Interview with Joseph H. Miller, Former Political Writer and Editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer

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(WMP: Please tell how you came to be a journalist and what your early training in that field was?)

I began my newspaper career in 1925 with the Carbondale Pennsylvania Leader, which was owned by my cousin. Prior to that I had worked for the insurance business for a while. But after contact with the Carbondale Leader I decided I would like to have a fling at journalism. So I went to work for them and I was a part of a three-man staff. There was a managing editor who wrote nothing but editorials and the city editor handled nothing but obituaries and everything else in the paper I did, which gave me a good thorough background in the newspaper business. I stayed with the Carbondale Leader for a year at a very low salary and then went to the Scranton, Pa. Sun, which began publication in September 1926. With the Scranton Sun I was a general assignment reporter plus political writer and city hall writer plus everything else that came along on the paper. It was nothing for me to get up at 3 o'clock in the morning to cover a fire, which would be reported later in the day because we were an afternoon newspaper. I stayed with the Scranton Sun until 1932 when the paper folded. Then I went to work for the Associated Press, covering the state legislature in 1933, I believe it was. At the end of the session, despite an agreement that I would have a permanent job, the chief of the bureau said, "You're through." Broke his word right away. From that time I came back to Scranton and worked for the Scrantonian, a weekly Sunday newspaper. I was there until 1933 writing politics. Afterwards I got a job with the Morning Public Ledger in Philadelphia doing general assignments. The Ledger then merged with the Philadelphia Inquirer in early 1934, I believe. Two days after it folded I landed a job with the Philadelphia Record doing general assignments and city hall. In the 1934 general election I was assigned to cover the congressional elections election night. I did a pretty good job, I thought. I beat the Inquirer in the most important Congressional races in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. We beat the Inquirer on that story because the man that was doing that story at the Inquirer fell down on the job. Then the Inquirer offered me a job doing politics and I went to the Inquirer on December 31, 1934 and stayed with the Inquirer until Jan. 10, 1972, after which I retired after 38 years of service with the Inquirer.
In addition to my political work, I gave the newspaper many tips on outside stories and wrote a number of outside stories myself.

(WMP: When did Walter Annenberg succeed his father as the publisher of the Inquirer?)

That was the early '40's. I don't remember the time. I might say that Walter did a very fine job as Editor and Publisher of the Inquirer. He knew what it was all about and was well versed in all phases of the newspaper business. He got his experience down in Florida when they owned one of the newspapers down there. But he was a real typical newspaperman, to my mind, and knew what he wanted.

(WMP: Did you work closely with the publisher in connection with your daily column and did the publisher, whether either M.L. or Walter, express to you points of view in regard to public affairs and particularly as to politics?)

I was at the command of M.L. Annenberg and Walter Annenberg when they would send for me. They didn't actually ask my view on how a story should be treated. And sometimes things came up and they wanted my opinion. For instance, in 1949, I believe, Walter asked me what I would think would happen if the Inquirer came out editorially for Joe Clark and Dick Dilworth. I said that I think you have the balance of power in the city and if you support them they will win and they did win in 1949, by a handsome majority, as I remember. As far as M.L. was concerned the only outstanding thing that he ever asked me was he had prepared an editorial on a certain subject and he called me down and asked me what I thought of it and I expressed my views. The editorial never appeared because the situation that was about to develop didn't develop.

(WMP: What do you remember to have been the major issues in which M.L. Annenberg was interested and took positions on in the newspaper?)

I think the principal thing they were interested in was good government. There were many issues involved in -- I remember distinctly in 1937 after the Annenbergs took over in 1936 -- as I said good government was a primary issue in which they were interested in and not once did either Walter or his father direct me to slant a story, and rather relied upon my good judgement. All they wanted was fair treatment of the news. Both sides.
Remember the effort to bring a new city charter in 1938 — we were going to have proportional representation and the city manager plan. Did the Inquirer take a position on that?)

The Inquirer, as I remember, distinctly supported the charter.

(I think you are thinking of the charter of 1951.)

I think the Inquirer was for it as I recall it now. I think that dealt with the Board of Revision of Taxes, the Coroner, City Treasurer, and City Commissioners. As I said before, all M. L. Annenberg and Walter were interested in. Anything they supported was to tell both sides of the story.

(They did support Dick Dilworth in 1947 did they not?)

That I don't remember. That was when he was running with Barney Samuel. I'm not sure if they supported Dick or not. They might have assumed a hands-off attitude. Off hand, I would say they supported Dick against Barney Samuel. They supported Clark and Dilworth when they were running together in '49 and in '51 and in '55. In '56 I don't think they supported Clark over Jim Duff. I think they were with Jim Duff in that one.

(WMP: What part did the Annenbergs play in Philadelphia or in state politics in that period? Did they communicate closely with the chairmen of the parties and did they make it a point to become acquainted with the top candidates?)

I think they did participate in politics as politicians but I think they were interested in people who would give proper service to the city, state, and nation.

(That's why the paper in the early stages of the Annenberg ownership swung over to the Democrats when Clark and Dilworth came along.)

Because they were good candidates and they stood for good government and proper government, as I recall. That's going back a good many years. Remember that in 1964 they supported President Johnson against Goldwater and that was probably the first time that they supported a Democratic candidate for President.

(WMP: How about the Daily News? They acquired that from Matt McCloskey and they continued the Daily News, but there was some other part of that paper that they didn't continue -- )
I don't remember that. I know the Daily News was a separate entity and I never had too much to do with anything about it. They didn't work together in any way at all. If it hadn't been for Walter Annenberg taking over the paper it probably would have folded. He assumed all the debts, as I remember, and I don't know what he paid for the paper if anything.

(WMP: I want to go back to City Hall, Joe, and ask you about the people who were behind the scenes, like Aus Meehan and Dave -- Joe Pew ...)

I started covering politics in City Hall for the Record in 1934 and one of the most interesting things about that was in May, I believe, when a certain Republican politician said to me, "Go watch the office of Charlie Brown, President Judge of Municipal Court, and see who goes in and who comes out." I did that for several days and I came up with a story that the old Penrose wing of the party, which Judge Brown was a member of, was trying to dump Jim Ma- ?en (?), who was a Vare man who held a Republican city chairmanship. And I watched and I came up with a story through certain contacts that the Penrose wing named their candidate for mayor, Jim Ma- ?en would be ousted as Republican city chairman and that's the end of the Vare regime. And I turned in a story about 12 inches long to the Record and the city editor then couldn't believe it and he cut the story down to about four paragraphs. When S. Davis Wilson was nominated for the Republican nomination for mayor, they threw Ma- ?en out. And I went down to see Bill Vare in Atlantic City where he was living and told him that the Penrose faction had elected Eddie Cox as Republican city chairman and thrown Ma- ?en out and I said, "What do you think of Cox?" And he said, "Cox is a good man, too." And that was the end of the Vare regime in Philadelphia. They went on to elect S. Davis Wilson. One of the prime factors in the Wilson fight, which he defeated Jack Kelley in 1935, was the fact that Joe Pew was financing the campaign.

That's an interesting story. I knew that Joe Pew was financing the Davis campaign, but I couldn't prove it. Couldn't come up with anyone who would admit it. I went to a party one night and some other people were there who were interested in politics and they tried to get me to tell who was financing Joe Pew and I wouldn't tell them. And I was drinking some scotch and they kept trying to pour more scotch in my glass, but I wouldn't tell them. Finally it came out that was financing the party. Pew had an unlimited amount of funds, which could be used for political purposes. On the record it shows that each of the Pew family gave about $5,000 apiece. What went under the table, I don't know. The man who handled the funds for the News was Harry P. Davis, who was their lobbyist in Harrisburg. It ultimately came out that the Pews had heavily financed the Davis campaign. Many people thought that Davis...
Wilson won through some political manipulation in those days. Kelly lost by 45,000 votes and I think it broke Jack's heart. Everybody thought he had a good chance to win.

(WMP: Then came along Robert Lamberton. Was he not also backed by Joe Pew?)

I would think so. I don't know if he was chosen by Pew. I think the political leaders chose him. Republican leadership. Meehan was a part of that. Meehan supported Kelly, as I remember. Meehan was always active in politics and a very nice man. Nobody owned Meehan. Back in 1953 when the Republicans won City Hall. The big thing was the judge fight and the City Controller and District Attorney. Meehan and Bill Meade got together and actually took the campaign away from Bill Hamilton, who was then the Chairman. They won the '53 election, the Republicans did, by 100,000 to 21,000 because the Democrats -- whoever it was didn't get the voters out. Election night I called up Meade who was with Meehan and said, "Now that you've won, what are you going to do with Bill Hamilton as Republican City Chairman?" He says, "Throw him out." I said, "Are you kidding?" And he said, "Talk to Meehan. Meehan's right here." And Meehan got on the phone and he admitted it. And I wrote a pretty long story on it that Hamilton would be thrown out as city chairman and the next day the story was buried. The next day Walter Annenberg said to me, "What happened to the story on Hamilton? Did we have it?" And I said yes, about two inches long on the second page. That burned me because I had gotten the thing and published it. IT WAS EXCLUSIVE.

(WMP: Who succeeded Lamberton?)

I think George Connell (?) the President of City Council succeeded him.

(WMP: I thought Connell succeeded S. Davis Wilson -- )

That's right. Connell succeeded S. Davis Wilson and after they elected Lamberton then Barney took over and that famous Puffendorf. I don't remember the details of that anymore. It was written by Chief Justice Maxie (?) of the State Supreme Court and it referred to the Puffendorf decision in Europe. Barney must have succeeded Lamberton because he continued Sam Rosenberg, now a judge, as one of his secretaries and he also brought in Walter Allisandroni as a secretary.

(WMP: Dilworth ran against Barney Samuel in 1947. What do you remember about that campaign?)
I know Dick ran for Mayor and I think Joe Clark managed his campaign. I don't remember anything except Dilworth going on the street corners.

(WMP: Dick hired a detective who got a lot of dirt on City Hall -- )

Now at that time they had the Committee of 15.

(WMP: After Dick's 1947 campaign, what was the situation?)

Bill Bullitt ran one of those years. I think he ran in '43. In those days the Republican machine was functioning as a real machine. They could get the vote out and get people to vote how they wanted them to vote, primarily through things that they did for these people. In the old days Bill Vare would send a ton of coal out to these people around Christmas time and keep the people in line for support.

(WMP: What would you say was the most significant turning point which led to the takeover of the city by the Democrats?)

Well, in 1949, I believe, a big scandal broke loose in City Hall. A scandal broke in the Receiver of Taxes office. That was the turning point. And City Council, at the request of Meehan, didn't vote to throw Frank Marshall out of office. And then a member of the Vice Squad killed himself. The Committee of 15 started the thing by talking about deficiencies of City government.

I remember when Joe Clark was Controller, I walked into his office one day and he was lying on the couch and we started talking about the '51 campaign that was coming up and he said to me, "How do you think we'll do?" I said, "You're going to win by 100,000." That's about what they won by in '51.

(WMP: What else do you remember about Clark and Dilworth?)

They started out good friends and I don't think parted very good friends. Joe ran for Senate in '56 and Duff was the outstanding favorite, but Joe beat him.

(WMP: Do you think there was a rivalry between Clark and Dilworth as to who would be the first to be mayor?)

I think they had an agreement that Dick would run for District Attorney and Joe for Mayor. I think Dick was the guiding spirit in forcing the Democratic City Committee to take them.
(WMP: How about Jim Finnegan? What kind of role did he play in those days?)

Finnegan was a front man, you might say. He was very close to Dilworth and Clark. Believed in their principles of good government.

Dick was a very outspoken guy. I described him -- he got himself in trouble by talking too much sometimes. Like the Red China thing -- I asked him, "Why did you do that?" And he said, "It just came to my mind I was talking to these women in Washington." He advocated the admission of Red China into the UN I think it was. At a time when all the countries were against it. I described him as a man who spoke what he thought without thinking. He was a very outspoken guy and never pulled any punches. Joe was more or less on the quiet side.

(WMP: What kind of fellow was Aus Meehan?)

Aus Meehan was the most kind-hearted man I ever knew. He would do anything for anybody. He gave his word, he kept it. Of course at that early stage he guessed wrong a number of times.

(WMP: Of the political leaders then, Meehan, Meade, Mort Whitkin, --)

Mort Whitkin was actually the guy who thought things out for Meehan and Bill Meade. Not that they couldn't do it themselves, but Whitkin was right in the middle of things. I recall in '53 that Whitkin said "we could win the fight if we did a lot of advertising in the newspapers." The '53 election when they upset the Democratic machine. And Whitkin was highly regarded by both Meade and Meehan. Meehan was a peculiar guy -- he used to tell me a lot of things. Everything he told me I would usually print. And when they were selecting a successor to Judge Charles L. Brandt for President Judge of Municipal Court, they came up with Hazel Brunt, daughter of Charles Brandt who was on the Municipal Court Bench. And I was looking for Meehan one day and I wanted to verify the Hazel Brandt thing and he disappeared -- he went into hiding somewhere. I wrote that "Meade cannot be found in his usual haunts." And he said to me, "You so and so. You tried to convey the impression that I was drunk somewhere." I said, "That's right." I don't think he was drunk. He wasn't a heavy drinker, but that's the impression I tried to convey.

(WMP: There's another one of those characters you haven't mentioned -- Dave Watson.)

Dave Watson followed the Meehan line, usually. Although he was a pretty independent guy. He got sick and they stuck in Wilbur Hamilton as his successor. Watson at that time -- he had a state job of some kind, I can't recall, but he was Sheriff before that. He was a pretty nice guy. To me
they were all nice guys as long as I got what I wanted in the way of stories. I had a good association with most of those people. They were pretty frank and open with me.

(WMP: Going back to the people who launched the reform -- like the Greater Philadelphia Movement --)

They were supposedly the do-gooders, you know. But the real key to the charter at that time -- the real writers of the charter were Bob McCracken and Bill Schnader. I know that those two men were the key people. Abe Freedman was in there too. That's when the recall business was put in the charter. The main fact of that charter, back in '53 I think it was, was the fact that Jim Tate, who was then a member of Council, introduced the amendments of the charter to permit city employees to become politically active. And I remember the Inquirer played a big part in that and opposed that issue right away.

(WMP: Tell me a little bit about Bill Green --)

Bill Green was a very fascinating guy. He believed in the principle of getting out a big registration and he felt that was the key to the whole thing and when Truman was running in '48 I went down to the 30th St. Station to meet Truman who was coming in to address a dinner. And I said to Green, "What do you think you are going to win by?" And he said, "We can win by 10,000, 100,000 or 300,000." And he was a real big pusher in politics and ruled with a so-called iron hand. He was a firm believer in discipline in an organization. He was a good politician. I recall that in 1960 when Kennedy was running we were out in Los Angeles at a convention and Green was on the platform committee at that time. And we sat in a corner in one of the big hotels. I called him out and I said, "McCloskey, Dilworth, and Davey Lawrence were coming in on a charter plane from Philadelphia with a lot of their followers. Kennedy was being opposed at that time by Johnson, I believe. Anyway, Green declared to me for Kennedy and he was instrumental in getting Dave Lawrence to go along with Kennedy. They landed at about 12 o'clock in Los Angeles. I spotted a certain politician and I said, "Where's Davey going to go?" He said, "He has nowhere to go but Kennedy." And I could trust this person. And I called up on the phone and dictated a new lead to my story. That was on a Thursday. And Saturday I met Jim Farley in the lobby of the Biltmore Hotel and he said to me, "What's Davey going to do?" I said, "He's going to go for Kennedy. I've already written it." Farley said, "Well, it's all over. Kennedy will be nominated."
(WMP: I'd like to go back to get your views on some of the other political figures -- )

Dave Harris -- he was a pretty good guy, but he followed the party line pretty well. Before that -- Bill Meade was city chairman for a while. And then came along Bill Morrow. Morrow and Harris were party line followers. I think Harris was in the time of Frank Marshall.

... Jim was a funny guy. I knew Jim from the time he was in the legislature, and when he was Secretary to Jim Clark, Secretary of the City Committee and I always called him Jim and in a press conference I would call him Jim, because I had felt so close to him before. And he would get a little surly sometimes and throw one at me. I decided that I had better call him "Mr. Mayor." And when I did that everything was wonderful.

Jim Tate never was City Chairman, as I recall.

(WMP: Tell us about Frank Smith. What was his role in City Hall?)

Frank Smith was a very lucky guy in politics. He was Internal Revenue Director down here and then he got some other appointment with the Congress. He was Insurance Commissioner. They got a job for Frank on the Board of Revision of Taxes. Before he was appointed I had written a story that Smith would be named a member of the Board of Revision of Taxes if he quit as City Chairman. And I was talking to him one day and I told him what I had written and he said, "Now you're cooking with gas."

(WMP: Tell us about Matt McCloskey, Jack Kelly, and the others that were behind the Democratic party -- kept it going when it was in a low period.)

Well it was in a low period after they got in a lot of trouble in the Earle administration and Jim Clark was Chairman -- '41-'43 I guess. They were all nice guys. They never lied to me, as I recall. I would ask a question and they would answer it truthfully.

(WMP: What kind of fellow was Matt McCloskey?)

Matt was a real nice guy. I was talking to him in Florida one night -- I think it was about the Pennsylvania railroad. Matt had the contract for electrifying Paoli to Harrisburg. And Dave Stern forced him out of it. Stern said either you give up the contract and stay in politics or give up politics and take the contract. And Matt eventually gave it up and then went down to Baltimore and tied up with a contractor who was going to electrify the system from Baltimore to Washington. Matt was the guy who thought up the $100 dinner.
Matt was Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee when Stevenson was nominated. I spent ten weeks with Stevenson campaigning that time. Right after the day he was nominated until just before the election.

One time we were flying to Seattle, Washington from Chicago. There were two planes -- the press plane and the candidate's plane. And we were about 18,000 feet in the air and we were racing into Seattle.

Stevenson was a very liberal guy, but I don't think he had a chance running against the big soldier.

(WMP: Did you travel on the train with him?)

Yes. He went across Pennsylvania. I was with him every day.

I covered every political convention -- Republican and Democrat -- from 1936 to 1968. I covered four or five national campaigns. Covered every state-wide campaign. And every city campaign.

(WMP: What was your appraisal of Harold Stassen?)

I met Stassen for the first time out in Minneapolis. He was Governor there. He's run for about everything in the country.

(WMP: That convention of -- when Stassen almost got the nomination -- '36 --)

Anyway, that's the time the Pennsylvania Republican delegation missed the boat on Wilkie when he had run before, and they were caucussing while they were balloting. Jay Cook ran out from the meeting and cast all the Pennsylvania votes for Wilkie. Saved the day.

(WMP: What did you think of Dave Stern?)

Dave Stern was a good newspaperman. He was head of the paper and he had a pretty good relationship with his people. When I left the Record to go to the Inquirer I said, "Mr. Stern, I'm leaving you to go to the Inquirer." He said, "I resent that. I don't like a man from my paper going to another paper in my territory." I said, "I'm sorry." I had been scheduled to go to Harrisburg for the Record to open up a bureau there. The Inquirer came along and offered me a much better job and I took it.
Best thing I did in my life, because The Record folded up.

I'll never forget one time S. Davis Wilson went to Stern and he had known what I was doing and he thought a series on Byberry would be pretty good. By that time I had written a series on Byberry and he was a little bit Johnny-come-lately.

I'll give you an example of Annenberg believing in fairness — in 1952, the year when Eisenhower was elected, they had gotten hold of a copy of a report that had been made that Charlie Chaplin — and they came to me and said do a series, and be fair and everything and write a series on Chaplin. They said they wanted five articles. I wrote -- it was about the loves, the movie roles, and his leanings toward Communism. I wrote a series of 12 articles. And they never told me how to write the story. They just said, "Read this report. Write a fair story about Chaplin."

(WMP: M.L. Annenberg liked to fancy himself as influencing political decisions and I can illustrate that by one time when I was City Representative in Joe Clark's cabinet, he invited me to come up to talk to him and he put a proposition to me that he wanted me to take back to Joe Clark -- namely, he wanted to know whether Joe Clark would be interested in running for Vice President of the U.S. on a ticket with Stevenson. I brought it back to Joe and he said it didn't make any sense. So I went back and told Annenberg he wasn't interested. But I had the view that M.L. Annenberg, at least, liked to have a hand in politics.)

They never discussed with me except in 1949 they said,"What would be the effect in the election in '49 if we supported Clark and Dilworth?" And I said if the Inquirer supported Clark and Dilworth that they would be elected.

And the Inquirer supported them again in '51 and '55.

(WMP: Did I ask you your impression of Bill Green, Sr.?)

A tough politician. He believed in getting people registered and having them support the party. The famous race track deal was between Jim Clark and Green. Jim Clark was anxious to get a race track and they used the Philadelphia organization of committeemen to circulate petitions and they got the required number of signatures to put it on the ballot. And the committeemen go out and work for the referendum and when the time came they issued the stock. Very few of the committeemen got any of the stock. A year or two later it developed that Clark had given Green an option to buy about 100,000 shares of voting stock with a dollar par value, whereas the people who bought the non-voting stock were charged $10 a share, I think it was, but they had to buy 100 shares and in addition to that they had to buy a debenture (?) for $1,000. It didn't pay any dividends...
for a long while. Now they're paying at the rate of about 75¢ a share, I think. I remember Jim Clark came to me -- I was very active in covering the story and Clark came to me and asked if I wanted in; and I said, "You're talking to the wrong guy. I'd be fired in a minute."

Clark acted as Finance Chairman for Green after Green became City Chairman.

(WMP: I guess Jim Clark followed Jim Finnegan?)

He was close to Finnegan for a while and then -- he was closer to Green after Finnegan got out of the picture.

(WMP: But when did Jim Clark become City Chairman?)

I think that was in 1941. His secretary was Jim Tate.

(WMP: How about Frank Rizzo? When did you become aware of him and what contacts have you had with him?)

Tate was Mayor and had some kind of a meeting in the Municipal Services Building. Rizzo was waiting on the outside like everybody else when the meeting was over. And I said to Frank, "Are you going to run for Mayor?" And he said he wouldn't. And I said, "I think you're smart. You won't be obligated to anybody." He said to me, "When I retire as Police Commissioner I'm going to buy a farm and move out into the country." Rizzo was a good cop. I never heard a whisper about any scandal in connection with him.

(WMP: What do you think about the recall?)

I don't know. You can never depend on what the Supreme Court is going to do. I said the other day in City Hall before the decision came that "I can no more predict what that court is going to do than I would jump out of the window in City Hall." Because they have a couple of fellows in there who are swing guys. You never know where they are going to go. I thought that if they did uphold the recall Rizzo would be in trouble. The only way I think he could have won it is if the union people supported him. A lot of people in this town are disillusioned about him. When he raised the taxes. You hit a guy in his pocketbook he gets mad.

(WMP: What do you think of the development of the labor unions over the years and their political role?)

They have become a very powerful force in politics but there are a lot of people in the unions who won't follow the leadership. Not that the majority wouldn't follow the leadership.
(WMP: Did you cover the development of the labor people as a political force very much?)

I would record the fact that when they came out for a candidate I wrote about it and said that would be a factor.

(tape turned off for a few seconds)

... I think the who did more for the city than any of them were Dick Dilworth and Joe Clark would be second and Tate third.

(WMP: And as to the quality of their administrations when they each got to be Mayor -- which of them stand out in your mind as -- )

I don't recall specific things -- I still think that Dick was the best Mayor that Philadelphia ever had.

... the best thing that Joe Clark stopped was the attempt of Jim Tate and Bill Green to make the city's employees eligible to participate in politics. Joe stopped that.

(WMP: What did you think of Paul D'Ortona?)

Not too much. He tried hard. He was at a meeting of the Democratic women's forum one year while he was President of Council and I had written something that he didn't like and which was true, incidentally, and he popped off that Joe Miller didn't know what he was talking about. The only time he knows about something he popped off that Joe Miller didn't know what he was talking about. The only time he knows about something I met him in the lobby and I said, "Look Paul, you'd better lay off me. I know more about you than you know about yourself." I don't think he distinguished himself too much in the state legislature. But he did a good job as President of Council. On the whole he was a pretty nice guy.

One thing I want you to make sure you have the picture properly -- and that is that the Annenbergs never gave me an order how to write a story, or how to slant a story, or anything in that connection. As a matter of fact, when I would get an exclusive story I would refuse to tell anybody where I got it and Walter Annenberg never asked me where I got a story. I pointed that out to Time magazine one time. The time that Eisenhower endorsed everybody but Goldwater and Rockefeller and I named the four guys that he liked -- I never divulged the source of that story. Never once did they ask me.