in modern life, it was no longer possible to remain out of quarrels of Europe. The quarrels of Europe are still there for that matter. We're in a horrible mess. The only reason we're going forward in it is that we just consider that our own survival is involved. The survival of freedom throughout the world is now involved definitely with the participation of all nations in the problems of all others.

G: Yes. When did you make the change in point of view?

H: I think probably under the influence of Franklin Roosevelt. Watching the unfolding pattern of his foreign



policy. For the Boulder Dam, for instance, or did he

G: You changed and Johnson didn't. Did that cause any breach between you?

H: I don't want to say that Johnson didn't. I wasn't -- I don't think he did, though. I think he still adhered to the idea that we ought to, as far as possible, abstain and refrain from any participation in these foreign quarrels which are not primarily our own quarrels. I don't think he ever yielded to the idea that all quarrels had become our quarrels with the evolution of the modern world.

G: Why did Johnson vote for high tariff in 1922? Was he consistently high tariff?

H: I don't know what attitude he had taken prior to that time. I think he did it because of course this is an agricul -- the agriculture of California, particularly the citrus agriculture, believed that its whole future welfare depended upon a certain amount of protection against foreign competition. I presume. I never heard -- I don't think I ever heard him explain his attitude on the subject, but I just think that he thought that he would be flying contrary to the accepted best interests of the agricultural economy of California.

G: And he thought he ought to represent his constituents, is that it?

H: He thought he ought to represent what was regarded as the primary interest of the economy of the state, yes.

G: Was that also his motive in promoting public power, in

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the primary interest of the economy of the state, yes.

G: Was that also his motive in promoting public power, in

H: working for the Boulder Dam, for instance, or did he have a long interest in that subject?

H: Oh, I think he realized that water is the lifeblood of California, of California's economy -- its agricultural economy, certainly. And indirectly of its whole economy. And that this plan for impounding the waters of the Colorado river and making possible the distribution of that water into that desert area which has developed into Southern California appealed to him as the kind of thing which ought to be done in the interests of that state. I agree with him there.

G: Yes.

H: I think that it should have been done. The power problem developed just about the time that those big -- that Boulder Dam, the first of those big dams, was being constructed. It hadn't become, in my early days in political newspaper work, the power issue hadn't become an important political issue. Power companies were in their infancy in those days, really, just beginning to develop.

G: Did any groups within California oppose Johnson's work for the Boulder Dam?

H: I don't recall that any of them did. (Reel 4)

I don't at this time recall any organized opposition to the Boulder Dam legislation in California.

G: Did you share Johnson's opinion about high tariffs, or did you have a difference of opinion on that subject?

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- H: I think I have always believed that there is a certain amount of so-called provincialism in the career of any Congressman -- if you call it provincialism to work for measures that will benefit the peculiar local interests of agriculture and industry in his own district or state -- I've always regarded it as a part of his duty, when he goes there, to represent those people.
- G: That's one political theory, anyway.
- H: Yes. Well, I think it's very widely adhered to. I can't recall a single instance where any man I have known anything about in Congress successfully opposed the demands of agriculture or industry in his own state or his own district, if those demands were based upon a generally accepted belief that they were sound.
- G: Yes. Don't you feel, though, that sometimes the sum of individual demands might result in policy bad for the nation as a whole?
- H: Now, I have in mind the recent, indeed the current, controversy over the tidelands oil. The most peculiar feature of the Tidelands oil line-up in Congress is the fact that most of the states in the union, including interior states which have no tidelands and coastal states which have no known oil deposits in their tidelands, have lined up with the few states which have tidelands oil. Undoubtedly this has been due to the influence of a powerful lobby organized by certain oil interests, which has worked through a national association of attorneys general in the various states of the union.

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Just why all these states which have no islands all  
 should be so concerned about the few states which have  
 is to many observers a political mystery which only the  
 all lobbyists can accurately explain. It seems to be  
 part of the overall pattern of preference for states  
 rights control of natural resources by the great special  
 interests, rather than federal control. Here in Cali-  
 fornia, for instance, I didn't have any profound convic-  
 tion, very frankly, that state control, state disposal  
 of the islands all reserves, would be superior to fed-  
 eral control. Now did I have any profound conviction  
 that federal control would be superior, for that matter,  
 but every department of the state government from the  
 Governor down, the Governor, the attorney general, the  
 legislature, right here in my own district the mayor and  
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 conviction as to the superiority of the one method over  
 the other, I felt that somehow or other I just wouldn't  
 be representing California, which I was elected to do,  
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 of California in Congress, that I wouldn't be represent-  
 ing California if I voted against state control.

G: Did you ever talk with Mrs. Douglas about this?  
 H: I don't know that I did. I remember one Congressman  
 from Long Beach, California whom I knew very well, was  
 quite a good friend of mine, ~~and~~ As

I recall it he believed that federal control was the right idea and he voted that way, and it unquestionably brought about his defeat in the next election because Long Beach was making a tremendous amount of revenue out of the oil deposits there along its own beach. I guess Helen -- I wouldn't say that she would have won if she'd been on the other side, but I imagine that her advocacy of the federal doctrine played an important part in the outcome of her campaign for the United States Senate.

G: Yes. I'd like to get back for a minute to the 1920's. We're going to get back to tidelands oil later in the questioning. Were there any other issues which Johnson supported which you can recall especially?

H: I think the first prominent speech that Johnson made, after I became his secretary, in the United States Senate, some time in the early part of 1918, was a speech in favor of government ownership of the railroads. However, he didn't pursue that policy later on. The government took over the railroads, I think shortly after that, for the remainder of -- I'm not sure when they first took them over; at any rate, the government did take over the railroads and operate them during World War I. And I think a good many men who had been impressed by the theory of government ownership of the railroad lines became dubious about it because they didn't think that it worked very effectively, in practice. And that's been true I guess in all forms of -- in all branches of utilities. The only reason that we have municipal owner-

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- ship of the street railroads in San Francisco today, in my opinion, is that the private companies made a failure of their operation and finally decided that they wanted to get out. And that may be what's troubling you people across the bay right now.
- G: (Laughter) Something's troubling us, I can tell you!
- H: Yes, that's it. I think they've decided they can't make a go of it and they're going to make the public somehow or other get them out on the best terms that they can get out.
- G: Yes, we're many of us under the opinion that it's collusion, or some kind of collusion involved.
- H: That happened here. Scandalous operation of the street car lines by private ownership for years, and years and years. On the other hand, water, for instance, could very profitably be operated by private companies. The only reason private companies didn't go ahead and develop this new water supply system for San Francisco was that they couldn't afford it. They admitted it. The Spring Valley Water Company fought public ownership here in San Francisco for years and years until they finally decided among themselves -- their own directors -- that they couldn't undertake the financial job of developing a future water supply for San Francisco, and that was when San Francisco went back and got this grant from Congress of the right to develop the Hetch Hetchy valley.
- G: Yes. You mentioned in one of our conversations that while you were in Washington you did some newspaper work. Will

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H: Well, I was given the job of writing a weekly newsletter to a group of San Francisco, of California, newspapers, including the San Francisco Bulletin, the Sacramento Bee, the Stockton Record, as I recall it, Fresno Republican, the Humboldt Times in Eureka, and maybe one or two others. I did that for a while, just covering mainly the activities of the California members of Congress and of course a great deal about Johnson.

G: How long did you stay in Washington as Johnson's secretary?

H: A little less than four years, three years and a fraction.

G: About 1921 or 1922.

H: I came back in '21, yes.

G: And did you ever go back again?

H: Not to Johnson's office.

G: Oh. Yes, I know you went back to Congress.

G: What relationship did you maintain with Johnson after that? Did you have any official status in relation to him?

H: Oh, I took part in all of his campaigns, I think, after I came back here to California -- helped in various ways, handled publicity, sometimes handled the -- sometimes took the role of campaign manager.

G: What does a campaign manager do?

H: Maps out the campaign, contacts the individuals in the various sections of the state who will take local charge,

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establishes a relationship with them. Carries out the policy that the candidate outlines for the conduct of his own campaign.

G: I see. I understand that you had a great part in the LaFollette campaign of 1924. What did you do in that campaign?

H: Well, I was appointed to be state campaign manager for LaFollette when he ran for President.

G: By whom?

H: I think that I was probably selected by some of the labor men who were in the campaign whom I knew and was approved, I believe, by Rudolph Spreckels and others not in the labor group who were among the LaFollette supporters.

G: How did Johnson feel about LaFollette's candidacy?

H: I don't think he took any part in that campaign. He had that year, in the spring as I recall it, in the pre-convention campaign, again submitted his own name in some of the states as a candidate for president, but he didn't make much progress that year. I don't think he took any part. My impression is that he was privately sympathetic, but in view of the fact that he had been a candidate himself, I don't think he took any part.

G: When you helped to put Johnson's name on the ticket in 1934 as a Progressive, did you have any other motives in mind besides just getting him on the ticket?

H: That was the primary purpose of that campaign. At that time there was very powerful opposition to Johnson in the Republican Party in California. His friends were

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H: That was the primary purpose of that campaign. At that  
time there was very powerful opposition to Johnson in  
the Republican Party in California. His friends were

apprehensive that the opposition to him might be sufficiently powerful to defeat him in the Republican primary. And he had been, as you know, the leader and really the organizer of the Progressive party back in 1912, yes 1912, when he was on the Progressive ticket with Theodore Roosevelt. And it was suggested that we go ahead and reorganize the Progressive party so that Johnson, if it became apparent to most of his advisers and friends and himself, that there was a critical danger that he would be defeated in the Republican primary, that he could, if he chose to do so, he could register as a Progressive and go on the ballot as the candidate of his old party, the Progressive party.

G: Did you have any hope of reviving a general Progressive party?

H: Well, I have a notion that if the thing worked out that way, if Johnson had been defeated by the Republicans in the primary but had gone ahead and put himself on the ballot as a Progressive, I think there might have been quite a revival of the Progressive party in California.

G: Who were Johnson's chief political opponents in California, in the 1920's, what types of groups?

H: In the '20's? Well, the Los Angeles Times remained Johnson's implacable foe until I don't remember, I don't recall, when they finally withdrew their opposition to him. Certainly all the time that I remember, that I had anything to do with his campaigns, the Los Angeles Times, the Oakland Tribune, and political organizations

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which centered around those two newspapers and they were very extensive, were opposed to Johnson. The influence of the Los Angeles Times in Southern California might be compared to the influence of the Chicago Tribune in a large section of the Midwest.

G: What economic interest groups did they represent?

H: The Los Angeles Times represented the anti-labor employers' groups, the political satellites which gathered around that whole body of opinion in Southern California.

G: I see.

H: If you asked me whether they represented any special industrial groups, I don't know that I could pick them out. I don't believe that the Southern Pacific ever got back actively into politics enough in opposition to Johnson again. I think that that group was split. Some of them were probably for Johnson.

G: Who were Johnson's chief supporters?

H: In the 20's? Well, if you're talking about newspapers, the Hearst newspapers had come over to the support of Johnson while he was Governor, and they supported him during the 20's. As far as I know, they never abandoned their support of him after that time.

The McClatchy newspapers, which had expanded out of Sacramento, as you know, and gone into Modesto and Fresno. Irving Martin in Stockton, this paper that I spoke of. Most of the old Progressive papers continued to support

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H: Johnson, I think almost throughout his career.

illness I ever had. Finally developed to be a kidney  
Rowell did not. Rowell broke away from him.

G: What part of California -- oh, he did? Why was that?

H: On the international issue.

G: Oh. What part of California did Johnson have the strongest vote in?

H: I've been reading recently Mr. Mowry's book, and my recollection is that in his first campaign for Governor he got his lead vote in Southern California, didn't carry San Francisco. I wasn't connected with his campaign at that time in any way, and so I'm not speaking now from personal knowledge.

G: I see. And later on, did that continue that way?

H: No. Later on, Johnson through his policies as Governor won strong support from organized labor, and I think that after that the organized labor forces of San Francisco supported Johnson. Whereas some of the old anti-labor, whether those things were connected in any way I won't presume to say, but it is true that as Johnson gradually acquired the support of organized labor in Northern California, which he hadn't had to any great extent at the beginning, he began to lose some of his old anti-labor, so-called Progressive support in Southern California.

G: Why did you leave Johnson's office?

H: On account of my health.

G: Something about the weather in Washington, D.C. -- or the climate -- ?

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G: Why did you leave Johnson's office?

H: On account of my health.

G: Something about the weather in Washington, D.C. -- or

the climate -- ?

H: Well, I don't think it was. It was the only serious illness I ever had. Finally developed to be a kidney infection.

G: When you came back here, you said you went to work for this insurance group, didn't you? What did you do then?

H: Oh.  
And I had been quite sick back there and didn't feel after that that I could continue on that job and so I came back here. I worked there for about ten years, I guess. I went eventually, through a course of treatment, got rid of it.

G: I see.  
I remember Johnson's campaign for reelection as United States Senator, his second term. His opponent was Charles C. Moore, who had been the President of the San Francisco Exposition 1915. He had a powerful, financed campaign. And I had been spending a good deal of time in Los Angeles in my work for the State Insurance Association and made a number of acquaintances down there and knew something about the town, by that time. I went down there through the primary campaign, working for Johnson, and he won the Republican nomination over Moore in the primary election; I think it was the latter part of August in those days. At the same time, Friend Richardson to the surprise of some political observers, won the Republican nomination from Governor Stephens.

G: Do you have any particular recollections of Richardson?

H: I knew Richardson for years, yes.

G: What was your opinion of him?

H: He was a -- confirmed politician. (Laughter) who had originally been associated with the Progressive movement I believe, the Lincoln-Roosevelt movement.

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(FROM THE STATE INSURANCE COMMISSION TO NEWSPAPER WORK  
AGAIN, 1921-1925; CALIFORNIA GOVERNORS OF THE 1920'S)

G: When you came back here, you said you went to work for this insurance group, didn't you? What did you do then, after that?

H: I worked there for about two years, I guess. I went down to Los Angeles in 1922 and spent most of my time there doing Johnson's campaign for reelection as United States Senator, his second term. His opponent was Charles C. Moore, who had been the President of the San Francisco Exposition 1915. He had a powerfully financed campaign. And I had been spending a good deal of time in Los Angeles in my work for the State Insurance Commission and made a number of acquaintances down there and knew something about the town, by that time. I went down there through the primary campaign, working for Johnson, and he won the Republican nomination over Moore in the primary election; I think it was the latter part of August in those days. At the same time, Friend Richardson to the surprise of most political observers, won the Republican nomination from Governor Stephens.

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- G: Richardson had? I think that Richardson conceived the
- H: Yes, not too prominently. At that time, he had a newspaper in Berkeley. I think it was called the Berkeley Gazette, wasn't it? Is that still there?
- G: The Berkeley Gazette's still there -- I don't know --
- H: I don't think that his family has any connection with it today, but I believe that was the paper that he, whether he founded it or not I don't know, but he was certainly the owner and publisher of the Berkeley Gazette when I first knew him, and he was the State Treasurer during at least part of the time that Johnson was Governor.
- G: Richardson was quite a conservative, wasn't he?
- H: He became very conservative, later. Yes.
- G: Yes. But that was a later move?
- H: I think he solicited all the conservative support he could get when he ran against Stephens for Governor, and got it. Important support at that time. Want me to talk about Richardson?
- G: Well, there's very little written in -- there's very little to be gathered about either Stephens or Richardson, or Young for that matter; that era is pretty empty in scholarly -- do you think C.D. Young help to reverse
- H: Well, it was about that time that the hydroelectric power industry in California was beginning to emerge from its infancy and, as a matter of fact, I guess it had emerged and come to assume major importance in the industrial development of the state and incidentally in the politics

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G: Well, there's a very little written in -- there's very little to be gathered about either Stephens or Richardson, or Young for that matter; that era is pretty empty in scholarly --

H: Well, it was about that time that the hydroelectric power industry in California was beginning to emerge from its infancy and, as a matter of fact, I guess it had emerged and come to assume major importance in the industrial development of the state and incidentally in the politics

of the state. I think that Richardson conceived the idea of altering the influence of the State Railroad Commission, which had been organized by Johnson, and alienating the support from the Progressive wing of the party of a lot of newspapers. The kernel of the idea was that if these newspapers would support him and the political groups which were supporting him at that time, that he would get for those newspapers a considerable volume of advertising support from the public utilities, particularly the power companies. And he put it over. Power companies inaugurated a large-scale advertising program in California, and they were successful in winning, from the courts and from the Railroad Commission in subsequent years, the recognition of the principle that advertising was a legitimate operating expense and could be charged up to rates. So they carried on a large-scale advertising campaign, which the people paid for in their rates. And it changed -- and in my judgment, that was one of the most important changes that was done to change the political complexion of California in the early 20's. Changed it from Progressive to ultra-conservative.

G: And how did -- do you think C.C. Young help to reverse this in any way?

H: Young was typical of the original Progressive group, he was by no means a radical Progressive. He was a good man; and I think his administration was probably more favorably regarded by middle-class people of California

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H: Young was typical of the original Progressive group,  
he was by no means a radical Progressive. He was a good  
man; and I think his administration was probably more  
favorably regarded by middle-class people of California

than any other administration since Johnson. But he was "dry". I'd say that probably his attitude on prohibition was the principal reason for his defeat by Rolph.

G: Yes. Rolph was "wet", wasn't he?

H: Rolph ran a "wet" campaign and defeated Young in the primaries. 1926, I guess. Oh no, 1930 maybe.

G: Yes, must have been 1930. Well, we left you back there

finishing up the primary campaign for Johnson; what did you do after that?

H: It became apparent to me that I wasn't going to retain my place with the State Insurance Commission very long after Governor Richardson was elected. So, I prepared to get out, and some time the next spring, I guess it was, I went to work again on the newspapers, on the Call.

G: Oh, I see, and you continued with them until you were --

H: Until I was elected to the Board of Supervisors in 1925.

Finn had been a member of the legislature, he'd been in politics all his life here, a member of the legislature, a senator, and sheriff. I think supervisor at one time, and over a period of years, he had assumed a position of leadership in the Republican organization of the city. And he had been influential in the appointment of a very large number of influential city officials, and on the bench. And in federal office, he had supported other men who were, who had been elected to various kinds of public offices in San Francisco. Oh, he --

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Q: Yes. Rolph was "wet", wasn't he?  
H: Rolph ran a "wet" campaign and defeated Young in the  
primary. I guess. On Nov. 1950 maybe.  
Q: Yes, must have been 1950. Well, we left you back there  
finishing up the primary campaign for Johnson; what  
did you do after that?

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my place with the State Insurance Commission very long  
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Q: Oh, I see, and you continued with them until you were --  
H: Until I was elected to the Board of Supervisors in 1952.

(MEMBER OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, 1926  
TO 1936; SAN FRANCISCO CITY POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT)

G: Say that a stranger came to town, in say, 1925, and asked you to give him the lowdown on San Francisco politics. And you wanted to give him a fair and over-all picture. What would you tell him?

H: In 1925?

G: Yes.

H: The most influential organization in San Francisco politics at that time was the so-called Finn organization.

G: That was an organization connected with Johnson, wasn't it?

H: Well, they had supported Johnson during at least part of his administration. I don't believe they had supported Johnson when he was elected the first time. I don't think they did. But I'm speaking now only from very vague memory.

Finn had been a member of the legislature, he'd been in politics all his life here, a member of the legislature, a senator, and sheriff. I think supervisor at one time.

And over a period of years, he had assumed a position of leadership in the Republican organization of the

city. And he had been influential in the appointment of a very large number of influential city officials. And on the bench. And in federal office. He had supported other men who were, who had been elected to various kinds of public offices in San Francisco. Oh, he -- now

(MEMBER OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, 1932  
TO 1936; SAN FRANCISCO CITY POLICE AND GOVERNMENT)

Q: Say that a stranger came to town in say, 1932, and  
asked you to give him the lowdown on San Francisco  
politics. And you wanted to give him a fair and over-  
all picture. What would you tell him?

H: In 1932?

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a very large number of influential city officials. And  
on the bench. And in federal office. He had supported  
other men who were, who had been elected to various  
kinds of public offices in San Francisco. Oh, he --

as far as I know there was never any proof of corruption on the part of Finn. Finn seemed to be in politics just for the love of it, and he helped a lot of people to get into public office, and he didn't graft. He just built up a political strength based on the combined, cumulated interests of all these people he had helped to get into public office. And it was a powerful political organization.

G: And he was opposed by Rolph, wasn't he?

H: Yes. He did support, just before I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, a former member of the Board of Supervisors named Power, in opposition to Rolph in 19-- I would say 1928, around that time. And in the last part of that campaign Rolph, sensing that he was going to win, took a rather obscure young man from the city hall and put him into the race for sheriff against Finn and went out and campaigned for him and elected him sheriff.

G: Were their differences merely ones of competition for jobs, or did they differ on any vital issues?

H: I don't recall that there were any vital issues.

G: Just a matter of politics.

H: Just a matter of control, yes.

G: Was there any other major group in the city at that time, politically?

H: There was another so-called political machine; it was controlled by a man in the bail-bond business named McDonough. Finn and McDonough had been regarded as political enemies. I suppose they were. I didn't know

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political enemies. I suppose they were. I didn't know

so much about the McDonough machine, but that machine was working with Rolph.

G: Oh.

H: He -- McDonough was a man who accumulated a fortune in the saloon business and in the bail-bond business. Apparently put quite a little money into political campaigns, and he usually had some kind of ticket in opposition to the ticket that Finn was supporting. There was a political rivalry between them for years. McDonough had lined up with Rolph.

G: What were the issues, if any, of San Francisco city politics in those years?

H: The most prominent issue at the time that I was elected to the Supervisors, which was in 1925, was the issue of public -- of municipal ownership and distribution of the hydroelectric power which was developed on the Hetch Hetchy water project. The Board of Supervisors just before I was elected had passed what they called an agency contract, which purported to employ the Pacific Gas and Electric Company as the agent for the city and county of San Francisco to distribute this power that was being generated up at Hetch Hetchy or near Hetch Hetchy in a city-owned powerhouse to the people of San Francisco. It was a subterfuge to get out of the -- the power company was bitterly opposed to actual municipal distribution, to municipal ownership of the distribution system here. At that time, that was the principal issue.

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(Reel 5)

H: At that time, the Hearst newspapers were very vigorously in favor of municipal ownership of all public utilities. In fact, they used to carry a daily eight-column line across the front page of the paper, at the top of the paper, declaring that policy: the Hearst newspaper stands for municipal ownership of public utilities. And they organized a ticket of candidates for supervisor and for city attorney and maybe for some other municipal offices at that time, with the support of the two Hearst newspapers, the Examiner and the Call, and the support of the Scripps newspaper, the Daily News. My recollection is that the Morning -- Let's see, the Chronicle -- I believe the Morning Call may have been published at that time -- at any rate the Chronicle supported the incumbents, who were running for reelection. They called the ticket of which I was made a member, they called it the Clean-Out ticket; and it was pledged to bring about municipal distribution of the Hetch Hetchy power owned by the people of San Francisco and to bring about certain economies in the government. Economy was one of the issues at that time. The opposition ticket consisted of Ralph McLaren, who was generally regarded as the leader of the incumbents. He had been the chairman of the Finance Committee, Board of Supervisors. Angelo Rossi, subsequently became mayor of the city. Eugene Schmitz. And nine in all. Miss Mary Margaret Morgan was the only

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woman on the Board at that time, was one of the incumbent ticket. The Clean-Out ticket contained two, I believe, incumbents, McSheehy and Deasy. The other members of the ticket were, I think, all new.

G: Was this just for the Board or was this also -- ?

H: The Board of Supervisors, I'm talking about.

G: Not for the mayor.

H: NO. There was no mayoralty election that year.

There were nine members of the Board of Supervisors and a city attorney, John O'Toole, I think had the endorsement of this Clean-Out ticket. That was the first time he had run for office. And there were one or two other city officials. My memory doesn't serve me for the moment.

G: How did you happen to get on this ticket?

H: Well, this ticket was supported in addition to those three newspapers, was supported by the Finn organization which controlled the Republican County Committee at that time. And it was also supported by this Union Labor Party.

G: I see.

H: I think I got on there because during the time that I had been with Johnson working in his campaign, I had made the acquaintance with a number of these people, including Mr. John Francis Neylan, who was at that time more or less the political leader of the Hearst newspaper group.

G: Yes, he was the editor of the Examiner, wasn't he, at that time?

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incumbents, McSheehy and Deasy. The other members of  
the ticket were, I think, all new.

G: Was this just for the Board or was this also -- ?

H: The Board of Supervisors, I'm talking about.

G: Not for the mayor.

H: No. There was no majority election that year.

There were nine members of the Board of Supervisors and  
a city attorney, John O'Toole, I think had the endorse-  
ment of this Clean-Out ticket. That was the first time  
he had run for office. And there were one or two other  
city officials. My memory doesn't serve me for the moment.

G: How did you happen to get on this ticket?

H: Well, this ticket was supported in addition to those  
three newspapers, was supported by the Finn organiza-  
tion which controlled the Republican County Committee  
at that time. And it was also supported by the Union  
Labor Party.

G: I see.

H: I think I got on there because during the time that I  
had been with Johnson working in his campaign, I had  
made the acquaintance with a number of these people,  
including Mr. John Francis Neylan, who was at that time  
more or less the political leader of the Hearst newspaper  
Group.

G: Yes, he was the editor of the Examiner, wasn't he, at

that time?

- H: Publisher of the Call, I guess.
- G: Oh, the Call, that's right. Did you and he agree?
- H: And I suppose my acquaintance with Older. I knew him. I knew Neylan. I knew Older, and I knew Finn. I knew a good many of the labor leaders here, whom I had met while I was with Johnson.
- G: Did you agree with Neylan on those policies?
- H: I agreed with him on those policies at that time, yes.
- G: Since then, you probably haven't.
- H: No, the subsequent story led to a lot of my political difficulties later on.
- G: Now I'd like to talk with you a while about your work on the Board. You did proceed to carry out your pledge to work for public power, didn't you?
- H: I tried to.
- G: Yes. Did you run into any obstacles in that?
- H: I ran into the tremendous political influence which was being developed at that time by the power companies; the power companies eventually became more powerful politically in California, in my opinion, than the old railroad machine.
- G: And did they use the same techniques?
- H: They used this technique which I tried to describe to you a while ago as having originated in the head of Mr. Friend Richardson. They won over the newspapers -- a large number of them, which had formerly been on the other side. So that we repeatedly put up bond issues to attempt to condemn and take over the distribution

H: Publisher of the Gail. I guess.

G: Oh, the Gail. That's right. Did you and he agree?

H: And I suppose my acquaintance with Older. I knew him. I knew Haysen. I knew Older, and I knew Finn. I knew a good many of the labor leaders here, whom I had met while I was with Johnson.

G: Did you agree with Haysen on those policies?

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system here in San Francisco. We had to condemn it, take it away from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company or build a new one which would have been so expensive and so destructively duplicative that the attempts to even consider that never got anywhere. But we did repeatedly put up bond issues to buy or build. The company got out and defeated them every time we put them up.

G: Were all of the members of the Board in agreement on this issue?

H: Not all, no.

G: Who disagreed?

H: Well, let's see, at the time I was elected only half of the Board -- the Board consisted of eighteen members at that time -- only nine of those members were running for reelection that year, and they were all defeated. I think if the entire Board had been up, all those who had voted for that issue, I think, would have been defeated at that particular time. But, I think unfortunately for the good of the city, that public sentiment didn't last very long.

G: Did you feel that you eventually succeeded in your aims, for public power?

H: No, I don't think I did. The city has spent an enormous amount of money in building this water supply project up in the Hetch Hetchy valley and built this enormous power plant down at the foot of the Priest Grade. It started to build transmission lines to bring power from

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that Mocassin Creek powerhouse into San Francisco.

H: When they got down to Newark where one of the main substations of Pacific Gas and Electric Company was located, we used to tell this story with a great deal of significance, the money suddenly ran out according to the officials in the city hall who were directing the project, said they didn't have money enough to bring the transmission lines on into San Francisco. And it was then that they entered into this agency contract, actually delivered the Hetch Hetchy power into the transmission system of the P.G.&E. at Newark.

G: Yes. Rolph was a part of that activity, wasn't he?

H: Rolph was mayor. And, Yes. He favored that contract with the P.G.&E.

G: And so you'd say that contract was one of the chief obstacles in getting your aims across?

H: That contract was eventually -- We were at least vindicated in the position we took; that contract was eventually declared illegal.

G: What year was that?

H: I'd have to consult the book, here. I think it was after I went to Congress, about '37 or '8, along in there.

G: Someone can look it up. And did you continue to take any new measures in the 30's to support public power?

H: Well, as soon as I got to Congress --

G: Well, let's leave that -- I wanted to concentrate for a while on your work on the Board. Did you do anything

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there? Did you take any part in the controversy over

H: In respect to power? How it should be financed?

G: Yes. At the time that I came on the Board of Supervisors

H: I think nothing outstanding that I can recall, except the repeated efforts to get the people of San Francisco to vote bonds. At that time also a group of us went up to Seattle to study the laws that were in effect up there whereby they sold revenue bonds, bonds that were not a lien against the property of the city. We came back here and proposed a revenue bond issue, which would of course be entirely adequate because the income from power distribution is so steady and so permanent that it would be a first class security. But the opposition was there just the same; they made a bugaboo out of revenue bonds and that became one of the chief fetishes of the power companies for years. Then the power companies pursued a very clever policy; they sold their stock very widely to the people of San Francisco, conducted a tremendous security selling program here, which was very successful, and not long after that, when they had to make a campaign against the bond issue, they would go out and organize their security holders. I found lots of people who wouldn't argue the merits of the problem at all; they would just say, "Well, it's contrary to my interests. I have money invested in P.G.&E. stock or bonds."

G: That's consistent with the policy you stated earlier, the Port Authority which built all the bridges across

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interests. I have money invested in U.S. stock or

bonds."

G: That's consistent with the policy you stated earlier.

isn't it? Did you take any part in the controversy over the Bay Bridge and how it should be financed?

H: Yes. At the time that I came on the Board of Supervisors first, there were I think thirty-five or forty applications pending before the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for a private franchise to build a bridge across San Francisco Bay. At the time, the state law provided that the county on the left hand side of the stream descending had the legal authority to grant a franchise to bridge such stream. And these applicants were from all over the world. Tremendous competition for a private franchise to build that bridge across San Francisco Bay. And we listened -- we sat there and listened for weeks and months to those applications. And I became convinced that a bridge of this importance and magnitude ought to be publicly owned. And I led the fight on the Board of Supervisors for a publicly owned bridge.

G: You did?

H: Yes.

G: And you eventually won, because --

H: We finally got a majority of the board to determine that question of policy that no private franchise would be granted; the Bridge would be publicly owned. That the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco was in favor of a publicly owned bridge. Then, a group of us went to New York to get copies of the laws that had been passed during the administration of Governor Al Smith, creating the Port Authority which built all the bridges across

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H: the rivers out of New York City and financed them with revenue bonds. We brought copies of those laws back here from that trip. I'd have to refresh my memory, but my recollection is that Supervisors Harrelson and McSheehy and myself were on that committee. The city attorney went with us. Perhaps Mayor Rolph was there. I'm not sure. At any rate, we brought these -- copies of these laws back to California and started in cooperation with the State Highway Department to have bills drafted for consideration by the California legislature to set up a similar authority here. And I think I speak by the record when I say that that was the origin and beginning of the legislation which was eventually adopted at Sacramento, setting up the Toll Bridge Authority, making it possible to issue revenue bonds for the financing of the first Bay Bridge. That bridge was undertaken right in the midst of the depression. And the opponents of public ownership around here said that it would be impossible to finance it. But under the Roosevelt administration, the RFC bought the bonds; the bridge was built right in the midst of the depression.

G: One of the best times to build it, from many standpoints, I guess.

H: I suppose it might have been a little bit cheaper then, yes.

G: And so were there any other major issues which you supported as a member of the Board? We've discussed public power and the bridge.

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G: And so were there any other major issues which you sup-  
ported as a member of the Board? We've discussed public  
power and the bridge.

- H: Will you turn that off for a moment?
- G: When you were on the Board, Mr. Havenner, what special positions did you hold?
- H: Well, immediately after I was elected I was appointed a member of the Finance Committee, which was at the time the most important committee on the Board of Supervisors. And the chairman of that committee was generally recognized as the leader, really the chairman, of the Board of Supervisors. I think at the beginning I was somewhat reluctant to go on there because political observers around the city hall used to call the Finance Committee the graveyard committee. All of the members of the Finance Committee of the previous Board had been defeated as a result of their activities. At any rate, my friends, the reporters, prevailed on me to go on the committee, and I was glad afterwards that I did, because the Finance Committee at that time was in touch with every problem in the city government, and I certainly got an education about city government that I wouldn't have gotten in any other way. And after I had been there about a year, I was elected chairman of the Finance Committee. That was my principal and most important committee. I think the first year I was there I was chairman of the Auditorium Committee, which managed the affairs of the municipal auditorium; one of its duties was to arrange the programs for the Pop concerts and the operatic season. I served on that committee for

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several years and had a contact with the musical programs which were conducted under the auspices of the city and county of San Francisco. And I was a member, as I recall it, of the Public Utilities Committee, had to do with the affairs of all our municipal utilities.

G: Did the Board have to make any radical adjustment when the depression came on? Did you take on any special work?

H: Yes. We put through the legislation which enabled the city to carry out its public relief program at that time, consisted of delivering food to the homes of a very large number of people in San Francisco. During that period, I was appointed -- in the early '30's -- I was appointed to the State Advisory Board under the United States public works program. Three members were appointed representing California, and I was one of them. We made up the program of public works, for which grants and loans were made by the federal government. Part of that money was used, for instance, for the completion of the Hetch Hetchy dam.

G: What were your opinions of Hoover's administration?

Did you feel he coped adequately with the problems when they arose?

H: You mean his attitude toward San Francisco? I was in disagreement with the general policies of the Hoover administration with respect to national problems; I thought that he represented an ultra-conservative wing of the Republican party, but so far as his relationship

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to San Francisco was concerned, he was helpful. He helped us, as I recall it, overcome the objections of the Navy Department at that time to any bridge over San Francisco Bay. The admirals of the Navy took the position when we first went back there that they would not consent to any bridge across San Francisco Bay because it would interfere with the freedom of navigation in the Bay, and they considered that was an all-important thing. I remember that we went back to see Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce and talked to him about that, and he said he didn't agree with the admirals, and I think that he was helpful in breaking down that opposition, which was very important. Until it was broken down, we didn't succeed in getting anywhere with a federal permit for a bridge across the Bay. I don't recall that I had any other direct contact with Mr. Hoover.

G: You were nominally Republican in those days, weren't you?

H: Yes. I was registered as a Republican.

G: But you felt that you were in the Progressive wing of the Republican party?

H: Oh yes. I was enthusiastically Progressive.

G: Did you feel during your years as a member of the Board of Supervisors that there was any interest in San Francisco that was not adequately represented by its government? Did you think, for instance, that laborers were adequately represented on the Board?

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H: Oh, labor had a good many friends on the Board of Supervisors, during the time that I was there. No, I wouldn't

say that I thought that it didn't have adequate representation. Of course, the labor issue became very conspicuous while I was on the Board of Supervisors. The employers' groups which did put into effect for quite a while the so-called American plan. They were very influential here at that time.

G: That was the open shop, wasn't it?

H: That was the open shop.

G: And that was the issue, would you say, in San Francisco?

H: Well, not long after I was elected, I've forgotten the exact year now, there was a very important carpenters' strike here. It was a very bitter conflict. And I think that the employers' groups at that time hoped through their opposition to the carpenters' strike to break the hold of Union Labor in San Francisco. And for a time they made considerable progress.

G: What was behind Mayor Rolph's opposition to your activities. I understand that he tried to get you off the Board, on a technicality.

H: Oh, I think that was solely because I had supported Jim Power in his candidacy for mayor against Rolph, the time that Finn was defeated for sheriff. I'm sure that was it. Somebody in his camp threatened to bring a quo warranto proceeding against me to declare my seat on the Board of Supervisors vacant on the theory that during the time that I was with Johnson in Washington I had not been a bona fide resident of San Francisco. That therefore I did not comply with the charter require-

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- ment that a supervisor must have been -- I've forgotten the exact language of the charter -- but he must have been a resident of San Francisco for five years prior to his election to the Board.
- G: Of course, you'd been in Los Angeles too, hadn't you?
- H: Not as a resident, no.
- G: Oh, I see.
- H: The way I was able to overcome that was that I was able to show that during all the time I was in Washington I claimed to be a resident of San Francisco. I paid my somewhat meager income taxes to the Collector of Internal Revenue here in San Francisco. That wherever I had gone to hotels -- incidentally that was while I was in Los Angeles, too -- while I was travelling around the state, when I'd be staying in the hotel of some other town, I'd always register as from San Francisco. And, of course, it was held that residence was a matter of intent.
- G: Yes. That would be the position.
- H: So they eventually dropped --
- G: In your work in the city government of San Francisco, did you feel any criticism of the structure of city government here? Did you think it could be improved and in what ways?
- H: Well, at the end of my first term on the Board of Supervisors, a new charter was adopted by the people. I had some part in the preparation of that charter, which was considered at the time to be an improvement on the old

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G: In what ways did it change the government?

H: Well, the new charter set up this sort of half-way city manager plan, putting a large number of the city departments under the authority and direction of the, what do they call him, chief administrative officer?

G: I don't know.

H: Mr. Brooks. They took away from the Board of Supervisors a large part of their semi-administrative authority over the affairs of the city.

G: Did they diminish the powers of the mayor in any way?

H: Yes, they did. They delegated to this chief administrative officer, I think that's what they call him, a large amount of authority over, well I'm sure over the Department of Public Works, over the election machinery, I think over the Police and Fire Departments. Certainly over the Fire Department. I'm not sure whether the Police Department -- I guess the Police Department is not entirely under his direction.

G: Did you think that was an improvement?

H: Yes, as I recall it, I supported most of the provisions of what was then the new charter.

G: You thought that the influence of politics in city government should be diminished, as it would be by that measure?

H: They took some of the -- just prior to that time, the Tax Collector had been an elective officer, and, let's see, I think the Coroner had been an elective officer,

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ment should be diminished, as it would be by that man-

agement?

H: They took some of the -- just prior to that time, the

Tax Collector had been an elective officer, and, let's

see, I think the Coroner had been an elective officer,

G: and the Recorder. No not the registrar of voters, but the official who receives all the public documents -- the Recorder, that's right. He had been an elective officer. They abolished the elective feature of those offices and made them appointive, and I think they made the tenure permanent, on good behavior. It's been so long ago.

G: Oh, yes. I know.

H: It's been nearly twenty-five years ago that I don't recall all the arguments that were advanced then for the new charter, but we thought that they were making progress, modernizing government.

G: Have there been any changes since then?

H: Well, there have been numerous charter amendments adopted by the people at election.

G: Major changes, I meant.

H: I don't think of any major changes.

G: You did run for mayor in 1939 and again in 1947, didn't you? In spite of the fact that you had been -- and were going to continue to be, if you didn't succeed -- a Congressman. Were you more interested in city government than you were in national affairs; did you feel you had a special mission here?

H: Well, I don't know that I can say that I was. Of course, I had lived in the city hall for eleven years. I was very fond of the city. I regarded the office of mayor as an important office.

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I had lived in the city hall for eleven years. I was  
very fond of the city. I regarded the office of mayor  
as an important office.

G: Would you rather be mayor than Congressman? Maybe that's not a fair question.

H: There was a good deal of influence and pressure brought to bear on me by people there.

Q: This part of the interview with Franck Havenner was recorded on September 8, 1953.

Mr. Havenner, I'd like to talk with you now about your work with the 75th and 76th Congresses, from 1937 to 1941. What made you decide to run for Congress at that time?

H: Well, I think that my experience as a Congressional secretary with Johnson had stimulated an interest in the work of a Congressman, and I thought the opportunity for election, frankly, I thought it was good.

Q: It probably was good. Who was the person against whom you ran?

H: Mrs. Florence Kahn.

Q: Mrs. Kahn, is that the name?

H: E-a-h-n.

Q: And who were your supporters?

H: Well, I think I told you before I was at the time a registered member of the Progressive party, which we had reorganized just shortly before. I won, at the primary election, the nomination of the Progressive party and also won the nomination of the Democratic party.

Q: Oh, I see. Were there any particular organized groups

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(Reel 6)

(IN CONGRESS, 1937 TO 1941; CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO, 1939; "THE COMMUNIST SMEAR," 1940 AND AFTER)

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registered member of the Progressive party, which we  
had reorganized just shortly before. I won, at the  
primary election, the nomination of the Progressive  
party and also won the nomination of the Democratic  
party.

G: Oh, I see. Were there any particular organized groups

behind you at that time?

H: I had as I recall it the endorsement of the Democratic County Central Committee, and I had quite a number of endorsements of the various civic organizations in San Francisco.

G: What were the issues of that campaign as between you and Mrs. Kahn?

H: I think it was the issue of the contrast between the policies of the so-called New Deal administration of Franklin Roosevelt and the opposition policies of the old Republican regime.

G: What newspapers supported you, here in San Francisco?

H: The News supported me, the first time I ran. I don't recall that any other newspaper did support me in that campaign.

G: Oh, really. Did any actively campaign against you?

H: Oh, I think that Mrs. Kahn had the active support of the Chronicle, and I believe of the Hearst papers also. But my memory isn't exactly clear on that in that first campaign. I know that the News did support me and the Chronicle did not, and I think that the Hearst papers endorsed Mrs. Kahn.

G: Can you give us the names of people who helped you with your campaign, most prominently?

H: Well, I had the endorsement in the Democratic Party of George Creel, who was I believe subsequently a candidate for Governor on the Democratic Party out here in California, I was actively supported by Frank Hennessey,

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of George Greaf, who was I believe subsequently a can-

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who was the chairman of the Democratic County Central Committee at that time and subsequently United States attorney, for northern California. I'd have to have to go back into my list to give you an extensive list of names, which I can do if you want it, but I'm sure they were all published at the time.

G: No -- can you tell the names of the people who worked for you, who actually managed your campaign?

H: Well, I think that Mr. Hennessey did a great deal of work for me at that time, and I remember that Mr. Creel spoke for me at public meetings. I had the endorsement of Mr. Hiram Johnson, Jr., son of the Senator. I was endorsed by several members of the Board of Supervisors; I would say that it was a general support rather than, certainly wasn't an individual support, in any sense of the word.

G: When you ran for reelection in 1938, did you run against Mrs. Kahn again?

H: No. Mrs. Kahn did not run again.

G: Against whom did you run at that time?

H: Member of the State Assembly, named Kenneth Dawson.

G: Dawson. Was there anything different about that campaign from the previous one?

H: Yes. Mr. Dawson picked up the issue of my opposition to the amendment to the Raker Act. I believe I discussed that previously in this interview. It was my own opinion that Mr. Dawson was being backed by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and certainly his whole cam-

who was the chairman of the Democratic County Central Committee at that time and subsequently United States attorney for northern California. I'd have to have to go back into my list to give you an extensive list of names, which I can do if you want it, but I'm sure they were all published at the time.

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ion that Mr. Dawson was being backed by the Pacific

Gas and Electric Company, and certainly his whole cam-

campaign indicated that what the Pacific Gas and Electric Company wanted at that time was the chief plank in his platform.

Q: Did you go to Congress in this period from '57 to '60, what committees were you on?

A: I'm sorry, I'd have to go back to the record on that. At that time, each member of Congress was assigned to several committees. I think my major committee that first year, as I recall it, was the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. And I was on a number of others.

Q: Which one are most prominent in your mind?

A: I devoted the most part of my time to attending the sessions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors in that first session of Congress. Subsequently I was also on the Committee on Naval Affairs, and I received membership on that committee throughout my service in Congress, up till the time that the committees were reorganized and the old Naval Affairs committee was abolished. But I think the Naval Affairs committee was regarded as the most important committee, from the standpoint of local interest, in which I served in my first two terms in Congress. It was as a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs that I was able to play a part in the establishment of the Naval Shipyard at Hunter's Point. The government bought the old private-owned drydocks on Hunter's Point while I was in Congress and began the development which has resulted in the Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard, which is the largest shipyard in the country.

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(Work In Congress; Political Views)

G: When you got to Congress in this period from '37 to '41, what committees were you on?

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G: Which ones are most prominent in your mind?

H: I devoted the major part of my time to attending the sessions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, in that first session of Congress. Subsequently I was appointed to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and I retained membership on that committee throughout my service in Congress, up til the time that the committees were reorganized and the old Naval Affairs committee was abolished. But I think the Naval Affairs committee was regarded as the most important committee, from the standpoint of local interest, on which I served in my first two terms in Congress. It was as a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs that I was able to play a part in the establishment of the Naval Shipyard at Hunter's Point. The government bought the old privately-owned drydocks on Hunter's Point while I was in Congress and began the development which has resulted in the new Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard, which is the largest repair yard in the country.

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G: Can you give us the names of some of your intimate political friends while you were there in Washington, in the House and perhaps in the Senate? With whom did you ally?

H: Oh, in my first term back there, I think I associated chiefly with the members of the California delegation: Mr. Tolan, Mr. Welch, who was the other Congressman from San Francisco, and Carter of Alameda County, Mr. Gearhart of Fresno, Mr. Scott of Long Beach, Costello of Los Angeles. My associations were not strictly along political lines in those days.

G: You didn't register as a Democrat until 1939, I have heard; why did you change then?

H: Well, it was obvious at that time that the Progressive party was going to disintegrate, politically. They hadn't polled a large vote at the previous election, and there wasn't any national effort to maintain a Progressive party. And I realized that it would be necessary for me to align myself with one of the major parties in order to take an active part in the affairs of the House, affairs of Congress, because our government is essentially a two-party government; and in view of the fact that the Democrats, when I was not a registered member of their party, had endorsed me and supported me -- in view of the fact that I was by my own choice a supporter of the Roosevelt program and policies -- the logical thing for me to do was to affiliate myself with the Democratic party.

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- G: And yet I feel that that is rather rare among Progressives. Many, many of the early Progressives became Republican and remained Republican.
- H: Well, that was true when I first went to Congress. We had a little Progressive caucus, and almost all the other registered Progressives in Congress at that time -- there were only a dozen or so -- were from Wisconsin or from one of the adjoining states there in the middle Northwest, and in those days the Progressive party was eventually merged into, you might say, or swallowed up by the Republican party.
- G: And in California I imagine that many, many of the early Progressives eventually just became standing Republican again.
- H: The early Progressives, yes. But the group who supported Franklin Roosevelt I would say -- in the first campaign for the Presidency -- I would say that most of them, if they didn't openly affiliate with the Democratic party, supported it, during the next couple of decades.
- G: Did you have any intimate contact with Franklin Roosevelt?
- H: Well, I went down to the White House on numerous occasions on matters usually of interest to San Francisco and the Bay Area; I got to know him. But I didn't have what you might call an intimate contact with him.
- G: Were there any of his policies with which you radically disagreed?
- H: I don't recall any right now. No. I thought that his

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Q: Were there any of his policies with which you radically disagreed?

H: I don't recall any right now. No. I thought that his

program represented my Progressive philosophy in politics.

G: This period when you were in Congress was one in which we were gradually finding ourselves embroiled in a war. Were you an internationalist throughout this period or did some vestiges of your old isolationism remain?

H: I think I was in the process of conversion.

G: Can you date the point of conversion?

H: I believe that it had its -- it was contemporaneous with the rise of the Nazis in Europe and their conquest of the low countries.

G: Did you vote for the Neutrality Act of '37?

H: I did, yes.

G: Yes. And when Roosevelt wanted to expand the Navy, did you feel you would like to go along with him?

H: Yes. I was a -- what you might call a big Navy man in those days. Still am, so far as our national defenses are concerned.

G: What issues did you consider yourself most concerned with during that period?

H: Well, so far as my duties as a California representative were concerned, I was in the thick of this fight over the question whether the Raker Act should be amended, as the Pacific Gas and Electric Company wanted it amended, so that they could legally buy their power from the city of San Francisco and sell it to their customers. I followed all the way through, and I think undoubtedly my opposition to that program, the program of amending the Raker Act to carry out the wishes of the private

program represented by Progressive philosophy in politics.

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my opposition to that program, the program of amending

the Raker Act to carry out the wishes of the private

power company, undoubtedly my opposition to that was responsible for a lot of my political opposition in the future.

G: Is there anything about your work in Congress in this period you'd like to tell us, that I haven't asked you about?

H: No -- except that I was an enthusiastic supporter of the New Deal program. I believed that it was dedicated to raising the standard of living for all the American people. I think I got a great deal of satisfaction out of the privilege of voting for that program at that time.

G: And yet there was some sign that the New Deal coalition in Congress was beginning to break up. Can you diagnose -- ?

H: Well, only the signs from the Far South. Resentment of the outspoken opposition of the President and his family to racial discrimination in the South.

G: You don't think that the court-packing scheme, or anything of that sort, contributed to it?

H: I don't think it had any important effect on the Democratic party. I think maybe some of the Southerners seized upon that as a means of justifying their opposition to the Democratic program. They had been elected as Democrats. They had to have some excuse. I doubt very much whether any of them was profoundly concerned over that.

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- G: In 1939, in the midst of your second Congressional term, to legalize the sale of the power to the private power companies. What caused you to make that decision?
- H: Well, I was urged to run by a number of my political supporters here in San Francisco. I was asked to run finally by the editor of the News, which had been the only newspaper which supported me the first time I ran; and I think I finally made my decision in a conversation with the editor of the News. He assured me that I would get the support of the paper, which eventually I didn't get because his death occurred, between that time and the mayoralty election of 1939.
- G: Who was your opponent in that election?
- H: Mayor Rossi.
- G: Can you tell us something about Rossi? What his opinions were?
- H: Oh, I guess my major disagreement with Rossi was over the municipal power issue.
- G: What was his position on that issue?
- H: He had been a member of the Board of Supervisors, just prior to my first election as a member of the Board, and he was one of the Supervisors who voted for this agency contract. His position was in support of the agency contract and the belief of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company that the Raker Act ought to be amended. First of all, they contended that this agency contract was

(Campaign For Mayor, 1938)

Q: In 1938, in the midst of your second Congressional term, you decided to run for mayor. What caused you to make that decision?

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Q: Who was your opponent in that election?

H: Mayor Rosal.

Q: Can you tell us something about Rosal? What his opinions were?

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Q: What was his position on that issue?

H: He had been a member of the Board of Supervisors, just prior to my first election as a member of the Board, and he was one of the Supervisors who voted for this agency contract. His position was in support of the agency contract and the belief of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company that the Baker Act ought to be amended. First of all, they contended that this agency contract was

legal, and when the courts finally ruled to the contrary then their position was to amend the Raker Act, in order to legalize the sale of the power to the private power companies.

G: And that was the issue of your campaign?

H: I don't believe it was publicized as the issue. I was very severely criticized by most of the newspapers, which at that time were supporting the power companies, for refusing to aid in amending the Act, as a matter of fact for opposing the amendment to the Act. And, no, I'm sure that a very powerful factor in the opposition to my candidacy for Mayor was the opposition of the power company.

G: Did you have the support of any papers at all?

H: As it eventually turned out, I did not. I'm quite sure right now, from the standpoint of political judgment, that if I had not had every reason to believe, from personal assurance of the editor of one newspaper, that I would have his papers support, I would not have entered that campaign. And I have every reason to believe, in spite of the very powerful opposition that developed, that I would have been elected if I had not lost that newspaper support.

G: Did you have the support of any organized groups?

H: Oh, I was endorsed by the Democratic Party organization and by the Union Labor party organization. There was some split in the latter, but I got the official en-

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some split in the latter, but I got the official en-

dorsement.

G: I understand that Bridges supported you at that time. Did you have any personal contact with him?

H: The Bridges support was finally made the major issue of my opponent. When I went to Congress, I didn't know Bridges. Bridges was a newcomer in San Francisco, a newcomer in labor affairs. I suppose he was regarded as the leader of the general strike in 1934, but at that time I never had any contact with him. My contacts were with the older labor leaders who were affiliated then with the American Federation of Labor, and most of whom who are still alive are still affiliated with the A.F. of L. Bridges created the issue himself by making a statement in a CIO convention, a few months before the mayoralty election of 1939, that his organization was opposed, I believe, to the incumbent mayor and intended to support a certain Congressman -- I don't believe he even mentioned me by name -- but the opposition seized upon that endorsement of my candidacy by Bridges, which was made without any consultation with me or without my knowledge. I had no reason to even expect it. But that endorsement by Bridges was made the principal issue against me by the opposition.

G: Had you had any contact with California Communists up to this time?

H: No. Communism in California, so far as any importance of the movement was concerned, was something new. It seemed to me that in my earlier days, if the conserva-

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Did you have any personal contact with him?

H: The Bridges support was finally made the major issue

of my opponent. When I went to Congress, I didn't know

Bridges. Bridges was a newcomer in San Francisco, a

newcomer in labor affairs. I suppose he was regarded

as the leader of the general strike in 1934, but at that

time I never had any contact with him. My contacts

were with the older labor leaders who were affiliated

then with the American Federation of Labor, and most

of whom who are still alive are still affiliated with

the A. F. of L. Bridges created the issue himself by

making a statement in a CIO convention, a few months

before the majority election of 1939, that his organi-

zation was opposed. I believe, to the incumbent mayor and

intended to support a certain Congressman -- I don't

believe he ever mentioned me by name -- but the oppo-

sition raised upon that endorsement of my candidacy by

Bridges, which was made without any consultation with

me or without my knowledge. I had no reason to even

expect it. But that endorsement by Bridges was made

the principal issue against me by the opposition.

G: Had you had any contact with California Communists up

to this time?

H: No. Communism in California, so far as any importance

of the movement was concerned, was something new. It

seemed to me that in my earlier days, if the conserva-

tives wanted to accuse the progressives of being ultra-radical, they called them Socialists.

G: Yes, I remember.

H: No. I had no contact with Communists at all. As a matter of fact, all my political contacts up to that time had been with the organization of Hiram Johnson, and I had never been remotely considered as connected with the Communist movement.

Q: I am interested in your political activities due to the fact that you have been a candidate for mayor against the incumbent mayor, Mr. Reed, the year before. I also think that the influence of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was very important, due to my opposition to their program for expansion of the Haber job.

Q: In the 1930 election did you support the Black state or the Progressive state, in California and what?

A: Oh, you mean for the national convention. My recollection is that I didn't take any part in it. I don't even know where I was. And I don't think I took any active part whatever in that context but the delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Q: The reason that I ask is that that was the year the Communists left their support of the Roosevelt side, in politics, because of the Black-Progressive pact, and the Communists were behind Patterson. And I was trying to find out just where you stood in this matter.

A: I don't think I knew that at the time. I have never taken any active part in the elections for Delegations

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G: Yes, I remember.

H: No. I had no contact with Communists at all. As a matter of fact, all my political contacts up to that time had been with the organization of Hiram Johnson, and I had never been remotely considered as connected with the Communist movement.

(Defeat In Election of 1940)

- G: In the election of 1940, Mr. Havenner, who was your opponent?
- H: Thomas Rolph.
- G: And what do you think caused your defeat at that time when most New Deal supporters were going back into office?
- H: I think probably the major influence in my defeat was the opposition of the city administration due to the fact that I had been a candidate for mayor against the incumbent mayor, Mr. Rossi, the year before. I also think that the influence of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was very important, due to my opposition to their program for amendment of the Raker Act.
- G: In the 1940 election did you support the Olson slate or the Patterson slate, in California politics?
- H: 1940? Oh, you mean for the national convention. My recollection is that I didn't take any part in it. I know I wasn't here. And I don't think I took any active part whatever in that contest over the delegation to the Democratic National Convention.
- G: The reason that I ask is that that was the year the Communists left their support of the Roosevelt side, in politics, because of the Russo-German pact, and the Communists were behind Patterson. And I was trying to find out just where you stood in this matter.
- H: I don't think I knew that at the time. I have never taken any active part in the elections for delegations

(Defeat in Election of 1940)

Q: In the election of 1940, Mr. Haverman, who was your opponent?

H: Thomas Holph.

Q: And what do you think caused your defeat at that time?

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H: I think probably the major influence in my defeat was the opposition of the city administration due to the fact that I had been a candidate for mayor against the incumbent mayor, Mr. Rossi, the year before. I also think that the influence of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was very important, due to my opposition to their program for amendment of the Baker Act.

Q: In the 1940 election did you support the Olson side or the Patterson side, in California politics?

H: 1940? Oh, you mean for the national convention. My recollection is that I didn't take any part in it. I know I wasn't here. And I don't think I took any active part whatever in that contest over the delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Q: The reason that I ask is that that was the year the Communists felt their support of the Roosevelt side, in politics, because of the Russo-German pact, and the Communists were behind Patterson. And I was trying to find out just where you stood in this matter.

H: I don't think I know that at the time. I have never taken any active part in the elections for delegations

to the national conventions, within the party. I've always thought that was a matter the people ought to decide for themselves.

G: You've never been a delegate?

H: I've never. I was an alternate delegate a couple of times. That is, I was just appointed by somebody who asked me if I was going to Chicago, and I said, "yes." But I never ran as a candidate for delegate, no.

G: Did you go to the convention in '44?

H: Yes. Wait a minute now. I was in Chicago at the time. I was not in Congress then. I was a member of the State Railroad Commission. But I was in Chicago at that time, and I believe that I was attending a conference of railroad commissioners. I went to the convention several times, and I'm not sure whether I was appointed an alternate delegate that year or not. I think maybe I was, but I don't recall. I was not a candidate, I know.

G: Would you have been for Truman or for Wallace as vice-president if you had voted there?

H: I don't think I can answer that question now definitely. In the light of what has transpired in the meantime, I think I would have preferred Mr. Truman to Mr. Wallace. At that time I knew very little about either man outside of what I had learned about them from their public records. I just can't tell you how I might have voted if I'd have been there.

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records. I just can't tell you how I might have voted  
if I'd have been there.

(Communist Charges, 1940 and After)

G: You were charged with being a Communist, in 1940, I believe. Of course --

H: Do you want that story now?

G: Yes, if you'd like to tell it.

H: Yes, in 1940 -- do you have a copy of that speech? -- the early part of 1940, when I was preparing to run for reelection to Congress, I received a telephone call one day from, I think, from one of the Democrats here in San Francisco. He had heard that an attack was going to be made upon me before the Dies committee. Dies was then the Chairman of the Committee on Unamerican Activities, which had been organized just about that time. I asked him if he knew what the nature of the attack was. He said, "No, but that I'd better go and ask Dies." So I did. I went over and talked to Dies and asked him if anybody had criticized me before the committee or offered any testimony of any kind concerning me. He assured me that no one had. I said, "Well, as a member of Congress, will you let me know if anybody does make any attempt to criticize or testify concerning me." He said, "I certainly will." Well, that was the last I heard of that particular thing for four years. I was defeated that year for Congress. But that issue was not raised. I don't think the word Communism was used. If so, I don't recall it, in that whole campaign. I was defeated by a man named Rolph

(Communist Speeches, 1940 and After)

G: You were charged with being a Communist. in 1940, I believe. Of course --

H: Do you want that story now?

G: Yes. If you'd like to tell it.

H: Yes, in 1940 -- do you have a copy of that speech? --

the early part of 1940, when I was preparing to run for reelection to Congress, I received a telephone call one day from, I think, from one of the Democrats here in San Francisco. He had heard that an attack was going to be made upon me before the Dies committee. Dies was then the Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, which had been organized just about that time. I asked him if he knew what the nature of the attack was. He said, "No, but that I'd better go and ask Dies." So I did. I went over and talked to Dies and asked him if anybody had criticized me before the committee or offered any testimony of any kind concerning me. He assured me that no one had. I said, "Well, as a member of Congress, will you let me know if anybody does make any attempt to criticize or testify concerning me." He said, "I certainly will." Well, that was the last I heard of that particular thing for four years. I was defeated that year for Congress. But that issue was not raised. I don't think the word Communist was used. If so, I don't recall it, in that whole campaign. I was defeated by a man named Ralph

who was the brother of the Governor.

G: Tom?

H: Tom Rolph. And I think that my defeat was due to a combination of the opposition of the Rossi administration, which I had opposed in the previous mayoralty campaign, and the active opposition of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and its political adherents.

G: Did Rolph represent those interest groups?

H: Well, about all that I can say about that is that Mr. Rolph was pledged to amend the Raker Act, to -- I think -- strike out the provisions of Section 6 which forbade the sale of power to any private individual or firm or corporation for resale.

G: Yes. Was there anything more about this Communist charge in this early period you'd like to say?

H: Yes. I'd like to tell the whole story, because I think it is the -- personally, I think it's the most important thing that occurred to me during my whole public life. I didn't hear anything more about this testimony before the Dies committee for four years. I was defeated, as I say, in 1940, but no reference to any testimony before the Dies committee was made in that whole campaign. And I heard nothing from Dies, and I assumed that it was just a rumor that never materialized. Then I was appointed a member of the State Railroad Commission and served there for four years and finally decided to run for Congress again in 1944. It was during that campaign

who was the brother of the Governor.

G: Tom?

H: Tom Ralph. And I think that my defeat was due to a combination of the opposition of the Roosevelt administration, which I had opposed in the previous majority campaign, and the active opposition of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and its political adherents.

G: Did Ralph represent those interest groups?

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for the first time that I heard about the testimony that had been given before the Dies committee. It was published here in newspaper advertisements, and I'm showing you a photostatic copy of this advertisement which brought me my first knowledge of this testimony in 1944. I think it was published by the Hearst newspapers and by the Chronicle. And perhaps by some other local newspapers. It purported to be an excerpt from the sworn testimony of John L. Leech, a former member of the State Committee of the Communist party of California, a candidate for Congress on the Communist party ticket in 1936, from the 17th California Congressional District. Now, it developed that immediately after Mr. Dies had solemnly assured me that if anybody attempted to give any testimony concerning me or made any criticism of me, he would notify me so that I might make a statement in my own behalf. Immediately after he gave me that assurance, he went down to his home town of Beaumont, Texas and held a hearing on Tuesday, July 16, 1940 of a subcommittee of his special Committee on Un-American Activities. The only ones who attended this meeting in 1940 were himself, as chairman, no other member of the committee, and Robert E. Stripling, secretary of the committee, James H. Stedman, investigator for the committee, and the witness, Leech -- John L. Leech. During that testimony, which I have repeatedly in the Congressional Record, and I will give you a copy of the transcript of that record, this man Leech testified that he had met me several times. "Some of the

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that had been given before the Dies committee. It was  
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in 1944. I think it was published by the Hearst news-  
papers and by the Chronicle. And perhaps by some other  
local newspapers. It purported to be an excerpt from  
the sworn testimony of John L. Leach, a former member  
of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Cali-  
fornia, a candidate for Congress on the Communist party  
ticket in 1936, from the 15th California Congressional  
District. Now, it developed that immediately after Mr.  
Dies had solemnly assured me that if anybody attempted  
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fied that he had not on several times. "Some of the

times," he said, "were simply at left-wing gatherings, and I'm afraid to be completely accurate, I could not even place the dates." Question: "But you have met him on a number of occasions?" "Yes. I've met him on a number of occasions. Did Mr. Havenner ever join the Communist Party?" Answer: "I've never seen an application card or any documentary proof as to that. It is my understanding on the basis of his participation in in party activity that he has been and is at the present time a member of the Communist party, but again I say I have at no time ever seen documentary proof of this." Question: "You've met him at strictly Communist party meetings?" Answer: "On one occasion that I remember." "Will you please state what that occasion was?" Answer: "That is a very serious question. I'm afraid of my accuracy. Not on basic facts, but I'm afraid of my accuracy." Well, at any rate he went through with that kind of testimony there for quite a while. Every time they asked him when or where he had met me, he resorted to the answer that he was afraid of the accuracy of his memory.

G: Could I interrupt you a minute to ask you a question? You asked Dies, as you say, to inform you if anybody had made charges. What made you think anybody was going to make charges?

H: I thought I had said that I had had a telephone call from San Francisco from one of my Democratic friends (I think you'll find that in your record, today) who

times," he said, "were simply at left-wing gatherings, and I'm afraid to be completely accurate, I could not even place the dates." Question: "But you have met him on a number of occasions?" "Yes, I've met him on a number of occasions. Did Mr. Haverman ever join the Communist Party?" Answer: "I've never seen an application card or any documentary proof as to that. It is my understanding on the basis of his participation in party activity that he has been and is at the present time a member of the Communist party, but again I say I have at no time ever seen documentary proof of this." Question: "You've met him at strictly Communist party meetings?" Answer: "On one occasion that I remember." "Will you please state what that occasion was?" Answer: "That is a very serious question. I'm afraid of my accuracy. Not on basic facts, but I'm afraid of my accuracy." Well, at any rate he went through with that kind of testimony there for quite a while. Every time they asked him when or where he had met me, he resorted to the answer that he was afraid of the accuracy of his memory.

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H: I thought I had said that I had had a telephone call from San Francisco from one of my Democratic friends (I think you'll find that in your record, today) who

told me that he had a tip that someone was going to criticize me or make an attack upon me before the Dies committee and suggested that -- I'm sure you'll find that in your record.

G: All right. You were having -- he was having a meeting down in the South. Dies.

H: Well, for reasons known only to himself, Mr. Dies kept the whole transcript of this meeting down in Beaumont, Texas secret for four years. He didn't let any other member of his committee know about it. All the members of the committee, when I finally arose in Congress after my election in 1944, when I finally arose and denounced this whole thing as perjured from beginning to end and demanded an investigation. It developed from the members of the committee who were there that not one of them had ever heard about this meeting. The meeting was something that was secretly held by Mr. Dies, himself, his secretary, and his investigator. And then the other very strange feature of that, from my standpoint, which has never been explained, was that apparently my political opponents knew all about it and in 1944 when I again became a candidate, were able to go before the Dies committee and get this testimony and use it in a paid political advertisement before I knew a single thing about it. I think that just the prima facie facts in this case indicate very, very clearly that there was some kind of conspiracy there. And I have so charged repeatedly, and eventually -- I think it was during the

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celebrated Republican Congress, the 80th Congress --

I went before the members of the House Committee on Unamerican Activities and had this whole testimony expunged from the record by unanimous vote of all those who voted. I'm convinced that somebody connived to take this witness down there to the secret meeting, connived with him concerning his testimony, with the idea of smearing me. This was about the period that the red smear program began to develop as one of the principal issues against the New Dealers and the so-called liberals in the Democratic party. I think that I was one of the first victims. I have succeeded -- subsequently of course, as you know, this thing was kept alive by certain newspapers here, and I sued the San Francisco Examiner, and the Examiner made a public retraction, wrote a first-page apology, printed on the first page of that paper, in which they said that they knew that I was not a Communist. Prior to that time they had repeatedly insinuated and intimated that they believed that I either was or had some close connection with the Communist party.

constantly before the Utah Railroad Commission and are now regularly considered by the State Public Utilities Commission.

Q: Was there any phase of your work on that Commission which you wish to discuss, which interested you especially?

A: I was interested in all the work. As I think I said

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(WORK ON RAILROAD COMMISSION, 1941 to 1944; HISTORICAL  
REVIEW OF RAILROAD COMMISSION SINCE JOHNSON)

(Reel 7)

- G: This is the beginning of a new reel, now, Mr. Havenner. I'd like to ask you about your work on the Railroad Commission, which was from 1940 to 1944, was it not?
- H: 1941. The end of '41 to the end of '44.
- G: Yes. What was your title there? What were your duties -
- H: I was appointed as a member of the State Railroad Commission. There were, I believe, five members at the time. There was a vacancy at the end of 1940. I was appointed by Governor Olson to a six-year term on the Commission. I didn't serve the full six years. I ran for Congress four years later and was elected and resigned.
- G: What were your duties there on the Board?
- H: To sit in hearings, to consider various complaints filed with the Commission for violations of the State Public Utilities Act, applications for changes in rates by public utilities, all kinds of proceedings such as were constantly before the then Railroad Commission and are now regularly considered by the State Public Utilities Commission.
- G: Was there any phase of your work on that Commission which you wish to discuss, which interested you especially?
- H: I was interested in all the work. As I think I said

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earlier in my interview, here, I had been a newspaper reporter detailed to cover the State Railroad Commission years before that time. I was very enthusiastic about the work of the first Railroad Commission under the administration of Hiram Johnson. I believe that it had done a fine work to protect the interests of the people in their capacity as consumers of public utility service of all kinds. I was deeply interested in the consumer interest. I thought the Commission had been established to protect the rights of the people. The representatives of the big corporations always used to come before the Commission and say, "Yes, we believe that the people's rights ought to be protected, but remember we're part of the people, too." I thought that the Railroad Commission under Hiram Johnson had not been established under the Progressive regime back in 1910 to protect the rights of the big corporations. The idea of the California Progressives was that the corporations were amply protected -- over-amply protected. The primary purpose of the Public Utilities Act and the new Railroad Commission was to protect the interest of the rank and file of the people in their capacity as consumers.

G: Do you think the Southern Pacific was substantially injured by any of that legislation or administrative activity?

H: No, I don't think that it was injured. The Southern Pacific has grown and prospered since those days. I

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A: No, I don't think that it was injured. The Southern Pacific has grown and prospered since those days. I

think that the history of all of the public utility corporations which are under state regulation indicates that they have all grown and developed. My criticism of them today is that after having been granted regional monopolies, such as the power companies have -- the Pacific Gas and Electric Company has no competition whatever in almost all of Northern California -- the private utility companies are not satisfied. The law guarantees them a minimum income even in time of war; they were allowed to earn their usual rate of return during the whole war period, when everybody else had taxes piled on them that ate into the net return. However, in addition to all this protection and these guaranteed profits, they want in addition to run the government and to control the development of power in their own private interest.

G: I have heard that, after the fine start that Johnson got the Commission off to, the work of that Commission was in abeyance during the 20's and 30's under more conservative governors.

H: I think I started to tell you that I -- about Mr. Richardson.

G: How about under Rolph?

H: Oh, I think Rolph followed along. I don't think Rolph did anything of any great importance. But I think Richardson did. I think Richardson went out and persuaded the newspapers of California to support the program which the power companies advocated on their own behalf

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G: How about under Ralph?

H: Oh, I think Ralph followed along. I don't think Ralph did anything of any great importance. But I think Rich- ards did. I think Richardson went out and persuaded the newspapers of California to support the program which the power companies advocated on their own behalf.

in exchange for newspaper advertisement. And I think I'm right about it. And I think that changed the whole tenor of state regulation in California.

G: Under Merriam, did anything special happen on the Railroad Commission?

H: Well, personnel was changed under Merriam. The Railroad Commission, from a dynamic, militant organization which was crusading in the interest of the people, crusading for consumer interest instead of for corporation interest, just went over to the other side in my opinion.

G: Would you say, then, that the period under Governor Olson was the first time the activities of the Railroad Commission had really been revived since Johnson's administration?

H: We made an effort to restore the Railroad Commission to a militant advocate of consumer rights. I don't think we succeeded to any very great extent because of the very short period that we had there. In 1942, I guess it was, was that when Olson went out? I've forgotten exactly. Up to that time, for a while I was the only Democrat. I was the only Democrat who had been appointed on that Commission for many years. It had been a solidly Republican Commission. After I went on there, I was for about a year or more, the only Democrat there, with four Republicans. Then another one came on and served for one year. We were still in the minority. The Republicans still, of course, dominated the policies of the Commission. After Governor Olson was defeated, he

in exchange for newspaper advertisement. And I think I'm right about it. And I think that changed the whole tenor of state regulation in California.

Q: Under Herliem, did anything special happen on the Railroad Commission?

H: Well, personnel was changed under Herliem. The Railroad Commission, from a dynamic, militant organization which was crusading in the interest of the people, crusading for consumer interest instead of for corporation interest, just went over to the other side in my opinion.

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appointed one more Democrat. And for the first time in modern history, the Democrats had for a short time majority control of the Railroad Commission.

G: It didn't last long though, did it?

H: It didn't last very long. I was partly responsible for that. I had been elected to Congress. The gentleman Governor Warren appointed to succeed me is now one of the vice-presidents of the P.G. and E.

G: During that time from 1941 to 1944, did you do anything else besides work on the Railroad Commission? You had no revival of any political activities in the city?

H: NO. NO. I devoted my time entirely to the Railroad Commission.

G: And you have proof of that charge? Wouldn't you have had it without it? --

H: I presented all the proof that I could, and I think that that charge was sound.

G: Do you think that that helped you to win the election or was there any other factors?

H: I think that charge probably was a major effective. I think that most people believed that it was true. I had a lot of Ralph's support and he subsequently that they know it was (P.G. and E. line).

G: You had the support of the W.P.A. at that time, didn't you? So you think that contributed greatly to your victory?

H: They were very active. There's no doubt about that.

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G: During that time from 1901 to 1904, did you do anything else besides work on the Railroad Commission? You had

no rival of any political activities in the city?

H: NO. NO. I devoted my time entirely to the Railroad Commission.

(CONGRESS, 1944 TO 1952)

(CAMPAIGNS)

- G: When you ran again for Congress in 1944, against whom did you run?
- H: Rolph.
- G: Rolph. I believe that you made charges at that time that he had entered into corrupt contracts with the government, of some sort?
- H: I don't like to use the word corrupt or corruption. I made the factual charge that as a manufacturers' agent he was representing concerns which were selling supplies and materials to various governmental agencies, including the shipyards.
- G: And you have proof of that charge? Wouldn't have made it without it --
- H: I presented all the proof that I could, and I think that that charge was sound.
- G: Do you think that that helped you to win the election or was there any other factor?
- H: I think that charge probably was rather effective. I think that most people believed that it was true. I had a lot of Rolph's supporters tell me subsequently that they knew it was true at the time.
- G: You had the support of the CIO-PAC at that time, didn't you? Do you think they contributed greatly to your winning?
- H: They were very active. There's no doubt about that.

(CAMPAIGNS)

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G: You had the support of the CIO-PAC at that time, didn't

you? Do you think they contributed greatly to your

winning?

H: They were very active. There's no doubt about that.

Well, the CIO-PAC had been taken, you know, into prominence in the national campaign under Roosevelt at that time. It wasn't until subsequently that it became apparent that some of the unions which were most active in that organization had been infiltrated by Communists.

G: That was when the big Communist issue was raised, wasn't it, in 1944?

H: In that campaign, yes.

G: And yet you won the fight.

H: I won the narrowest victory in that campaign that I had ever -- won --

G: That was some indication, anyway, of justice over injustice.

H: I thought so. It was in that campaign, of course, that these Communist accusations were first published.

G: Were they revived again in 1946 when you ran?

H: I don't know that they ever again republished the testimony before the Dies committee, but the attempt always was then to smear me with guilt by association accusations. I was supposed to be closely affiliated with the Communistic elements in the waterfront unions and so forth.

G: Against whom did you run in 1946?

H: I think in 1946 it was a man named Truman Young, wasn't it, Miss Callahan?

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G: Against whom did you run in 1946?

H: I think in 1946 it was a man named Truman Young, wasn't  
it, Miss Gellman?

Callahan: Yes. I think so.

G: What was your issue, what was his campaign against you?

H: Oh, I think to a certain extent they used the red smear tactics and said that I was a rubber-stamp for the Roosevelt administration.

G: Do you consider that a smear?

H: No, I admitted it openly so far as I was concerned that I was very happy to be able to support the New Deal administrative program.

G: Against whom did you run in 1948?

H: Maillard.

G: Maillard. And that was when the Examiner printed these charges, wasn't it?

H: The Examiner pursued very relentlessly the old Communist smear tactics, and I think the editorial on which we finally brought suit was to the effect that a vote for Havenner was a vote for Bridges and the Kremlin.

G: Did Bridges continue to support you throughout this time, or did his support diminish?

H: I had the endorsement of the CIO. I had the endorsement of all labor.

G: Throughout the --

H: I had no close -- As I say, when I first went to Congress, I didn't even know Bridges. Of course, afterward I had a very good reason after that to know who he was.

Callahan: Yes.

G: What was your issue, what was his campaign a-

gainst you?

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that to know who he was.

- G: Yes, I should think so.
- H: He was used as a battering ram by my enemies -- a political battering ram against me. I had no very close contact with him, ever.
- G: Were there any other major issues in that '48 campaign?
- H: Let's see. 1948. When did I run for mayor the second time, '47?
- G: '47, yes.
- H: Well, that was one year after my second campaign for mayor. And in that second campaign for mayor again the Communist smear accusation was used very widely. It was used in accordance with the modern technique of not saying that you are a Communist, but intimating by indirection that you were sympathetic with the Communist program.
- G: Against whom did you run in 1950?
- H: 1950 was a man named Smith -- Ray Smith.
- G: Ray Smith.
- H: He had been secretary of the Real Estate Board, here.
- G: Were there any special issues in that campaign?
- H: That was after I had sued and obtained a retraction and apology from the Examiner, in which they made the open statement that they knew I was not a Communist. From that time on, I didn't hear the Communist accusation made openly; maybe it was made by word of mouth. This technique -- the Hitlerian technique of the big lie repeated endlessly --
- G: Works, doesn't it?

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G: Against whom did you run in 1950?

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G: Ray Smith.

H: He had been secretary of the Real Estate Board, here.

G: Were there any special issues in that campaign?

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G: Works, doesn't it?

- H: -- is very effective, there's no question about it. And I realize that right now. I still hear that people say: "That man's a Communist." They don't even know me. They never had any contact with me. They had nothing to go on except somebody had said or they had read somewhere that I must be. I don't think they ever read anywhere except in this one testimony before the Dies committee any testimony that I was a member. It was always an insinuation that I was associated with them, or identified with them.
- G: You don't look like a Communist, I can say.
- H: I never had any contact with them at all, except -- at the time, I didn't know it -- except that I was supported by the CIO-PAC for a while. The accusation was eventually made that some of the men who were active in that organization belonged to the Communist Party. I didn't know it to be true, but that I believe in the last Bridges trial one or two of them confessed on the witness stand.
- G: I want to ask you the date of your libel suit against the Examiner, the exact date.
- H: I don't know whether I can give you the exact date. October 27, 1948, shortly before the Congressional elections in November of that year, the San Francisco Examiner printed on its front page a box with the heading: "A Vote for Havenner is a Vote for Bridges." The final statement contained in this box was: "A vote for Havenner is a vote for Bridges and the Kremlin." It was on the

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Q: I want to ask you the date of your liberal suit against the Examiner, the exact date.

H: I don't know whether I can give you the exact date. October 27, 1948, shortly before the Congressional elec- tions in November of that year, the San Francisco Exam- iner printed on its front page a box with the heading: "Vote for Haverman is a Vote for Bridges." The final statement contained in this box was: "A vote for Haverman is a vote for Bridges and the Kremlin." It was on the

basis of this publication that my suit for libel against the San Francisco Examiner was filed. My recollection is that it was filed immediately.

G: I have heard that you were reluctant to sue and were persuaded by Elmer Delaney? Is that true?

H: No. Quite the contrary. I was very anxious to sue. I consulted a number of attorneys on the matter, and Mr. Delaney was the only one who finally consented to represent me and file the suit.

G: And why was that? Why did the others not want to?

H: I think that the others were very reluctant to be engaged in a suit against a powerful newspaper.

G: Can you tell us something about the suit? What -- who were the witnesses on your behalf?

H: The suit never went to trial. Immediately after election, the Examiner published a retraction. This was published on Wednesday, November 17, and it was a front page box with the heading: "A retraction of Havenner editorial." The text of the statement was as follows: "On October 27, 1948, this paper published an editorial entitled 'A Vote for Havenner is a Vote for Bridges.' Insofar as this editorial could be interpreted as questioning Mr. Havenner's loyalty to the United States or labelling him as a Communist or a Communist sympathizer or a Communist supporter, it is hereby retracted."

G: That was arranged privately then. You never got to a suit at all?

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would like to effect a settlement, and on the advice of my attorney I agreed not to press the suit to trial if the Examiner would publish another front page apology, which my attorney would be allowed to dictate. On the strength of this agreement, the attorney recommended that we drop the suit, and the Examiner paid the sum of \$15,000 in damages, plus I believe attorney's fees, and the suit was dropped. The Examiner then proceeded to publish a front page apology on Sunday, February 27, 1949.

G: I understand that you never did take the money from this law suit.

H: No, on the night that the settlement was made, the check for \$15,000 was tendered to me and I handed it back to my attorney; I never took a penny of the money.

G: What did he do with the money, do you know?

H: I don't know. I think that he used it probably for some of his political activities.

G: You had no idea what those were going to be?

H: No, I did not.

G: I've been told that he wanted to use the money to run you as a candidate for Governor -- against your wishes. Did you know that?

H: I don't think he mentioned the fact that he was going to use that money for it, no.

G: You just gave it to him with no strings attached.

H: I said that I didn't want the money. I never took any of it, not a penny of it.

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H: Oh, (Work In Congress: Political Views)

G: When you got to Congress in this latter series of terms, from 1944 on, what committees were you on?

H: Well, after the Reorganization Act was passed, the Naval Affairs committee was abolished and a new committee on Armed Services was set up, and I was appointed on that committee shortly after I got back to Congress. After I got back, I was on the old Naval Affairs committee for a while, and then the Reorganization Act went into effect. For a short time, I was not on the Armed Services committee, but then a vacancy occurred, and I was appointed. I served on the Armed Services committee, which was my sole committee, in the last six years I was in Congress.

G: It was? You concentrated all your work in that committee?

H: Last eight years, I guess, from '44 to '52. Yes. I had no other committee. The Reorganization Act abolished a lot of the old committees and set up the rule that each member of Congress would have one major committee and no membership on any others except in very restricted instances.

G: Did you take any prominent role in the struggles over Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks and all the Roosevelt schemes for international cooperation?

H: No more than to study them and vote when the issues were presented on the floor. I wasn't on the committee.

G: You were behind Roosevelt, weren't you?

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were presented on the floor. I wasn't on the committee.

Q: You were behind Roosevelt, weren't you?

- H: Oh, yes. I had a great admiration for Roosevelt.
- G: How about your attitude on domestic issues? On OPA, for instance, and on the Full Employment Act. How did you vote on those issues?
- H: Well, I think that most of the members of Congress, even some of the most conservative members of Congress, believed that in time of war or when the nation is on the brink of war that controls, economic controls such as OPA, are absolutely necessary.
- G: And on the Full Employment Act, you were behind it also?
- H: Yes. I voted for it. It wasn't before my committee. I didn't sit through the committee hearings.
- G: How about the other issues which arose during this period. Can you tell us, did you do anything special on the Central Valley Authority bills which came up into Congress?
- H: Well, I have believed that it was in the general public interest for the government to go ahead and develop these big water and power projects like Central Valley, TVA, like Bonneville and Grand Coulee and Boulder Dam. I've been in favor of them all. I think that undoubtedly they have made a tremendous contribution to the development of the areas which they served.
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out the whole area that is served by TVA, I don't think you could find a single vote against it. It's the only thing of what they otherwise call the Socialistic undertaking of the New Deal which they support without dissent.

G: You have already commented on your position on the Tidelands Oil issue; would you like to add anything to that comment?

H: No, I think not. I believe, that if I had an opportunity to vote for a measure providing that the federal government should control the sale of this Tidelands Oil and use the revenues for education, as Senator Hill of Alabama, I believe, proposed, I think that I would have voted for it, because there definitely you would have made provision for the general welfare. The other fights were just more or less academic. The question was just whether the federal government should control the sale of the power and divert the revenues into the federal treasury or whether the states should control it and divert the revenues into the respective state treasuries. I thought that that as a whole was a sort of academic question. I'm not convinced that there is any inherent virtue in federal control and operation in comparison with state control and operation.

G: Did you have any strong opinions on FEPC or any of the civil rights legislation?

H: I voted for the whole civil rights program right straight through, I think without deviation, during the whole

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time I was in Congress. Even before I went to Congress when local issues occurred.

G: Did any other issues arise in Congress during that period which I have not mentioned which concerned you particularly?

H: The last part of my service in Congress I devoted a great deal of time to an effort to -- first of all to advance the interests of my own constituents in what they call a Southern Crossing. I did a considerable amount of work endeavoring to interest the government agencies which were directly concerned and which had authority in investigating the possibility of a solid fill crossing of the Bay. I'm still convinced that if it could be done, it would be vastly more serviceable to the people of the whole area than the bridges are. Solid fills develop water conservation features and develop transportation features of all kinds. They could bring the railroads directly here to San Francisco over a solid crossing, which I don't believe they will ever be able to do on any one of these proposed highway bridges.

G: Do you have any opinions which you would like to state on the work of the 80th Congress? Did you note any marked change?

H: 80th Congress?

G: Yes.

H: That was the Congress of '47 and '48. Well, I agreed with the criticisms that were made of that Congress by the President and by the Democratic leaders at the time.

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with the criticisms that were made of that Congress by

the President and by the Democratic leaders at the time.

I thought that -- I think it's usually rather unfortunate to have a Congress in control of the party which is opposed to the administration party. Because it usually just results in a stalemate. I'm sure that was true then; for instance, Republicans were in control of Congress and they just simply wouldn't allow any of these vacancies in federal offices all over the country to be filled. They could stay vacant, but they wouldn't permit the Democrats to put members of that party into office. And they simply opposed a lot of things when they believed the opposition would be politically advantageous to them and they wanted to prevent the Democratic party from putting through certain kinds of legislation. I'm sure that was one of their controlling purposes, motives, in the whole conduct of that 80th Congress.

G: What did you feel about Truman as President; what is your opinion of his record?

H: I thought that Truman was very conscientious, very hard-working, courageous. He had certain human faults in being too outspoken at times, but while perhaps as one of his political supporters I might have wished that he hadn't done it, because it gave his enemies a chance to tear him to pieces, nevertheless I didn't think that those were important faults at all. He had the courage to express himself, and even if he didn't do it in a politic fashion, I admired his forthrightness.

G: What do you think the weaknesses of the Democratic party are today?

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Q: What do you think the weaknesses of the Democratic party

are today?

H: I think the greatest weakness of the Democratic party is the sectional rift in the party, the political determination of many politicians in the South not to support any program which tended to abolish race discrimination.

G: As a Congressman, what lines of federal patronage did you control, did you have an influence over?

H: I wouldn't say that I controlled any. In the years after Senator Downey retired and California had no Democratic Senator, the Democratic Congressional delegation of California met periodically to consider recommendations for federal offices in this state. They did make such recommendations, which were transmitted to the White House, to the Democratic National Committee, and to the State Central Committee in California. I think that those recommendations did carry some weight, in connection with the appointments which had formerly depended almost entirely on the recommendation of the Democratic United States Senator.

G: And it was just in that period that you had any influence at all?

H: Of course I was called upon many times to recommend candidates for federal office and did so. How much importance my recommendation had, I can't say.

G: Who have been the chief political leaders of the Demo-

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(DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLITICS IN CALIFORNIA,  
1940's AND '50's)

- G: What are the weaknesses of the Democratic party in California?
- H: Well, I think that the Democratic party somehow or other has been the victim of this nonpartisan system of conducting state elections.
- G: The crossfiling?
- H: Crossfiling and so forth. Apparently the people of California have thought highly of Governor Warren. I guess he has continued in office as a result of his own policies. The Democrats were not successful in electing anybody in opposition to him. It will be interesting, now, to see what's going to happen the next campaign now that the Warren dynasty is going out of office.
- G: Although --
- H: of course, prior to Roosevelt, the Democratic party for many, many, many years has been almost a negligible political factor in California. Olson was the only Governor the Democrats had succeeded in electing since the beginning of the century, as I recall it. After Olson came Warren. So that I don't know. There hasn't been any test, I think, that would enable you to pick out any fundamental weakness or any fundamental virtue in either of the two major parties in California.
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G: Who have been the chief political leaders of the Demo-

cratic element in San Francisco? in the '40's and '50's?

H: You mean titular leaders?

G: Actual leaders.

H: In the '40's and '50's.

Well, up to about 1940 I think that Harrison, Mr. Maurice Harrison, who was a distinguished lawyer and churchman here, was the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. After him, the young chairman of the Democratic County Committee, William Malone was elected state chairman.

G: Could you analyze for me what Malone's role in local politics has been?

H: He was just a young man who came into prominence as a member of the county central committee. He was Chairman repeatedly, and was elected State Chairman. He served during all, I guess, but the first -- all the New Deal except the first Roosevelt term. He was here, of course, while numerous federal officials were appointed to office. Most of them I think have had his endorsement and support. In that way, and in that way only, has anything that might be called a machine been built up here in the West, because here we don't have ward politics as it's been developed in the Eastern cities. One thing we have never been accused of. Either party in the West has not been accused of selling jobs, or requiring payments for appointments to federal office

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or local office. I think that that simply isn't done. In that sense, we don't have any political machine as they do in the East.

G: Then the word, machine, would be used only to describe any group which had become quite powerful?

H: A group which had been -- Yes, which had been in control of the majority party, let's say, for a period of time and had built up influence, I guess, through the appointment of important positions, of important offices.

(Reel 8)

G: Besides Bill Malone had there been any other political leaders of prominence in this area?

H: In the Democratic party?

G: Yes.

H: Well. The Democratic State Central Committee is now under the chairmanship of George Miller, a State Senator, from Contra Costa county. He is the active leader at this time in the Democratic organization.

G: Have there been any rifts in the local party groups, the Democratic party groups, in the last ten years or so?

H: Oh, yes, some. I don't think they were serious. I think always when a political organization has been in power for a number of years there are always rifts, jealousies, but I didn't think that anything serious had occurred, until the investigation of the federal income tax, Internal Revenue Bureau, was in progress

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a couple of years ago. Bill Malone's brother and his very close friend, Jim Smyth, were indicted. Neither of them has been convicted, but since that time I think that Bill Malone has not participated in politics at all. Decided to withdraw.

G: I have heard that Elmer Delaney tried to unseat William Malone in 1947, and I wonder if this is true? He started a campaign to push him out of power.

H: At one time, those two men were associated in the practice of law. I think that was before I knew either of them. Certainly before I had any political associations with either of them. In recent years there was apparently an antagonism between the two men.

G: Do you know why?

H: I was never able to find out, no.

G: I've also heard that James Roosevelt made an attack on Malone. Now, why would that be? around about '48.

H: Now I'm not familiar with that. If he made an attack on him, I don't recall it. I believe it is true that the Roosevelt followers in California felt that they didn't get an adequate support from the Malone organization.

G: Delaney finally did manage to get Malone out of the chairmanship of the County Central Committee, didn't he?

H: No, I wouldn't say so. Malone was not a candidate for reelection to the County Central Committee at the last election. Prior to that time he remained in the presi-

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G: So that in the antagonism then you would say that Malone managed to hold his own.

H: Yes. I don't think that there was any serious threat of political ouster, though he announced his retirement from politics following the expose of alleged political influence in the Internal Revenue Department.

G: Was not Delaney a political campaign manager for you at one time or another?

H: I think Mr. Delaney had that title in one of my campaigns. Yes.

G: Did this mean that you did not have the support of Malone during --

H: No, it did not. No, I always had the support of Malone in all of my campaigns for Congress.

G: And you also had Delaney working for you.

H: Well, Mr. Delaney became active in my campaigns in recent years. He was not active at the time when I first knew Mr. Malone.

G: Would you say the party is in a very strong position today?

H: Did I say?

G: Would you say, here in California?

H: If you ask me from the standpoint of organization, I would say no. But the thing that puzzles me is that the people keep on registering as Democrats, and maybe now that the Warren dynasty is at an end, maybe they

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- will vote that way. They just haven't done it. Apparently they thought that Warren was a satisfactory governor, and a great many Democrats obviously must have voted for him.
- G: Besides the groups for private power which are a powerful lobby group in this state, would you say that there are any other powerful groups?
- H: Lobby groups, you mean?
- G: Yes. Special interest groups.
- H: Oh, I think every conceivable kind of special interest is represented at Sacramento, some by individual lobbyists, some by groups of lobbyists. But the interesting fact about that is that these numerous lobbying groups representing special interests, some small, some large, all seem to band together on certain issues of major policy so that the special interests have a common interest. They can wield a tremendous amount of power in Sacramento, and the people have no representation of the kind up there at all. The only important lobby up there representing a large number of people is the labor organization.
- G: Is the liquor group in California a very strong group, the liquor interests?
- H: The liquor industry has been represented by Mr. Samish, and you remember what Governor Warren said about Mr. Samish.
- G: Yes. Well, looking back over this last period of from,

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G: Yes, well, looking back over this last period of time,

oh, say about 1935 to 1950 in California and your life here, what do you consider to be the highlights?

H: The highlights of my life?

G: Yes. These things we've discussed, or have we left out anything?

H: I don't know whether I have discussed the fact that, far back as I can remember in my public life, I have been deeply interested in the organized labor movement.

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## (CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR, 1947)

- G: Yes, I would like to discuss your work with the organized labor movement. Before we go on to that, perhaps we should discuss something about your campaign for mayor in 1947. Against whom did you run in that year?
- H: Well, there were two other candidates for mayor in that year. The present mayor, Mr. Elmer Robinson, Judge Elmer Robinson. And a member of the Board of Supervisors at that time, Chester McPhee. He is now a federal office holder here, Collector of Customs, I believe. Mr. Robinson was the winner.
- G: What made you decide to run? Again the pressure of interested friends?
- H: There was a considerable amount of that, but I was of the opinion, as a Democrat, that the Democratic party shouldn't simply abdicate its position of preeminence in the nation and elsewhere and allow the Republicans to keep on electing mayors and other local officers year after year after year, as they have been doing in California. There hasn't been a Democratic mayor in San Francisco since Phelan, and he was at the beginning of the century. I thought that if it were true, as it was true, that a majority of people in San Francisco, a large majority, almost two to one, indicated year after year their preference for the Democratic party by registering as members, that they ought to be entitled to indicate whether or not they wanted to have a representative at

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- the head of the city government.
- G: Did you have any newspaper support that year?
- H: No, I had no newspaper support. I've had no newspaper support in either of my campaigns for Mayor.
- G: What gave you hope that you might win in that year, in spite of the fact that you had no newspaper support?
- H: Of course, I wasn't absolutely sure that I wouldn't have any newspaper support before I went into it. I knew that I would have a large volume of support, and I did have. I polled over 100,000 votes, and I think my opponent was elected with 115, or 116,000. I thought that in a three-cornered fight of that kind, my own support would be sufficient, perhaps, to win. As it turned out it fell short.
- G: What were the issues of that campaign?
- H: I think the only issue was the attack that was made upon me by my opponent and by the newspapers for both sides. Two newspapers were supporting Mr. McPhee. Two newspapers, the Hearst papers, were supporting Mr. Robinson. I thought that the Chronicle and the Hearst papers had the same kind of following. Their circulation was pretty much in the same class of people. I thought if that class were divided in half, a third candidate who had a substantial following, as I knew that I did have, would have a chance to win. I was wrong.
- G: What weapons did they use against you -- ideological?
- H: Mr. Robinson used the Communist smear.

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- G: Communist smear, again?
- H: I don't think they actually called me a Communist. As a matter of fact, I know they didn't -- They would take this precaution, say, "We don't charge him with being a member of the Communist party, but he is identified with Communistic influences."
- G: And you think that was what defeated you?
- H: I do, yes. I repeat, even today, I hear friends say "Oh, I met so and so last night and spoke of you, and he said, 'Oh, that man's a Communist.'" If they asked him if he knew me or he knew anybody who did know me: No. He didn't know me, or didn't know anybody who did know me. But -- he'd heard the big lie repeated and repeated and repeated.
- G: Were you ever investigated by the Tenney committee?
- H: Not to my knowledge. Do their records indicate that I ever was?
- G: Well, a statement was made by Mr. William Patrick Brandhove that at the time of your campaign against Mayor Elmer Robinson, I believe, the Tenney committee and the supporters of Robinson got together and used Brandhove to charge you with being a Communist. Did you know anything about that?
- H: I don't think that he charged that I was a Communist. I know that he went around making speeches during that campaign. I didn't even know the man. As a matter of fact, I've never to my knowledge met him in my life.

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But I heard that this man, who ostensibly -- he was an announced candidate for Supervisor that year, was making speeches in which he said that I had the support of certain radical elements in the waterfront with which he had been connected, I believe.

G: And you didn't follow his later charges against the Tenney committee and his later trial by the Tenney committee?

H: I read of it.

G: You had no connection with it.

H: No, none whatever. I think that he was represented in Sacramento at one time by Mr. Delaney, his attorney.

G: And you didn't know about that?

H: Well, I knew about it by reading about it but had no connection with it.

G: You lost the election for Congress in 1952. Do you think the Communist charge had anything to do with that?

H: It wasn't extensively used last year. No. Since the Examiner made its retraction and apology and stated that it knew that I was not a Communist, I haven't heard anything but echoes of the old campaign. No, in the last campaign I was simply caught in the Eisenhower landslide, and, well, the state legislature changed my whole district. They took away from me -- deliberately, I'm sure, under the program of the Republican party in California -- they deliberately readjusted and manipulated the two Congressional districts in San Francisco.

G: What district is it that you represented?

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Q: What district is it that you represented?

H: I represented what was called the Fourth District. It still is called the Fourth District, but it used to run down the Bayshore to the county line and then run across the North part of the city to the ocean. The legislature took this whole eastern section of the city out of the Fourth District and put it over into the Fifth and gave me instead the West end of the city, the ocean shore where all this new residential section there has been developed in recent years, where I had never run before, and where it is almost impossible for anybody without newspaper support to make a campaign.

G: I had heard that 1947 campaign was extremely bitter. Can you describe any of those bitter elements?

H: It was bitter on account of the Communistic smear.

G: And that's the sole aspect that contributed to the bitterness?

H: That was the only bitterness in the thing, yes. I did my utmost to --

Callahan: Liquor interests?

H: Well, I don't know that there was any element of bitterness in that. Of course, Robinson did succeed in getting the support of most of the liquor interests in town. He was supported by Samish.

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H: I represented what was called the Fourth District. It still is called the Fourth District, but it used to run down the Bayshore to the county line and then run across the North part of the city to the ocean. The legislature took this whole eastern section of the city out of the Fourth District and put it over into the Fifth and gave me instead the west end of the city, the ocean shore where all this new residential section there has been developed in recent years, where I had never run before, and where it is almost impossible for anybody without newspaper support to make a campaign.

G: I had heard that 1947 campaign was extremely bitter. Can you describe any of those bitter elements?

H: It was bitter on account of the Communist smear.

G: And that's the sole aspect that contributed to the bitterness?

H: That was the only bitterness in the thing, yes.

I did my utmost to --

Callahan: liquor interests?

H: Well, I don't know that there was any element

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the liquor interests in town. He was supported

- by Samish.

G: Is there any reason why he should have their support and you not?

H: (Laughter) I don't know. I don't believe I can answer that question. I -- he got them, anyhow. I didn't make any attempt to solicit them particularly. I just made my appeal on general lines.

G: What platform did you run on in 1947? What did you promise? What would you have done in San Francisco?

H: I think that the platform on which I ran in '47 was pretty much the same kind of a platform that I ran on in '39.

G: Public power.

H: Well, no. I don't believe I raised the public power issue again. That thing had more or less been settled by the courts and the people had repeatedly voted against it. I confess that I didn't have much hope of being able to reverse the political decision that the power company had been able to win here. No. I don't think I -- I think it was a question of good government. People had not accused me ever of being personally corrupt in any way. I think that outside of my political enemies that I was regarded as a man of some integrity and that we would have a government of integrity. I recall that -- I don't know whether my scrapbook shows -- does my scrapbook show the platform which I announced in 1947?

H: I don't know. I don't know. Of course, Hattel is a Republican politician. He had been Finance chairman for Mrs. John -- the first time I met

Q: Is there any reason why he should have their support and you not?

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Callahan: Yes, I think they do.

H: Oh, I based my platform on the widespread demand for a change in the politics and personnel of local government, for a new program of progress, to make San Francisco preeminent among modern cities. I proposed the efforts at that time to abolish the sales tax here, because the question of the sales tax had been presented to the people not very long before that and there was a large vote against it. I didn't believe in it, anyhow.

G: In those campaigns, did you feel that the opposition had a great deal more financial support than you did?

H: Yes, I'm sure that in both of my campaigns the opposition had a great deal more financial support. Yes.

G: Do you think the oil companies did anything to help defeat you?

H: Well, the oil companies certainly did not like me, and one of the principal representatives and lobbyists, Mr. Bert Mattei, was always the finance chairman of my opposition. Yes.

G: Why did they oppose you, if you voted with them on the tidelands?

H: I don't know. I don't know. Of course, Mattei is a Republican politician. He had been finance chairman for Mrs. Kahn -- the first time I ran

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H: I don't know. I don't know. Of course, Mattel is a Republican politician. He had been finance chairman for Mrs. Kahn -- the first time I ran

for Congress. I didn't have any contact with him outside of that Congressional campaign. I always knew that he was in the background -- he had a lot of money and was always successful in raising a lot of money.

I was always a supporter of the Democratic Party, so far as I was concerned. I was never a member of the party, but I was always a supporter by a number of people. I was always a supporter of the party, and I wrote a number of articles for the party. I was always a supporter of the party, and I was always a supporter of the party. I was always a supporter of the party, and I was always a supporter of the party.

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(SUGGESTED AS CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR, 1949)

G: I'd like to ask you also about your candidacy for Governor. What year was that when you were put up as a candidate?

H: I was never a candidate for Governor, so far as I was concerned. I was urged to run for Governor by a number of political supporters in San Francisco, and I wrote and told them all very definitely and frankly that I did not think that such a candidacy would be advisable and that I had no intention of becoming a candidate. I think that this boom for Governor was undertaken in 1949.

G: Did Mr. Delaney have anything to do with that?

H: I think he was one of those who had urged me to run for Governor.

G: And what other groups?

H: Well, I wouldn't say any groups. There were a number of individuals. I don't believe I could give you all their names. I told them all the same thing, that I had no intention whatever of running for Governor.

G: Ever?

H: No, at that time.

G: What did you think of James Roosevelt as a candidate for Governor?

H: I don't believe that I ever entertained the idea that Mr. Roosevelt had a successful candidacy at any time. I had been an ardent admirer of his father. I had known

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him as his father's secretary in the White House in Washington. I thought that he was a capable man. If he had become Governor, he would have represented the kind of principles that I believed in.

G: What faction do you think Roosevelt represented in California politics?

H: Well, I think that Mr. Roosevelt projected his own campaign. Conducted a very vigorous campaign for himself in the primaries, succeeded in winning the Democratic nomination. However, as the final results indicated, a large number of Democrats in California did not support him. I think that a great many of them resented the fact that he had more or less intruded his candidacy into the state without a widespread popular demand for it.

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Y: (CONTACTS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR FROM THE JOHNSON  
 B: ADMINISTRATION TO DATE)

G: Well, unless you can think of anything you would like to add to the record on your work in Congress, on your work on the Railroad Commission, and on your campaigns for mayor, I'd like to move now to a general discussion of your relationship with labor. Do you have anything you'd like to add?

H: I don't think of anything, now.

G: All right. When did your interest in organized labor first arise?

H: I think during my newspaper career. I met the representatives of organized labor at the state legislature, and in my association with Senator Johnson I met many of them in his office. I was greatly impressed with some of them, particularly men like Andrew Furuseth, whom I got to know very well, and whom I regarded as an inspired man, one of the most impressive dedicated individuals I ever knew. I was deeply impressed by their sincerity and my own reading about the aims and objectives of the organized labor movement made a deep impression on me.

G: Did you have any contact with the Union Labor party in the period of Hiram Johnson's governorship?

H: Well, I had contact with the men who were the officials of the Union Labor Party, yes.

G: And did you feel that it could be rightfully charged with corruption in those later years?

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G: Did you have any contact with the Union Labor Party in the period of Hiram Johnson's governorship?

H: Well, I had contact with the men who were the officials of the Union Labor Party, yes.

G: And did you feel that it could be rightfully charged with corruption in those later years?

- H: Not at that time, no.
- G: No, after Schmitz and Ruef had gone.
- H: I didn't have any contact with the Union Labor Party during that election; I wasn't there.
- G: I see. And later on, you felt it was not a corrupt group.
- H: No, I'm sure it was not. No, I've never heard any charges against the Union Labor party as such in modern years.
- G: Yes. Did you have any first hand insights into the Mooney trial?
- H: Well, I believe I said once before in this interview that I was detailed to cover some parts of the Mooney trial. I don't believe I went all through any one of the trials, because my recollection is that at that time one of my major details was to go to Sacramento during the legislative sessions, and I think that I had to leave the Mooney trial on one or two occasions to go to Sacramento. However, I reported some of the sessions of the Mooney trial.
- G: Did you feel at that time that Mooney was guilty?
- H: I think that I was deeply impressed with the character of some of the principal witnesses the prosecution used against Mooney and Billings.
- G: Oxman, for instance --
- H: Yes. Men of that type in whose veracity I had no confidence whatsoever. It raised a great doubt in my mind as to the guilt of these men if they had to resort, to rely upon the testimony of individuals of that character.
- G: Was it you or some other reporter who broke the story

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G: Oxnard, for instance --

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G: Was it you or some other reporter who broke the story

- G: about Oxman's perjury?
- H: I didn't break the story. I was on the Bulletin, though, when it was broken. I think it was broken on the Bulletin. I don't think I wrote the story.
- G: When you were working with Johnson, did you have any connection with the labor movement. Any active connection?
- H: No. No particular active connection. I just knew lots of them. When I was working for the Bulletin I was detailed to cover the sessions of the Labor Council, and I sat through a lot of the discussions that led to the formation of the Mooney Defense League by organized labor.
- G: In the 1920's, when you came back to San Francisco, what part did you play in labor movement activities?
- H: I had no active or official contact with the labor movement then. I don't believe that after that time I covered any of the sessions of the Labor Council in San Francisco. I just knew the leaders, had very friendly relations with a number of them.
- G: And there was no more than that behind your running on a labor platform for the Board of Supervisors?
- H: Well, I didn't actually run on a labor platform. I had the endorsement of the Union Labor Party in that first campaign, but I also had the endorsement of the Republican County Committee, and I had the endorsement of three newspapers: the Examiner, and Call, and News. I wouldn't say that I ran, in fact I didn't run, on what you might call a labor platform. I was endorsed by labor.

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- G: I wonder if you could tell us something about the Labor Council in the years before World War I. When was the Labor Council started?
- H: The San Francisco Labor Council received its charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, which was signed by Samuel Gompers and other early leaders of the A.F. of L., on May 17, 1893.
- G: What was it founded to do? What were its main activities?
- H: Well, it was founded to try to bring about labor-management peace and to extend the organization of labor unions in the area and to conduct a drive for a shorter workday and other improvements of working conditions. I don't have the details here. It was undoubtedly a group of officials of the existing labor unions in San Francisco at the time.
- G: And what were its accomplishments over the years? Have you followed them?
- H: I think that the progress of the labor movement has been steadily forward, with certain periods of setback, ever since the Labor Council was first established. Many new unions in fields that were at that time unorganized have been founded in intervening years.
- G: Does it take any political action?
- H: No, the Labor Council as such engages in no political activity.
- G: Are there any lines of unity between it and the Union Labor Party?

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G: Are there any lines of unity between it and the Union Labor Party?

- H: The Union Labor Party is the political education arm of the Labor Council, yes.
- G: You mentioned Mr. Scharrenberg at one time to me. Who was he?
- H: Mr. Scharrenberg is now the head of the Industrial Relations Department of the State Government.
- G: What is his first name?
- H: Paul.
- G: Has he had a long connection with labor?
- H: Oh, yes. He was for many years the secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Labor. He was the publisher of the waterfront sailors' magazine for many years. He represented labor in Sacramento for many, many years and was the chief representative of labor during the Hiram Johnson administration.
- G: If you were going to tell us a few of what you considered to be the most important people connected with the labor movement, you'd probably mention him, wouldn't you?
- H: Yes.
- G: You've also mentioned Mr. Furuseth. Now what was his role?
- H: Andrew Furuseth was the President of the International Seamen's Union -- I'm not sure that that's the exact title. He represented them in Washington, and it was chiefly due to his influence that the national seamen's act -- and again I'm not sure of the exact title -- was originally adopted. It was sponsored by the elder

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Senator LaFollette. When Andrew Furuseth died, his funeral was attended in Washington, although he had died without any means, by Senators and Supreme Court justices, the Secretary of Labor, one of the most distinguished groups, I guess, that ever attended any funeral.

G: Can you tell us some other people who have been very prominent in the labor movement here?

H: Well, the men whom I know best in my early days in public life here were the two I have already mentioned and John O'Connell, who was for many years secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council; John McLaughlin, who was head of the teamsters' organization here and served as Collector of Internal Revenue under the Republican administrations in the early 20's; Michael Casey, who also was a leader of the teamsters' movement; and in more recent years men like John F. Shelley and Jack Goldberger. I was also closely associated at one time with Edward Vandeleur, who I believe succeeded Scharrenberg as secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Labor.

G: Did you play any part in the General Strike of 1934 as a member of the Board?

H: I had no official part in the strike, in fact I had no part whatever in the strike.

G: The Board of Supervisors didn't try to deal with the strike in any way?

H: I don't recall that they did. It hadn't been the policy of the Board of Supervisors to attempt to intervene in labor-management disputes. It lasted, as you may

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G: The Board of Supervisors didn't try to deal with the strike in any way?

H: I don't recall that they did. It hadn't been the policy of the Board of Supervisors to attempt to intervene in labor-management disputes. It lasted, as you may

remember, only for a few days.

G: What were the issues of that strike?

H: That strike was precipitated by the Bridges group on the waterfront. If you ask me to tell you what the exact issues were, I can't tell you. I think that the other unions joined with them in this strike as a protest against conditions on the waterfront.

G: I see. And that was a phase of the labor movement with which you were not intimate, wasn't it?

H: I had no connection with that.

G: In the '30's did you have any active connection with the labor movement here?

H: What -- in the '30's? During most of the '30's up to the end of 1936, I was a member of the Board of Supervisors. I had contacts with labor during all that time. I was endorsed by labor every time I was a candidate for the Board of Supervisors, three times.

G: Have you been connected with the Union Labor Party in any way before now?

H: Never had any official connection of any kind. No. I have had their endorsement over and over again.

G: What is your present status in relation to the Union Labor party?

H: I was appointed as director of the Union Labor party.

G: That was early in 1953?

H: Yes.

G: And what are your duties here at the present time?

H: Well, to keep in touch with the member unions and those

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G: Do you think the Union Labor party is a powerful group in San Francisco?

H: We're now engaged in an effort to get a maximum registration of the members of organized labor. And I think we're meeting with some success in persuading the unions to undertake that as part of their official work, to keep members of organized labor as to how they should vote; we just believe that if they can be induced to take enough interest in their political welfare to keep themselves registered, that they will vote, the great majority, for the interests of the organized labor movement.

G: Do you think there's any truth to the charge that organized labor has done great damage to San Francisco as a shipping center, and has lost much of its trade to Los Angeles?

H: That charge I think was made as a result of the activities of the CIO on the waterfront after --

G: The CIO.

H: The unions which were then affiliated with the CIO have since withdrawn and the longshoremen and the warehousemen's union, who were affiliated with the CIO, are now

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men's union, who were affiliated with the CIO, are now

- operating as independent unions.
- G: And you don't think that organized labor has hurt shipping here, aside from what the CIO may have done?
- H: Well, I think that regardless of which unions did it or did not, I think that organized labor's insistence on recognition by employers and insistence on better working conditions and better wage levels has been to the benefit of the whole community.
- G: Do you think there are any large number of Communists in the labor groups here in San Francisco today?
- H: I think that most of the local unions have done a very successful job of purging their membership.
- G: Looking back over fifty years of organized labor in San Francisco, would you say that they have made a substantial amount of progress?
- H: Organized labor?
- G: Yes.
- H: Oh, yes. Well, I think the standard of living and the standard of employment in San Francisco compares very favorably with the standard anywhere else in the world. I think that they have done a remarkable job.
- G: Do you think there's anything yet to be achieved, any specific thing?
- H: Oh yes. I think that labor's effort to build up social security for its members as part of their working conditions and wage standards, in addition to their working conditions and wage standards, is very, very important. I think it's important for the whole community

operating as independent unions.

G: And you don't think that organized labor has hurt ship-

ping here, aside from what the OIO may have done?

H: Well, I think that regardless of which unions did it or

did not, I think that organized labor's insistence on

recognition by employers and insistence on better work-

ing conditions and better wage levels has been to the

benefit of the whole community.

G: Do you think there are any large number of Communists

in the labor groups here in San Francisco today?

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successful job of purging their membership.

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because I think inevitably the rest of the community is going to follow eventually the pattern set by organized labor. I think organized labor has made the greatest contribution to elevating the standard of living in America -- a greater contribution than any other single force.

G: Do you think that the labor leaders can deliver the vote today as they might have at one time?

H: I don't think the labor leaders are going to make an effort to deliver the vote or to order their members how to vote. They're convinced that by political education, the membership of organized labor can be awakened to its own interests and that it will voluntarily vote in favor of the interest of labor, which they believe and I believe to be the interest of the entire community.

G: Would you say that a substantial number of laborers in San Francisco today vote Republican?

H: Well. I don't think a substantial number, no. There are still some -- If the Republican party suddenly had a change of heart as the Democrats did after Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt were President, why, I'm sure that support that labor would give to the Republican party would be very greatly increased. I think that labor is going to vote for its own interests, not primarily connected with either of the major parties.

G: As a member of Congress, did you play any part in combating the Taft-Hartley law?

H: I voted against the Taft-Hartley law. Yes. I wasn't

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Q: As a member of Congress, did you play any part in combating the Taft-Hartley law?

H: I voted against the Taft-Hartley law. Yes, I wasn't

on the committee that considered it, but I thought that it was primarily aimed at labor and aimed at breaking down some of the advances that had been brought about for labor by the Roosevelt administration and by laws like the Wagner Act, the LaGuardia-Norris Act.

Q:

Your other chief interest was that your public career has been in public power. Many years ago in the fight over the Helms project was one of the chief groups which opposed all of the public power development was the conservationists, because they didn't want to see our beautiful land ruined. Did you have any contact with these people?

A:

Oh, yes. I remember that they were still on the job when the Helms hatchery project was being built. That was really where I was first alerted to the work of Supervisors. We still occasionally hear from them. They had opposed it on sentimental grounds, because a lot of people always oppose any public improvement that could interfere with the pristine beauty of nature.

Q:

Did you feel any sympathy with their point of view?

A:

I didn't think it ought to prevail.

Q:

Has that group managed to keep public power from being developed in any parts of the state? Or have they fought a losing battle?

A:

I think they've fought a losing battle.

Q:

I think we've covered most of your activities with relation to public power, as we went along. Is there anything you'd like to add to what we have said?

A:

No. It just happens that in 1934 I returned to work in Sacramento in the interests of Governor Redwood, working for the adoption of a new Slaves system of

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*[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a continuation of a speech or report, possibly containing names and dates, but the characters are too light to transcribe accurately.]*

(THE PUBLIC POWER ISSUE)

- G: Your other chief interest throughout your public career has been in public power. Many, many years ago in the fight over the Hetch Hetchy, one of the chief groups which opposed all of that public power movement was the conservationists, because they didn't want to see our beautiful land defaced. Did you have any contact with those people?
- H: Oh, yes. I remember that they were still on the job when the Hetch Hetchy project was being built. That was really before I was first elected to the Board of Supervisors. We still occasionally heard from them. They had opposed it on sentimental grounds, on which a lot of people always oppose any public improvement that would interfere with the pristine beauty of nature.
- G: Did you feel any sympathy with their point of view?
- H: I didn't think it ought to prevail.
- G: Has that group managed to keep public power from being developed in any parts of the state? or have they fought a losing battle?
- H: I think they've fought a losing battle.
- G: I think we've covered most of your activities in relation to public power, as we went along. Is there anything you'd like to add to what we have said?
- H: No. It just happens that in 1934, I believe, I was up in Sacramento in the interests of Senator Johnson, working for the adoption of a new direct primary law in



California, modeled somewhat after the Wisconsin law, which did not require registration in advance of the primary but would allow any citizen to go into the primary election booth and call for whichever ticket he wanted. We were working for what was known as the Jespersen Bill, sponsored by State Senator Jespersen of San Luis Obispo. At that time the group from the San Joaquin valley, which were endeavoring to get legislation passed to create the Central Valley Project as a state project, were up at the legislature. They were encountering very vigorous opposition from the private power companies, and they came to us and made a proposition to exchange votes, which we agreed to at that time. We passed the Jespersen bill through the Assembly by a very considerable margin, got it up to a tie vote in the State Senate, but there was powerful opposition to us at that time. Some of the leading Democrats of the state were up there in opposition to the bill, and it wasn't finally passed, but at that time we insisted on certain changes in the Central Valley legislation.

G: What changes?

H: I wrote into the Central Valley Act the language establishing a preference for public agencies.

G: Oh you did?

H: I wrote that in at that time, yes.

(REEL 9)

G: Do you think that there's any tendency at the present time to move away from that particular provision?

California, modeled somewhat after the Wisconsin law, which did not require registration in advance of the primary but would allow any citizen to go into the primary election booth and call for whichever ticket he wanted. We were working for what was known as the Johnson Bill, sponsored by State Senator Johnson of San Luis Obispo. At that time the group from the San Joaquin valley, which were endeavoring to get legislation passed to create the Central Valley Project as a state project, were up at the legislature. They were encountering very vigorous opposition from the private power companies, and they came to us and made a proposition to exchange votes, which we agreed to at that time. We passed the Johnson bill through the Assembly by a very considerable margin, got it up to a tie vote in the State Senate, but there was powerful opposition to us at that time. Some of the leading Democrats of the state were up there in opposition to the bill, and it wasn't finally passed, but at that time we insisted on certain changes in the Central Valley legislation.

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G: Oh you did?

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(REEL 9)

G: Do you think that there's any tendency at the present time to move away from that particular provision?

H: Oh, I think the power companies are desperately endeavoring to -- They never approved of it, you know. They wanted to absorb this publicly developed power into their own systems and sell it to all their own customers at the regular rates; they don't want any preference for public agencies. The whole battle, you know, to keep the Central Valley from building transmission lines down to the gates of the city so that the city could come out and buy the power at the preferred rate was based on their opposition to that provision in there. They don't want the cities to get the power. That would interfere with their rate structure. They want to control the power economy of the whole country.

G: Do you think that there are any signs that the Eisenhower administration will be sympathetic with that viewpoint?

H: Well, yes, I certainly do. I think the Eisenhower administration is apparently going to aid the private power companies much as it can, to gain complete control of the power developed on the public domain.

G: Discouraging isn't it, considering your life work?

H: However -- somehow or other I have faith that they are not going to succeed in that.

G: I note that, from a conversation with someone, that you had an issue with John Francis Neylan at some point in your career, over this power issue. He charged I believe that you sold out to the private utility interests

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G: I note that, from a conversation with someone, that you  
 had an issue with John Francis Hayden at some point in  
 your career, over this power issue. He charged I be-  
 lieve that you sold out to the private utility interests

at one time. You don't recall that?

H: That I sold out? (Laughter) No, I've never been accused of selling out to the private utilities, I don't think, by anybody. Where did you see that?

G: I have only a fragmentary note, and it says something about Jack Dunnegan and Neylan took issue with you over something to do with Dunnegan.

H: I don't remember. Jack Dunnegan was Clerk of the Board of Supervisors during all the time that I was there, I guess. I became friendly with him, but I don't remember -- No, that's something I just can't recall.

G: Neylan was of course for public power in those days, wasn't he?

H: He was at the beginning, yes.

G: Did he subsequently change?

H: I'm not in a position to say whether he has changed his views or not. The Hearst papers changed.

G: What were your later issues with Neylan?

H: Neylan became a bitter opponent of Roosevelt shortly after he took office. That was the only thing -- I had no personal disagreements with Neylan of any kind. He was very friendly to me when I first went on the Board of Supervisors, and during the time that I was there he was very helpful. There's no question about that. He was very influential with the Hearst papers. However, I had supported Roosevelt, when I went to Congress. I ran openly as a supporter of Roosevelt, Roosevelt's policies. That was the principal line of demarcation

at one time. You don't recall that?

H: That I sold out? (laughter) No, I've never been accused of selling out to the private utilities, I don't think, by anybody. Where did you see that?

G: I have only a fragmentary note, and it says something about Jack Dunningan and Heylan took issue with you over something to do with Dunningan.

H: I don't remember. Jack Dunningan was Clerk of the Board of Supervisors during all the time that I was there, I agree. I became friendly with him, but I don't remember -- No, that's something I just can't recall.

G: Heylan was of course for public power in those days, wasn't he?

H: He was at the beginning, yes.

G: Did he subsequently change?

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between my platform and Mrs. Kahn's platform. She was against them and I was for them. I was told that Neylan wasn't going to continue to support anybody who was for Roosevelt.

G: I see. And that was the point of your breaking?

I wonder if you played any part in defeating the referendum against the California Central Valley project act in 1933?

H: I don't recall that I had any active, official connection with that campaign. I was -- I remember of course that I voted against the referendum, and I voted to uphold the act.

G: But you didn't campaign or do anything?

H: I don't recall that I was asked to make a campaign.

G: Did you play any part in getting the federal government to take over the Central Valley Project in 1935?

H: I wasn't in Congress at that time.

G: Through your connection with Johnson, perhaps?

H: I know that I was very much interested in the -- that the federal government take over, but I don't recall that I played any part in it personally.

G: Was there anything in the arrangement as it finally worked out which did not meet with your approval? when the federal government took over the project?

H: I think that the support of the federal government made the project possible. I think if the federal government had not come to its rescue, when it did, the project

between my platform and Mrs. Kahn's platform. She was against them and I was for them. I was told that Nelson wasn't going to continue to support anybody who was for Roosevelt.

G: I see. And that was the point of your speaking? I wonder if you played any part in defeating the referendum against the California Central Valley project not in 1955?

H: I don't recall that I had any active, official connection with that campaign. I was -- I remember of course that I voted against the referendum, and I voted to uphold the act.

G: But you didn't campaign or do anything? H: I don't recall that I was asked to make a campaign. G: Did you play any part in getting the federal government to take over the Central Valley Project in 1955?

H: I wasn't in Congress at that time. G: Through your connection with Johnson, perhaps? H: I know that I was very much interested in the -- that the federal government take over, but I don't recall that I played any part in it personally.

G: Was there anything in the arrangement as it finally worked out which did not meet with your approval? When the federal government took over the project?

H: I think that the support of the federal government made the project possible. I think if the federal government had not come to its rescue, when it did, the project

would probably have been delayed for many years. It was the only course which could have been followed to get the project underway.

G: What year was the amendment to the Raker Act proposed, do you remember?

H: Oh, I think it was proposed before I went to Congress. I know that it was actively urged by private power interests and the people who were connected with the private power interests here in San Francisco during the time that I was in Congress and during the time that I was out of Congress from 1941 to 1944.

G: What specific things did you do in opposition to that amendment?

H: Well, immediately after I was defeated in 1940, my successor introduced the amendment in Congress. It was referred to the Public Lands Committee of the House of Representatives, and I went back to Washington and I testified before the committee in opposition.

G: Did you do anything around here to oppose the amendment? Did you make speeches?

H: I think I discussed it publicly on a number of occasions. I don't recall just when and where.

G: Did you play any part in the controversy over the 160-acre limitation on individuals' use of Central Valley water?

H: I think only incidentally. I discussed it on a number of occasions. My opinion was that the idea of trying

would probably have been delayed for many years. It was the only course which could have been followed to get the project underway.

Q: What year was the amendment to the Reker Act proposed, do you remember?

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Q: Did you do anything around here to oppose the amendment? Did you make speeches?

H: I think I discussed it publicly on a number of occasions. I don't recall just when and where.

Q: Did you play any part in the controversy over the 150-acre limitation on individuals' use of Central Valley water?

H: I think only incidentally. I discussed it on a number of occasions. My opinion was that the idea of trying

to promote the division of the land served by public water and power into small farmholdings was a good idea.

G: Why did so many California representatives vote for the cut in the budget by Congress of money designated for the Central Valley in 1947?

H: At that time there was an organized opposition to the conduct of the Central Valley Project by the Bureau of Reclamation built up in California, and I can only surmise why it became so influential. I think it was backed by the private power interests, backed by groups of some of the big landholders in the San Joaquin valley, who were opposed to the 160-acre limitation, for instance, and were actively supporting the theory of states rights in the conduct of the project.

G: In other words, they wanted federal money but state control.

H: Well, they didn't put it exactly that way, but I think they did, yes.

G: What did you do to oppose this cut in the budget?

H: Oh, I spoke on the floor a number of times in favor of adequate appropriations for the Central Valley Project and always voted for those appropriations on the floor with the little group that supported them and did our best to try to get them through.

G: I recall reading in Mr. Robert de Roos' book, I think it's Thirsty Land, the statement that you came out at that time with the comment that it was a miserable pittance.

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G: In other words, they wanted federal money but state control.

H: Well, they didn't but it exactly that way, but I think they did, yes.

G: What did you do to oppose the cut in the budget?

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G: I recall reading in Mr. Robert de Roos' book, I think it's Thirty Land, the statement that you came out at that time with the comment that it was a miserable pif-

ance.

H: Is that so? I don't recall that.

G: Yes. Did this reflect your general indignation?

H: I think the project was crippled by this political opposition in Congress, yes.

G: What is your assessment of the progress of the project to date?

H: So far as the water supply feature of it is concerned, it has made good progress. I suppose it could have made more rapid progress if it hadn't been for these political obstacles that were thrown in its way in Congress. But I think that the development of the water project has been very, very good.

G: It is the power aspects which you do not think have been developed well, is that it?

H: That undoubtedly is the root of the political opposition. The power companies have been on the job constantly to try to gain control of all publicly developed power as soon as it -- as a matter of fact, before it left the power house.

---

G: What are your future plans, Mr. Havenner? for the next several years?

H: I haven't any definite plans at this time other than to continue doing just what I'm doing right now. I thought a little bit about doing some radio broadcasting, but I haven't pursued that enough to make any decision about it right now.

H: Is that so? I don't recall that.

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Q: But you hope to remain active in politics?

H: Well, I don't have any plans for any candidacy of my

own in the future. I don't have any plans at this time.

I expect to keep in contact with politics. I'm inter-

ested. I know a little about the background of the

city, which might enable me to take a helpful part in

the future.

(SOURCES OF FURTHER INFORMATION)

G: If someone were to write a story of your life, or some phases of your life, what sources that we have not mentioned would you suggest that they could go to?

H: Well, so far as the Board of Supervisors was concerned, I think they'd just have to go to the files of the daily newspapers, the News, and the Examiner and the -- well, and the Call in particular, and even the Chronicle. My work on the Board of Supervisors was pretty well publicized in those days, but I didn't keep any scrapbook of it.

G: Are there any other published sources of any sort to which they could refer?

H: I think only the Journals of the Board of Supervisors, which wouldn't contain any details. They contain a straightaway statement of what measures were under consideration and the way the members voted. I don't think they have any record of the debates; I think you'd have to go to the newspapers.

G: Is there any depository of the pamphlets or the ephemeral material used in your various campaigns?

H: I don't know how much -- how much have we here, Miss Callahan?

Callahan: Not a great deal. We have some downstairs, not



very much.

H: I guess we have copies, perhaps, of the major publicity statements that were made in my campaigns.

G: But you know of no official place where they have been kept.

H: No, no, I think whatever there is we probably have right here. Of course, there may be individuals around town who kept a few of them. I guess we have the only collection of them.

G: If someone were to wish to question living contemporaries about you and your career, to whom should they go to get the most authoritative information?

H: Well. If they wanted to begin with the Board of Supervisors, I guess they'd have to go to, well, to the present Clerk of the Board.

G: Who is that?

H: McGrath, and there are a few members of the Board of Supervisors with whom I have served who are still alive: Jesse Coleman, he didn't agree with me on a lot of my policies but I think he would give a straightaway report as he saw me; Andrew Gallagher, a member of the Board of Supervisors when I was there -- he's still alive; Supervisor Brown, the insurance man; Arthur M. Brown, Jr., yes. Who else? Do you remember anybody else, Miss Callahan? Most of them are gone.

G: How about your more recent activities?

H: In Congress?

G: In Congress, and as a candidate for mayor. Who would

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G: How about your more recent activities?

H: In Congress?

G: In Congress, and as a candidate for mayor. Who would

know the most about those things?

H: There's a Mrs. Milla Logan. She's in Europe right now. As a matter of fact, I was calling about her recently.

G: That's Mrs. Tom Logan, isn't it?

H: You know her?

G: I know of her, yes.

H: She has handled a number of my campaigns; she would know people to refer you to, I guess. Hennessy, of course. Frank Hennessy, one of my original sponsors for Congress. He's still around. Yes. Anita Day Hubbard of the Examiner.

G: Anita Day Hubbard.

H: A very good friend of mine. Knows a considerable amount about what I did.

G: How about your opponents, if they wish to go to --  
(Gasp in background, and laughter)

H: Well, I don't know about -- Rolph is still alive. I think Dawson -- I read about Dawson the other day. I think he's over in Honolulu, if I'm not mistaken.

G: What was his first name?

H: Kennett Dawson.

G: Kennett.

H: I guess Mrs. Kahn is still alive, isn't she, Miss Callahan? I think so. I don't remember ever reading of Mrs. Kahn's death. I'm not sure.

G: Well, that will certainly give a start, anyway.

know the most about those things?

H: There's a Mrs. Millie Loran. She's in Europe right now.

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G: That's Mrs. Tom Loran, isn't it?

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(Gest in background, and laughter)

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G: What was his first name?

H: Kenneth Dawson.

G: Kenneth.

H: I guess Mrs. Kahn is still alive, isn't she, Miss Calla-

han? I think so. I don't remember ever reading of

Mrs. Kahn's death. I'm not sure.

G: Well, that will certainly give a start, anyway.

Callahan: I'm sure she is. She used to live at the Huntington.

H: Maillard is in Congress. He was a two time opponent. I don't know what's become of Truman Young. I think he left San Francisco. I don't know where he is. Ray Smith is still around, isn't he, Miss Callahan?

G: Well, at any rate, I think that that is a pretty substantial list right there. Now, in summary, in concluding this interview, I wonder if you'd like to tell us anything that I haven't asked about your career, your views, anything you like?

H: Well, I can't think of anything that I haven't already said.

G: I can't think of anything either -- that's why I'm asking you. Thank you very much, Mr. Havenner, for cooperating so fully, and I'll be seeing you again.

\*\*\*

Callahan: I'm sure she is. She used to live at the Hunt-  
ington.

H: Mailard is in Congress. He was a two time oppon-  
ent. I don't know what's become of Truman Young.  
I think he left San Francisco. I don't know  
where he is. Ray Balth is still around, isn't  
he, Miss Callahan?

G: Well, at any rate, I think that is a pretty  
substantial list right there. Now, in summary,  
in concluding this interview, I wonder if you'd  
like to tell us anything that I haven't asked  
about your career, your views, anything you  
liked?

H: Well, I can't think of anything that I haven't  
already said.

G: I can't think of anything either -- that's why  
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