The first question here is what had been my career before my association with Dick Dilworth? I started out my educational life as an engineering student at Penn State. That was interrupted by World War II. I returned to complete my education at Temple University as a mathematics major and following my graduation there in 1947 I taught mathematics as an instructor and got a master's degree in math. I went out to Harrisburg for a brief period of employment in state government as a statistician for the then independent department of public assistance. I stayed out there a year and returned to Philadelphia on a fellowship at the Bryn Mawr College graduate school of social economy. At Bryn Mawr I met the late Dorothy Selby, who was the wife of Earl Selby, and one day at lunch she told me that her husband was looking for a new assistant at the Bulletin and I was pretty weary of academic life at that point and I told her I would like the job. I was interviewed by Earl and in June of 1952 I went to work as his assistant. The next three years I did all of the leg work for the column, which which sort of had all of Philadelphia in all its dimensions as its beat -- politics, government, medicine, social welfare. There wasn't any area that was really restricted to us. And in addition, I worked as the operative agent on the so-called Mr. Fixit column, which meant that every day I had about 50 inquiries from readers of complaints and problems and so on which I chased down. Between that and working on the column, I really got a tremendous education in the city and what made it work, particularly city government had just started into its reform period at the time and so I really got to articulate with that phase of city government in a very close way. I worked three years for Earl and then Dick called Earl one Saturday and asked if he had anybody to recommend to serve as his public relations aide in the 1955 mayoralty campaign and Earl figured the time had come for me to move on and recommended me and I got the job.

That began my association with Mr. Dilworth, whom I had never met up until that point. I worked for him during that campaign, all through his time in City Hall, through the unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign of '62, and then returned and worked with him the first two years of his presidency of the School Board.

The next question is what my role was with him and how did it change from campaign time to City Hall and finally after the years in City Hall. As I've indicated, at the end of the 1955 Mayoralty campaign I moved into City Hall and naturally we reorganized the Mayor's office a little bit differently to suit the experience and talents of the people who were moving in with Dick and so we created the post of Press...
Secretary, which had not existed in Joe Clark's Mayoralty and he had dealt with the whole question of news relationships in a whole different way. That was my primary responsibility. I would say it covered about half of my time in the mayor's office and the rest of the time I really functioned as a general administrative assistant doing research chores of one kind or another, answering correspondence, the whole spectrum of things that one does in a very busy chief executive's office whether in local government, or state government, or even federal government. The entire range of communications and creative duties that evolve in that kind of an office.

(WMP: May I interpose a question? What became of the Bureau of Public Information when Dick became Mayor in 1955? Did that continue to function?)

Yes. The way we divided the responsibilities -- the information department of the City Representative's office functioned under a Deputy City Representative and a Director of Information and they assumed as a primary responsibility the serving of all the departmental needs and really served the departmental needs as if they were sort of a public relations agency. The person in the office had departments which they had to cover, so to speak, and worked almost as account executives -- someone had police and the fire departments, someone had the streets department, etc. I served the public relations needs of the Mayor's office. Now, obviously there is a functional relationship there. So what I really did is bridge the gap between the Mayor and the departments in an informational sense. We worked -- Abe Rosen was brought in at that time by Fred Mann and he ran the Deputy City Representative's office and then subsequently Tony Zecca came in as the Chief of the Information end of the City Representative's office. We worked very well together. I tried very hard to clear things through the Mayor -- things that required clearing from a news sense in the departments. They in turn tried to keep me posted of things that were happening at the departmental level that the Mayor should know about, and so on. And questions of ceremonies and so on. We worked very closely and I think very well together.

The next question really deals with my role in the political sense as compared with that played by Natalie Saxe and Ann Dilworth. Well, first, once Dick had gotten into the Mayor's office Ann's political role really diminished, if you interpret political in the strict sense, which I'm going to do here. That is, that she became the wife of the Mayor and we began to involve her ceremonially in a number of things. But they were really in the role as wife of the Mayor rather than the political role which she had occupied since 1947. So Ann really began to discharge, I think, primarily a ceremonial role as the wife of the Mayor and became involved in certain things. At one point she was keenly interested
in art and I believe she was involved, either directly or indirectly, with the Art Commission at one point and I think was very happy with that kind of role. She did not really participate in any great extent that I knew of in any direct political machinations that accompanied the whole governmental end of it.

Natalie, of course, had been Dick's political assistant since I guess going back possibly to '47 or at least shortly thereafter. She continued to play that role.

I think I got less and less political and really involved myself with the flow of information to the media more in the sense of governmental kinds of things. I was not out of politics -- I was not a skilled political operator -- I'm not now but I was certainly less so then. And Natalie pretty well had that role.

Now the third member of the Mayor's staff -- we only had three principal staff members then -- was Joe Gaffigan. The historic role of the Deputy to the Mayor as started by Mike Byrne was that of liaison with the political groups and with City Council. Joe Gaffigan continued in that role. Joe handled the flow of legislation and the liaison with City Council. Joe had come to us recommended by Bill Green and Joe was also close to Jim Clark, both of whom were the two top figures in the Democratic City Committee and he served a very useful role as a liaison with Bill Green, Sr. and Jim Clark.

Joe was a lawyer -- had been marginally in politics and to the extent that he was involved in politics he had been the protégé of Bill Green's. I think Bill's family, the Green family and the Gaffigan family were very close. But Joe was a young lawyer who had largely not been terribly involved in political life in the city. To the extent that he was, I guess he was involved with Democratic City Committee politics. But I had never heard of him up until that time and I think Dick had always felt during the entire six years that when things got really rough with Green and Clark that Joe always maintained the communications connection and that was a very valuable role. He was also an extraordinarily astute observer of organizational politics and that was primarily his role.

Natalie's political role -- I think Natalie in the last analysis was the closest political advisor to Dick and her role I think basically was a much broader one than Joe Gaffigan's. Natalie kept her finger on the state and the national as well as the local political scene and we moved through the mayor's office into the national scene through the U.S. Conference of Mayors, through the American Municipal
Association and Dick became a leading figure in those organizations. He spent a lot of time in Washington lobbying and dealing with our Congressional delegation and so on.

Joe Clark had started during his four years in the Mayor's office what I think was really a revolutionary and now fairly common thing, but at that time it was kind of revolutionary and had recruited Pat McLaughlin to be a legislative representative in Harrisburg and on the grounds that we needed someone resident in Harrisburg representing the interests of the city government alone. And Pat McLaughlin was a very good political operative and another source of input into the Mayor's office. I think at the time of the Clark administration he was operating out of the City Representative's office. And we hired him as a consultant reporting to the Mayor and for a while he had Harrisburg and then we got very interested and I think Dick began to see that we were really going to have to turn more and more to the federal government and so he took the analogy and began to put Pat down in Washington, splitting his time. Then it became pretty obvious that there were two jobs there. So Pat went down and stayed in Washington. Moved to Washington. He became a consultant to the Mayor's office and was a resident in Washington and I think was either the first or the second city lobbyist in Washington. And we hired at that time the former Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives who had been defeated and was regarded as a pretty intelligent operator with a lot of connections in Harrisburg. We hired Ben Long, who was a ward leader and had been Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives. So we were represented in Harrisburg pretty much through Dick's administration by Ben Long and in Washington by Pat McLaughlin.

Ben is deceased -- it was maybe 10 years ago. Pat picked up another city for a while. He represented San Diego in Washington as well as Philadelphia and I think it worked out reasonably well. He stayed down in Washington, I believe, during the Tate administration and then had some difficulty with the City Controller's office. I don't know the facts so I'm not jumping to any conclusions, but I think the Controller brought some kind of charges involving his expense account against him. I don't think it's been resolved -- I don't think it was a terribly serious thing, but I think it had the effect of terminating Pat's consultative services with the city. Now I understand he is and has been for several years the Assistant to the Mayor of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The next question is -- how do you account for the unusual political partnership between Dick Dilworth and Joe Clark and would you tell about the inevitable stresses and strains which they had to resolve in order to achieve their own goals and at the same time act in the public interest?
First, I have to say as sort of a disclaimer, I came into the relationship relatively late in the game. Joe and Dick had first of all known each other personally during their early lives and had become involved in politics at a fairly low level in the '30's and then in '47 Joe had become Dick's manager in that campaign. Of course that began what I would say was a high-level association. I didn't really get into the picture until '55, so a lot of the early people were sort of remote to me at that time and I was really in sort of one side of the picture. I did not know Joe Clark too well at the time and to me he always continued until much later to be a fairly remote figure, especially since he had gone off to Washington as a Senator. So a lot of what I'm about to say really is a very one-sided view of the relationship because I didn't really have the benefit of being there when they were working together in close terms. I always felt that there was conflict between them but I don't think it was ever as much as people assumed. Nor of course, was the relationship as close as people assumed. I think it was somewhere in the middle. There was a close relationship, pretty much out of an accident in time that they both came on the scene and it served both of their purposes in a very happy way to be associated in the early days of the reform movement. I think they both brought with them into the movement people who sort of leaned more to their styles of operation and their respective philosophies. I think Joe Clark -- they were both lawyers, of course. But I think there the differences began to be apparent as I see them. Joe Clark tended to be a philosopher whereas Dick I think essentially was a pragmatist. They were both idealists, but one saw I think sort of an articulation of a philosophy as a means of expressing ideals and the other saw a kind of an action orientation as a means of expressing his. And I think that there was a philosophical difference. But you could certainly function with those kinds of differences.

The people who were attracted to them were attracted to precisely those characteristics and I think not out of any great degree of pettiness but more out of loyalty and the natural differences there arose what I would call "Clark people" and "Dilworth people" and to the best of my knowledge, the only people that really transcended the differences in the sense that I've expressed them were John Patterson and Bill Rafsky, both of whom were at all times able to communicate at each of those men's levels despite the fact that there may have been friction between them.

Clark and Dilworth were not, to the best of my knowledge, all the time that I was involved, they were not social friends. They were political allies, they had a kind of a backdrop of very interesting period of their lives that enriched both of them as a helping to the relationship, but by and
large it was for the time it existed -- it was really from '47 to '56 was the closest time -- Dick served as State Chairman for Joe Clark's first Senatorial race and with Joe going down to Washington and Dick getting more and more preoccupied with the Mayor's office I would say that the relationship began to really become fairly diluted at that point. And this was really the point that I entered.

It re-emerged in closer terms in '62 when Dick finally decided to definitely go after the Governor thing and he was Joe's running-mate. And I know this as a fact -- that there were people who tended to diminish the relationship at that time. I think Joe was very helpful in seeing to it that Dick got the nomination and Joe tried very hard at that time to be helpful. We had a very difficult campaign to run. There were people who all during the campaign from its inception almost to the end who were kind of indicating that Joe was flying it alone. Of course it turned out tending to confirm that view. But I was with Dick from the very beginning -- travelled with him all during the campaign and I can absolutely say that for that particular campaign at least that Dick was always of the mind that Joe was doing everything in his power, which wasn't really a great deal at that time, to help Dick's candidacy in a very difficult period. I think that the thing that really impressed me about the relationships was that publicly the togetherness was always exaggerated in almost a literary sense and it never really existed. And in an inner circle there is always I think presumed to be more conflict between the two men than actually really existed.

I just want to add one more thing -- I think the strain on the Clark-Dilworth relationship was at its maximum in the transitional period between Dick's assuming office as Mayor and Clark's leaving. Now there had been, and I wasn't associated, in the period immediately before I joined Dick I know there had been some back and forth between Clark and the organization about the nomination and this is all heresay, that Lou Stevens emerged at one point and so one, and that there was some apparent strain revolving around Dick's relationship with the Democratic organization -- Dick and Joe's different relationships with the Democratic organization at that time. Dick got the nomination and of course all during the time that I was in the campaign, Joe and his people who were in City Hall at that time were I think extraordinarily helpful and all during that '55 campaign. They were really very helpful in furnishing information, cooperating with the campaign, and so on. Well, the friction then started to erupt after Dick won and began to select his people.
The first place the friction really erupted was in the Managing Director. Vernon Northrup had been the Managing Director in the last stages of the Clark administration and Dick genuinely wanted to continue him -- I think thought highly of his abilities. But Dick at the same time had agreed to name Sam Regabutto as Commissioner of Public Property to move Mort Rothman from the Commissioner of Public Property to be Revenue Commissioner and to drop George Ford from his official family, which he did. I don't know too much of the background, but to the extent that I know it, it is my understanding that Northrup had already agreed to the Regabutto appointment. Then it was my further understanding that some of the people around Northrup in the Clark administration began to steam him off about the independence of the Managing Director and how he had to establish that he was an independent figure in the government and that he wasn't going to accept total dictation on his appointments. So we had this little two-room office on the 26th floor of the Fidelity Building and we were just going through all the chores necessary to taking office. And Natalie and I and the then Mary Donohue, now Mary Donohue Richley, and Patricia Drum Cross, and Mr. Dilworth occupied two little rooms. And Vern came up apparently to settle it once and for all. Twenty minutes later Vern came out and Mr. Dilworth came out kind of looking sad and said "We've got to get ourselves a new Managing Director." Vern had said, "Either Regabutto goes or I go." And Dick simply picked up the phone and called Don Wagner and that's how Don Wagner became the Managing Director for Dick. As a result the Northrup resignation and Don was then Personnel Director, so he was asked whether he wanted the job and he took it. We were also, incidentally, looking for a City Representative and Director of Commerce and really did not know -- I don't mean Dick went into the period after the campaign with a good idea of whom. And then someone during those weeks said to him, "How about Freddy Mann?" And Dick was surprised because Freddy had resigned as Recreation Commissioner to let Bob Crawford take over as full commissioner -- I'm sorry, Recreation Commissioner -- Dick had assumed that Freddy had had it with city government and was going to devote himself to things like the Dell and his other things and I remember him saying, "Would Freddy be interested?" And someone said, "Well, I'll call him up." And of course when he called him Freddy accepted with alacrity. He was delighted with it.

Question #8 deals with Jack Kennedy apparently looking upon Dick Dilworth as a potential candidate for the Presidency of the United States and apparently there was some concern that Dick might be a tough contender. Do I think that Dick had his eyes on the White House and that Jack Kennedy had real reason to be concerned? Actually, I'll answer that the reverse way. I don't think that Dick really ever thought about the White House as a realistic possibility. The thought was expressed in Ted Sorenson's biography of Jack Kennedy.
and basically it stemmed from Kennedy's declining to get into the '56 thing as a Vice Presidential candidate as a running-mate for Stevenson. And then they met shortly thereafter -- after the defeat of Stevenson by Eisenhower -- and the Kennedy forces met at that time and kind of surveyed the scene and really said, "Well, what do we have to worry about?" And I think this was more theoretical than anything else. Someone in effect said, "Well, there's Pennsylvania and in '58 it looks like Dilworth is going to be the gubernatorial candidate. It's a big industrial state, with a very popular charismatic figure theoretically as Governor, Dilworth a white Protestant." And on that basis which was actually more theoretical than political the story emerged. But I don't think that Dick ever really took it seriously. Dick was a real fan of Jack Kennedy and when -- of course I'm jumping the story. Dick did not run for Governor in '58 or at least did not run finally, and in '60 when Kennedy ran in the early days of the Kennedy candidacy, Dick was corresponding with him quite frequently about prospects in Pennsylvania. Dick eventually served as his independent chairman statewide and was very close to Kennedy. I think as a matter of fact if Dick had not been so much involved in Philadelphia at that time that he would probably have wound up in the Kennedy cabinet.

The next question is related -- this question says "Because of Dick wanting to vie for the White House that he made such a determined effort to become Governor of Pennsylvania, looking upon that as a necessary steppingstone?" Everything I've ever heard or seen would tend to say "no" to that question. Dick never really saw himself as a Presidential contender. I think he did, however, want very much all during his political career to be Governor of Pennsylvania. And I felt that that was a very big disappointment that he ran twice. Once too early and once too late and the two times that he could have been elected in '54 and '58 the circumstances prevented his running at that time. But I think he did view, in fact, the governorship of Pennsylvania as an end and not a stepping-stone. But there's another interesting dimension to that. I think one of reasons that things collapsed in '58 was because while Dick originally probably viewed the Mayoralty of Philadelphia as a stepping-stone to the Governorship of Pennsylvania, once he got into it he really enjoyed it very much and I think by the time that '58 rolled around, things were going very well. The administration was working very well, and things were getting off the ground. And I think Dick was a very happy Mayor of Philadelphia in 1958 and I think that happiness accounts for some of the casualness and some of the mistakes that came into the potential candidacy for Governorship in '58. I think that Dick was somewhat relieved when his Governorship possibilities collapsed in '58. I don't think he wanted to leave Philadelphia at that time.
The next question is: "Would you agree with those who thought that Joe Clark always had his eye on the U.S. Senate?"

Again, Joe himself is quoted as saying many many times that that was his life's ambition -- to be a United States Senator, so that's my only experience on that. Of course I always thought he was a tremendous Senator and the only time I ever got involved actually in Joe's political activity was that John Patterson signed me up to run a dinner for him in the unsuccessful campaign in '68 -- an early summer dinner or a late Spring dinner to raise money. A fantastically good dinner, but unfortunately the campaign ended on a disastrous note.

I was only involved directly in the Clark political activity in the very limited sense in 1968. I had just gotten into business on my own and John Patterson asked me if I wanted to work on a late spring fund-raising dinner for Joe Clark's campaign to be reelected to the Senate. And I agreed to do it and of course I always had great pleasure out of working with John Patterson and the two of us worked up the thing. I was sort of the artistic director of the dinner -- the feature of which was that we had ten of Joe's colleagues in the Senate agree to come to Philadelphia to say kind words about him. So we had the usual head table which had Paul D'Ortona and Jim Tate and Bill Green and Joe himself and I guess a couple of others and we very quickly decided that we were going to try an unusual experiment -- seating the senators in the audience and then once we made that decision and stuffed it down everyone's throat that the senators would be amenable to it, Pat marketed tables on the basis of it you buy a whole table we'll put Senator so and so at your table. And then we had a spotlight up in the balcony -- I knew where all the senators were -- and by remote control, I was backstage with a telephone and I would say, "Put the spotlight next on table 57." And Pat, who was master of ceremonies, introduced the senator at table 57 -- we had darkened the whole place -- we put the spotlight on him -- he would stand alone at the table with the spotlight -- got tremendous applause and then we would snap the spotlight off -- he would then go backstage to get ready to make a speech. And we introduced all ten senators that way -- it was really spectacularly timed. And then when we finished all the introductions of the senators, we had them all on stage. Then we gave Paul D'Ortona the role -- because he was a legislator -- he then presented all ten of them and said, "Senator Clark, here are your colleagues." It really went off tremendously well. I was very pleased with it as an innovation in dinner staging. But after the dinner the agency that was handling Joe decided that they didn't need my services, so that was the end of my involvement in the campaign.
The next question deals with the relationship of the Dilworth administration to the Democratic City Committee and its then leaders -- Bill Green, Sr., and Jim Clark, both now deceased. I think that the relationship, the friction that arose essentially, was that while Dick started out very prepared to work in harmony with the city committee, partially of course out of the knowledge that they largely controlled City Council and that there had been a diminution in the reform bloc of city council and that with the exception of a couple of the councilmen, most of them owed their election and posts to the Democratic organization. Partially because I think Dick felt that there needed to be an atmosphere of harmony between the two branches of government and he started out working determined to work with him very closely. I think he also articulated a philosophy that I think I ran under the banner of the Democratic party of Philadelphia and therefore I'm perfectly happy to consult on matters of city policy with the political leadership. So everybody says, "Well, that's good." But Dick said, "On the other hand, I am by virtue of my office and my background a leading political figure and therefore I think that the City Committee ought to consult with me on matters of political policy, namely, the slating of candidates for the legislature, for judges, and so on and there he ran into an absolute stone wall, so Dick was willing to say, "Look, there are some important matters coming up in the city government. I am willing to discuss these with you to talk about the political ramifications, to seek your advice, your help if you can give it, and so on and so forth." And I thought that was very sound. But conversely, Dick wanted very much to be regarded as a leading figure in the party apart from his being mayor and because he had his own idealistic concepts about what the city ought to be and what the political and governmental climate ought to be -- he wanted to be consulted about matters that were beyond his official purview as Mayor and I think that is essentially what led to the debacle in '57 when Victor Blank came up again for reelection as District Attorney and Dick opposed Blank and he opposed the ticket and sat out the campaign and it was a very acrimonious period. Basically, Dick said, "You didn't consult me on the ticket. These are not good candidates and I'm not going to support them." Of course he said this in much more colorful language.

But I think the fundamental cleavage at all times was the unwillingness of the late Bill Green, less so on the part of Green, but moreso on the part of Jim Clark, who was transigent on the point that he ran the Democratic City Committee and that he had no obligation to consult with anyone. I think Green tended to be more conciliatory but was very carried away and was sort of swept up in Jim Clark's intransigence and I think that the five or six years in the total relationship as long as those two men were alive was really the fact that they were not willing to give Dick what he felt his due was as a political leader in the city.
I think basically there were very few battles relating to matters of the city government, even though Council tended to be somewhat obstructionist, I think Dick succeeded in getting through his major development programs in housing, in industrial development, in transportation, and so on. I think, as I indicated earlier, the basic problems Dick had were problems of party and broad political climate and really not too much affecting the programs that he was trying to both articulate and implement as Mayor.

(tape change) .... so, he brought in Dave Malone and Dave Malone had an office across the hall and really served as I think an intelligence department for the Mayor. The primary emphasis on making sure that as soon as there was any kind of threatened or actual infiltration of racket elements into the district level of police that the police were transferred promptly, that command people were transferred before the thing had a chance to settle in. I have heard and honestly do not know it as a fact, that Dave Malone also dealt with political intelligence as well. I can't see how you could help it. I'm sure it was true. I'm sure it was equally true that he did not, as he was accused of many time, do any wiretapping. But the fact was that through the police apparatus and so on Dick was able to keep pretty good watch on some of the unusual activities of political personalities -- not through any kind of surveillance, but simply by routine collection of intelligence. I think Dick largely had very little power other than intelligence in both the direct sense that I've been using it and then generally his political skill, his wit and his resourcefulness. I don't think he really had much more to deal with. The city government, as it was constituted then, was really very very sparse in terms of patronage personnel. Patronage was very limited -- once you appointed your commissioners and deputies you were pretty much out of it. We had no patronage in the independent elected offices. Those were to the extent that they existed, it was controlled by city committees on city contracts to the best of my knowledge, the contracts were being bid fairly and honestly, particularly those which were straight out bids, not negotiated bids or things which were difficult to pin down to a direct bid.

So the Mayor in those days and I think this was true in the Clark administration as well, really had not much more than the force of his personality, his resourcefulness, his wit, the kind of people he surrounded himself with, and the success of his programs. I think also, and this was particularly more so true in the Clark years where he was the first reform Mayor -- there was a substantial amount of public support -- almost a kind of a blank check. I think that became less and less true as the reform movement moved
through the succeeding years, people did begin to question your policies particularly when the policies were very drastic and had an impact on people's lives and property and lifestyle and so on and when you began moving that bulldozer, for example, for Redevelopment you didn't have a passive public and they didn't give a damn what reform mayor you were, they didn't want their house budged. But I think by and large Dick as much as Joe used their intelligence and personality and political skill to keep the thing going, but I think they had damn little power in the traditional political sense to achieve that.

(WMP: Can you elaborate a little more about Dave Malone's background --)

Dave had earlier served as Chief of County Detectives during Dick's tenure as District Attorney. He had come to Dick originally sort of out of the same background as Tom Gibbons. Both of them had been career police officers and both had been in a sense rebels against the earlier Republican administration and both as a result had been put in what was then regarded as police department Siberia, the Juvenile Aid Division, which was a relatively new concept. The juveniles were not really as much as a problem as they are today and anyone who was put in Juvenile Aid Division was in a sense being disciplined, almost as a different way of being sent to Roxborough, where they had the hills to walk up and down. Juvenile Aid Division was really a punishment tour of a sort. So they both came out of that background and in the early days of the reform movement as I understood it, and again I was not around at that time, both Gibbons and Dave Malone were very very helpful to Dick and Joe as they were working to break through with electoral victories.

On the Redevelopment Authority -- of course the Clark administration as I saw it -- again coming in on a one-sided basis -- I think had some very fundamental function. It came in as a reform movement. Things were really not well organized. In order to get things done in a highly substantive way -- the charter was just beginning -- you had to really -- the first job of the Clark administration was establish a reputation for probity and honesty. That's what they had campaigned on. And so a lot of things were done -- the strengthening of the civil service, the beginning of the clean-up of the police department, all of which had the symbols of what was wrong with the government. The Clark administration really attacked that as a means of establishing the confidence. I think the second thing was to show that the charter actually did work. That the theoretical piece of paper that had been put together over a number of years of discussion and argument and then finally approval by the voters had to be made to work because that was the real test of the Clark administration. I think the Clark administration also began at that time some
terribly important studies leading to the major (?)
I know there was a very far-reaching study of the urban
traffic and transportation board, which was a new creature
created by the Clark administration which governed transportation
policy I know in the Dilworth administration for virtually
throughout that administration. Then the Redevelopment
Authority had been sort of really moribund under the
Republicans and that had to be geared up to begin the whole
process of going to Washington, getting the funds, and then
beginning the operational part of the Redevelopment program —
clearing land, seeking out developers, and so on. And
I think Senator Myers had been the Chairman and then when
he died I think Dick named Mike Von Moschzisker as his
Redevelopment Authority Chairman and Mike had served as
first deputy District Attorney.

I think there were some other -- the whole question of
Industrial development, which had sat all during the
Republican administration, there were studies and recommendations
as to what ought to be done to identify and begin to market
and develop industrial land to bring jobs and so on.
So all these things were gotten underway in the Clark admin­
istration. The climate, the making the charter work, the
study and recruitment of a top-level team of executives
and so on, and all of that was enormously valuable. We
inherited the sort of best parts of that. But we took
over -- we had a going administration, the charter did
work, the police department had a good reputation, we had
some just recently completed studies and directions that
work should proceed ready waiting for us, and in my judgment,
maybe this is a sin for a Dilworth man to say, but I think
had the thing been reversed -- had Dilworth been the Mayor
in '51 and Clark in '55, it wouldn't have worked out as well.
I think what you needed was sort of the philosopher idealist
in that first four years and I think you needed a man whose
very personality spelled action in that next period, to
really carry out a lot of the very good groundwork that
had been laid during those four years.

(WMP: There's something I've told many times, but I don't
know if I've put it on tape. Dick was in the war with the
fighting Marines out in the Pacific Islands and he really
was under fire. Joe Clark, on the other hand, was an
administrative officer under General Stratimyer flying
"The Hump" into China. So Joe got a training in military
administrative matters and Dick had to charge into things
and be a leader in the trenches. And that's the difference.
And it was perfect for Philadelphia. The fighter came in
first and broke open the citadel of City Hall and then
Joe came in as the first administrator and then Dick came
in and kept it going.)

I think that's very accurate. Ok. To what extent were
the civic organizations, such as GPM, of help to Dick while
he was Mayor and would you tell about the interest that
developed in the old city? I think Dick came in -- interestingly,
GPM's primary involvement at the time Dick came in was GPM had done a lot of the spade work in the development of the Food Center and that was their number 1 project and they were terribly concerned about it and the -- after Dick and Northrup had a parting of the ways the Food Center was looking for a principal executive and the GPM people came to Dick and said, "Your going to hold it against us if we appoint Northrup." And Dick said, "Absolutely not. I think he would be a terrific choice for that." So Vern became the head of the Food Center at that time. Summarily, there were some other interesting connections. One that Don Wagner became the Managing Director, had been an Executive Director of GPM prior to Bill Wilcox before he became Personnel Director for the city. So there were some ties there. I think also the Chamber of Commerce had a happy circumstance at that time where an interesting guy named Bob Sessions became President of the Chamber at that time. He later left the city and I think he has come back and left again but he was a very forward looking guy, not a traditional business type and there was an executive at the time named Keyton Arnet and for some reason or another Dick and Arnet and Sessions kind of got along pretty well together, whereas my understanding was that Clark and the Chamber had had some pretty big go-arounds during the Clark administration. So you had the GPM -- Dick, despite some uneasiness -- there was also some uneasiness about the Penn Center development as well, primarily because Dick had agreed to make Albert Greenfield Chairman of the Planning Commission, but the Penn Center development pretty much proceeded along the lines that GPM was interested in which was sort of the GPM Pennsylvania Railroad plan and Albert did not really interfere with that.

There was a great deal of concern, getting back for a minute to the interim period, Mr. Hopkinson was retiring and there was no secret about Dick's intention to appoint Albert Greenfield, but a lot of people were hoping it was not going to happen. And I know Stuart Rauch got off the Commission -- I don't think that was related, but when Albert was appointed -- I think it was Gerald Ingersoll served on the Commission and he resigned because of Albert's appointment and I know Dick got a letter off to him and they released the letter to the public in which they said to Mr. Ingersoll that sometimes people like yourself get the impression that the City Planning Commission should be run like the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad. That was in the letter so I don't have any reluctance in saying it. Interestingly, and this will lead to other things that you are asking about, Ed Bacon was ready to resign at that time because he did not feel that he could work with Mr. Greenfield and he felt that this was going to represent a drastic and radical departure. He was talked to at great lengths by Mr. Dilworth and assured that his skills as a planner were going to be fully realized
and also I think at that time Ed was mollified by the
bringing in of Dean Perkins to serve as Vice Chairman
and Dean Perkins had been of course a professional
planner and so on and so forth. That kept Ed Bacon on
board. At any event, Dick also established a pretty good
relationship -- I don't remember who the principal
executive was. (?) Levine, was the principal executive
of the Citizen's Council on City Planning. So there were
three or four spin-offs of GPM -- the Citizen's Budget
Committee, under David Harshaw; the Citizen's Committee
on City Planning, which was then the executive director
was Levine; GPM had Bill Wilcox in his early days also
very anxious to be helpful; the Chamber. And those were
the over-arching major civic organizations and Dick made
a very determined effort to develop and keep a positive
relationship with those organizations. Not that there
weren't a couple of fights, but the door was always open --
they could fight on one thing and start off being partners
on something else and I would say that the relationship
that Dick had with the civic organizations during his
six years as Mayor were probably one of the several high
points of his success as Mayor -- reasons for his success
as Mayor.

A comment on Albert Greenfield's stewardship of the Planning
Commission -- first, I'll put some extra things in here --
first, I think that if they didn't come to love one another,
my impression was that he and Ed Bacon as Chairman and
Executive Director developed over the period during which
they worked together on the planning commission a very
healthy respect and admiration for their mutual talents,
both of which were considerable. Going back to the Food
Center business, it is my impression that Mr. Greenfield,
having really lost an aesthetic and I guess somewhat
financial battle about how the nature of the Penn Center
development was I think wanting to even up the score with
what he considered to be his rivals or opposition as
represented by the Greater Philadelphia Movement, but
I have never heard the story directly on my own -- I think
the point that you raised about Dick's extracting from
Albert a promise not to interfere with the orderly development
of the Food Center is probably accurate because to the
best of my knowledge, once that administration got underway
and with the condemnation of Dock Street as a means of
propelling the Dock St. merchants into the Food Center
with absolutely no interference or anything that could
be construed as foot-dragging by the Planning Commission
and that whole operation, I think basically there was an
attempt at the beginning of our administration to get the
Dock St. merchants to move as the first step to the
development of the Food Center by friendly persuasion.
Well, a lot of those people had been there many many years
and I think it's awfully difficult to get them moving
voluntarily and especially to get a lot of them moving.
And Mr. Dilworth concluded finally that the only recourse
he had was to condemn the entire area. I must say at that
point, that was an historic decision for the reason that the condemnation of Dock Street was immediately followed by the Bacon presentation, by the implementation of the plans for Washington Square East, which had been under development. And I have a little interesting story on that. Ed Bacon came into a cabinet meeting about that time -- and I'm not sure which is first -- the condemnation or that. But they are all fairly close together -- and said, "Here's what we want to do." And presented a whole plan for the development of Washington Square East, Society Hill, and this was a presentation under the aegis of Mr. Greenfield's leadership. And it was presented to the cabinet and at the end of the cabinet session Dick said to Bacon -- "What do we do?" And he said, "Let's invite the city's leaders to the same presentation you've given us." And they all took out their calendars and said, "Here's a good date." and then Dick turned to me and said, "You get up the list and draft a letter and let's get these letters out." I remember this. We worked on getting the letters out, but we didn't have too many people in the Mayor's office at that time. We finally got all the letters, there was a holiday intervening and I remember feeling I had to get these things in the mail at such and such a time and it got to be 8 o'clock that night and I knew I wanted to get them in the mail to beat a holiday. And I called John O'Shea, who was Mr. Greenfield's administrative assistant, because I didn't have any postage on the envelopes and the City Hall was already closed down. I was still in the Mayor's office. I called O'Shea at home and I said, "Do any of your hotels have any mail meters? If we could run them through a mail meter tonight and drop them in the mail, we'll reimburse you." And I took 500 letters in a box down to the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. They ran them through a mail meter and that's how Society Hill was born. Those were invitations to the major public presentation of Society Hill.

The next question relates to the relationship between Dick and Harry Batten. Harry Batten then being one of the two or three co-chairmen of GPM during that period. They Harry Batten was a very single-minded person and someone who once he had his eye on an objective or a goal was not easily deterred. And I think Dick's being in a period of action orientation or redevelopment on a lot of things and Batten being the co-chairman and a driving force of the city's major civic organization at the time -- they made a very good team. I think that when they agreed they were practically unstoppable because GPM with its roots in the city's power structure and very deeply into the business community, notwithstanding the Chamber, although we had good cooperation from the Chamber. The Batten-Dilworth
combination in terms of implementing things that they mutually agreed on was virtually unstoppable. While they had some good go-arounds they really came to be very close personal friends and a mutual admiration society.

On the question of Dick's house, I think Dick really came to a decision to move into Washington Square long before the implementation. This was in '56. I know they were looking at properties and so forth and they purchased these two old wrecks and tore them down. But as it happened it coincided with the development of the announcement and development of Society Hill. At the old house on St. James Street was really just that — an old house -- and I know Ann had been anxious to move and I think they took a look at Washington Square and thought it was really a lovely place and they located these properties between the Athenaeum and Lippincott to be an ideal place and I think the house that they built there was really a labor of love for both Dick and Ann. I know they enjoyed very very much all the years that they lived there. The house was a wonderful thing in their lives.

Jack Robin. When the Society Hill development was through as a matter of planning and counsel approval the question then arose as to implementation. And I guess the person most responsible for bringing Jack Robin to Philadelphia was Albert Greenfield. Greenfield and Dilworth decided to form the Old Philadelphia Development Corporation and they started looking for a guy to head it. Someone said how about this fellow Robin who worked with Dave Lawrence out in Pittsburgh on the Pittsburgh renaissance, the development of the Golden Triangle there. They decided that was who they wanted. Robin had also served I think briefly in the Leader administration as Secretary of Commerce. And Albert was I think very very persuasive in bringing Jack Robin to Philadelphia. Of course he was an enormously talented guy. He could write. He was probably the best political speech writer in the area. No one could write a political speech like Jack Robin and I guess it's not — nobody's going to get arrested if I say that the best prepared speech that Dick Dilworth ever delivered and he didn't change a word of it was when he was a candidate for reelection against Harold Stassen. The GPM dinner had both Mayoralty candidates. Jack Robin wrote Dilworth's speech and it was really a beautiful document. It summed up the first four years. It was a masterpiece of razor surgery on Stassen and Dick did not change a line of it. Jack Robin was a terrific speech writer. He was a great intellectual depth, he was a doer, he was a mover, he had a great sense of aesthetics, and I think to the extent that Society Hill has turned out to be a good product, I think Jack Robin had a lot to do with it.
Not only Jack was in the cabinet, but I think that several characteristics about Dilworth. Let me dwell on this. To me the main characteristic about Richardson Dilworth — the thing that I got from him and probably the one thing I will forever keep and that I think was his single most outstanding characteristic — was his complete lack of self pity. He never felt sorry for himself. I've seen him under awfully difficult times. Bad political reverses and so on. And at no time did I ever see him exhibit any self pity. He did not look back. He was a man who always sort of kept his eyes forward. And the second one that I felt — and this has to do with Robin — was that even though Dick was a really terrifically high IQ smart resourceful guy and all, he never failed to try to surround himself with people that were smarter than he was.

I think he was delighted, for example, to keep the largest part of the crew that Joe Clark had assembled. I must say this was obviously a characteristic of Clark too. Both revelled in surrounding themselves with stimulating intellect and talent and people who could really challenge them a merry chase. Robin appealed to Dilworth very very much in that respect. Bill Rafsky appealed to Dilworth very much. John Patterson did. Dick Graves, who Dick recruited from California, where he was head of the League of Cities at one time also attended the cabinet meetings. Dick McConnell, even after he left the Finance Director's office and became head of Industrial Development and the Food Center and the Food Center Dick was still attending the cabinet meetings.

The reason Dick was so reluctant to let these guys go and insisted that they come every Monday afternoon for the cabinet is because cabinet sessions in the Dilworth administration were enormously stimulating and there was a tremendous amount of give and take. You could say anything. Anybody there was really permitted to speak up. In the last analysis Dilworth made the decisions. But it was a tremendously free and creative exchange. And he wanted people like Robin and McConnell and Graves there to really create a great state of ferment.

Bill Rafsky — Rafsky is a unique figure in Philadelphia history in the sense that over the last 30 years he is the continuity without question in the city government and the important events revolving around the city government. Again, I came in somewhat late. I know Bill had been a native New Yorker — someone who came to Philadelphia with the hosiery union before the hosiery industry collapsed in Philadelphia. Was a research director there and then was Joe Clark's executive secretary. Then again just by heresay became Housing Coordinator in the Clark administration and started the job of pulling together all the agencies and programs which dealt with the improvement of housing.
He was carried over as Housing Coordinator in the Dilworth administration and in the early days of the Dilworth administration he himself devised the concept of Development Coordinator -- namely, that the Housing job couldn't exist in and of itself. Rafsky himself brought to Mayor Dilworth a broader concept of overseeing the physical development of the city -- not only housing, but transportation and a number of other things -- that became part of his portfolio. Dilworth, who really I think relied more on people than on organizational patterns to carry out programs, was delighted with the concept. Picked up on it with great alacrity. Now several other people have since served in that capacity -- in that nominal capacity -- as Development Coordinator. I think it's fair to say that if people perceived themselves as doing the same things and holding the same power as Rafsky they were doomed to disappointment, because it really was the classic kind of job where the guy who is filling it makes it what it is. Not only that, but the access to the source of power -- because Development Coordinators are one man and a secretary job. In order to get things done, you have to have access to power. If you don't have the access you're really shuffling papers. If you do, you're one of the most powerful men in government.

Next question -- Did nearly all of Clark's commissioners of the various departments stay on the job throughout the six years Dick served as Mayor?

Yes. I think by and large there were some deaths there; there were some promotions. Dick McConnell got moved up to the Food Center and Industrial Development job. But by and large the team that had been assembled by Clark I would say was about 90% intact at the end of the Dilworth administration, which was really remarkable. I did remember that when Dick made his farewell speech in February of '62 there were literally grown men crying in the Commissioner's meeting we had when Dick said good-bye to all of the commissioners and their deputies. It was a terribly moving, emotional scene where literally four or five people in the room were sobbing at the whole thought of it. And I know that when he left it was a terrible blow to people -- particularly people who hadn't known him before but had come during the administration -- like a Don Wagner, who joined him cold in '56 and had worked with him all through the very turbulent period and it was a terribly emotional scene. I think Dick's -- one of Dick's great talents -- was, and I think he proved it again when he went to the Board of Education -- was to find top-notch people and then sort of get them to revolutionize their lives and change their whole lifestyle to join in almost Quixotic kinds of efforts.
The classic example is Don Rappaport who was an accountant at Price Waterhouse and we were looking for someone to serve as Chairman of a financial task force when Dick was about to take on as President and John Patterson and I were sitting in Dick's law office and Dick said, "Can't get McConnell -- he's too tied up -- how the hell can we get somebody?" And John Patterson said, "I know an accountant. He doesn't behave like one." Dilworth said, "Who is he?" And he says, "Don Rappaport and he's right down the hall in the Fidelity Building." Dick picks up the phone, dials Price Waterhouse, and asks for Mr. Rappaport and says, "Can you come down the hall to 2635?" And Don came down about five minutes later and was ushered in and said, "I want you to take the task force." And it changed Don Rappaport's whole life.

Graham Finney and a number of other people who -- he just absolutely insisted that they had to give up what they were doing and get involved with the school system.

Some random observations and some key elements of the latter stages of the Dilworth career -- particularly the Board of Education part. Lining up the Mayorality, I think the most outstanding accomplishment in a programmatic way for Dilworth was the work that was done in urban transportation. I know a lot of people are fond of saying that the commuter subsidy helps rich suburbanites and so on, but the fact of the matter is that if the city government had not moved with alacrity to preserve the 13 commuter lines. I think this city would have been sunk if those had gone under. The mass transit system of the city -- the expressway, subway, the Market St. and Frankford El, the commuter lines and in the latter day, the Lindenwold line, certainly proves the case as far as I'm concerned for a really modern, fast convenient clean efficient mass transit. It is the key. And I think if the -- we had been able and the funds had been available to maximize the commuter lines -- to get new equipment, to build new stations with parking lots and so one, that we could have made an appreciable dent in the transportation problem in the city.

But I think the failure to do that, even though the commuter lines continue to exist -- has really prevented any real solution to the onrush of automobiles. I think Dick's action in working out the beginnings of railroad, city, state, county government on a unified transportation system were probably his major accomplishment as Mayor.

We wound up my seven and a half years -- my first seven and a half years -- with a year which concluded on a rather down-side. The campaign of 1962 was -- we certainly didn't lack in energy. We all worked terribly hard. Natalie Saxe and I were basically the principal operatives. In an interesting side-line, Dick recruited a young man from Duke University to be our Research Director that year and he is now Dean of Temple's Law School -- Peter Liacourse (?)
who was brought to Philadelphia by Mr. Dilworth. We put in a lot of effort. I don't think Dick's reasons for going for Governor were really the right ones that year. I know he wanted to be Governor. I know the primary reason was he figured this was the last time around the horn and maybe things could come together. So that I guess was a good reason. But it really wasn't a positive enough one. The second reason of course was that for all intents and purposes, he was a lame-duck in City Hall. I think we had begun to pull out of public favor, partially because I think we were pushing awfully hard. Partly because I think the honeymoon was over and we had lived a long time with reform and people wanted some kind of a respite from it. So I think the highlight of that negative period was the so-called $40 parking lot episode and I was with Dick on the stage down in South Philadelphia. I walked out of the auditorium -- that was the time Dick went down to present and defend the pilot program in South Philadelphia. There's no question but what both Republican and Democratic local politicians stimulated the opposition against him.

This was a program to charge $40 a year for the privilege of parking on-street in residential neighborhoods. That the parking would have been a permit. A similar program had been worked out in Milwaukee and the proceeds of that program would be used to create a whole city-wide network of residential parking lots off-street so eventually would try to cope in some way with the rising tide of automobiles. We tried to start in South Philadelphia because of the conditions down there. Because the narrow streets were awful. Cars parked on both sides, corner to corner. You couldn't even turn the corner. If the trolley car was there you couldn't get past it. If you had fire equipment to turn corner, you couldn't do it. So we decided to pick out -- and he and I trooped South Philadelphia on foot to check out some of the locations. And we picked a neighborhood with run-down properties and so on. We were going to start a modest pilot program. Well then it erupted. And Dick in characteristic fashion decided to go down and explain it to the community. This was in a school at 5th and Washington. We went down and the auditorium was filled with hostile, really violent bent people and several thousand people outside. It was really quite a frightening scene. Dick got up on the stage and very patiently tried to begin the explanation of his program. No one would let him talk. They started booing and cat-calling and then when they calmed down Dick would again start -- "I'm going to stay here until I finish explaining the program. Then I'll stay here to answer whatever questions you have, but I'm going to stay here until we're done." Then the people outside weren't aware of what was happening inside, so they began to throw rocks and the rocks started coming in these large auditorium windows, breaking the glass and everything. Tom Foglietta got cut --
Was down there trying to be helpful and got cut by flying glass. Well, Dick took a couple of hours. Finally he did get the whole thing out. He answered whatever questions -- and then the evening sort of came to an end. We walked out in the hallway outside the auditorium and Al Brown was then Police Commissioner and one of the police inspectors came over and told the commissioner that they had brought a car up to a window in back of a restroom where Dick and Ann could get into the car and leave. And Al Brown came over and reported this to Dick and Dick looked at him and said, "Al, I came in the front door and I am going out the front door." We came up to the front door and the crowd that had moved across the street -- the direct area in front of the school entrance was open but it was completely surrounded by about 2,000 people, with rocks, vegetables, and everything. And they opened the door and Dick simply walked at a leisurely pace from the school building to a waiting car. I followed closely behind, walking all the way, and as soon as we started walking and miraculously neither of us were hit with anything, but the garbage and rocks started flying our way. We got in our car. An interesting note -- the driver of the car was Sergeant George Penuel, who is now head of our Civil Disobedience Squad, and he went through this gauntlet for about a block of people pounding on the car. And that was sort of symbolic of the kind of negativism that had crept into city government at that time and I think that night was the night that made up his mind that he was going to run for Governor. His power, such as it was, had really reached the bottom and he ought to get out. A lot of people felt badly that he got out and felt that he conceivably could have controlled the '63 election had he stayed -- the shape of the city and so on. I frankly doubt it. I think things would have deteriorated even more. The newspapers were not terribly wildly enthusiastic as they had been about him and we were in a period where, as happens in politics, we had kind of fallen out of favor. And then of course moving into the gubernatorial campaign. Dick did a very careful job of getting the nomination. Helped enormously by Dave Lawrence. If he had done that in '58, we were really very good and handled the thing very well and got the nomination despite threats by Bill Green that he was going to run people against us and everything. We faced eyeball to eyeball and came out as the organization candidate with really no primary campaign to speak of. But '62 was a really dreadful year. We went all through the state -- I think three separate times. Once in the Spring, again in the Summer, and then finally in the Fall. None of the news media around the state would really let Dick answer or outline a program for the state. The other thing that they were getting into quite large was the whole Grand Jury episode with the so-called Frankford El which finally petered itself out. Nobody went to jail; nobody got indicted. Nobody got anything. But it was a severe blow to the presentation of our administration.
That incidentally represented a break, later repaired, with Walter Annenberg. Dick felt that when the Grand jury demand was first made that it was an attack on his administration. Even though the news media and some of the citizens and so on were saying what we're really after are the political figures that are trying to tear you down. The fact of the matter was that the first eruption was in the Department of Public Property.

...... (tape change) I think Dick got very defensive about his administration and Walter Annenberg wanted Dick to himself ask for a grand jury. Dick thought that if he did that he would really be opening the door to a complete onslaught on his administration and so he resisted it and eventually they had it. It came to nothing, really, and in the whole history of the Dilworth administration it was just an episode -- but a terribly unfortunate one. Some people got ruined in the process.

(WMP: Would you make it a little more clear -- what were the charges?)

The initial charges were that a guy who was interested in the repair work of the Frankford El was paying off with favors money, liquor, and gifts, a couple of people in the Department of Public Property. One was Deputy Commissioner John Francis, who had been a career guy. It really shocked Mr. Dilworth that a career person -- a public administration career person -- was the leading person. And there were two others -- the City Treasurer and then later on the Commissioner of Public Property was found to have accepted a set of golf clubs, and so on. So we fired all the people. One was indicted and so on and the investigation sort of lurched here, there, and everywhere. Nothing ever came of it. There were no convictions of any kind. Not even the guy who was supposed to have been the briber was convicted. But the whole episode -- which covered about a year, actually -- really did nothing. It sort of paralyzed our administration and put us on the down side with the public. A lot of people who had been laying in wait for the man on the white horse to stumble were delighted and they really pounced on us. The newspapers had been tremendously supportive -- the Inquirer broke with Dick and the Bulletin and Daily News also joined in the general passion and that, as a sort of long-ranging thing and the $40 parking episode plagued us all during the gubernatorial year.

Dick searched desperately for a creative way out of the box. A lot of people thought he was blowing his top irrationally during the campaign. What he was really trying to do was stir up the kind of episodes where he could benefit from an emotional exchange. And they never happened and we really got trounced.
Incidentally, they hated each other's guts during the campaign. He and Bill Scranton later on got to be close friends.

I remember the day after the campaign, and this is again characteristic -- Dick walked in at 9 o'clock. Most of the staff was there already. He walked in, took off his coat, put down his bag and said, "Today we open the Dilworth employment agency." And he had every member of his staff in for an interview. In effect what he said was, "What do you want to do? Who can I call? How can I help you?" And that went on until he had gone through every single member of his staff in an effort to get them a job. And he rejoined his old firm.

Anyway, that is the end of the Mayoral phase and the Gubernatorial phase.

(WMP: Do you want to say anything about the episode on television when Dick came -- the empty chair?)

We had been challenging Scranton to debates. Scranton was very leery of the debates in the beginning because of Dick's reputation on his feet. Finally, we persuaded Scranton to have a debate at WFIL here, channel 6. Dick prepared assiduously for it. Really very very strongly and I think he was -- Natalie and I and others worked very hard with him in preparation for the debate. Everybody was nervous as hell. I think while the newspapers were not at that time charitably inclined to us -- called it a draw. In these television debates your own supporters think you were marvelous. But I honestly believe -- primarily because Scranton left immediately after the debate, refused to talk to newsmen, that sort of tended to confirm our probably biased view of what had transpired. Scranton absolutely fled the studio. So I think we won that.

So then Dick determined that as a course of strategy he would pursue Scranton for further debate. So we pursued and we ran ads and everything. And then we decided we would do the empty chair bit. This time in Scranton itself. So we took an hour's time. We printed ads challenging -- we'll be there, will you show up? And so on. And we were all ready and as a matter of fact (I'm not even going to mention the person because he is now deceased. He was a local person in Scranton.) Scranton was in his home town of Scranton for a dinner. And we gave this guy the job of keeping his eye on him and he completely forgot. Because we didn't have any advance warning that Scranton had come into the studio 15 seconds before air time and sat down in the chair. Dick was quite disconcerted. The whole thing really was a fiasco from our point of view. After the formal television program was over, which was fiasco enough, Scranton began to conduct a news conference off to the side. Dick figured what the hell so he plunged in and that was where they had that famous episode about "don't you shake your feminine finger
at me." And Walter Allesandroni, who was Scranton's campaign manager, also came in for a tongue-lashing. But none of it did us any good. It was a disaster and really from the point of view that if we had had ten minutes advance notice that he was coming it probably would have been a different story. I don't mean that it affected the outcome of the campaign, but that particular thing is a lesson in proper staff work. If we had had the advance warning, the debate itself would not have been a disaster. But Dick was completely taken by surprise. Scranton marched in just as we were ready to close the studio doors, sat down in his chair, brought in the bucket with white-wash and so on, they had an argument on the air as to whether props should be allowed. It was a disaster. Of course we had heavy coverage from the news people -- some of them had been let in on the secret that Scranton was coming in.

Dick and I sat in a coffee shop in the Pittsburgh Hotel and he said, "let's have a cup of coffee." Which he never did. He was never a guy to eat between meals. We had a cup of coffee and he was feeling kind of down. This was about three weeks before the end of the campaign and he said, "Well, if we're very very lucky it might be close but I have got to tell you that I think we're going to get slaughtered." And that was the closest I've ever seen him come to self-pity because he really knew he was going to be taking a licking. The one hope he had there and it never was realized that we could stimulate the Democratic organizations in the traditionally Democratic counties -- in Allegheny, Philadelphia, Lackawanna, Luzerne, York, and so on, and it just never happened. We even lost a few of those places. I think we lost Luzerne county which was ridiculous.

Dick then rejoined his firm and served as a kind of a dollar a year type consultant to the Kennedy administration on the whole eastern corridor, which in a sense was the forerunner of the Metroliner and Amtrak systems you see today and the whole thing was to begin to define that as a rail corridor and a place where you could move a lot of people if only you could bring the equipment and then promote the use of rail transportation and so on. He was very very restless in those days because he had too much time. He really missed public life. I think, while he didn't actually go back to trying cases to any great degree, he enjoyed getting back to his old firm.

In 1965 the work on the educational home rule charter was then completed. I was working at Temple University. I had gone over after the campaign. I had taken the job as public relations officer at Temple and I still had my hand in in a minor key sort of way. I was persona non grata for no good reason at all with the Tate administration,
despite the fact that I had gotten along well with Tate, I think he really wanted to rid himself of the Dilworth atmosphere and establish himself in his own right, so even Natalie, who worked with him in '63 at his headquarters, was kind of run out of the Tate administration. I never had any, in the entire period from the beginning of '63 until about '68 -- until the Clark campaign -- I had no contact with the political thing at all primarily because of Jim Tate, who had become a dominant figure in that framework.

So I was at Temple, minding my own business, and Bill Wilcox got me involved in the '65 primary -- the educational home rule charter was up. Dr. Gladfelter, who was my boss, asked me also to work on a constitutional change for the approval of state scholarships, so I went down. And then the League of Women voters had some kind of constitutional convention. So I worked on the educational home rule charter campaign, the state scholarships, and the constitutional convention all at once as a volunteer. And Wilcox and I started to talk a great deal about where the city was going and so on and particularly about the school board. GPM at that time had picked up about 1963 on schools as a central element in their program.

When Wilcox and I had lunch and he said to me, "this thing is going to pass, I think, and we're going to have to get a new school board. Do you think Dilworth would be interested in being President of the new school board?" And I said, "I think so, but I better ask." So I went to Dick and said, "Look, I've been working on this campaign. We're getting ready to go on this campaign. Are you interested in schools at all?" I knew he had been interested in schools as Mayor, but the school district then was so totally separated. They really said to stay out. So the city government and schools were pretty far apart when we were there, but I knew Dick was interested in education. I knew he was interested in getting back to public life.

(This was the educational supplement to the home rule charter which was the basis for the reformulation of the school board, and in effect a new constitution for the schools. It was home rule for the schools.)

I then went back and Wilcox and I were sort of running the campaign. We made Thatcher Longstreth and Dick co-chairmen of the educational campaign with a view toward that this would begin Dick's articulation with people in the educational scene, which he had not had too much of.
Bill Ross was sort of a labor guy and Tom Masterson was -- Dick wanted to have a good relationship with the Diocesan schools and he was looking for a prominent lay Catholic who could relate to the hierarchy as a liaison. And two top-notch Blacks -- Henry Nichols and George Hott had both been active in the schools. Bob Sebastian -- there was a desire to have -- Bob Sebastian was one of the two Republicans on the board, Henry Nichols being the other. Dick wanted Bill Goldman very much for liaison with the political people, Bill having been very active politically. So I credit Tate for working with Dick to get a good board. I think the school board years -- the six years there -- (I was only there for the first two) -- but again it was pretty much pure Dilworth.

I came back to work for him then. Natalie came back to work for him. And then he began to recruit people -- John Patterson was a principal advisor. He got Graham Finney to work -- he really twisted Graham Finney's arm. He got Harry Parks (sp?) -- called up Mr. (?), the President of (?) and said, "I've got to have Harry Parks." And got Parks in to run the physical development program.

Graham -- Dick did not know Graham Finney. Graham had left the Planning Commission and became Executive Director of PCCA (Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement).

When we were getting these task forces together we were just writing names and I said I didn't know Graham Finney, but he has been Associate Director of the Planning Commission. So we put him on the task force to reformulate the physical development in the schools. Dick absolutely insisted that Finney come with the school board, first as a consultant and then as an employee to follow through on the recommendations of the task force.

Harry Parks was a -- Dave Zimmerman was building portables for the school district and Dick was very impressed with him, called up Mr. (?) and said, "I've got to have Parks." And recruited him to be in charge of the whole physical part -- the facilities construction.

Don Rappaport was made to come in -- took a leave from Price, Waterhouse at Dick's insistence. Dick Gilmore was recruited by John Patterson from Penn Fruit. There are others too that were brought in -- non-educators to try to bring in some skills and some outside views. So Dick tried to surround -- tried to get a mixture.

That's a story other people can tell better than me, but I think it was an heroic six years he gave as President of the school board and I think really as good a six years as the Mayor. That was December '65 to about September '72. He left shortly before his term expired to permit Henry Nichols to become Chairman of the school board in the hope
So the campaign went through. We knew that Dick was irresistible. Some people had told us not to push Dick for it, but they wanted him to run against Tate in '67 for Mayor, but I took the view then and others did too that this was something that Dick ought to do. That he had been Mayor -- there was no use trying to relive the past. The schools were really important and that they needed the leadership of someone like Dick. So his name obviously went in and he did (censored) privately that he would not serve unless he was chairman. Tate was delighted for several reasons. One I think he felt that it was the right thing to do and the other he had known about all this discussion about Dick being a possible opponent and I think he felt -- I think Tate, given the rest of the appointments that were made and in which Dick participated in by the way, Tate permitted him to participate with him in selecting the other school board members. Dick's point was that if you want me to be the President, it's going to be a big job, and I have to have people I can work with. I think that plus the fact that in general Tate's appointments to the new school board were of the absolutely highest level, I think I can say that Tate was very sincere and I don't think he was trying to get rid of Dick. It happened that Dick obviously got tied up in all of the school board controversy. That did happen. But I don't think Tate planned it that way. I think he was very sincere in trying to get the schools on.

Elizabeth Greenfield and William Goldman were the holdover appointments and then Dick, Tom Masterson was appointed, George Hutt (?), Henry Nichols, Jonathan Rhoads, Bill Ross, Bob Sebastian.
that Mayor Rizzo would reappoint Nichols as Chairman. But that never happened. He dropped him as a member, even.

Dick died in '74.

I thought '67 -- when the Fall of '67 came around Arlen Specter was running against Tate. Dick and Arlen had had something of a relationship. As a matter of fact, when Krumlisch had come up for reelection, Dick urged (Krumlisch was District Attorney and had succeeded Victor Blank) -- when Krumlisch came up for reelection Dick and Joe tried to pursue Frank Smith to dump Krumlisch. Dick urged him to slate Specter. Specter was then a Democrat. Dick had some sort of knowledge of Specter as a talent -- as a young, bright, energetic, ambitious, aggressive attorney -- and I think actually had the course of history run differently, Specter would have gone a different track and a lot of other things would have been different, but he was turned down and that's when Specter decided that he would run against Krumlisch and he was -- he won in the upset victory.

So when Specter was slated for Mayor, Specter still was regarded as a liberal Democrat even though he was a Republican and he had not -- relations with Tate had deteriorated and so I think there was kind of an unspoken hope that Specter would win in '67 and I think had he won the relationship between Specter and Dilworth and Specter and Bill Ross would have boded well for the educational establishment. I think Specter would have revived it whereas Tate's continuing on, as evidenced by his support of Rizzo as Police Commissioner and so on, really kind of completed the schism between the school district and the city. And it was always a very wide break from then on, culminating in that semi-riot episode in front of the school board. That was the landmark day. That was right after the election. Specter had been defeated. Tate was now feeling all his muscle. He had appointed Rizzo in the primary. And that sort of marked the beginning of Rizzo's emergence as a major factor. But if Specter had won I think it would have spelled a different fate for education. Now maybe the money would have run out and everything, but there were good relationships that could have been built on at that time. I also think that was the beginning of the end of an era for GPM because GPM's board at that time, either by acquiescence or by design had permitted Wilcox to run -- to work in Specter's campaign openly on the grounds that Specter looked like he was a winner and GPM had suddenly had a cooling with Tate so they figure they might as move their chips out to the center of the table quite openly.
Wilcox, while he was Executive Director, worked openly in the Specter campaign. He did not take a leave of absence. He was working as either the Chairman of Specter's task forces which were writing position papers and Tate of course knew it.

But when Tate defeated Specter that was the end for Wilcox and GPM -- they lost their access to City Hall and really didn't recover it at all during the Tate administration. They began to try to recover it in the early days of the first Rizzo administration, but by then it was a different basis. In a sense GPM really lost what it really needs and what any civic organization needs -- you need either to oppose strongly and with hostility the forces in power or you need to work with them on a non co-opted basis. There is no middle ground. You can't work with them and he co-opted. You lose your credibility. GPM with Dilworth had had an open door -- they worked on a non co-opted basis -- we didn't own them -- they argued with us; they fought with us openly; they supported us; they agreed with us. The whole concept of a good marriage. But they lost any opportunity for that by Wilcox's working and then they sort of had to go their own way and begin to try to reformulate themselves as an agency, which they are still going through and which today has led to the merger the partnership. That's still part of the process that started with that as a historical thing.

I want to say one more thing. We have had our differences -- not too many, but I think no history of Richardson Dilworth's public life from beginning in '47 and ending up with the wind up of his school board years, could be complete without somebody saying -- and I think I'm going to be that somebody -- that one of the most underrated people in Dilworth's career and one of the most underrated people in public life in Philadelphia during that whole period was Natalie Saxe. That she has never really been a person in the newspapers. That she has done skillful work at the highest level in the field of political intelligence and she remains today as probably one of the most knowledgeable and skillful people in that field. Her loyalty to Dick was unswerving -- and there were others too -- but her loyalty to Dick was complete and unswerving. She was with him at the beginning. She stuck with him to the end. And somebody has got to say it and I think I've been saying it. That she is an unsung heroine of the Dilworth years. And, incidentally, in the question of money-getting -- particularly in the school system where it was really tough, but also in the city government where her role was in a sense sort of subsidiary to the roles of our well-defined Washington and Harrisburg representatives. Her money-getting role as a Harrisburg lobbyist for the school district is one of the great stories of individual efforts and skill and has never been told.
as at other times.

He took me to Le Bec Fin, which most people think is the best restaurant, French restaurant, or any restaurant, in Philadelphia. I came over there at about 12:15, which is when we supposed to get together, and he was standing at the bar and he had already clearly had a couple of small splits of champagne. Dick was a great champagne drinker. And I was already getting nervous, because I didn't know how to handle that kind of situation. So I suggested to him that I was very hungry and could we sit down and eat. And he said, "All right, if you insist." He was always -- actually, after he kicked the alcoholism habit he had very little tolerance -- one or two drinks really set him off. And he had already had a couple of bottles -- small splits -- of champagne. So we went to sit down and we ordered a very light lunch -- a salad and an omelette -- and Dick then called the wine steward over and said, "Could you bring us a bottle of wine?"

So the wine steward came over and he brought over a bottle of -- I don't know, a French wine, anyway -- and Dick was really feeling in a very high mood and everything and the wine steward poured a little in Dick's glass and Dick picked it up and drank it down and then he said to the waiter, "Would you take that horse piss back and bring me a real bottle of good wine?" So the guy brought back a very expensive bottle of burgundy and we started lunch about 12:20 that day. We killed between us two bottles of this very fine wine. We had the lunch. And after we had finished the wine Dick begin ordering snifters of brandy, and I guess he had about 5 or 6. I had a couple and then I was starting to feel myself go under so I stopped and tried to slow him down, too. About 4 o'clock he said, "The main reason I did this -- I didn't want to go home because Ann had some kind of ladies over there for lunch and they were going to stay and I didn't want to go back." We both left the restaurant.

An interesting development is that Peter Von Stark, who owned La Panetriere, came over to lunch to Le Bec Fin because his former chef, Georges Perrier, opened Le Bec Fin. And he said hello to Peter Von Stark and then I put him (Milworth) in a cab and sent him home and then I walked back to the office about 9 blocks to sober up --

And I saw him once more in the hospital after he had had surgery and that was the last time I really saw pure Richardson Dilworth because when I saw him in the hospital I could tell in his eyes that the end was sort of near. I was at the hospital with Isadore M. Scott and we both knew that the end was pretty soon. And it was tragic. And if I can say this as my closing line, it was the end of an era. And as many people -- I think Joe Clark himself
To finish up -- not to finish up, but Natalie of course came with Dick as a volunteer fresh out of college in 1947. Very quickly became a part of the staff, was with him with the exception of the period of '63, '64, and the first part of '65 before he became school board president and the period after he left the school board presidency at the end of '72 until his death. Natalie was with him all during those years and was probably the most skillful eyes and ears and brain in Philadelphia state politics that this city has ever seen and she has received precious little recognition for that.

My time was considerably less than that. As I said at the beginning of these tapes I joined him in June of 1955, I stayed with him through 1962 and the disastrous gubernatorial race, I rejoined him in late '65 for the school board thing, left there in late '67 to subsequently went into my own business. But even while I was not officially in his official family in the school district or at other times I always enjoyed enormously his companionship at lunches and so on.

I will tell the one last story about Dick. Leave it to others to tell -- Dick, contrary to what any of the opposing people Dick had against him in his early political career -- all during the time he was Mayor he was a very sober man. He had, as many intimates know, he had had a problem with alcohol in his early years and it is a great tribute to him that he sort of beginning in his middle forties, he was reborn really as a person and as an individual and all the things for which he became famous all happened following his middle 40's until his death. He literally reformulated himself as a physical, and emotional individual. His law firm gave a party for him before he took office as Mayor in December of '55 and all of us got sort of looped at that party. From that time until the time he wound up the gubernatorial campaign I only saw him take a drink once -- and that was about 2 o'clock in the morning. We had settled an imminent transit strike with ... oil and that was the night we negotiated the settlement I think there was supposed to have been an Italian banquet at the Civic Center and nobody could come to the Italian banquet because we had the strike negotiations, so the caterers brought the whole banquet over to City Hall, and at the end of the settlement and we were getting ready for the news conference, Dick picked up a bottle of Chianti and gulped down three or four gulps. That was the only time I had ever seen him take a drink while he was performing his official duties. I think later on after he left the school board and everything he began to drink a little bit and I remember actually the last time I saw him before he became ill. Dick always used to call me for lunch whenever anyone cancelled on him. So he would call me and then I would cancel whoever I had that day and I never failed to turn it down because it was always such a great pleasure. We always ate in very fine places and he was always an interesting luncheon companion as well...
said that this city will never see the likes of Richardson Dilworth again.

(a final story) -- One of the most fabulous 48 hours in my life. I went home one evening from work. Dick was on vacation and was returning from vacation the next day on the Andrea Doria. About midnight I reached up and turned out the light, put my head on the pillow, and about two minutes later the phone rings.

Swede Hanson, who was then working in the Mayor's office for information and complaints, was going up the next morning to bring Mr. Dilworth's car up and pick him up in New York when the Andrea Doria docked. Swede Hanson was on the phone and he was really incoherent. He says, "The boss is on the boat. The boat is sinking. The fog is closed in off Nantucket. What should we do?"

So I said, "What are you talking about, will you slow down?" And he says, "The Andrea Doria was hit by another boat. It's come over the radio. The boat is sinking. The fog has closed in. Rescue operations are underway. What should we do?" So I said, "Get Dick's car and you come up here as fast as you can."

I got dressed, and this is a little part of the story that affects me. I heard Nantucket and I knew that whole area and I figured it was going to be beach and all that business, so I put on an old shirt and a pair of pants. In the meantime, I called the Inquirer -- the story had already begun to come over the wire and I told the Inquirer that to the best of my knowledge Richardson Dilworth and Ann Dilworth were passengers aboard and I told the Inquirer that I was going to go up to Nantucket that night and if they wanted to send a reporter up that we would take a reporter up. I called the Bulletin and the Daily News and also told them. The television and radio was still at a relatively elementary level, so we didn't treat with them at all at that point. I got down to the Inquirer and we looked at all the teletype stuff that was coming in. Three reporters were there -- Burt Chardack from the Bulletin, Mike Segal from the Inquirer and I don't remember the Daily News guy.

We got on the New Jersey turnpike. We were doing 100 miles an hour on the turnpike and we got stopped by State police. We talked ourselves out of it. As we approached New York, we were listening to the radio all the time, it became clear that the rescue operations were going to be handled not in New England, but in New York. So we pulled into New York. We stopped in at the Herald Tribune and we got all caught up and found out that rescue operations were
at Coast Guard Headquarters down at the Battery. So we drove down there. The 3 reporters, Swede Hanson, myself, and the poodle was with us. We then began a vigil there and I stayed on the phone to the papers and the reporters. We followed the whole rescue operations. By this time there were about 150 reporters in headquarters there. Mostly wire service, New York, from all over the country. Television and everything.

Finally at 8 o'clock in the morning we got a teletype message, because I had been bugging the Coast Guard, got a teletype message that Mayor Richardson Dilworth and his wife had been transferred from the Andria Doria to the Île de France. Just a one-line message. So then the Today Show called and said, "Will you come on the show?" Here I am — needing a shave, with this old pair of pants and old shirt. I went on the Today Show and I just said I wanted to tell the people of Philadelphia that Mayor Dilworth and his wife had been rescued and so on. I was interviewed by Dick McCutcheon on the Today Show. I came back to Coast Guard headquarters. By this time they are figuring out how they are going to receive the Île de France, which had been the principal rescue vessel.

So they finally said they would send out a Coast Guard cutter and would take out a pool of reporters. And they were going to exclude us. So I really jumped up and down and I said, "Now damnit. The Mayor of Philadelphia is on board. Two million Philadelphians are waiting to hear how he and his wife are doing. And they've got three reporters here and we are absolutely going to be on that boat." So finally they said, "Everybody on the boat." And they told us the pier to report to. We went down to the pier and it was like animals were let loose from the zoo. Finally we got through a very narrow gate, jumped on the cutter, the cutter took off and it was such a rowdy crowd, all these reporters, wire service guys, and cameramen -- the Coast Guard Captain turned around the boat and came back. Then they got on the bull horn and said, "Either behave or you are just staying here." So finally everything quieted down. We drove out to the narrows -- the Île de France had stopped at the narrows. We pulled up alongside and they opened one of the lower things -- I had never seen an oceanliner before that close, but the thing looked like a 30 story building next to the cutter. So they opened one of the lower parts. I and the three reporters jumped out and we start running upstairs, circular stairs and everything. Finally I said, "What the hell am I doing? I don't know where I'm going." So I decide that I'm going to get out on some deck. I opened the door and there's Dick and Ann standing there.
So three reporters interviewed Dick aboard the Île de France and the Île de France was anchored and then slowly started to make its way back. One of the other facets of the long vigil was that I conducted an hour by hour conversation with J. Richardson Dilworth, who is the President of Rockefeller Brothers, Dick's nephew, and Mayor Wagner wanted to have a car waiting, and they were all waiting.

We got back in and no customs problems because they had lost everything. We had an option to come down off the boat. And I sort of made my first big decision as Dick's press secretary. If I went down one way, I get in the whole crowd with all the networks and wire services and meanwhile we had alerted all the Philadelphia television and radio people--they had come up the next day--and I said, "What the hell." We went down and we were interviewed by our own people. All the Philadelphia television and radio guys. We stayed for about an hour interview with them.

Dick got into the car and went over to where his Nephew had an apartment available for him. We drove over there and had something to eat and drink and everything and then Dick and Ann and I and the poodle and Swede Hanson started back home.

Sorry I had to turn down Adrian Lee, who wanted to ride back home with Dick. I turned him down. I figured we had had enough. But Adrian had come up to New York and wanted to ride back with us and I said, "No, they went through an awful lot. They had done everything they possibly could for the press. Now they are going home."

That was the Andria Doria story.