

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO  
WESTERN DIVISION

- - -

1	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	:	<b>CASE NO. 1:20-CR-0077</b>
2		:	
3		:	
4	Plaintiff,	:	<b>JURY TRIAL</b>
5	vs.	:	
6		:	<b>March 1, 2023</b>
7	LARRY HOUSEHOLDER, et al.	:	
8		:	
9	Defendant.	:	

- - -

**EXCERPTED TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS  
BEFORE THE HONORABLE TIMOTHY S. BLACK, JUDGE**

- - -

APPEARANCES:

For the Plaintiff:

Emily N. Glatfelter, Esq.  
Matthew Charles Singer, Esq.  
Megan Gaffney Painter, Esq.  
Timothy S. Mangan, Esq.  
Assistant United States Attorneys  
221 East Fourth Street, Suite 400  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

For the Defendant, Larry Householder:

Nicholas R. Oleski, Esq.  
Robert T. Glickman, Esq.  
McCarthy, Lebit, Crystal & Liffman Co.  
1111 Superior Avenue East, Suite 2700  
Cleveland, Ohio 44114  
and  
Steven L. Bradley, Esq.  
Marien and Bradley  
526 Superior Avenue, Suite 222  
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

1 For the Defendant, Matthew Borges:

2 Karl Herbert Schneider, Esq.  
3 Todd Aaron Long, Esq.  
4 McNees Wallace & Nurick, LLC  
21 East State Street, Suite 1700  
Columbus, Ohio 43215

5 Also present: Larry Householder  
6 Matthew Borges  
7 Blane Wetzell, FBI Special Agent  
Kelly Terry, paralegal  
PJ Jensen, trial tech

8 Law Clerk: Cristina V. Frankian, Esq.

9 Courtroom Deputy: Rebecca Santoro

10 Stenographer: Lisa Conley Yungblut, RDR, RMR, CRR, CRC  
11 United States District Court  
12 100 East Fifth Street  
13 Cincinnati, Ohio 45202  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

**Proceedings recorded in stenotype.**

**Transcript produced with computer-aided transcription.**

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

**EXCERPTED TRANSCRIPT**

\* \* \*

MR. OLESKI: We're prepared to proceed, Judge. We call Larry Householder.

THE COURT: Very well. We're going to break for lunch, you know that?

MR. OLESKI: Yes. When would you like to break, Judge?

THE COURT: I'm not going to answer that question.

MR. OLESKI: Understood.

THE COURT: The normal time.

MR. OLESKI: Got it.

THE COURT: Question is whether you want to interrupt him. You can approach the courtroom deputy for the oath to tell the truth. If you would raise your right hand.

(Defendant Householder took the stand and was sworn/affirmed.)

THE COURT: You can take the stand, sir. You've heard me tell people about the chair tipping back.

DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: I've heard it a few times, Judge.

THE COURT: All right. I need you -- your mouth close to the microphone.

DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Thank you.

1 THE COURT: Once you're settled and prepared, your  
2 lawyer will begin with questions of you.

3 MR. OLESKI: Good morning, Mr. Householder.

4 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Good morning.

5 MR. OLESKI: It is still the morning.

6 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Yes, it is.

7 **LARRY HOUSEHOLDER**

8 of lawful age, Defendant herein, was examined and testified  
9 as follows:

10 **DIRECT EXAMINATION**

11 **BY MR. OLESKI:**

12 **Q** Could you please state and spell your name?

13 **A** Larry Householder, H-O-U-S-E-H-O-L-D-E-R.

14 **Q** Where do you currently live, sir?

15 **A** On our family farm just outside of Glenford, Ohio.

16 **Q** Is that in Perry County?

17 **A** It is.

18 **Q** How long has your family lived in Perry County?

19 **A** Going clear back to before Ohio was a state.

20 **Q** How long have you lived in Perry County?

21 **A** My entire life.

22 **Q** Are you currently married, sir?

23 **A** I am.

24 **Q** To whom?

25 **A** My wife, Taundra.

1 Q How long have you been married?

2 A That's a dangerous question to ask. 38 years this  
3 year, 38 years.

4 MR. OLESKI: Judge, may I show the witness and  
5 counsel and the Court Householder Exhibit 441?

6 THE COURT: Yes.

7 Q See that picture, sir?

8 A I do.

9 Q Who's depicted in that picture?

10 A That would myself and my wife, Taundra.

11 Q Where was that picture taken?

12 A That picture is from the Coshocton County Fair.

13 Q Is that a true and accurate depiction of the  
14 photograph?

15 A It sure is.

16 MR. OLESKI: Judge, I'd move to admit this exhibit.

17 THE COURT: Any objections?

18 MS. GLATFELTER: Marginally relevant, but no  
19 objection.

20 THE COURT: Very well.

21 MR. SCHNEIDER: None.

22 THE COURT: It's admitted.

23 MR. OLESKI: May I publish?

24 THE COURT: Yes.

25 Q And, sir, now that the jury can see this, who is the

1 young lady to your right in that picture?

2 **A** Oh, that's my wife, Taundra.

3 **Q** Is she here today?

4 **A** She is.

5 **Q** In the courtroom?

6 **A** Yes, yes, she is.

7 **Q** Can you point her out, please?

8 **A** She's right back there. Hello, Taundra.

9 **Q** Sir, did you attend college?

10 **A** I did.

11 **Q** Where?

12 **A** Ohio University in Athens.

13 **Q** Did you graduate?

14 **A** I did.

15 **Q** With a degree in what?

16 **A** Political science, history and English.

17 **Q** When did you graduate?

18 **A** 1982.

19 **Q** After you graduated from Ohio University, where did  
20 you start your employment?

21 **A** Pardon me?

22 **Q** Where did you start your employment after you  
23 graduated from Ohio University?

24 **A** I opened a scratch insurance agency back in my home  
25 county, Perry County.

1 Q And how long had you operate that insurance industry  
2 or insurance business?

3 A Let's see, it would be until right before I became  
4 Speaker in 2001, so that would be 18 years.

5 Q Have you ever held elected office, sir?

6 A Yes, I have.

7 Q Let's start with the first elected office that you  
8 held, what was that?

9 A I was Perry County commissioner.

10 Q And about when did you run to be Perry County  
11 commissioner?

12 A Let's see, 1994 is when I ran.

13 Q And just briefly, sir, why did you decide to run for  
14 Perry County commissioner?

15 A Well, my county, we're in Appalachia, southeastern  
16 Ohio, and it's a small county. There's probably 37, 38,000  
17 people that live in Perry County. We had suffered a  
18 tremendous economic loss because of our largest employer had  
19 gone out of business, and I had tried to -- being in  
20 business in the county, I had tried to go out and recruit  
21 candidates that I thought might try to bring jobs to our  
22 county, and after I recruited for a while, some friends of  
23 mine started to say you know what to do, why don't you run  
24 and we'll support you instead.

25 Q And did you run for Perry County commissioner?

1       **A**       I did, sir.

2       **Q**       And were you successful?

3       **A**       Yes, I was.

4       **Q**       How long did you serve as Perry County commissioner?

5       **A**       Just two years.

6       **Q**       After those two years, did you seek another elected  
7 office?

8       **A**       I did.

9       **Q**       What was that?

10      **A**       State Representative.

11      **Q**       And why did you decide to seek a position as a State  
12 Representative?

13      **A**       Well, as I explained before, we had had a lot of super  
14 large job loss. We lost over 1500 employees. Peabody Coal  
15 Company had closed, and in a community of 5,000 people, 1500  
16 jobs is -- it's devastating. And so as commissioner, one of  
17 the things that we needed to do was to go out and find  
18 sources of good, clean drinking water. You know, there was  
19 some environmental impacts to our community.

20      **Q**       And did you -- before you ran for State  
21 Representative, did you think your current representative  
22 was adequately addressing those issues?

23      **A**       No.

24      **Q**       And is that why you decided to run?

25      **A**       It is.



1       **Q**       And when you ran for State Representative in 1996,  
2       were you the underdog or were you the favored?

3       **A**       Oh, I was massively the underdog. I was the underdog  
4       for commissioner too. I ran against a three term incumbent.

5       **Q**       But were you ultimately successful when you ran for  
6       State Representative in 1996?

7       **A**       Yes, yes, I won that district.

8       **Q**       And the water issue that you mentioned, compelled you  
9       to run for State Representative, was that an issue that you  
10      addressed in the state legislature after you were elected?

11      **A**       Yes, that was the first House Bill that I introduced,  
12      was dealing with public drinking water.

13               MR. OLESKI: Judge, may I show counsel, the Court  
14      and the witness Householder Exhibit 464?

15               THE COURT: Yes.

16      **Q**       Sir, what's depicted in that photograph?

17      **A**       That's the signing of the bill.

18      **Q**       And who's in that photograph?

19      **A**       That's a younger version of me, a little bit younger  
20      version of Taundra, and one of my sons, Matthew, is  
21      underneath me, and Nathan is underneath Taundra.

22      **Q**       And who's in the middle?

23      **A**       That's then-governor, George Voinovich, signing that  
24      legislation into law.

25               MR. OLESKI: Judge, I move to admit this exhibit.

1 MS. GLATFELTER: No objection, Your Honor.

2 MR. SCHNEIDER: (Shaking head.)

3 THE COURT: It's admitted.

4 MR. OLESKI: May I publish?

5 THE COURT: Yes.

6 **Q** And Governor Voinovich has a pen in his hand in that  
7 photograph?

8 **A** Yes.

9 **Q** What's he signing?

10 **A** He's signing that bill into law.

11 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

12 **Q** How long is a term for a member of the House of  
13 Representatives?

14 **A** The House is two years and the Senate is four.

15 **Q** So did you run again for a position in the House of  
16 Representatives in 1998?

17 **A** I did.

18 **Q** Did you win?

19 **A** I did.

20 **Q** Did you run again for a position in the House of  
21 Representatives in the year 2000?

22 **A** I did.

23 **Q** Did you win?

24 **A** I did.

25 **Q** And did you run again in the year 2002?

1       **A**       Yes, I did.

2       **Q**       And did you win?

3       **A**       I did.

4       **Q**       During those years in the General Assembly, did you  
5 work on any pieces of energy legislation?

6       **A**       Yes.

7       **Q**       And just briefly, what were they?

8       **A**       Well, one of the problems that we had, I've always  
9 been a believer that Ohio ought to be generating its own  
10 electricity by Ohioans to serve Ohioans.

11       **Q**       And why is that important in your view, in your mind,  
12 why is it important for Ohio to generate its own  
13 electricity?

14       **A**       Well, if you go back in time, you know, in Ohio, there  
15 was a time in the '90s that Ohio produced 150 percent of the  
16 energy we consumed. Which meant that we took care of a  
17 hundred percent of our needs and could sell electricity  
18 outside of the state and it was an economic driver. We had  
19 power plants and we had coal mines and we had gas that  
20 fueled those -- fueled those.

21       **Q**       And so did you -- as a member of the House of  
22 Representatives, when you were first in the House of  
23 Representatives in 1996 through the year 2004, were there  
24 pieces of energy legislation that you worked on?

25       **A**       Yes. I worked on -- I had mentioned that we had lost

1 a mine in 1990, and I was -- I worked on and got passed the  
2 coal tax credit. It was a \$3 tax credit to any utility that  
3 burned fuels from inside of Ohio and sold those electricity  
4 inside Ohio.

5 **Q** When you served in the House of Representatives the  
6 first time around, did you have to campaign and raise money?

7 **A** Yes.

8 **Q** And into your political campaign; is that right?

9 **A** Yes, sir.

10 **Q** And did you find that people in the energy industry  
11 tended to support you, tended to support your candidacy?

12 **A** I'm from Appalachia, yes, sir.

13 **Q** And did they do so financially?

14 **A** Yes.

15 **Q** Meaning making political contributions to your  
16 campaign?

17 **A** Yes.

18 **Q** During when you were first in the House of  
19 Representatives, did you hold any leadership positions?

20 **A** In my first year, my first term, pardon me?

21 **Q** Yes.

22 **A** I did not.

23 **Q** What about your second term?

24 **A** I did.

25 **Q** And what was that?

1       **A**       I was the assistant Majority Whip of the House.

2       **Q**       And did you hold any other leadership positions while  
3 you were in the House of Representatives?

4       **A**       Yes.

5       **Q**       What was that?

6       **A**       Well, in my third term in the House, I was elected  
7 unanimously Speaker of the House, and in my fourth term in  
8 the House, I was elected unanimously Speaker of the House.

9       **Q**       Did you seek reelection again in the year 2004?

10      **A**       To the House?

11      **Q**       Yes.

12      **A**       No, I did not.

13      **Q**       Why not?

14      **A**       Well, we had term limits in the state of Ohio, so I  
15 can't run consecutively for more than four two-year terms or  
16 if I had been in the Senate, two four-year terms.

17      **Q**       After you left the House of Representatives, what did  
18 you do next?

19      **A**       Well, a dear friend of mine, our county auditor,  
20 actually was late in my final year in the House back then,  
21 passed away unexpectedly, and -- so that -- she was a  
22 Democrat and my friend, the Democrat county chairman, called  
23 me and encouraged me, he was going to appoint me to that  
24 seat. And I said, you can't appoint me to that seat, you'd  
25 have to be a Democrat.

1       **Q**       Were you ultimately appointed to that seat as county  
2       auditor?

3       **A**       I was not appointed. I had to run for the unexpired  
4       term.

5       **Q**       And were you successful?

6       **A**       Yes, I was.

7       **Q**       How long did you serve as county auditor?

8       **A**       Her unexpired term was two-and-a-half years, and I did  
9       not seek reelection.

10      **Q**       So that takes us roughly to 2005 or 2006. What did  
11      you do after that?

12      **A**       Oh, you know, we've always been in the farming  
13      business and I had maintained that, and also I had an  
14      interest as far as the environment was concerned coming from  
15      the county that I came from, and so I had some friends of  
16      mine, we decided that we were going to try to find a way  
17      to -- slurry ponds is a real problem in coal areas, and we  
18      thought we could find a way to develop coal slurry ponds  
19      into some type of a -- help the environment and get rid of  
20      those. There's millions and millions of tons in the  
21      Appalachian states.

22      **Q**       Did you and your friend ultimately form a business?

23      **A**       Yes, we did.

24      **Q**       Where was that business located?

25      **A**       Columbus, Ohio.

1 Q And did it operate a coal mine?

2 A Eventually, yes. We -- as we were traveling around  
3 the country talking about these slurries, we ended up in  
4 Alabama and we met a family of five brothers down there that  
5 they couldn't get along in business together, that happens  
6 to families sometimes, and so they -- three of them wanted  
7 to sell out. We bought their mine, yes.

8 Q And for how long did you operate that coal mine?

9 A Oh, seven years, maybe six years.

10 Q And what position did you hold in that business?

11 A I was president, CEO.

12 Q Eventually, did you seek to return to the Ohio House  
13 of Representatives?

14 A Yes.

15 Q And when was that?

16 A 2016.

17 Q For what House District?

18 A We go through redistricting, so the districts are  
19 all -- every ten years, they change numbers. But 72nd, I  
20 believe, it was.

21 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
22 Government Exhibit 8, which has been admitted?

23 THE COURT: Yes.

24 MR. OLESKI: And, Ms. Santoro, if the witness could  
25 have the ability to write on his screen.

1       **Q**       Could you circle your House District, sir?

2       **A**       (Witness writing.)

3       **Q**       And what counties made up that House District?

4       **A**       It was Perry County, my home county that I live in,  
5       the southern part of Licking County, and Coshocton County.

6       **Q**       And when did you say you ran for the Ohio House of  
7       Representatives again?

8       **A**       2016.

9       **Q**       When you ran, was it an open seat?

10      **A**       Yes, it was.

11      **Q**       And what does that mean?

12      **A**       Open seat means there's no -- in my case, I'm a  
13      Republican, so there was no Republican incumbent currently  
14      holding that seat.

15      **Q**       Why did you seek to return to the Ohio House of  
16      Representatives in 2016?

17      **A**       Well, I was -- I was discouraged by the divisiveness  
18      there was in politics and frankly in the Ohio House of  
19      Representatives, not only between the two parties, the  
20      Democrat and Republican parties, but even within the  
21      caucuses, and I thought a lot of that had to do with  
22      leadership.

23      **Q**       Other than divisiveness in the House and in the  
24      political parties more generally, were there other issues  
25      that you wanted to address?



1       **A**       Oh, absolutely.

2       **Q**       And what were they?

3       **A**       Well, you know, it's first of all, education, primary,  
4       secondary education, my county is where the DeRolph case  
5       started on the school funding issue and I had worked on that  
6       several times, fixed it twice, and it seems to want to float  
7       back into a problem. Secondly, transportation issues, you  
8       know, in order to create jobs, you have to have good roads,  
9       bridges. And the last time that we had a broad  
10      transportation bill, I was Speaker, it had been over  
11      12 years since we had done anything to improve Ohio's  
12      roadways. And energy policy, we had lost from the time --  
13      let's see, about 2000, from 2000 to when I ran in 2016, we  
14      had lost 50 power plants in the state of Ohio, and tens of  
15      thousands of jobs.

16      **Q**       No, you mentioned that education was a priority for  
17      you. Is there any particular reason why that is?

18      **A**       Well, I mentioned the DeRolph case. So two things.

19      **Q**       What does your wife do?

20      **A**       Oh, she's 43 years, I think, this year teaching  
21      school.

22      **Q**       Okay. So when you ran for the Ohio House of  
23      Representatives, the 72nd House District in 2016, did you  
24      face a primary opponent?

25      **A**       Yeah, um-hmm.

1 Q And who was that?

2 A A gentleman by the name of Clifford Biggers.

3 Q Was he supported by anybody?

4 A Yes, he was.

5 Q Who was he supported by?

6 A He was supported by Speaker Rosenberger.

7 Q Now, when you run for a seat in the Ohio House of  
8 Representatives, do you need to raise money?

9 A Yeah.

10 Q And did you need to raise money for the 2016 election  
11 cycle?

12 A I did.

13 Q And during the 2016 election cycle, did you form a  
14 political campaign committee?

15 A I did.

16 Q What's that called?

17 A Friends of Larry Householder.

18 Q And how do you go about -- in 2016, what was the first  
19 thing you did to try to raise money into Friends of Larry  
20 Householder?

21 A Well, you pick up the phone and you call people who  
22 have donated to your campaigns in the past.

23 Q Did you have somebody create a list of the people who  
24 had contributed to your campaigns in the past?

25 A Well, my oldest son and I sat in his house and he

1 pulled up -- he's kind of a computer whiz, I'm not, he  
2 pulled up my own campaign finance reports online and we  
3 started to go through who donated what, and so that was --  
4 we had sent out a fundraising letter and then I followed up  
5 with telephone calls.

6 **Q** So to previous supporters?

7 **A** Yes.

8 **Q** During that 2016 election cycle, did you work with a  
9 campaign consultant?

10 **A** I did.

11 **Q** Who was that?

12 **A** A gentleman by the name of Bill Greener.

13 **Q** Where's he from?

14 **A** He is from Washington, DC area. I think Virginia  
15 actually.

16 **Q** Why were you working with a guy from Washington, DC?

17 **A** Well, so I had always used folks from Ohio. I had  
18 known Rex Elsass with the Strategy Group for media for --  
19 even before I was in elected politics, I knew him. And I  
20 called Rex to see if he would be interested in doing my  
21 campaign, and Rex explained -- well, actually had someone  
22 else call me and explain that he was doing the caucus, all  
23 of the campaigns for the caucus.

24 **Q** What's the caucus?

25 **A** So the caucus is the -- either the Republican or the

1 Democrat caucus are the members and their campaign  
2 committee.

3 **Q** And after the call with the intermediary between you  
4 and Mr. Elsass, you hired Mr. Greener; is that right?

5 **A** Yes. He did not want to participate in my race  
6 because he was doing the caucus.

7 **Q** In the primary election between you and Mr. Biggers,  
8 who prevailed?

9 **A** I did.

10 **Q** And after the primary election, is there a general  
11 election?

12 **A** Oh, yeah.

13 **Q** And do you have to raise money for the general  
14 election cycle as well?

15 **A** Got to do it all over again.

16 **Q** How do you go about doing that?

17 **A** Call folks that gave to you in the primary election,  
18 that's where you source start.

19 **Q** In 2016, did you call a gentleman by the name of Tony  
20 Alexander?

21 **A** Absolutely.

22 **Q** Who's Tony Alexander?

23 **A** Well, Tony is the former CEO of FirstEnergy.

24 **Q** Was he a prior supporter of yours?

25 **A** Yes.

1       **Q**       Back when you were first in the Ohio House of  
2       Representatives?

3       **A**       Yes, yes.

4               MR. OLESKI:  PJ -- I'm sorry, Judge, permission to  
5       publish Government Exhibit 211 B, which has been admitted?

6               THE COURT:  Yes.

7               MR. OLESKI:  And, PJ, if we could cull out the  
8       bottom e-mail.

9       **Q**       Well, can you see those e-mails on your screen, sir?

10      **A**       Yes.

11      **Q**       And the bottom e-mail, is that an e-mail from you?

12      **A**       Yes, it is.

13      **Q**       And who's that e-mail to?

14      **A**       Mike.

15      **Q**       Is that Mike Dowling?

16      **A**       Yes, appears to be.

17      **Q**       Why do you send this e-mail to Mr. Dowling?

18      **A**       Well, I had reached out to Tony Alexander and he did  
19       help, he donated some to the campaign.  He explained to me  
20       that he was no longer FirstEnergy's CEO.  They had a new  
21       CEO.  They had a new organization.  And he suggested that I  
22       get ahold of Mike Dowling and maybe they would give a  
23       contribution.

24      **Q**       Prior to sending this e-mail in August of 2016, had  
25       you ever spoken with Mr. Dowling?

1       **A**       No.

2       **Q**       Had you ever met Mr. Dowling?

3       **A**       I had not.

4               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
5 Government Exhibit 211 D, which has been admitted?

6               THE COURT: Yes.

7       **Q**       Was there a meeting scheduled with Mr. Dowling?

8       **A**       Yes.

9       **Q**       And without going into the details about what anybody  
10 said at this meeting, what were the topics of conversation  
11 when you met with Mr. Dowling?

12       **A**       Well, I explained to him that I was coming back to the  
13 House and that I had won my primary, he was well aware of  
14 that. And that I was seeking political contributions and I  
15 would hope that they would be supportive. We always had a  
16 good relationship. I had done a lot in the energy sector  
17 before.

18       **Q**       Was anybody else present at that meeting?

19       **A**       I don't believe so.

20       **Q**       During the 2016 election cycle, did you call a  
21 gentleman by the name of Bob Murray?

22       **A**       Absolutely.

23       **Q**       Who's Bob Murray?

24       **A**       Well, Bob Murray is an old Appalachian boy like me.  
25 He owns probably the largest coal mining operation in North

1 America.

2 **Q** And what's that business called?

3 **A** Murray Energy.

4 **Q** Were you able to get ahold of Mr. Murray?

5 **A** Well, interestingly enough, I always considered Bob to  
6 be a really good friend and he was a good friend. I had  
7 called him several times and he didn't return my call, which  
8 I thought was strange.

9 **Q** Eventually, did you get ahold of a gentleman by the  
10 name of Mike Carey?

11 **A** Yes.

12 **Q** Who's Mike Carey?

13 **A** Well, Mike Carey used to be -- where I met Mike first  
14 was when I was county commissioner, he was chief of staff  
15 for a congressman that was our congressman in our district,  
16 and so I knew Mike pretty well. And then he took over the  
17 Ohio Coal Association for some time, but at that time, he  
18 was vice president of Murray Energy.

19 **Q** Do you know what Mr. Carey does currently?

20 **A** He's a United States Congressman.

21 **Q** After you called Mr. Carey, was there a lunch meeting  
22 scheduled?

23 **A** Yeah. I learned from -- I learned from Mike that Bob  
24 was ill. He was having some severe problems with his lungs,  
25 that's why he didn't call me back. And so I engaged Mike to

1 have a lunch meeting.

2 **Q** And was there in fact a lunch meeting?

3 **A** Yes, there was.

4 **Q** Did Mike Carey come to that lunch meeting alone?

5 **A** He did not.

6 **Q** And about when was this meeting?

7 **A** Shortly before the general election in November of  
8 2016.

9 **Q** So late fall of 2016, give or take?

10 **A** Maybe fall. I wouldn't call it late fall, I guess.

11 **Q** Fair enough. Where was this meeting?

12 **A** The Island House restaurant near Buckeye Lake.

13 **Q** And who was with Mr. Carey?

14 **A** Jeff Longstreth.

15 **Q** Prior to this meeting at the Island House restaurant,  
16 had you ever met Jeff Longstreth before?

17 **A** No.

18 **Q** Did you know Mr. Longstreth was going to attend this  
19 lunch meeting at the Island House restaurant?

20 **A** Mike had called me and said: I'm going to bring  
21 somebody with me and was that okay, and yes, that's fine.

22 **Q** At the time of this lunch meeting at the Island House  
23 restaurant, did you have an aspiration to run again for the  
24 Speaker's position?

25 **A** Yes.



1       **Q**       And did you have an understanding of what services  
2       Mr. Longstreth could provide?

3       **A**       I found out, yes.

4       **Q**       And what was that, what did you find out?

5       **A**       He does campaign services. He had done some extensive  
6       work for Murray Energy, that Mike was basically representing  
7       that he was very capable, he had done some work for him in  
8       West Virginia in regards to campaigns down there.

9       **Q**       And did you understand that Mr. Longstreth had  
10       successfully run campaigns in West Virginia?

11       **A**       Yeah, I was very impressed. West Virginia had always  
12       been a Democrat legislature down there, and it had just  
13       turned Republican, and as they explained it to me, Murray,  
14       Murray Energy and Jeff Longstreth, Jeff had ran those  
15       campaigns.

16       **Q**       And what did you understand Mr. Longstreth to offer  
17       toward you, to you?

18       **A**       Campaign services.

19       **Q**       Did you retain Mr. Longstreth's services at that  
20       meeting?

21       **A**       I did not.

22       **Q**       How did you leave things with Mr. Longstreth at the  
23       conclusion of that meeting?

24       **A**       I had a general election coming up, and I wasn't  
25       interested in engaging him at that time because we were so

1 close to the general. I already had my mail pieces ready to  
2 go and my advertising ready to go and it wasn't going to be  
3 that difficult, my general. So I just told him we would  
4 talk after the election.

5 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
6 Government Exhibit 212, which has been admitted?

7 THE COURT: Yes.

8 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if you could cull out that  
9 bottom e-mail?

10 **Q** Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

11 **A** I do.

12 **Q** What is it?

13 **A** That's an e-mail between Charles Jones and Tony  
14 George.

15 **Q** Do you understand the Charles Jones in this e-mail  
16 exchange to be Chuck Jones?

17 **A** I do.

18 **Q** And he's -- is he the CEO -- was he the CEO of  
19 FirstEnergy Corporation?

20 **A** That's correct.

21 **Q** Do you see in the first two lines of that e-mail:  
22 Pass on to Larry Householder and when we were talking on  
23 Wednesday; do you see that?

24 **A** Yes, I do.

25 **Q** Did you have a conversation with Mr. Jones the

1 previous Wednesday?

2 **A** Yes, I did.

3 **Q** Where was that conversation?

4 **A** It was at the World Series in Cleveland.

5 **Q** Who was Cleveland playing?

6 **A** The Chicago Cubs.

7 **Q** And what game of the series was it?

8 **A** It was game 7.

9 **Q** How did you get tickets for game 7 of the World Series  
10 in Cleveland?

11 **A** I bought them off a friend of mine.

12 **Q** Were they FirstEnergy tickets?

13 **A** No.

14 **Q** How did you bump into Mr. Jones at the World Series in  
15 Cleveland?

16 **A** Well, my wife, Taundra and I were at the game, and if  
17 you remember that game, if you're baseball fans, there was a  
18 rain delay towards the end of the game. I think the Indians  
19 were going to win and the rain delay killed us, but anyway,  
20 there was a rain delay. It lasted for I think 45 minutes,  
21 something like that, and our seats were outside. And so a  
22 friend came and suggested, he said, you know, you probably  
23 could go up in a couple of boxes and stay dry. And so it  
24 was kind of typical, when I had been Speaker before, you  
25 could walk up there and hop into a box, and there's a lot of

1 corporations that have boxes.

2 **Q** Did your wife accompany you up to the boxes?

3 **A** Yes, she did.

4 **Q** And did you run into Mr. Jones in one of those boxes?

5 **A** Yeah. Jimmy Haslam was going into a box and I said  
6 hello to Jimmy and he said: Come on, we're going into  
7 FirstEnergy's box. So I walked in with him.

8 **Q** And did you encounter Mr. Jones in that box?

9 **A** I did, yes.

10 **Q** Was that the first time that you had spoken to him?

11 **A** Actually, yes. Well, let me preface that. So when I  
12 had talked to Tony Alexander prior, awhile back on that  
13 phone call, he explained to me that Chuck Jones was the new  
14 CEO of FirstEnergy. I didn't know who that was and he said:  
15 Well, you met him back in 1999 or '98 at the Statehouse  
16 briefly, just hello. He said: I introduced him to you, but  
17 I didn't remember.

18 **Q** Fair to say this was the first time in --

19 **A** Might as well say it was the first time I had met him  
20 because it was such a quick exchange before.

21 THE COURT: If this is a good point, you've been  
22 talking about lunch, it's 12:15. We normally break at  
23 12:15. Can you accommodate the break now?

24 MR. OLESKI: I can.

25 THE COURT: Very well. We're going to take our

1 lunch break. During the lunch, Members of the Jury, enjoy  
2 the lunch. Put this out of your mind. Get ready to come  
3 back this afternoon. In the interim, no talking about the  
4 case even among yourselves. No independent research. No  
5 checking out the media. Continue to keep an open mind until  
6 you've heard all of the evidence. We're going to try look  
7 for you at 1:40. Today at this moment, we'll rise as you  
8 leave for lunch.

9 THE DEPUTY: All rise for the jury.

10 (Jury exited the courtroom at 12:16 p.m.)

11 THE COURT: Jury has left the room. As always,  
12 we'll wait to be advised that they've cleared the floor, and  
13 then we'll break for lunch with an expectation of going back  
14 into session at 1:40.

15 And I tell all witnesses, you're not to discuss your  
16 testimony during the break, and you understand?

17 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: I do.

18 THE COURT: Very well.

19 (Pause.)

20 THE DEPUTY: All clear.

21 THE COURT: All clear. Lunch. We're in recess  
22 until 1:40.

23 THE DEPUTY: Court is in recess.

24 (Recess taken from 12:17 p.m. to 1:38 p.m.)

25 THE DEPUTY: All rise. This court is in session

1 pursuant to the recess.

2 THE COURT: Thank you. Please be seated. Back in  
3 the courtroom. Participants appear to be present. Are we  
4 ready for the jury from the government's perspective?

5 MS. GLATFELTER: Yes, Your Honor.

6 THE COURT: Mr. Householder's?

7 MR. OLESKI: Yes, Judge.

8 THE COURT: Mr. Borges'?

9 MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes.

10 THE COURT: All right. Let's call for the jury.

11 (Pause.)

12 THE DEPUTY: All rise for the jury.

13 (Jury entered the courtroom at 1:43 p.m.)

14 THE COURT: You may all be seated. Thank you. 14  
15 Members of the Jury have rejoined us. They look bright-eyed  
16 and bushy-tailed. Actually, know what bright-eyed means, I  
17 don't know what the other thing means, but they're back, and  
18 we're grateful for your work.

19 Mr. Householder remains on the stand under oath, and  
20 his lawyer may approach and continue to examine.

21 MR. OLESKI: Thank you, Judge.

22 **Q** Before the lunch break, we were talking about the  
23 World Series game back in 2016. Do you recall that?

24 **A** Yes, I do.

25 **Q** And at that World Series game, did you meet Chuck

1 Jones?

2 **A** I did.

3 **Q** How long was that meeting?

4 **A** Oh, not very long. We just exchanged some  
5 pleasantries. I asked him how business was.

6 MR. OLESKI: PJ -- Your Honor, may we publish  
7 Government Exhibit 21, which has been admitted?

8 THE COURT: Yes.

9 MR. OLESKI: And can you cull out -- PJ, can you  
10 cull out that bottom e-mail?

11 **Q** And do you see Mr. Jones' e-mail on November 5th of  
12 2016 on your screen, sir?

13 **A** Yes, I do.

14 **Q** And could you read that second sentence, "when we were  
15 talking"?

16 **A** When we were talking on Wednesday, I told him there  
17 was gonna be a sense of urgency but could not tell him all  
18 the details.

19 MR. OLESKI: PJ, could you cull out the middle  
20 e-mail on November 10th of 2016?

21 **Q** Sir, do you recognize that?

22 **A** Yes, I do.

23 **Q** And is that an e-mail from you?

24 **A** Yes, it is.

25 **Q** To whom, if you know?

1       **A**       To Tony George.

2       **Q**       And what did you write to Mr. George?

3       **A**       Tony, I discussed a game plan for utility relief  
4       yesterday with Bill Seitz. We are more than ready to sit  
5       down and craft something with utilities that will make  
6       sense.

7       **Q**       Who's Bill Seitz?

8       **A**       Bill Seitz is -- he's been the energy chair, public  
9       utilities committee chair in both the Senate and the House,  
10      and a member of leadership for a long time.

11      **Q**       And this e-mail was sent on what date?

12      **A**       November 10th, 2016.

13      **Q**       Was that after the general elections in 2016?

14      **A**       Yes.

15      **Q**       And did you win your election in November of 2016?

16      **A**       I did.

17      **Q**       And do you know in 2016 whether Mr. Seitz was running  
18      for office?

19      **A**       Oh, he would have been, yes.

20      **Q**       And do you know what office he was running for?

21      **A**       State Representative.

22      **Q**       And did you discuss a game plan for utility relief  
23      with Mr. Seitz?

24      **A**       Yes.

25      **Q**       And what were the broad outlines of that game plan?



1       **A**       So the one thing that -- they had tried to pass this  
2       ZEN legislation like other states had done, and it never had  
3       any support in Ohio, and previously, they had passed a bill  
4       to negate the mandates and save the rate payors money, but  
5       it didn't make it all the way through the General Assembly.  
6       I thought if they formed the two bills together, they would  
7       have a good chance of getting it done.

8       **Q**       Just briefly, what is ZEN?

9       **A**       Zero Emissions Nuclear.

10      **Q**       And do you understand that -- what do you understand  
11      that phrase to mean?

12      **A**       Well, it's a subsidy for nuclear power plants that  
13      Illinois, New York and New Jersey, maybe somebody else, has  
14      passed several years ago. And basically, what it does, is  
15      it provides a subsidy for the nuclear power plants, but the  
16      rate payors have to pay for it.

17      **Q**       Now, in November of 2016, had FirstEnergy or its PAC  
18      contributed to your political campaign?

19      **A**       No.

20      **Q**       What about Mr. Jones?

21      **A**       Oh, no.

22      **Q**       What about Mr. Dowling?

23      **A**       No.

24      **Q**       And had FirstEnergy contributed any money to  
25      Generation Now in November of 2016?

1       **A**       There wasn't any Generation Now at that time.

2                   MR. OLESKI: You can take that e-mail down, PJ.

3       **Q**       After the November 2016 elections, did you have  
4 further discussions with Mr. Longstreth?

5       **A**       Yes.

6       **Q**       And in those conversations, did you tell  
7 Mr. Longstreth about your aspirations to regain the  
8 Speakership?

9       **A**       Yes.

10      **Q**       And after a number -- after several conversations, did  
11 you engage Mr. Longstreth to provide campaign services?

12      **A**       Yes, um-hmm.

13      **Q**       At that time, when you engaged Mr. Longstreth and his  
14 company, did you tell him that he could not have any other  
15 clients?

16      **A**       No.

17      **Q**       Did you ever tell him that he could not have any other  
18 clients?

19      **A**       No. I was concerned that he was just focused on House  
20 campaigns and not be all over the country, but he could have  
21 other clients.

22      **Q**       And did he have other clients?

23      **A**       Oh, yeah.

24      **Q**       I want to turn my attention to the Presidential  
25 Inauguration in 2017. Did you attend that event?

1       **A**       Yes.

2       **Q**       And which president was being inaugurated?

3       **A**       Donald Trump.

4       **Q**       Did you have a ticket to that event?

5       **A**       I had a lot of tickets to that event.

6       **Q**       Why did you have a lot of events to that event?

7       **A**       Well, I had spoke at the Republican National  
8       Convention.

9       **Q**       What did you do with all of the tickets that you had  
10      received?

11      **A**       Tried to find people to go and take them.

12      **Q**       Did you give any to anybody in your family?

13      **A**       Yeah. Three of my sons were able to go and my wife,  
14      Taundra and I. The other two boys -- we have five sons, the  
15      other two boys had to work, they couldn't go.

16                   MR. OLESKI: Your Honor, permission to publish  
17      Government Exhibit 215 A, page 2, and this exhibit has been  
18      admitted.

19                   THE COURT: Yes.

20      **Q**       How did you travel to the Presidential Inauguration in  
21      2016?

22      **A**       Hang on a second. By plane.

23      **Q**       And whose plane was it?

24      **A**       It was FirstEnergy's plane.

25      **Q**       Did Mr. Jones invite you on this plane ride?

1       **A**       No.

2       **Q**       Did Mr. Dowling?

3       **A**       No.

4       **Q**       Who did?

5       **A**       Well, so I had -- I had called Tony George and -- to  
6       see if Tony and his wife, Christine --

7       **Q**       Did you give tickets to Mr. George?

8       **A**       Yes.

9       **Q**       To the inauguration?

10      **A**       Yes.

11      **Q**       And who flew on this flight with you?

12      **A**       Well, it was Tony George and his wife, Christine. He  
13      had invited Rob Frost, who is the Cuyahoga County Republican  
14      chair, and my son, Luke and I, and Mike Dowling had to fly  
15      because it was a FirstEnergy plane, had to have someone from  
16      FirstEnergy.

17      **Q**       Is it a long flight from Akron to Washington, DC?

18      **A**       Not too long, no.

19                   MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

20                   DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Maybe an hour, I suppose.

21      **Q**       Did you arrive in Washington, DC, on January 18th?

22      **A**       Yes.

23      **Q**       And you arrived with your son, Luke?

24      **A**       Yes.

25      **Q**       After you arrived in Washington, DC, what was the

1 first thing that you did?

2 **A** Well, the first thing we did was we checked into the  
3 hotel.

4 **Q** And what hotel were you staying at, if you can recall?

5 **A** It was where the Ohio delegation stayed. I don't  
6 recall the name of that hotel, but the Ohio delegation was  
7 there.

8 **Q** And after you checked in, what was the next thing that  
9 you and your son, Luke, did?

10 **A** There was an event that -- I might butcher this name,  
11 I believe his name is Marcus Luttrell. Luke knew exactly  
12 who he was, and Luke wanted to go meet him and get his  
13 photograph taken.

14 **Q** And did you and Luke attend that event?

15 **A** We did.

16 **Q** And about how long were you at that event?

17 **A** I couldn't say, maybe, maybe an hour or  
18 hour-and-a-half.

19 **Q** After you left that event, where did you go next?

20 **A** We walked around Washington. It was the first time  
21 Luke had ever been to Washington, DC. He was pretty excited  
22 about it, and so we walked a little bit, and then we were  
23 tired and went back.

24 **Q** What did you do next?

25 **A** We went back to our rooms and unpacked our bags and we

1 had other guests coming the next day.

2 **Q** Who was arriving the next day?

3 **A** My wife, Taundra, and let's see, it would have been  
4 Derek and Nathan, two other of my sons, our sons.

5 **Q** When did your wife and two other sons arrive in  
6 Washington, DC on the following day, January 19th?

7 **A** Thursday afternoon.

8 **Q** Did you and Luke do anything before Taundra and your  
9 other two boys arrived at -- arrived in Washington, DC?

10 **A** Yes.

11 **Q** Where did you go?

12 **A** Well, we had breakfast in the morning at the hotel,  
13 and then there was an event that I had tickets for, a  
14 luncheon, a long luncheon, that it was -- I think it was  
15 American or something like that, it's a charity, Jim Brown,  
16 the NFL star has.

17 **Q** Was anybody else of note that attended that event?

18 **A** There was a lot of Ohio -- well, there was some Ohio  
19 people there. There were people from all over the country.

20 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to show the witness,  
21 counsel, and the Court Householder Exhibit 486?

22 THE COURT: Yes.

23 **Q** See that document on your screen, sir?

24 **A** Yes, I do.

25 **Q** Who's depicted in this photograph?

1       **A**       Pardon?

2       **Q**       Who's depicted, who is in this photograph?

3       **A**       Oh, well, I'm on the right of the gray-haired  
4 gentleman, and my son, Luke, is on the left of that  
5 gentleman, and the man in the middle is former Coach Bobby  
6 Knight.

7       **Q**       Was this picture taken at the event you were just  
8 speaking about?

9       **A**       Yes, it was, along with a lot of others.

10               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish --  
11 permission, I move to admit this exhibit and publish it.

12               THE COURT: Any objections?

13               MS. GLATFELTER: No, Your Honor.

14               MR. SCHNEIDER: No.

15               THE COURT: It's admitted. You may publish.

16       **Q**       Now that it's published for the jury, just from left  
17 to right, who are we looking at?

18       **A**       Left is myself; in the middle is Coach Bobby Knight;  
19 and on the right is our youngest son, Luke.

20       **Q**       And how old was Luke at this time?

21       **A**       At that time he was 18.

22               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

23       **Q**       After the -- after the luncheon, did your wife and two  
24 other boys arrive?

25       **A**       Yes.

1 Q And did you and your -- what do you and your family do  
2 next?

3 A Well, they were having a reception for the Ohio  
4 delegation.

5 Q What is the Ohio delegation?

6 A Ohio delegation is the people from Ohio, you know,  
7 supporters, political people, state central committee  
8 people, a lot of county folks from Ohio that was at the  
9 inauguration.

10 Q And where was that reception?

11 A At the hotel.

12 Q And this reception would have been on which day?

13 A That would have been Thursday.

14 Q So is that January 19th?

15 A Yes.

16 Q How long -- did you, Mrs. Householder, and three of  
17 your sons attend that reception?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And how long were you and your family at that  
20 reception?

21 A Well, I wanted to stay there quite a while because it  
22 was -- we had a new chairman for the Ohio Republican Party,  
23 and I wanted to make certain that I showed my support to the  
24 chairman, who was Jane Timken, and so a couple of hours.

25 Q And after the reception, did you and your family go to



1 dinner?

2 **A** Yeah.

3 **Q** Where did you guys go to eat?

4 **A** My wife's a pizza addict and so we as a family walked  
5 down the street from the hotel, down over the hill and had  
6 pizza at a pizza shop.

7 **Q** And after you had -- after you had pizza, where did  
8 you and your family go next?

9 **A** So Rex Elsass has a home in Washington, DC and there  
10 was a party there at his house, and a lot of Ohioans were  
11 going to that.

12 **Q** And who's Rex Elsass?

13 **A** Well, Rex Elsass is a campaign political media person  
14 that does television, radio, and those types of things.

15 **Q** Were there a lot of people that attended the party at  
16 Mr. Elsass' house?

17 **A** It was absolutely packed, the lower level of his home  
18 and he has a bar down there and it was very crowded.

19 **Q** About what time did you and your family arrive at  
20 Mr. Elsass' event?

21 **A** Probably, I'm thinking maybe pizza -- 8:30ish.

22 **Q** And how long roughly were you at Mr. Elsass' party?

23 **A** Well, at least two, two-and-a-half hours, maybe.

24 **Q** While you were at Mr. Elsass' party, did you see Chuck  
25 Jones?

1       **A**       I did.

2       **Q**       And about what time did Mr. Jones arrive to  
3       Mr. Elsass' party?

4       **A**       Well, I couldn't tell you what time he arrived. It  
5       was after we got there. He walked in with Tony George. I  
6       saw him come down the steps.

7       **Q**       Did you have any interaction with Mr. George at that  
8       party?

9       **A**       Said hello to him.

10      **Q**       Other than saying hello, did you say anything else to  
11      him?

12      **A**       No.

13      **Q**       After you left Mr. Elsass' party, did you and your  
14      family go back to the hotel and go to sleep?

15      **A**       Well, one member did, Taundra went back to the hotel  
16      and went to bed. The boys and I decided we were -- a  
17      gentleman with the NRA had free passes to a Trace Adkins  
18      concert that night. It was a late concert. I think it  
19      started at 10 or 11:00, I don't remember which, and --

20      **Q**       And did you and your boys attend that concert?

21      **A**       Yeah, yeah.

22               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to show the witness,  
23      counsel, and the Court Householder 484?

24               THE COURT: Yes.

25               MR. OLESKI: I'm sorry, that ain't it. 485. I'm

1       sorry, I lost my place. My apologies, Judge.

2       **Q**       Do you recognize who's depicted in Householder 485?

3       **A**       Yes, I do.

4       **Q**       Who's in the foreground of that picture?

5       **A**       Well, that's our son, Luke.

6       **Q**       And who's in the background of that picture?

7       **A**       That would be Trace Adkins.

8       **Q**       And who took this picture?

9       **A**       I did.

10               MR. OLESKI: Judge, I move to admit and publish  
11 this exhibit?

12               THE COURT: Any objections?

13               MS. GLATFELTER: No, Your Honor.

14               MR. SCHNEIDER: No.

15               THE COURT: It's admitted. You may publish.

16       **Q**       And you attended the Trace Adkins concert on the  
17 evening of January 19th; is that right?

18       **A**       I did.

19       **Q**       After the Trace Adkins concert, what did you and your  
20 sons do?

21       **A**       We went home, went to bed.

22       **Q**       All right.

23               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

24       **Q**       Now, the following day was January 20th. Was that the  
25 date of the formal inauguration ceremony?

1       **A**       It is.

2       **Q**       And when does that ceremony occur?

3       **A**       I think it's around noon or 11:00, something like  
4       that.

5       **Q**       Did you and your family attend the -- Mr. Trump's  
6       inauguration?

7       **A**       Yeah. We had breakfast in the morning and then we  
8       went to the inauguration.

9       **Q**       After the ceremony, did you and your family go have  
10      lunch?

11      **A**       We went to the parade.

12      **Q**       Okay.

13      **A**       And had lunch, yes.

14      **Q**       And where did you have lunch?

15      **A**       Well, after the inauguration, there's a parade. You  
16      may have seen it on television from time to time. It seems  
17      to always rain, and so we were walking over to the parade  
18      route, and it started to rain, and there was a restaurant,  
19      it was Tony George and Chrissy, his wife, and Taundra and I  
20      and the three boys. And it started to rain, and so we  
21      didn't feel like standing out in the parade route in the  
22      rain, and someone suggested that we step into this  
23      restaurant. It had great big glass windows, it was a  
24      McCormick & Smith [sic] or something like that, we went into  
25      that restaurant and we got a seat somewhat near a window and

1 we watched the parade and had, I guess, a late lunch.

2 **Q** After you had the late lunch, did you attend any  
3 inaugural ball?

4 **A** Yes, sure did.

5 **Q** And did your wife and three boys accompany you?

6 **A** Yes.

7 **MR. OLESKI:** Judge, permission to show the witness,  
8 counsel, and the Court Householder Exhibit 484?

9 **THE COURT:** Yes.

10 **Q** And, sir, do you recognize the individuals depicted on  
11 this photograph?

12 **A** I most certainly do.

13 **Q** From left to right, who are they?

14 **A** Well, there's Luke again, and my wife, Taundra, and  
15 I'm on the far right.

16 **MR. OLESKI:** Judge, I move to admit and publish  
17 this exhibit.

18 **THE COURT:** Any objection?

19 **MS. GLATFELTER:** No, Your Honor.

20 **MR. SCHNEIDER:** No.

21 **THE COURT:** It's admitted. You can publish.

22 **Q** And the inaugural ball was held on what day?

23 **A** It was Friday night.

24 **Q** And would that be January 20th, 2017?

25 **A** That would be correct.

1 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

2 Q When did you leave Washington, DC?

3 A We left Saturday morning, the next day.

4 Q So you were in Washington, DC, January 18th,  
5 January 19th, January 20th, and you left the morning of  
6 January 21st?

7 A That's correct.

8 Q During the entire time that you were in Washington, DC  
9 with your family, did you ever have dinner with Chuck Jones,  
10 Mike Dowling, and Jeff Longstreth?

11 A I did not.

12 Q During the entire time that you and your family were  
13 in Washington, DC, did you have dinner with Chuck Jones?

14 A No.

15 Q During the entire time that you were in Washington,  
16 DC, did you have dinner with Mike Dowling?

17 A No.

18 Q What about Jeff Longstreth?

19 A No.

20 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish side by  
21 side Government's Exhibit 724 B and 700 A?

22 THE COURT: They're admitted?

23 MR. OLESKI: They're admitted, yes, Judge.

24 THE COURT: You may publish them.

25 MR. OLESKI: 700 A. And, PJ, on the right, could

1 you just cull out Mr. Jones' contact information?

2 **Q** The exhibit on your left is Government Exhibit 724 B;  
3 do you see that, sir?

4 **A** Yes, I do.

5 **Q** And --

6 THE COURT: Excuse me.

7 MS. GLATFELTER: Your Honor, I'm going to object to  
8 leading. We've been leading for quite a while, and this is  
9 direct testimony.

10 THE COURT: Try not to lead.

11 MR. OLESKI: Sure.

12 **Q** What exhibit is on the left-hand side of the screen,  
13 sir?

14 **A** 724 B.

15 **Q** And what exhibit is on the right-hand side of the  
16 screen?

17 **A** 700 A.

18 **Q** And what number is depicted on the -- whose cell phone  
19 number is depicted on the left-hand side of the screen?

20 **A** Charles Jones.

21 **Q** And on the right-hand side of the screen, do you see  
22 the contact, do you see the contact information?

23 **A** I do.

24 **Q** And who is that for?

25 **A** Charles Jones, Chuck Jones.

1       **Q**       Are the two numbers the same?

2       **A**       Yes, they are.

3               MR. OLESKI: You can take down 700 A, PJ, and if we  
4       can leave up 724 B, Judge.

5               THE COURT: Yes.

6               MR. OLESKI: And if you could cull out the due date  
7       at the top, PJ.

8       **Q**       What is the date due?

9       **A**       February 26th of 2017.

10              MR. OLESKI: Okay. And could we advance to page 5,  
11       PJ? And if you could cull out January 17th through  
12       January 19th, PJ.

13       **Q**       Sir, do you see the last entry on January -- for 1/18?

14       **A**       Yes.

15       **Q**       And do you see the column headings at the top?

16       **A**       Yes.

17       **Q**       What's the left-hand column?

18       **A**       Date.

19       **Q**       The second-to-left hand column?

20       **A**       Time.

21       **Q**       And do you see, a couple of columns over, do you see  
22       origination?

23       **A**       I do.

24       **Q**       And do you see the entry on 1/18 at 8:25 p.m.?

25       **A**       Yes, I do.



1       **Q**       And according to -- what's the origination for that  
2       record?

3       **A**       It's Naples, Florida.

4       **Q**       And what about the next line down for 1/19, what's the  
5       origination for that date, for that?

6       **A**       1/19 at 9:57 a.m. is Arlington, Virginia.

7       **Q**       Do these records appear to be Mr. Jones' cell phone  
8       records?

9       **A**       Yes, they do.

10      **Q**       So according to these records, where was Mr. Jones'  
11      cell phone on 1/18 of 2017?

12               MS. GLATFELTER: Your Honor, objection, personal  
13      knowledge. These are records from a company, he's not a  
14      company custodian that can explain what the origination  
15      column is.

16               THE COURT: I tend to agree. Sustained.

17               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
18      Government Exhibit 215 B?

19               THE COURT: Yes.

20               MR. OLESKI: And we can go to the next page, PJ.

21      **Q**       Before trial, had you ever seen this document before?

22      **A**       No.

23      **Q**       Do you see your name referenced on this exhibit?

24               MR. OLESKI: PJ, if you cull out 1/18/17.

25      **A**       Yes, I do.

1 Q Do you know why your name is on this exhibit?

2 A No, I don't.

3 Q Did you create this record?

4 A No.

5 Q Did you make a reservation on January 18th, 2017 at  
6 the Charlie Palmer steakhouse?

7 A No.

8 Q Did you have dinner at the Charlie Palmer steakhouse  
9 on January 18th, 2017?

10 A No, huh-uh.

11 MR. OLESKI: If we go to the next page of this  
12 exhibit, PJ, and if you could cull out the January 19th  
13 entries.

14 Q Mr. Householder, do you know why your name is  
15 reflected on this page of the exhibit?

16 A I do not.

17 Q Did you make a reservation at the Palm restaurant in  
18 Washington, DC for January 19th, 2017?

19 A No.

20 Q Did you attend -- did you have dinner at the Palm  
21 restaurant in Washington, DC on January 19th, 2017?

22 A No.

23 MR. OLESKI: And if we could pull up 1/20/2017.

24 Q Sir, do you see your name reflected on this page of  
25 the exhibit?

1       **A**       Yes.

2       **Q**       Did you make a reservation for eight people at the  
3       Palm restaurant on January 20th, 2017?

4       **A**       No.

5       **Q**       Did you have dinner at the Palm restaurant in  
6       Washington, DC on January 20th, 2017?

7       **A**       No.

8               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

9       **Q**       During the entire time that you were in Washington,  
10      DC, how many times did you see Mr. Chuck Jones?

11      **A**       Twice.

12      **Q**       When was the first time you saw Mr. Jones?

13      **A**       The first time I saw him was at Rex Elsass' party.

14      **Q**       And that would have been on -- would that have been on  
15      January 19th, 2017?

16      **A**       It was, yes, that night.

17      **Q**       And how long of an interaction was that?

18      **A**       Five minutes, maybe ten minutes.

19      **Q**       What about Mr. Mike Dowling, how many times did you  
20      see him in -- strike that.

21              I skipped over one. You mentioned that you saw  
22      Mr. Jones twice in Washington, DC?

23      **A**       Oh, yes.

24      **Q**       When was the second time you saw Mr. Jones in  
25      Washington, DC?

1       **A**       The morning that we left, Saturday morning, we had  
2       breakfast down in the hotel like we normally did, and  
3       Taundra was going to take the rental car with two of the  
4       boys back home, and I was going to fly back with Luke on  
5       FirstEnergy's plane, and there was a big protest that was  
6       going to happen in DC, and they were bringing bus loads of  
7       people in. And we decided we better get out of Dodge, and  
8       so as I was walking out to leave the hotel, I saw Chuck  
9       Jones in the lobby and I waved at him and I said: We're  
10      getting out of here. And he just nodded and said: It's  
11      probably a good idea.

12      **Q**       And what about Mike Dowling, how many times did you  
13      see him while you were in Washington, DC?

14      **A**       Well, we flew over in the plane together and we flew  
15      back in the plane together, and we went to the hotel  
16      together and we went back from the hotel to the plane  
17      together. And I saw him briefly at the American luncheon on  
18      Thursday.

19      **Q**       And other than the times you flew with him and the  
20      American luncheon, did you have any other interactions with  
21      Mr. Dowling?

22      **A**       No.

23      **Q**       During the entire time that you were in Washington,  
24      DC, were you a participant in any conversation where the  
25      topic of the conversation was nuclear power plants in Ohio?

1       **A**       No. I mean, if you've ever been to an inauguration,  
2       it's one big reception and just people everywhere and food  
3       everywhere you go, and it's just a -- it's a gala time that  
4       you're celebrating, and we had our family with us, so that's  
5       what we were doing in DC.

6       **Q**       How did you travel from Washington, DC back to Ohio?

7       **A**       In FirstEnergy's plane.

8       **Q**       Did you pay FirstEnergy for flying in its private  
9       plane?

10      **A**       Yes.

11               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish -- I'm  
12      not sure if this one is an exhibit or this one has been  
13      admitted, Judge. So can I just show the witness, and  
14      counsel, and the Court Householder Exhibit 376?

15               THE COURT: Yes.

16      **Q**       Sir, do you recognize this document?

17      **A**       Yes.

18      **Q**       What is it?

19      **A**       Well, that's our bank statement, Taundra and mine  
20      personal bank statement.

21               MR. OLESKI: Judge, I move to admit and publish  
22      this exhibit.

23               THE COURT: Any objections?

24               MS. GLATFELTER: No, Your Honor.

25               MR. SCHNEIDER: No.

1 THE COURT: It's admitted. You may publish.

2 MR. OLESKI: Thank you, Judge.

3 PJ, if you could advance one page and if you could cull  
4 out the entry on March 29th of 2017.

5 Q Do you see that on your screen, sir?

6 A I do.

7 Q What is that?

8 A That is a -- on March 29th of 2017, it's showing an  
9 automatic debit of, looks like Check No. 6174 to FirstEnergy  
10 Services in payment of -- for \$2,642.20.

11 Q This bank record, is this your personal checking  
12 account?

13 A It is.

14 Q Okay.

15 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

16 Judge, permission to publish Householder Exhibit 481,  
17 which has been admitted?

18 THE COURT: Yes.

19 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, could you just cull out the  
20 first entry?

21 Q Do you see this document on your screen, sir?

22 A I do.

23 Q In early 2017, was there a fundraiser held in Florida?

24 A There was.

25 Q For whom?

1       **A**       It was for Cliff Rosenberger.

2       **Q**       Did you attend that fundraiser in Florida?

3       **A**       No.

4       **Q**       The section of the exhibit that's been culled out,  
5       what does this appear to reflect?

6       **A**       If you would, please -- pardon me?

7       **Q**       What does this reflect, what does it show?

8       **A**       It shows an event in Florida, February 3rd and 4th,  
9       2017.

10      **Q**       Where was the event held according to this document?

11      **A**       Ruth Chris Steakhouse in Bonita Springs, Florida.

12      **Q**       And does it appear that there were some individuals  
13      associated with FirstEnergy that attended?

14      **A**       That's what it says.

15      **Q**       And what about House members?

16      **A**       Yeah, the House attendees were Speaker Rosenberger,  
17      Speaker pro tem Kirk Schuring, public utilities chair, Bill  
18      Seitz and finance chair, Ryan Smith.

19      **Q**       February 3rd of 2017, do you know if that was before  
20      or after Generation Now was formed?

21      **A**       I would say that was before.

22                   MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

23      **Q**       While you were a member of the House of  
24      Representatives in 2017, did you become familiar with a  
25      piece of legislation known as ZEN?

1       **A**       Yes.

2       **Q**       And was that piece of legislation introduced in the  
3       House of Representatives?

4       **A**       Yeah, I believe so.

5       **Q**       Do you know one way or the other whether FirstEnergy  
6       was supportive of that piece of legislation?

7       **A**       Yes, I believe they were, yes.

8       **Q**       And did that piece of legislation ultimately pass?

9       **A**       No.

10      **Q**       Okay. Now, after you returned to Ohio from  
11      Washington, DC, did you and Mr. Longstreth develop a  
12      strategy to -- for you to regain the Speaker's position?

13      **A**       Yes.

14                   MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
15      Government Exhibit 201 B?

16                   THE COURT: Yes.

17      **Q**       Now, before this trial, sir, had you ever seen this  
18      document before?

19      **A**       No.

20      **Q**       Does this appear to reflect at least part of the  
21      strategy that you and Mr. Longstreth developed?

22      **A**       Well, it's a similar strategy to the one that I used  
23      in 2000 when I was the first Speaker when term limits hit in  
24      Ohio, and it sort of become a template over the years for  
25      Speakers to get elected to the legislatures.



1       **Q**       What is that template strategy?

2       **A**       Well, you go out and recruit candidates and you raise  
3 money and you try to put a team together of members that are  
4 currently in the General Assembly to help you, and then  
5 you -- basically you try to provide all of the campaign  
6 services those people would need, those new candidates would  
7 need, in order to be successful.

8       **Q**       Do you see the reference, the fourth line from the  
9 bottom, to a Ginni Ragan?

10      **A**       Yeah.

11      **Q**       Who's Ginni Ragan?

12      **A**       Ginni Ragan was a very large contributor to Cliff  
13 Rosenberger and Ryan Smith.

14      **Q**       And do you see the reference to Boich, who's Boich?

15      **A**       Yes, I do. Well, I'd say they're insinuating Wayne  
16 Boich.

17      **Q**       And do you know Mr. Boich?

18      **A**       Very well, yes.

19      **Q**       How do you know him?

20      **A**       Well, he's from Appalachia like I am, and when I first  
21 came to the General Assembly, we got to know each other very  
22 well because Wayne was a coal broker, very successful coal  
23 broker, and he supported -- he supported me through the time  
24 I was in the General Assembly and was a very big supporter  
25 of mine for Speaker.

1       **Q**       Now, do you see in the very first sentence of this  
2 document a reference to a (c) (4)?

3       **A**       I do.

4       **Q**       What do you understand that to be a reference to?

5       **A**       A 501(c) (4).

6       **Q**       And do you see the last clause of that sentence,  
7 "recruitment and fundraising arm"; do you see that?

8       **A**       I do.

9       **Q**       Do you need to raise money in order to accomplish  
10 this -- or implement this strategy?

11       **A**       Oh, you have to -- absolutely you have to raise money  
12 because, you know, you've got 30 different campaigns that  
13 you're trying to be successful in.

14       **Q**       And in general, are you more interested in finding a  
15 single large donor or lots of donors?

16       **A**       No, you need a lot of donors.

17       **Q**       Now, we talked a few moments ago about a 501(c) (4).  
18 Do you know whether Mr. Longstreth had a 501(c) (4) created?

19       **A**       Yes.

20       **Q**       Who hired the persons that created -- well, strike  
21 that.

22               What was the name of the 501(c) (4) that Mr. Longstreth  
23 created?

24       **A**       He named it Generation Now.

25       **Q**       Did you like that name?

1       **A**       No.

2       **Q**       Why not?

3       **A**       I just didn't like that name. I didn't understand  
4       what he was getting at and I didn't understand -- it's just,  
5       I didn't get it.

6       **Q**       Do you know who hired the persons that created  
7       Generation Now as an entity?

8       **A**       Jeff Longstreth.

9       **Q**       Did you hire the persons that created Generation Now?

10      **A**       Oh, no.

11      **Q**       Do you know where Generation Now did its banking?

12      **A**       Well, I do now since the trial, but I didn't before  
13      the trial.

14      **Q**       Back in 2017, 2018 and 2019 and 2020, did you know  
15      where Generation Now did its banking?

16      **A**       I did not.

17      **Q**       At that time, during that time period, did you know  
18      who the signatories on Generation Now's bank accounts were?

19      **A**       No.

20      **Q**       Do you know who directed how Generation Now spent its  
21      money?

22      **A**       Well, I would assume it was Jeff.

23      **Q**       Do you know whether Mr. Longstreth was paid by  
24      Generation Now?

25      **A**       No.

1       **Q**       Do you know how much he was paid by Generation Now?

2       **A**       Obviously no.

3       **Q**       Now, back in early 2017, what did you understand the  
4       purpose of Generation Now to be?

5       **A**       It was a vehicle that would educate the public on  
6       issues that are important to Ohioans and help support  
7       candidates that supported those issues.

8       **Q**       And during that -- the 2017 through 2020 time period,  
9       did you raise money into Generation Now?

10      **A**       Oh, yes.

11      **Q**       Why was that?

12      **A**       Well, I just explained it. It was going to help  
13      educate the public on issues, and if it's important for  
14      Ohio, it's important for me, and also support candidates  
15      that support those issues.

16      **Q**       Did you have a fundraising pitch that you would give  
17      to potential donors of Generation Now?

18      **A**       The fundraising pitch wasn't any different than if I  
19      was raising money to their individual campaign committees.  
20      It was, I just usually tried to explain who these people  
21      were and that they were coming to the General Assembly for  
22      the right reasons.

23      **Q**       And when you made fundraising calls for Generation  
24      Now, just in general, who were the types of people that you  
25      called?

1       **A**       People who historically had given to 501(c)(4)s.

2               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
3 Government Exhibit 223 A, which has been admitted?

4               THE COURT: Yes.

5               MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if you could cull out that  
6 bottom e-mail.

7       **Q**       Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

8       **A**       Yes, I do.

9       **Q**       What is it?

10      **A**       It's an e-mail from Jeff Longstreth to Michael  
11 Dowling.

12      **Q**       And what's the date of the e-mail?

13      **A**       March 7th, 2017.

14      **Q**       And what's the subject line, what's the subject of the  
15 e-mail?

16      **A**       External, Generation Now donor reply info wiring  
17 instructions.

18      **Q**       Do you see the second sentence of the body of the  
19 e-mail, what does that say?

20      **A**       Yes. It says: This is the organization that Chuck  
21 and Larry discussed.

22      **Q**       Do you understand the reference to Chuck -- who do you  
23 understand the reference to Chuck to be?

24      **A**       That's Chuck Jones.

25      **Q**       And the reference to Larry?

1       **A**       That would be me.

2       **Q**       Did you and -- did you discuss Generation Now with  
3       Mr. Jones?

4       **A**       I absolutely did.

5       **Q**       And why did you do that?

6       **A**       I was hoping that they would donate to Generation Now.

7       **Q**       On that telephone -- was it a telephone call or an  
8       in-person meeting, if you recall?

9       **A**       Telephone call.

10      **Q**       On that telephone call, did you promise Mr. Jones that  
11      you would advance any legislation on behalf of FirstEnergy?

12      **A**       No, no.

13               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ. And,  
14      Judge, permission to publish Government Exhibit 201 C, which  
15      has been admitted?

16               THE COURT: Yes.

17               MR. OLESKI: And could we go to page 8, PJ?

18      **Q**       Sir, did you ask other organizations to make  
19      contributions into Generation Now?

20      **A**       I sure did.

21      **Q**       And why did you do that?

22      **A**       Well, Jeff had put together a plan of what he thought  
23      we were going to need for the races, and it was \$3 million  
24      hard and \$3 million soft.

25      **Q**       And what's the difference between hard money and soft

1 money?

2 **A** Well, hard money is money that goes to individual  
3 campaign committees, like Friends of Larry Householder or  
4 Oleski for the House. And --

5 **Q** And what about hard dollars -- or soft dollars?

6 **A** Soft dollars are dollars that -- like from a 501(c)(4)  
7 or to a 501(c)(4).

8 **Q** Now, do you see the document on your screen?

9 **A** I do, um-hmm.

10 **Q** Before this trial, had you seen this document before?

11 **A** I don't believe so.

12 **Q** But --

13 **A** But I've seen documents like this a hundred times.

14 **Q** And do you see -- what's the column on the left-hand  
15 side of the screen?

16 **A** Ask type.

17 **Q** And what's the reference to ask type?

18 **A** What is the reference to ask type?

19 **Q** Do you have an understanding of what ask type means?

20 **A** Yes. It's the type of contribution that you're  
21 seeking to get.

22 **MR. OLESKI:** And, PJ, could you scroll through a  
23 couple of pages? And you can stop there.

24 **Q** Do you see on the bottom of the screen the reference  
25 to PAC on the left-hand column?

1       **A**       I do.

2       **Q**       And if you know, what's the difference between a PAC  
3       contribution versus a corp contribution?

4       **A**       Well, a PAC contribution is a contribution that is  
5       made -- if they have a political action committee, it's  
6       coming from their PAC and it will be -- it will be reported.

7       **Q**       So during the 2017 to 2018 election cycle, were you  
8       fundraising for Friends of Larry Householder?

9       **A**       Yes.

10      **Q**       And were you fundraising for Generation Now?

11      **A**       I was, yes.

12               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
13      Government Exhibit 16, which has been admitted?

14               THE COURT: Yes.

15               MR. OLESKI: And, PJ --

16      **Q**       First of all, sir, do you recognize this document?

17      **A**       Yes.

18      **Q**       Do you recognize this document to be a summary of  
19      deposits into Generation Now?

20      **A**       I saw it earlier in the trial. Yes, I recognize it  
21      from that.

22               MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if you could cull out on the  
23      left-hand side of the screen, the 2017 through 2018  
24      deposits.

25      **Q**       What's the first deposit into the Generation Now



1 account?

2 **A** That's Wayne M. Boich and Cynthia Boich.

3 **Q** Are those the Boiches that we talked about a little  
4 bit ago?

5 **A** It's their son, yes.

6 **Q** Did you ask Mr. Boich to make a contribution to  
7 Generation Now?

8 **A** I did, yes.

9 **Q** Do you know whether he was the first call that you  
10 made or --

11 **A** I'm sure he was the first call I made.

12 **Q** And do you see there the next couple entries are for  
13 what entity?

14 **A** FirstEnergy.

15 **Q** And then the fifth entry is what?

16 **A** The Schroer Group.

17 **Q** Do you know what that is?

18 **A** Not -- no.

19 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if we could highlight the  
20 4/4/2018 deposit?

21 **Q** Do you see that?

22 **A** Yes, I do.

23 **Q** What's the Ohio AFL-CIO?

24 **A** It's a labor -- labor unions.

25 **Q** Did you call the Ohio AFL-CIO for a contribution?

1       **A**       I certainly did.

2       **Q**       And did the Ohio AFL-CIO make a contribution?

3       **A**       Looks like \$175,000.

4               MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if you could highlight the  
5       3/30/2018 deposit.

6       **Q**       What's the United Brothers of Carpenters and Joiners  
7       of America?

8       **A**       It's a labor union of carpenters and joiners of  
9       America. That would be Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky's branch.

10      **Q**       Why would you call a couple of labor unions for a  
11      contribution?

12      **A**       Well, I always had a great relationship with labor  
13      unions going clear back to before I was county commissioner.  
14      My district, our county, we have -- we work together a lot  
15      and I understand their issues pretty well, and I couldn't  
16      have a Saturday night poker game without the people that are  
17      labor union people.

18      **Q**       Do you see, right below the Ohio AFL-CIO deposit,  
19      there's a deposit made by Resource Fuels, LLC, do you know  
20      what that is?

21      **A**       I don't know who Resource Fuels are.

22      **Q**       Did you call a number of -- during the 2017, 2018  
23      election cycle, did you call a number of potential  
24      contributors and ask them for a contribution into the  
25      Generation Now bank account?

1       **A**       I did.

2                   MR. OLESKI: All right. You can take that down,  
3       PJ.

4       **Q**       Now, in January of 2017, did your political campaign  
5       lease office space?

6       **A**       Yes.

7       **Q**       And where did it lease office space?

8       **A**       65 East State Street.

9       **Q**       Why did your political campaign lease office space at  
10      that address?

11      **A**       Well, you don't do politics on state property, so I  
12      live, you know, 45 minutes to an hour from Columbus, so it  
13      made sense to lease political space, a place to have that I  
14      could do political things.

15                   MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
16      Government Exhibit 201 A 1, which has been admitted?

17                   THE COURT: Yes.

18      **Q**       Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

19      **A**       Yes, I do.

20      **Q**       What is it?

21      **A**       It's a landlord lease, sublease agreement.

22      **Q**       And is your political campaign one of the parties to  
23      this document?

24      **A**       Yes, Friends of Larry Householder.

25      **Q**       Did your political campaign make rent payments to

1 lease this office space?

2 **A** Yes.

3 **Q** And Friends of Larry Householder is your political  
4 campaign; is that right?

5 **A** Yes.

6 **Q** And is your political campaign required to publicly  
7 disclose all of its expenditures on a somewhat regular  
8 basis?

9 **A** Yes.

10 **Q** And if you know, did your political campaign --

11 THE COURT: Excuse me.

12 MS. GLATFELTER: Yes, Your Honor, I want to object  
13 to the leading nature of all of these questions.

14 THE COURT: All right. Do not lead the witness.  
15 Sustained.

16 MR. OLESKI: Could we go to page 7 of this  
17 document, PJ?

18 **Q** Do you recognize what's depicted on page 7 of this  
19 document?

20 **A** Yes, I do.

21 **Q** What is it?

22 **A** That's the diagram of the office at 65 East State  
23 Street.

24 **Q** And the section that's colored in, what was that?

25 **A** That dark section would be where Friends of Larry

1 Householder leased.

2 **Q** Did anybody else share this office space?

3 **A** Yes.

4 **Q** Who shared the office space?

5 **A** Well, just directly down from --

6 **Q** Just tell me who it was and then we'll --

7 **A** Oh, okay, that's fine. Anna Lippincott, JPL &  
8 Associates, Jeff Longstreth, and Megan Fitzmartin.

9 **Q** So on this -- first of all, do you recognize this  
10 as -- what do you recognize this document to be?

11 **A** What this is is a floor plan of the area that was  
12 subleased.

13 **Q** And the area immediately adjacent to the office  
14 colored in blue, whose office was that?

15 **A** That was Anna Lippincott's.

16 **Q** And the office adjacent to Ms. Lippincott's office,  
17 whose office was that?

18 **A** That was JPL & Associates, Jeff Longstreth.

19 **Q** And do you see on -- what's on the far side of this  
20 diagram?

21 **A** It would be -- to the north?

22 **Q** Yes.

23 **A** That's a conference room right there, the very first  
24 office, very first room.

25 **Q** And the -- is there an office next to, adjacent to the

1 conference room?

2 **A** Yes. If you were looking at a clock, it would be  
3 about 10:00, that's Megan Fitzmartin's office.

4 **Q** Ms. Lippincott, what services did she perform?

5 **A** When Jeff first brought her on, it seemed like mostly  
6 communications.

7 **Q** Did your political campaign hire Ms. Lippincott?

8 **A** Yes. We contracted her for the services her LLC  
9 provided.

10 **Q** To do what?

11 **A** To do communications work and then later on to help  
12 with fundraising.

13 **Q** What services did Ms. Fitzmartin perform?

14 **A** Megan started out recruiting candidates.

15 **Q** Did her role shift over time?

16 **A** Yes, yes.

17 **Q** What did her role evolve into?

18 **A** So Megan had worked for the Ohio Republican Party, so  
19 she knew all of the county chairmen, she knew a lot of  
20 people involved in politics around the state. So it was  
21 easy for her to recruit candidates, and then later on, once  
22 the candidates were recruited and they were running their  
23 races, they contracted Megan to do -- make mail, do mail  
24 pieces.

25 **Q** And what did Mr. Longstreth do?

1       **A**       Well, Jeff really ran the operations. I mean, he  
2       oversaw Anna, he oversaw Megan, and as it grew, oversaw  
3       television commercials being made and all of those things.

4       **Q**       Did your political campaign hire Ms. Fitzmartin?

5       **A**       Yes.

6       **Q**       Now, during the 2017 to 2018 time period, was there a  
7       race to be Speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives?

8       **A**       Yes.

9       **Q**       And who -- who was competing?

10      **A**       Myself and Ryan Smith.

11      **Q**       Who's Ryan Smith?

12      **A**       Well, Ryan Smith is a legislator, he was finance  
13      chairman under Cliff Rosenberger, and then when Speaker  
14      Rosenberger resigned, he became interim Speaker.

15      **Q**       Was Mr. -- did -- was Mr. Smith supported by anybody?

16      **A**       Yes. He was supported by Speaker Rosenberger, yes.

17      **Q**       Now, you mentioned a few moments ago about candidate  
18      recruitment. Why was candidate recruitment important for  
19      the Speaker's race?

20      **A**       Well, you've got all of these open seats, you know,  
21      going clear back to 2000, we've had a lot of open seats  
22      every two years with term limits. And so you're going to  
23      have people out there that are going to run in these  
24      districts. They don't -- they don't necessarily -- a lot of  
25      them are brand new candidates, they've never ran before, and

1 that's usually -- I like to try to find people who are more  
2 independent minded, and so many of them don't have the  
3 resources, don't know who to turn to, don't know who to talk  
4 to about television or radio or mail ads or anything like  
5 that. And so when we find a good candidate, we try to --  
6 you know, Jeff's job was to try to provide all of those  
7 services for those candidates.

8 **Q** Did you personally go out to recruit these candidates?

9 **A** Well, I did in 2000. We would load up the family van  
10 and head all over the state of Ohio, but, you know, that was  
11 20-plus years ago, so -- or well, at that time, 14 years  
12 ago. I decided, when I came back, that I was looking for  
13 somebody to do that.

14 **Q** And who handled the candidate recruitment this time  
15 around?

16 **A** Well, it was JPL & Associates, but Megan Fitzmartin  
17 did a lot of it.

18 **Q** Did you direct Mr. Longstreth or Ms. Fitzmartin to  
19 look for a particular kind of candidate?

20 **A** Well, we -- the people that are important, you want,  
21 first of all, someone who can get through not only a  
22 primary, but a general election. So you're looking for a  
23 good quality person who speaks well and is known in the  
24 community. But in a Republican primary, just like in a  
25 Democrat primary, you know, there are certain issues that if



1 you are in support of those issues, it's easier for you to  
2 win a primary. And so depending on which district it was,  
3 those were the type of folks that we were looking for, folks  
4 that were -- I generally look for people who were family  
5 people.

6 **Q** Did you direct Mr. Longstreth or Ms. Fitzmartin to  
7 recruit candidates that had a certain view on energy  
8 legislation?

9 **A** Pardon me?

10 **Q** Did you direct Mr. Longstreth or Ms. Fitzmartin to  
11 recruit candidates that had a particular view on energy  
12 legislation?

13 **A** No.

14 **Q** Did you direct Mr. Longstreth or Ms. Fitzmartin to  
15 recruit candidates that would be loyal to you?

16 **A** No.

17 **Q** Have you heard the phrase casket carriers before?

18 **A** Yes, I have.

19 **Q** Have you used that phrase before?

20 **A** I absolutely have used that phrase.

21 **Q** What does that phrase mean to you?

22 **A** Well, you know, when you've been around government a  
23 long time, you've made a lot of decisions, and not always do  
24 you make people happy, and so when you get to the age that I  
25 am, you're not looking for any more enemies, believe me.

1 And if you're in politics, there's probably going to be  
2 enough people throwing mud at you when your casket goes by.  
3 I use the phrase "I'm looking for casket carriers." In  
4 other words, I don't want enemies, I want friends. I didn't  
5 come back to make enemies.

6 **Q** Have you heard the phrase "on the farm" before?

7 **A** Oh, I absolutely have heard on the farm.

8 **Q** Have you used that phrase before?

9 **A** I absolutely have used that phrase.

10 **Q** What does that phrase mean to you?

11 **A** "On the farm" means you're friends, that's what it  
12 means.

13 **Q** Now, after Mr. Longstreth and/or Ms. Fitzmartin  
14 identified a particular or recruited a particular candidate,  
15 would you meet with that candidate?

16 **A** Yes.

17 **Q** And in those meetings with prospective candidates,  
18 what did you ask them?

19 **A** Well, I've done a lot of -- over my years, I've met a  
20 lot of people and I've done a lot of interviews, whether it  
21 was for candidates or employees, whatever it might be, and  
22 so I guess my ego would have that I think that I sometimes  
23 ask questions that other people might forget or not think  
24 about. I wanted to delve into their family life in  
25 particular and the things that they were interested in, what

1 their hobbies were, what they did on their time off, whether  
2 or not they had any issues that might be an embarrassment to  
3 them in a campaign, and we would always run a -- there was  
4 always a background check ran before I would eventually meet  
5 with someone. If Jeff and Megan had recommended somebody,  
6 they felt that they were going to be a pretty good  
7 candidate, and then I would meet with them for ten or  
8 15 minutes, ask them a few questions.

9 **Q** During those interviews that you had with the  
10 candidates, did you ask any of them to vote for you to be  
11 Speaker?

12 **A** No, I did not.

13 **Q** Did you ask any of them to vote -- to promise to vote  
14 a certain way on particular pieces of legislation?

15 **A** No. I really look for people who were independently  
16 minded, that's -- you get a much better debate in the  
17 General Assembly if you have folks that are paying attention  
18 and are independently minded.

19 **Q** Now, during the 2018 election cycle, were -- strike  
20 that.

21 Were candidates recruited to run against -- strike  
22 that.

23 Did you ever recruit a candidate to run against an  
24 incumbent in 2018?

25 **A** No. Well, you mean Republican incumbent?

1       **Q**       Republican incumbent.

2       **A**       No, I did not.

3               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
4 side-by-side Government Exhibits 306 B and 310 A, both of  
5 which have been admitted?

6               THE COURT: Yes.

7               MR. OLESKI: Thank you, Judge.

8       **Q**       Now, during the trial, we've heard reference to a  
9 number of different entities. Do you see on the left-hand  
10 side of the screen -- what entity is depicted on the  
11 left-hand side of the screen?

12       **A**       It says Growth and Opportunity PAC.

13       **Q**       And what about the right-hand side of the screen?

14       **A**       Hardworking Americans PAC.

15       **Q**       Now, during the 2018 election cycle, were you sent  
16 advisements that were created by these organizations?

17       **A**       Yes.

18       **Q**       Were you sent these advertisements before or after  
19 they ran?

20       **A**       Before they ran -- or excuse me. I don't know.

21       **Q**       Okay. Were you involved in the creation of  
22 advertisements during the 2018 election cycle that were  
23 created by the Growth and Opportunity PAC or Hardworking  
24 Americans?

25       **A**       Excuse me. Again? I'm sorry.

1       **Q**       Were you -- did you help create any of the  
2       advertisements during the 2018 election cycle that were paid  
3       for and run by the Growth and Opportunity PAC and  
4       Hardworking Americans?

5       **A**       I did not.

6       **Q**       Okay.

7               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

8       **Q**       Now, were you involved in the creation of  
9       advertisements that were designed for your political  
10      campaign?

11      **A**       Yes.

12              MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
13      Government Exhibit 240 C, which has been admitted?

14              THE COURT: Yes.

15      **Q**       Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

16      **A**       Yes.

17      **Q**       What does it appear to be?

18      **A**       It's a text message chain, Megan Fitzmartin and Jeff  
19      Longstreth.

20      **Q**       What is the -- what is Ms. Fitzmartin's text message  
21      on the very bottom of the screen?

22      **A**       She says: Okay, I can send you his final first mail  
23      piece for his final sign-off.

24      **Q**       And who do you understand the "he" to be in  
25      Ms. Fitzmartin's message?

1       **A**       The "he" is me.

2       **Q**       Did you have final approval over any advertisements  
3       that were run for your political campaign?

4       **A**       For my campaign committee, yes.

5               MR. OLESKI:  PJ, can you page through?  Keep going.  
6       And one more.  One more.

7       **Q**       And on occasion, did you make changes to the  
8       advertisements?

9       **A**       Yes.

10      **Q**       And were those -- were the changes that you made to  
11      advertisements that were paid for by Friends of Larry  
12      Householder, were those changes made?

13      **A**       Well, sometimes, yes.  Sometimes we would discuss it  
14      and maybe I was wrong, but sometimes they were made, yes.

15      **Q**       Did you have input in the creation of mailers or  
16      advertisements for other political committees -- political  
17      campaigns?

18      **A**       If it were the campaign committee's, yes.

19               MR. OLESKI:  Judge, permission to publish  
20      Government Exhibit 350 D, which has been admitted?

21               THE COURT:  Yes.

22      **Q**       You see this document on your screen, sir?

23      **A**       Yes, I do.

24      **Q**       And from time to time, would you make suggestions for  
25      other -- for mailers that were run for other political

1 campaigns?

2 **A** Yes, if they were being paid for by a campaign  
3 committee.

4 **Q** Who had the final approval, though, of those  
5 advertisements?

6 **A** That was always the candidates.

7 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ. Judge,  
8 permission to publish Government Exhibit 290 A, which has  
9 been admitted?

10 THE COURT: Yes.

11 **Q** Sir, do you see that document on your screen?

12 **A** I do.

13 MR. OLESKI: If you would just enlarge that a  
14 little bit.

15 **Q** And what is it?

16 **A** It is a text message chain between myself and Charles  
17 Jones.

18 **Q** And what's the date?

19 **A** 10/9/2018.

20 **Q** And what does your text message to Mr. Jones say?

21 **A** FES set a 30-minute meeting with me for tomorrow.

22 **Q** What is FES?

23 **A** FirstEnergy Solutions.

24 **Q** At this time was FirstEnergy Solutions in bankruptcy?

25 **A** October 9th, yes.

1       **Q**       And did FirstEnergy Solutions own the nuclear power  
2 plants in Ohio?

3       **A**       They did. They do.

4       **Q**       How was this -- how was this meeting with FirstEnergy  
5 Solutions scheduled?

6       **A**       Bob Klaffky had called me and asked if I would meet  
7 with them.

8       **Q**       Who's Bob Klaffky?

9       **A**       Bob Klaffky is a long-time lobbyist in Columbus,  
10 lobbies the legislature and the governor.

11      **Q**       And when did Mr. Klaffky call you in relation to this  
12 text message?

13      **A**       Day or two before this.

14      **Q**       Did you want to schedule a meeting with FirstEnergy  
15 Solutions?

16      **A**       Well, we were really busy with campaigns, and not  
17 really.

18      **Q**       Was a meeting ultimately scheduled?

19      **A**       Yes, it was.

20      **Q**       Why is that?

21      **A**       Well, Bob had asked me. FES was somewhat of a new  
22 client for him, and he had told me that they just wanted to  
23 meet for a couple of minutes. They wanted to drop off --  
24 they were going to meet with the governor and they were  
25 going to meet with the president of the Senate and do their



1 501(c)(4) -- you know, give donations to 501(c)(4)s, and  
2 they wanted to give a donation to Generation Now.

3 **Q** And was the meeting ultimately scheduled? When was  
4 the meeting scheduled?

5 **A** You mean the date the meeting was scheduled or the  
6 date of the meeting?

7 **Q** When did the meeting occur?

8 **A** October the 10th --

9 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

10 **A** -- 2018.

11 **Q** Where was that meeting?

12 **A** At 65 East State Street, the office that you had  
13 indicated previously.

14 **Q** Who attended that meeting?

15 **A** Oh, it was Bob Klaffky, Juan Cespedes. I can't think  
16 of his name, somebody from Akin Gump, and Dave Griffing. I  
17 believe that's it. Dave Griffing is with FirstEnergy  
18 Solutions.

19 **Q** Where in the State Street office did you meet with  
20 these representatives of FirstEnergy Solutions?

21 **A** There's a -- when you would walk through the front  
22 door, there's an area right there, there's a reception area,  
23 small reception area, and then not too far from the door,  
24 there's a set of couches and chairs.

25 **Q** And --

1       **A**       Right there.

2                   MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
3 Government Exhibit 201 A 1, which has been admitted?

4                   THE COURT: Yes.

5                   MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if we can go to page 7.  
6 Ms. Santoro, if the witness can mark on his screen.

7       **Q**       Where in the State Street office was the meeting, if  
8 you could mark it on the screen, sir?

9       **A**       Mark it on the screen?

10       **Q**       Yes.

11       **A**       Well, so I'm going to do a little drawing here. I'm  
12 not very good at it. But right in here are couches and  
13 chairs, okay? (Witness writing.) There's a table right  
14 here and another chair like that. Right there is where the  
15 meeting happened, and right here is the front door.

16       **Q**       Did the meeting occur in a conference room?

17       **A**       No, no. The conference room is right here.  
18 (Indicating.)

19       **Q**       How long was the meeting?

20       **A**       Oh, couldn't have been -- this couldn't have been  
21 ten minutes.

22       **Q**       Without telling us what anybody said at the meeting,  
23 what were the topics that were discussed at that meeting?

24       **A**       It was -- I was getting a very brief description of  
25 what was going on in the general election, which was going

1 to happen in a couple of weeks, three weeks, I think.

2 **Q** Were there any other topics of conversation at this  
3 meeting?

4 **A** No. What you find is, Columbus -- Franklin County has  
5 changed a lot in politics, and most of the Republican  
6 Columbus lobbyists are extremely interested in those  
7 Franklin County seats because they live there, and we were  
8 having -- it was a year that it looked like we were going to  
9 lose just about all of those seats in Franklin County, and  
10 Mr. Klaffky was very interested in how those Franklin County  
11 seats were turning out, and so I just explained to him sort  
12 of the lay of the land.

13 **Q** During this meeting, were you handed an envelope?

14 **A** Yes. They said that they wanted to support our  
15 candidates.

16 **Q** Who handed you the envelope?

17 **A** David Griffing.

18 **Q** After you were handed the envelope, did you open it  
19 immediately after being handed it -- strike that.

20 After you were handed the envelope, did you open it?

21 **A** Yes, I was asked to.

22 **Q** By whom?

23 **A** I thought it was Bob, yeah.

24 **Q** After you opened the envelope, what did you do next?

25 **A** I took it back and put it on Anna's desk and they

1 left.

2 **Q** At that meeting, did you promise FirstEnergy  
3 Solutions' consultants and executives that you would pass  
4 certain legislation?

5 **A** No.

6 **Q** When was the last time you spoke to Mr. Klaffky?

7 **A** Ooh, 2019.

8 THE COURT: Were you looking at the clock?

9 MR. OLESKI: This is a good time for me to take a  
10 break, Judge, if it's acceptable to the Court.

11 THE COURT: Very well. We're going to take our  
12 midafternoon break. During the break, take a break. Don't  
13 discuss this case among yourselves or with anyone else. No  
14 independent research. No checking out the media. Continue  
15 to keep an open mind until you've heard all of the evidence.  
16 And with that, out of respect for you, we'll rise as you  
17 leave.

18 THE DEPUTY: All rise for the jury.

19 THE COURT: We'll look to get you at 3:20.

20 (Jury exited the courtroom at 2:58 p.m.)

21 THE COURT: Jury has left the room. As always,  
22 we'll stay in the courtroom until we're advised that the  
23 jury has cleared the floor.

24 (Pause.)

25 THE COURT: The witness is not to discuss his

1 testimony during the break, understood?

2 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Understood.

3 THE COURT: Thank you.

4 (Pause.)

5 THE DEPUTY: All clear, Judge.

6 THE COURT: We're in recess for 20 minutes.

7 THE DEPUTY: Court is in recess.

8 (Recess taken from 3:00 p.m. to 3:19 p.m.)

9 THE DEPUTY: All rise. This court is in session  
10 pursuant to the recess.

11 THE COURT: Please be seated. We are ready for the  
12 jury from the government's perspective?

13 MS. GLATFELTER: Yes, Your Honor.

14 THE COURT: Mr. Householder's?

15 MR. OLESKI: Yes, Judge.

16 THE COURT: Mr. Borges'?

17 MR. SCHNEIDER: Yes.

18 THE COURT: Very well. Let's call for the jury.

19 (Pause.)

20 THE DEPUTY: All rise for the jury.

21 (Jury entered the courtroom at 3:23 p.m.)

22 THE COURT: You may all be seated. Thank you.

23 Members of the Jury, welcome back. Thank you for your  
24 continuing attention. Mr. Householder remains on the stand  
25 under oath. His lawyer may approach and continue the

1 examination.

2 MR. OLESKI: Thank you, Judge.

3 THE COURT: Yes.

4 MR. OLESKI: Good afternoon, sir.

5 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Good afternoon.

6 **Q** Before the afternoon recess, we were discussing a  
7 meeting on October 10th of 2018?

8 **A** Yes.

9 **Q** And at that meeting, were you handed a check?

10 **A** I was handed an envelope, yes.

11 **Q** Was that envelope slid across a table to you?

12 **A** No. There wasn't even a table to slide it across.

13 **Q** Now, between 2017 and 2018, who directed -- strike  
14 that.

15 In 2017 to 2018, did you direct how Generation Now  
16 spent any of its moneys?

17 **A** No.

18 **Q** Did you direct Generation Now to hire certain vendors?

19 **A** No.

20 **Q** Did you direct Generation Now to make contributions to  
21 any particular entities?

22 **A** No.

23 **Q** Now, Ms. Lippincott and Ms. Fitzmartin, did -- your  
24 political campaign made payments to those -- those two  
25 women?

1       **A**       For the services they provided, yes.

2       **Q**       Do you know whether they -- those two women were paid  
3 by anybody else?

4       **A**       No.

5       **Q**       And what about Jeff Longstreth, do you know how he was  
6 paid?

7       **A**       For the services he provided to my campaign, he was --  
8 he would do an invoice and I'm certain he was paid for his  
9 services.

10      **Q**       Now, in November of 2018, was there a general  
11 election?

12      **A**       Oh, yeah.

13      **Q**       Did you win your election?

14      **A**       Yes.

15      **Q**       And the Team Householder slate of candidates, how did  
16 they do generally?

17      **A**       Very well. As I had indicated earlier, Franklin  
18 County was not good, it was a -- that particular year,  
19 Franklin County, in the general election, did not go well  
20 for Republicans, but around the rest of the state, we did  
21 well.

22      **Q**       And after the November of 2018 elections, how did you  
23 view your prospects for becoming Speaker?

24      **A**       Well, every Speaker's race, after the general  
25 elections, there's always a mad scramble for votes, and I

1 felt like I had somewhere around 25 Republicans, and I felt  
2 that Ryan Smith probably had 35 Republicans.

3 **Q** How many members are there in the Ohio House of  
4 Representatives?

5 **A** In the House, there's 99.

6 **Q** And after the November of 2018 elections, about how  
7 many of those 99 were Republicans?

8 **A** Probably 60 percent, maybe a little higher than  
9 60 percent, 62 maybe.

10 **Q** How many votes do you need to be elected Speaker to  
11 the Ohio House of Representatives?

12 **A** You got to have more than half. Well, you have to  
13 have at least half, which there's 99 members, you have to  
14 have 50 votes.

15 **Q** Does it matter how many of those 50 are Republican  
16 votes?

17 **A** No. Because there's only two constitutional officers  
18 in the House of Representatives and that's the Speaker and  
19 the Speaker pro temp and so they're elected by the whole  
20 body, so you just have to get 50 votes.

21 **Q** But after the November 2018 elections, did you have  
22 fewer Republican supporters than Mr. Smith?

23 **A** Yeah, I did.

24 **Q** Were you elected Speaker in January of 2019?

25 **A** Yes, I was.



1 Q How did you go about doing that?

2 A Well, as I had talked earlier, the House was very  
3 divisive and I had watched during that session, and as Ryan  
4 was interim Speaker, he caused a lot of conflicts with not  
5 only members of the Republican Party, but also Democrats.

6 Q So did you work to secure Democratic support?

7 A Yes, I did, yes.

8 Q And --

9 A I didn't think they would vote for him.

10 Q And were you successful in garnering Democratic  
11 support for your Speakership?

12 A Yes, I did.

13 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
14 Government Exhibit 412 C, which has been admitted?

15 THE COURT: Yes.

16 Q You see this document on your screen, sir?

17 A Not yet.

18 Q Let me know when it pops up.

19 A I do.

20 Q What is it?

21 A That's a text message exchange between myself and  
22 Charles Jones, Chuck Jones.

23 Q And what's the date?

24 A January the 7th, 2019.

25 Q And does that date have any significance in the

1       Speakership's race?

2       **A**       It's the day we took the vote for the Speaker's race  
3       on the floor.

4       **Q**       And what did you write to Mr. Jones?

5       **A**       Thank you for everything. It was historical.

6       **Q**       Was Mr. Jones the only person that you sent this text  
7       message to?

8       **A**       No. Everybody that was a donor, members that voted,  
9       it was -- I sat there and made a lot of text messages that  
10      day.

11      **Q**       And you said, "it was historical," what did you mean  
12      when you said that?

13      **A**       Well, it's historical whenever you -- whenever you  
14      defeat a sitting Speaker for one thing, that doesn't happen  
15      very much, and to defeat a sitting Speaker on the floor, I  
16      think that was the first time in well over a hundred years  
17      that that had happened, so yes, it was historical.

18      **Q**       Now, after you --

19                   MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

20      **Q**       After you were elected Speaker, did your political  
21      campaign continue to lease office space at State Street?

22      **A**       No. At some point, and I don't know when, but the  
23      lease had ran out.

24      **Q**       Did Mr. Longstreth continue occupying that space on  
25      State Street?

1       **A**       No. They -- so after, after there's a Speaker's race,  
2       the folks that are the campaign people for that person, they  
3       move over into the caucus campaign offices, which there  
4       were -- the Republican Caucus campaign space was the  
5       building behind the Huntington.

6       **Q**       And who ran the Republican Caucus?

7       **A**       So I was trying -- I talked about the divisiveness,  
8       and not only was I trying to work with the Democrats to come  
9       together and stop all of us fighting each other, there's a  
10      lot of work to do, but also within our own caucus. We just  
11      went through one heck of a leadership race, and so it was  
12      important to bring people together. So I named Paul  
13      Zeltwanger as the cochair, he was a Householder voter, a CPA  
14      from down here in southwest, Ohio. And I also named -- the  
15      other cochair to run the campaign committee was Gary  
16      Scherer, which was a Smith supporter. So it was a  
17      Smith/Householder cochairmanship on -- who ran the caucus  
18      campaign committee.

19      **Q**       Did Mr. Longstreth have a role with the caucus after  
20      you won the Speakership in 2019?

21      **A**       Yes, he was over the campaigns.

22      **Q**       And does that have any significance?

23      **A**       Yeah, it has a lot of significance.

24      **Q**       What significance does it have?

25      **A**       Well, just the fact that it's a very notable position.

1 People who have held that in the past have gone on to really  
2 become successful campaign people, very successful campaign  
3 people.

4 **Q** After you were elected Speaker, did the Republican  
5 Caucus go on a retreat?

6 **A** Yes.

7 **Q** Where was the retreat held?

8 **A** At Nationwide's Training Center, which is just north  
9 of Columbus. I think it's Delaware County, Lewis Center.

10 **Q** What's the purpose of having a retreat for the  
11 Republican Caucus?

12 **A** Well, there's several purposes to it. One, you just  
13 went through a difficult campaign, so it's an opportunity to  
14 bring everybody together and socialize. Many of the older  
15 members haven't met the new candidates yet, the new people  
16 who were coming in, so it gives them an opportunity to  
17 socialize. But also you talk about the campaigns, you talk  
18 about fundraising, you have someone from a Joint Legislative  
19 Ethics Commission in to talk about ethics. You usually have  
20 all of the statewides that want to come in, come in and talk  
21 about their office and what they do and how they work with  
22 the legislature. And then we also go through a pretty  
23 extensive series where they all get together and talk about  
24 what policies they think we should implement for that coming  
25 General Assembly and you set an agenda.

1       **Q**       When you say "they all got together," who does that  
2       refer to?

3       **A**       The House Republican Caucus.

4       **Q**       And to set a legislative agenda, what does that mean?

5       **A**       Well, so the governor has certain policies that he  
6       sees that are important for the state, and generally after  
7       the election, the governor will reach out to the president  
8       of the Senate and the Speaker of the House and he'll talk  
9       about a few of those things. He knows he has the state of  
10      the state coming up at some point and he'll have some agenda  
11      items that he's interested in the legislature moving forward  
12      and turning into law. And then the House has our agenda  
13      that the members come up with, and then the Senate has their  
14      agenda. And really it's the first usually ten or -- ten to  
15      15, sometimes, pieces of legislation that are the priorities  
16      for the House.

17      **Q**       And do you recall after the retreat in January of 2019  
18      about how many pieces of priority legislation were slated?

19      **A**       I think there were 12.

20      **Q**       Was one of those priority pieces of legislation energy  
21      legislation?

22      **A**       Yes.

23      **Q**       And is that House Bill 6?

24      **A**       That was House Bill 6. There was education. There  
25      was a transportation budget. I had said earlier we hadn't

1 done anything significantly with transportation since I was  
2 Speaker the last time, over a decade ago. And water, of  
3 course, I'm going to do a water, you know, water  
4 legislation. The governor was interested in that too.  
5 Things that would create jobs and there was a foster care  
6 legislation. There was just a number of things that were at  
7 the top 12 pieces of legislation.

8 **Q** Did you do -- after the retreat in January of 2019,  
9 did you do any work on this piece of energy legislation?

10 **A** Yes.

11 **Q** What did you do?

12 **A** Well, so it's -- you have to try to develop the  
13 legislation. The members say, this is what's important, we  
14 want to do something with this. When there's an agenda  
15 item, it's expected the leadership gets those things passed  
16 in that General Assembly. And so I came back to the  
17 Statehouse and Jonathon had hired Pat Tully to be --

18 **Q** And did you work with anybody on this piece of energy  
19 legislation?

20 **A** Yeah, yeah.

21 **Q** Who did you work with?

22 **A** Well, our chief of staff had hired Pat Tully to be the  
23 energy policy person.

24 **Q** Who was Pat Tully?

25 **A** He was energy policy person for the House.

1       **Q**       Did you interview Mr. Tully before he was hired?

2       **A**       No.

3       **Q**       Who hired Mr. Tully?

4       **A**       Well, my leadership style has always been, I try to  
5       find somebody who's really good, that I believe is going to  
6       be able to operate something, and then I hire them, and then  
7       they hire the people underneath them. So in this situation,  
8       Jonathon McGee I had hired as our chief of staff, and then I  
9       told Jonathon, now, you hire the people that you want to  
10      field the House offices. And so the first person he hired  
11      was the policy director, and then from there, they started  
12      hiring the different policy people that worked in the House  
13      leadership.

14      **Q**       To the best of your recollection, when was the first  
15      time that you met Mr. Tully?

16      **A**       Oh, it would have been when Matthew McAuliffe and  
17      Jonathon and Pat Tully sat down with me and we started to  
18      talk about energy policy, what we were going to do to try to  
19      fix the problem.

20      **Q**       And what ultimately became -- and what ultimately  
21      became House Bill 6?

22      **A**       What ultimately became House Bill 6? Those agenda  
23      items, those top priority bills, or -- if you have 12, it's  
24      1 through 12, and your highest priority is normally 1 and  
25      you go from there.

1 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
2 Government Exhibit 406, which has been admitted?

3 THE COURT: Yes.

4 **Q** Now, while you were working with Mr. Tully, were you  
5 aware that FirstEnergy Solutions had --

6 MR. OLESKI: If you can go to the next page, PJ.

7 **Q** That FirstEnergy Solutions had created a draft bill?

8 **A** No.

9 **Q** Have you ever seen this document before?

10 **A** No.

11 MR. OLESKI: Okay. You can take that down, PJ.

12 **Q** Now, when you met with Mr. Tully to begin to sketch  
13 out this piece of legislation, did you have certain goals  
14 that you thought needed to be implemented with this piece of  
15 legislation?

16 **A** Yeah. It seemed just common sense that since the  
17 legislature had already previously -- the House at least had  
18 passed overwhelmingly to do -- to do away with the mandates  
19 and that saved the rate payors a lot of money, but it never  
20 passed the Senate. And then they couldn't get the ZEN  
21 legislation through because it actually cost the rate payors  
22 money. So it seemed to me like the best possible thing we  
23 could do is put those two pieces of legislature together and  
24 we had some priorities that we wanted to make sure that was  
25 accomplished in that legislation.



1       **Q**       And in addition to Mr. Tully, did you work with  
2       anybody else in crafting what ultimately became House Bill 6  
3       before it was introduced?

4       **A**       Before it was introduced, yeah. We had the two  
5       sponsors of the bill.

6       **Q**       Who was that?

7       **A**       Jamie Callender from Lake County and Shane Wilkin from  
8       Highland County.

9       **Q**       And Mr. Callender's district, is that where one of the  
10      power plants is located?

11      **A**       Yes. Perry Nuclear Plant is in Jamie Callender's  
12      district.

13      **Q**       Now, how often did you meet with Mr. Tully to sketch  
14      out this piece of legislation?

15                   MR. GLICKMAN: Excuse me.

16      **A**       I couldn't answer that. I don't know. Whenever he  
17      wanted to meet with me. He was supposed to start working on  
18      draft legislation and he would work on it and come back.

19      **Q**       While -- before House Bill 6 was introduced, did you  
20      ever hear from a Juan Cespedes about FirstEnergy Solutions'  
21      aspirations for this particular piece of legislation?

22      **A**       No.

23      **Q**       And when you worked with Mr. Tully, where did you  
24      sketch out your ideas for what would ultimately become House  
25      Bill 6?

1       **A**       I'm infamous for having a whiteboard in the conference  
2 room at the Speaker's office; and if I'm working on the  
3 budget or the transportation bill or anything like that,  
4 I'll sketch it out and we'll erase this and change that and  
5 sort of figure it out.

6       **Q**       And did you sketch out your goals for this piece of  
7 legislation?

8       **A**       Yes, I did.

9       **Q**       On the whiteboard?

10      **A**       Um-hmm.

11               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
12 Government Exhibit 457, which has been admitted?

13               THE COURT: Yes.

14               MR. OLESKI: Pause that, PJ.

15      **Q**       Do you recognize this?

16      **A**       Yes.

17      **Q**       What is this?

18      **A**       That's a press conference, excuse me, that's a press  
19 conference that we had in the Speaker's conference room the  
20 day that Jamie and Shane introduced House Bill 6.

21      **Q**       And --

22      **A**       Excuse me, Representative Callender and Representative  
23 Wilkin.

24      **Q**       And behind you, what is depicted?

25      **A**       That's the whiteboard.

1 MR. OLESKI: PJ, if we could advance to 3 minutes  
2 and 17 seconds and pause the video.

3 Q Do you see your goals for the legislation depicted on  
4 this screen?

5 A Yeah. There's the square, if you see where it says  
6 "go from hammer to carrot," those three items right below  
7 that.

8 Q And what were your goals?

9 A Incentivize Ohio generation, in other words,  
10 electricity being made by Ohioans.

11 Q And why is that important to you?

12 A Well, that's job creation. Have generation in Ohio by  
13 Ohioans, yes.

14 Q And what was the second goal?

15 A Incentivize lower carbon emissions.

16 Q And the third?

17 A Promote Ohio jobs, industrials in energy generation,  
18 and through industrials and energy generation.

19 Q In simple terms, how did you seek to implement those  
20 goals in what ultimately became House Bill 6?

21 A Well, obviously, I mean, we were -- those two plants,  
22 there were -- what had happened was, there was a big shell  
23 play in eastern Ohio and a lot of gas was being dumped into  
24 the marketplace, and the more gas that was -- it's supply  
25 and demand, so the more supply there is and the less demand,

1 the prices go down. Natural gas was getting so low that  
2 nuclear power plants couldn't compete, and so it was going  
3 to be a short period of time, I don't think you needed a  
4 long-term solution, eventually gas prices were going to come  
5 up, and so obviously, the goals were to save those nuclear  
6 power plants, save those 4,000 jobs, try to have a situation  
7 where the rate payors weren't paying for it, maybe we could  
8 save the rate payors money in doing it, and, you know, keep  
9 the carbon-free generation that we had in Ohio, which, you  
10 know, that made up 90 percent of all of our carbon-free  
11 generation in our entire state.

12 **Q** And was House Bill 6 ultimately introduced in the Ohio  
13 House of Representatives in or around April of 2019?

14 **A** Well, it looks like about April the 12th from this --  
15 April 12th, 2019, I guess would be the date.

16 **Q** And before April 12th of 2019, for how long had you  
17 been working on sketching out this piece of legislation?

18 **A** Oh, I had talked to Bill Seitz about -- you know, I  
19 didn't know exactly the plan and how it would come together  
20 and all of the details of it. But this seemed like common  
21 sense, that you would do away with the mandates, save the  
22 money, and try to use a fund to incentivize carbon-free  
23 generation. It seemed like it was the simplest thing to do.

24 **MR. OLESKI:** Judge, permission to play two short  
25 excerpts from this video?

1 THE COURT: It's admitted, correct?

2 MR. OLESKI: Yes.

3 THE COURT: Yes.

4 MR. OLESKI: PJ, could we start at the beginning  
5 and would you pause the video at 2 minutes and 36 seconds?

6 (Video playing.)

7 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if we could play from  
8 15 minutes and 57 seconds until 16 minutes and 40 seconds.

9 (Video playing.)

10 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ. Thank  
11 you.

12 **Q** In that last video segment, you referenced that this  
13 idea for House Bill 6 had been in your head for the last two  
14 years. What was that in reference to?

15 **A** It was to do away with the costly mandates. You know,  
16 they had been in place for ten years, and it was to  
17 incentivize clean energy in the state of Ohio and we had  
18 only gained -- we had spent billions of dollars and we had  
19 only gained 2 percent more renewable energy in the state of  
20 Ohio in those ten years, and it cost you billions of  
21 dollars. And it just -- it wasn't working for Ohio.

22 **Q** Did FirstEnergy's and FirstEnergy Solutions' political  
23 contributions to Generation Now in any way influence your  
24 decision-making vis-à-vis this piece of legislation?

25 **A** No.

1       **Q**       After House Bill 6 was introduced, was it referred to  
2       a committee?

3       **A**       Yes.

4       **Q**       To what committee was it referred?

5       **A**       It was referred to the rules committee, the Rules and  
6       Reference Committee referred the bill to the energy  
7       committee.

8       **Q**       And did the energy committee refer the bill to any  
9       other committee?

10      **A**       Yes, it did. There was a -- we had established in  
11      rules that year, the House voted on it 97 to 0, I think  
12      there were two members missing that day. But we had set the  
13      rules that there was going to be a subcommittee, there were  
14      actually three subcommittees, but one of them was energy  
15      generation, and I felt it was important to have a chairman  
16      of that subcommittee both be a Republican and a Democrat.  
17      They had equal power. And that's the bill that the energy  
18      committee, sent HB 6 down to that subcommittee where there  
19      was a Democrat chair and a Republican chair.

20      **Q**       And were there -- did both of those committees, the  
21      energy committee and the Energy Generation Subcommittee, did  
22      those committees hold hearings on House Bill 6?

23      **A**       They held a ton of hearings. And the way that  
24      subcommittee would work is, the bill would be heard in the  
25      subcommittee, which is smaller than the full committee. And

1 once they had taken in quite a bit of the testimony from  
2 proponents and opponents, then they would -- the regular  
3 committee would pull it back up, take more hearings on the  
4 bill, and then try to vote the bill out.

5 **Q** And while the bill was in these committees, did the  
6 bill undergo changes?

7 **A** Oh, yeah. I think there was -- there was at least  
8 three sub bills. So a sub bill is where there's a number of  
9 changes that the committee members want to make to a piece  
10 of legislation, and once they get quite a few of them  
11 together, they may do a substitute bill. They basically  
12 just redraft that bill and introduce it again in the  
13 committee, and I think there were at least three sub bills  
14 in that committee.

15 **MR. OLESKI:** Judge, permission to publish  
16 Government Exhibit 460 A, which is admitted?

17 **THE COURT:** Yes.

18 **Q** Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

19 **A** Yes.

20 **Q** What does it appear to be?

21 **A** It is a text chain between myself and Charles Jones.

22 **MR. OLESKI:** Can we go to the next page, PJ?

23 **Q** Do you see your first two text messages?

24 **A** Yes, I do.

25 **Q** What did you send to Mr. Jones in that first text

1 message?

2 **A** I sent him an advertisement that was done in one of --  
3 well, actually one of the sponsors of the bill's districts.

4 **Q** Was it an attack ad?

5 **A** Yes.

6 **Q** Against who?

7 **A** It was misinformation about the bill, is what it was,  
8 um-hmm.

9 **Q** And who was the attack ad against?

10 **A** Shane Wilkin, one of the sponsors of the bill.

11 **Q** What did -- what does your next text message say?

12 **A** "I hope FES is ready for a fight because the first  
13 shot was fired at us tonight."

14 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, can we go to the next text  
15 messages?

16 **Q** And you --

17 **A** I said: Nobody screws with my members, my name ain't  
18 Cliff or Ryan.

19 **Q** And what did you mean when you said that?

20 **A** So, you know, we've all seen this stuff on television,  
21 and for Washington, DC, I think it's -- that's certainly  
22 where it starts. But this misinformation campaign, the  
23 folks that were opposed to HB 6, which were out of state gas  
24 interests that wanted to take over the marketplace and close  
25 down an Ohio business and rob 4,000 Ohio jobs, that's all



1 there is to it. And they were funding advertising in  
2 members' districts.

3 **Q** And did those negative advertisements upset you?

4 **A** I was very upset. That was something -- the bill is  
5 traveling in the legislature.

6 **Q** And why did it upset you?

7 **A** Because it was misinformation.

8 **Q** What did Mr. Jones say in response?

9 **A** It's API behind it, they are greedy and could care  
10 less about Bob and Betty. I will be pushing FES to engage.

11 **Q** What's API?

12 **A** American Petroleum Institute.

13 **Q** And do you see Mr. Jones' reference to Bob and Betty?

14 **A** Yes.

15 **Q** Who's Bob and Betty?

16 **A** It's all of us 11-and-a-half million Ohioans, we're  
17 Bob and Betty Buckeye.

18 **Q** What did you say -- what did you next say to  
19 Mr. Jones?

20 **A** I asked Rex Elsass to make ads this morning.

21 **Q** And remind the jury, who's Rex Elsass?

22 **A** Rex Elsass is a media consultant that does television  
23 and radio and those types of things. And I had called Rex  
24 very upset and I said: What type of an advertisement might  
25 you put together that we could take a look at because we're

1 being attacked?

2 MR. OLESKI: Could we keep going, PJ?

3 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Want me to read that?

4 **Q** Um-hmm.

5 **A** Okay. And Chuck Jones said: I'll talk to FES  
6 tomorrow about paying for them. What kind of a budget?

7 MR. OLESKI: And you can stop there. PJ, you can  
8 take that down.

9 **Q** Now, the dates -- do you recall what the date of that  
10 text message was?

11 **A** Put it back up, Bud. I don't know.

12 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to republish that  
13 exhibit? My apologies.

14 THE COURT: Yes, yes.

15 **Q** What's the date of these text messages, sir?

16 **A** They're April 23rd, 2019.

17 MR. OLESKI: Okay. You can take that down, PJ.

18 DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: So the bill, at that point,  
19 had been introduced, what, 11 days, it was just starting  
20 probably hearings.

21 **Q** So at that time, towards the end of April of 2019,  
22 were you aware that FES had hired a political consulting  
23 firm to run an ad campaign?

24 **A** I found out, yes.

25 **Q** And what political consulting firm did FES employ, if

1 you recall?

2 **A** It's Dewey something. At the New York -- I think  
3 they're from New York. They weren't from Ohio.

4 **Q** And did you think that the ad campaign that Dewey  
5 whatever was running was successful?

6 **A** Well, apparently not, because every time you turned on  
7 the television or read the newspaper, there was  
8 misinformation. So it looked to me like whoever was  
9 supposed to be running the ad campaign, the PR campaign, for  
10 the proponents of HB 6 were getting circles ran around  
11 him -- around them.

12 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
13 Government Exhibit 460 C, which has been admitted?

14 THE COURT: Yes.

15 **Q** And do you see this document on your screen?

16 **A** I do.

17 **Q** What does this appear to be?

18 **A** It's a text exchange between myself and Charles Jones.

19 **Q** And what's the date?

20 **A** April 24th, 2019.

21 **Q** Would this be a day after the text messages we were  
22 looking at before?

23 **A** Yes.

24 **Q** And what did Mr. Jones say to you?

25 **A** Spoke to FES creditor rep. They will step in and

1 help. Want us to just hook them up with Rex?

2 **Q** And then you can skip the next two, but your bottom  
3 text message here, what did you say?

4 **A** You want me to read which one?

5 **Q** The bottom one on this page.

6 **A** Okay. Let's back up a minute. I'm having breakfast  
7 with Jeff at 8:00 a.m. I'll call you right after that. I  
8 may want to run things past Jeff to make sure Rex doesn't  
9 overcharge.

10 MR. OLESKI: PJ, could we go to the next page? And  
11 could you just cull out those top four text messages, PJ?

12 **Q** And if you could keep reading, sir.

13 **A** I'm cheap, that was from me.

14 **Q** Uh-huh. And what did Mr. Jones say?

15 **A** Okay. And then he said: I would say you are a  
16 bargain, not cheap.

17 **Q** How do you respond to Mr. Jones?

18 **A** Frugal.

19 **Q** When -- when you saw this text message from Mr. Jones,  
20 the third one on your screen, how did you interpret that  
21 communication?

22 **A** Well, anybody that's been around me very long knows  
23 that I am cheap. I drive a 2001 GMC Sonoma, so I don't like  
24 to spend money, and I don't like to see people get  
25 overcharged.

1       **Q**       Now, we saw in a text message on a previous page a  
2       reference to a Jeff. Who is that in reference to?

3       **A**       Jeff Longstreth.

4       **Q**       And did you have breakfast with Jeff?

5       **A**       Yes.

6       **Q**       And did you discuss Jeff running a public education  
7       campaign to support House Bill 6?

8       **A**       I told him somebody needed to because the ones we had  
9       were horrible, whoever was running it.

10               MR. OLESKI: You can take those down, PJ.

11       **Q**       Now, we saw in that previous text exchange that you  
12       were worried about Rex overcharging. Can you explain that  
13       in a little bit more detail to the jury, why were you  
14       concerned?

15       **A**       Well, it's -- whenever you're paying for a media  
16       campaign, whether it's television or it's radio, it's  
17       usually based on points, and if you have been around this  
18       very long, you learn pretty quickly, when you're frugal like  
19       I am, you learn pretty quickly that there's different ways  
20       that these media people, television or radio, can make  
21       money. One of them is by producing the advertisement.  
22       Another one is by putting the advertisement on television  
23       and buying what we call points. And I just had had a lot  
24       of -- believe me, Rex is my -- I like Rex, he's a friend,  
25       but that doesn't mean you don't keep an eye on it and I

1 wanted to keep an eye on it, because I was just afraid, if  
2 this thing got blown out of proportion, that there would be  
3 a lot of opportunity for possible overcharging and I wanted  
4 to make certain that at least he was talked to by someone.

5 **Q** Now, did Generation Now begin running a public  
6 education campaign?

7 **A** Yes.

8 **Q** And was that -- what was that in support of?

9 **A** Trying to provide education to the public about what  
10 House Bill 6 really was.

11 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
12 Government Exhibit 482 C, which has been admitted?

13 THE COURT: Yes.

14 MR. OLESKI: And we can go to the next page, PJ.

15 **Q** Is this an example of one of the mailers that  
16 Generation Now created?

17 **A** Yes.

18 **Q** Did you have any role in the creation of this  
19 document?

20 **A** No.

21 **Q** Did you see the document before it was distributed?

22 **A** No.

23 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

24 **Q** Now, while House Bill 6 was pending in the House of  
25 Representatives, did you hold meetings with members to try

1 to garner support for this piece of legislation?

2 **A** Well, there was so much misinformation going on and  
3 the PR campaign was so great that we had to continually talk  
4 to members about what the bill really did. I mean, it  
5 was -- one, they were calling it a, you know, a billion  
6 dollars bailout that rate payors were paying for, billions  
7 of dollars, where actually rate payors were saving billions  
8 of dollars. And, you know, they said that they were old,  
9 decrepit nuclear power plants up on Lake Erie. Actually,  
10 Nino Vitale, the chairman, took the committee up there and  
11 they walked through the plants and the members came back and  
12 said you could eat off the floor.

13 **Q** During those sessions with legislators, did some of  
14 them express support for House Bill 6?

15 **A** Yeah.

16 **Q** And did some continue to maintain their opposition to  
17 House Bill 6?

18 **A** Yes.

19 **Q** For the ones that, you know -- for any of those  
20 legislators that you met with, did you threaten any of them?

21 **A** No. They were educational -- not only we had the  
22 committee going and the subcommittee going, but we broke it  
23 up into smaller committees so members could discuss what  
24 issues they had with the bill. Some people don't like to  
25 meet in large caucuses where you've got 60-some people, they

1 would rather have ten where they could all talk about  
2 issues. Some members don't like to let folks know they  
3 hadn't read the bill yet and they didn't really understand  
4 it. Usually smaller groups, they're a little more open to  
5 talk about those things, and we also had certain members  
6 like Representative Seitz who would go out and do  
7 one-on-ones with members if they didn't quite understand the  
8 legislation.

9 **Q** Do you know an individual by the name of Dave  
10 Greenspan?

11 **A** Yes.

12 **Q** Who's Dave Greenspan?

13 **A** He was a member of the House.

14 **Q** During which term?

15 **A** Well, I was there four years, so 2016 through 2020.

16 **Q** Was he a member of the House of Representatives while  
17 House Bill 6 was pending before the House?

18 **A** Yes.

19 **Q** Okay. Who did he vote for to be Speaker in 2019?

20 **A** He voted for Ryan Smith.

21 **Q** As Speaker, do you have the power to appoint members  
22 to committees?

23 **A** Yes.

24 **Q** Did you appoint Mr. Greenspan to any committees?

25 **A** I appointed him to finance committee, finance and



1 appropriations.

2 **Q** Any other committees that you appointed him to?

3 **A** Oh, yeah. Each member should have three or four  
4 committees.

5 **Q** Was he the chair of any committee?

6 **A** Yeah. He was -- so finance and appropriations is the  
7 most exclusive committee in the House because it is what it  
8 says it is, it does the two-year state budget, it does all  
9 of the appropriations for state government. Everything  
10 state government does has to go through a budget bill  
11 through finance committee. And so members want to be on  
12 finance and appropriations committee. They think, you know,  
13 it's the most important committee in the legislature. And  
14 David was appointed, I appointed him to finance, and I also  
15 appointed him to the chairman of the transportation  
16 subcommittee. Now, why that's important is because as a  
17 whole finance committee, there are four subcommittees that  
18 each have their own budgets that they do. One of those  
19 subcommittees is transportation. David was the chair of the  
20 transportation committee, which meant he did ODOT's budget  
21 and I don't have to tell anybody in this room how important  
22 ODOT's budget is.

23 **Q** Was Mr. Greenspan a no vote on House Bill 6?

24 **A** Yes.

25 **Q** Did you ask him to vote yes on House Bill 6?

1       **A**       Sure. It's my job.

2       **Q**       Did you threaten him if he wouldn't vote yes on House  
3 Bill 6?

4       **A**       I absolutely did not threaten him.

5       **Q**       Did you ask Neil Clark to threaten Mr. Greenspan?

6       **A**       No.

7       **Q**       Did you ask Jeff Longstreth to ask one of  
8 Mr. Greenspan's friends to convey a message that  
9 Mr. Greenspan should delete some text messages?

10      **A**       No.

11               MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
12 Government Exhibit 473 A, which has been admitted?

13               THE COURT: Yes.

14      **Q**       Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

15      **A**       Yes.

16      **Q**       Do these appear to be text messages between you and  
17 Mr. Greenspan?

18      **A**       Well, that's not a text message. Well, I see, okay.  
19 Wait, there is a text message, yes.

20               MR. OLESKI: Could you go to the next page, PJ?  
21 And the next one.

22               DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: Okay.

23      **Q**       Can you read your first three text messages to  
24 Mr. Greenspan from at the top of the page?

25      **A**       Yeah. I said, in my text message: "This is the stuff

1 we have to stop. When API went after Shane, that would be  
2 Wilkin, as sponsor of 6, we have to attack back. You always  
3 have to defend members and make it painful. There was  
4 always an unwritten rule, associations don't do issue hit  
5 pieces against members. This has to be followed without  
6 exception. Nobody comes after the team without  
7 consequences."

8 **Q** Do you see the reference to "the team"?

9 **A** Yes, I do.

10 **Q** What did you mean when you said "the team"?

11 **A** The House of Representatives. This divisiveness had  
12 to end. There were a number of members, you saw some of  
13 them in here come tromping through, they never gave it up.  
14 I mean, once it's over, it's over --

15 **Q** Did you know --

16 **A** -- you know, between -- the fight between Smith and  
17 Householder and they were even voting against legislation  
18 because Smith told them to. They've got to give that stuff  
19 up. The team was the House of Representatives.

20 MR. OLESKI: Can we keep going, PJ?

21 **Q** Well, skipping over the next two text messages,  
22 Mr. Householder, do you see the message: I really need you  
23 to vote yes on HB 6, it means a lot to me; do you see that  
24 text message?

25 **A** Yes, I do. I'm sorry. May 28th, 2019. David, I

1 really need you to vote yes on HB 6, it means a lot to me.

2 Can I count on you?

3 **Q** When you wrote "it means a lot to me," what did you  
4 mean when you wrote that?

5 **A** Again, that's a blast text. Any member that had not  
6 decided yet on how they were going to vote on House Bill 6,  
7 that's the type -- that's the text that you send out and "it  
8 means a lot to me," it was an agenda item in the House, one  
9 of those 12 bills.

10 **Q** And why does the fact that it's an agenda item have  
11 significance to you?

12 **A** Well, because leadership is expected to pass those  
13 bills. That's one of the things they judge you upon at the  
14 end of your term to decide whether or not you're going to be  
15 reelected as in leadership, is whether or not you got those  
16 12 -- or it could be ten, but 12 agenda items passed.

17 **MR. OLESKI:** And can we go to the next page, PJ?  
18 Could you just blow that up a little bit?

19 **Q** And did Mr. Greenspan ultimately vote -- what did  
20 Greenspan -- what was Mr. Greenspan's vote on House Bill 6?

21 **A** It was no.

22 **Q** And did he express that he was a no vote to you before  
23 the vote?

24 **A** Yes.

25 **Q** And could you read your text message starting with: I

1 just want you to remember?

2 **A** Sure. I just want you to remember when I needed you,  
3 you weren't there twice.

4 **Q** When you said "you weren't there twice," what did you  
5 mean by "twice"?

6 **A** Well, that wasn't the first vote that he had voted  
7 against the caucus, what the caucus position was, and I was  
8 hearing it from members of the caucus.

9 **Q** After he voted no on House Bill 6, did you remove him  
10 from any committees?

11 **A** I did not.

12 **Q** Did you strip him from any chair positions that he  
13 held?

14 **A** I did not.

15 **Q** Did you prevent any pieces of legislation that he was  
16 seeking to advance from advancing?

17 **A** No.

18 **Q** Okay.

19 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

20 **Q** Do you know a woman by the name of Laura Lanese?

21 **A** I do.

22 **Q** Did you serve with her during the 2019 term in the  
23 House of Representatives?

24 **A** Yes. I named her to leadership.

25 **Q** Who did she vote for to be Speaker?

1       **A**       Ryan Smith.

2       **Q**       You indicated you named her to a leadership position.  
3       What leadership position did you name her to?

4       **A**       Assistant Majority Whip.

5       **Q**       How many leadership positions are there in the Ohio  
6       House of Representatives?

7       **A**       Well, outside of the -- and we're just talking about  
8       the majority caucus, the minority caucus has their  
9       leadership too. But outside the two constitutional  
10      officers, which is the Speaker of the House and the Speaker  
11      pro temp of the House, there are four leadership positions.

12      **Q**       And of those four leadership positions, how many --  
13      you named Ms. Lanese to leadership?

14      **A**       I did.

15      **Q**       And she voted for Ryan Smith?

16      **A**       Yes.

17      **Q**       Who else did you name to leadership positions?

18      **A**       Bill Seitz, and he had voted for Ryan Smith as well.

19      **Q**       And who were the other two people you named?

20      **A**       Jay Edwards, who had voted for me and Tony DeVitis,  
21      who had voted for me.

22      **Q**       Now, did you appoint Ms. Lanese to any committees?

23      **A**       Yes.

24      **Q**       Was Ms. Lanese a no vote on House Bill 6?

25      **A**       Yes.

1 Q Did you ask her to vote yes on House Bill 6?

2 A Yes.

3 Q Did you threaten her?

4 A Did I what?

5 Q Did you threaten her to vote yes?

6 A No.

7 Q Ultimately, what did she vote on House Bill 6?

8 A She voted no.

9 Q Did you remove her from any committees after the House  
10 Bill 6 vote?

11 A No.

12 Q Did you prevent any piece of legislation that she was  
13 seeking to advance from advancing?

14 A No.

15 Q Do you know a gentleman by the name of Kyle Koehler?

16 A Yes, I do.

17 Q Did he serve with you during the 2019 term of the  
18 House of Representatives?

19 A Yes, he did.

20 Q Who did he vote for to be Speaker?

21 A He voted for Ryan Smith.

22 Q Did you appoint him to any committees?

23 A Yes, I did.

24 Q Did you appoint him to be chair of any particular  
25 committee?

1       **A**       He expressed to me that the -- he was in his last term  
2       and he said that his goal was -- his all-time goal was to be  
3       chairman of the agricultural committee and I named him chair  
4       of the agriculture committee.

5       **Q**       Did you ask him to vote yes on House Bill 6?

6       **A**       I suppose I did. I don't remember asking.

7       **Q**       Did he --

8       **A**       Probably. Well, if he had made a commitment he was a  
9       no vote, he wouldn't have got that text, so probably didn't.

10      **Q**       And did he ultimately vote no on House Bill 6?

11      **A**       Yes, he voted no.

12      **Q**       Did you remove him from any committees after the House  
13      Bill 6 vote?

14      **A**       I did not.

15      **Q**       Did you strip his chairmanship position after the  
16      House Bill 6 vote?

17      **A**       No, I did not.

18      **Q**       Did you prevent any piece of legislation he was  
19      advancing from advancing?

20      **A**       No, I did not.

21      **Q**       Did House Bill 6 pass the House of Representatives?

22      **A**       It did.

23      **Q**       Now, after a bill passes the House of Representatives,  
24      where does the bill go next?

25      **A**       It goes to the Senate and the whole process starts all



1 over again.

2 **Q** And were there -- were there hearings held in the  
3 Senate on House Bill 6?

4 **A** Yes.

5 **Q** And did the bill undergo changes while it was in the  
6 Senate?

7 **A** Yeah. It was -- the bill was in the House  
8 committee -- six weeks in the House, and it was six weeks in  
9 the Senate. And there were a number of -- just like there  
10 were a number of changes in the House to the bill, the  
11 Senate had changes to the bill as well.

12 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish --

13 **Q** And about when did House Bill 6 pass in the House of  
14 Representatives?

15 **A** I can't recall now.

16 **Q** Okay.

17 **A** We passed -- I mean, you know, there's hundreds of  
18 pieces of legislation that passes every GA.

19 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
20 Government Exhibit 502 E, which has been admitted?

21 THE COURT: Yes.

22 MR. OLESKI: And could we go to page 2, PJ?

23 **Q** You see this document on your screen?

24 **A** Yeah.

25 **Q** What does it appear to be?

1       **A**       It's an opinion, newspaper opinion from the Cleveland,  
2       I guess that's the *Plain Dealer*.

3       **Q**       Are these text messages between you and  
4       Mr. Longstreth?

5       **A**       They are, yeah.

6       **Q**       And what's the date of these communications?

7       **A**       May 31st, 2019.

8       **Q**       And your first text message on this page to  
9       Mr. Longstreth, what are you sending to Mr. Longstreth?

10      **A**       I'm sending him -- I'm sending him that editorial.

11      **Q**       And was the editorial about House Bill 6?

12      **A**       Yes.

13      **Q**       Was the editorial pro House Bill 6 or anti House Bill  
14      6?

15      **A**       Oh, no, it was filled full of misinformation.

16      **Q**       The text message right below that, would you read  
17      that, please?

18      **A**       I will. Does Steiner do a F'ing thing? Has there  
19      been a plan you guys are following or is the plan to just  
20      spend money?

21      **Q**       Who's "Steiner," if you know?

22      **A**       I found that they had hired -- someone had hired Curt  
23      Steiner, who's a public relations person, to do the PR for  
24      HB 6.

25      **Q**       There's a reference --

1     **A**     I'm not sure who he worked for, but I know he was  
2     doing public relations. There were two or three actually.

3     **Q**     Why did you send this text message to Mr. Longstreth?

4     **A**     Because it's the truth. I mean, every time you turn  
5     on TV or you pick up the newspaper and the bill that you're  
6     getting ready to pass out of the General Assembly is totally  
7     different than the one you're reading about in the  
8     newspaper, someone is not doing their job.

9     **Q**     There's a reference in your text message to a "plan";  
10    do you see that?

11    **A**     Yes. Has there -- has there been a plan you guys are  
12    following or is the plan just to spend money?

13    **Q**     Were you aware of any plan?

14    **A**     No. Apparently, there wasn't any. I don't know.

15    **Q**     The reference to "you guys," who is that in reference  
16    to?

17    **A**     Just you guys. I figured Jeff would be the right one  
18    for this.

19            MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

20            Judge, permission to publish Government Exhibit 502 B,  
21    which has been admitted?

22            THE COURT: Yes.

23            MR. OLESKI: And if we could go to page 10, PJ.

24    **Q**     Sir, the text messages we looked at previously were  
25    dated May 31st of 2019; is that right?

1       **A**       Yes.

2       **Q**       And what's the date of this document?

3       **A**       June 3rd, 2019.

4       **Q**       Did you attend a Generation Now meeting on Monday,  
5       June 3rd, 2019?

6       **A**       No.

7       **Q**       Okay.

8               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.  
9       Judge, permission to publish Government Exhibit 502 C?

10       THE COURT: Yes.

11       MR. OLESKI: Which has been admitted?

12       **Q**       Do you see this document on your screen?

13       **A**       Yes.

14       **Q**       What does this appear to be?

15       **A**       This is a text message chain between Jeff Longstreth,  
16       me, and Neil Clark.

17       **Q**       Who's Neil Clark?

18       **A**       Neil Clark is a lobbyist in Columbus.

19       **Q**       How long have you known Mr. Clark?

20       **A**       Since the mid-'90s.

21       **Q**       Are you friends with Mr. -- were you friends with  
22       Mr. Clark?

23       **A**       I always said that there was a love/hate relationship  
24       between Neil Clark and I.

25       **Q**       Why was --

1       **A**       Neil Clark loved to hate me, yes.

2       **Q**       And why was there a love/hate relationship between the  
3 two of you?

4       **A**       Neil is a brilliant person who is probably as good as  
5 anybody on the state budget. He knows the budget in and  
6 out. He's pretty good on campaigns. But he likes to create  
7 enemies, and going clear back to when I was Speaker the  
8 first time, 2001 to 2004, he and I had a disagreement, and,  
9 you know, he basically was out to get me ever since. And so  
10 it was -- that was our situation.

11       **Q**       Eventually, did you and Mr. Clark bury the hatchet, so  
12 to speak?

13       **A**       So he ran the 501(c)(4) for Speaker Rosenberger in  
14 2016 in the primary to try to defeat me and keep me from  
15 coming back to Columbus. And so when I won my general  
16 election, I went up to Neil's office and I really surprised  
17 him, I walked in and he was sitting there making a telephone  
18 call. And he was surprised to see me and I explained to  
19 him, I used casket carrier, I said Neil, I said, I know you  
20 and I have been at war for two decades, and at my age and at  
21 your age, we need to make friends, not enemies. I'm looking  
22 for casket carriers, not people to throw dirt balls at me at  
23 the grave site. And he said, I feel the same way, let's  
24 bury the hatchet and forget about this.

25       **Q**       Now, turning back to Government Exhibit 502 C, do you

1 see Mr. Clark's second -- or the second text message on your  
2 screen from Mr. Clark?

3 **A** Yes.

4 **Q** What did he say?

5 **A** I have talked to seven members so far.

6 **Q** Do you have an understanding of what Mr. Clark's  
7 referring to?

8 **A** Yeah. Neil came out of the Senate years and years and  
9 years ago, he was chief of staff for Stan Aronoff when  
10 Stanley was president of the Senate. Stan was here from  
11 Cincinnati. And so he always had a relationship with  
12 Senators, that's where his real relationships were, in the  
13 Senate. And the bill was over in the Senate and he was kind  
14 of following HB 6 in the Senate.

15 **Q** Did you ask Mr. Clark to get involved?

16 **A** Not -- no, not really. Not -- no. I can answer that  
17 no.

18 **Q** Did you ever give Mr. Clark your proxy?

19 **A** No, no, never, never ever.

20 **Q** Have you ever used that word before, "proxy"?

21 **A** Have I ever used that word?

22 **Q** Um-hmm, yes.

23 **A** I don't give up my right to speak for myself. I speak  
24 for myself, believe me.

25 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

1           And, Judge, if we could republish Government  
2 Exhibit 502 E, which has been admitted?

3           THE COURT: Yes.

4           MR. OLESKI: PJ, if you could go to page 29. And  
5 if you could just cull out those last three text messages on  
6 the screen.

7           DEFENDANT HOUSEHOLDER: What does the Gen Now TV --

8           **Q**     Mr. Householder, what are the dates of these text  
9 messages?

10          **A**     June 12th, 2019.

11          **Q**     And who are these between?

12          **A**     Myself and Jeff Longstreth.

13          **Q**     And in or around June of 2019, was Generation Now  
14 running a media campaign?

15          **A**     Yes. They were trying to educate the public about  
16 House Bill 6 while the other side was spending millions of  
17 dollars trying to uneducate the public on House Bill 6.

18          **Q**     And did you have any involvement in the Generation Now  
19 media campaign?

20          **A**     If I saw something on television and I wanted my  
21 opinion expressed, I would call and say, I don't like this  
22 or I do like that, but it didn't mean they were going to  
23 change anything.

24          **Q**     And is that what these text messages reflect?

25          **A**     Yeah.

1 Q Okay.

2 MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

3 Q Now, one of the pieces of House Bill 6 was a subsidy  
4 for a clean air fund; is that right?

5 A That's correct.

6 Q And how long of a subsidy was created by House Bill 6?

7 A Well, the maximum amount of years that the plants  
8 could be subsidized was six years, but there also was a  
9 provision that if they didn't need the money or they needed  
10 less money, then, that was what the fund would pay.

11 Q Did FirstEnergy or FirstEnergy Solutions executives  
12 seek to increase the length of the subsidy from six years?

13 A Oh, yeah. I mean, that's -- they were trying to get  
14 everything they could, obviously.

15 MR. OLESKI: And if we could publish, Judge,  
16 Government Exhibit 431 R, which has been admitted?

17 THE COURT: Yes.

18 MR. OLESKI: And, PJ, if you could just make that a  
19 little bit bigger.

20 Q Is this a text exchange between you and Mr. Jones?

21 A Yes, it is.

22 Q And what's the date?

23 A July 15th, 2019.

24 Q And what -- does Mr. Jones reference an extension to  
25 the subsidy in the first text message?



1       **A**       Yes.

2       **Q**       And ultimately, was the subsidy ever -- or the length  
3       of the subsidy ever increased from six years in the version  
4       of House Bill 6 that passed the General Assembly?

5       **A**       No. It passed with six years.

6               MR. OLESKI: You can take that down, PJ.

7       **Q**       Now, did House Bill 6 ultimately pass in the Senate?

8       **A**       Yes.

9       **Q**       Did the Senate make changes to House Bill 6?

10      **A**       Absolutely.

11      **Q**       And what's the significance to the fact that the  
12      Senate made changes to House Bill 6?

13      **A**       So whenever there's changes in legislation between  
14      that Senate and the House, when the bill comes back to  
15      whatever body it started in, which at this stage it was the  
16      House, that body, the House, has to either decide to concur  
17      with the Senate changes; in other words, we're going to pass  
18      the Senate version of the bill, or we have to decide to not  
19      pass the Senate changes and not accept the Senate changes,  
20      and it would go to a conference committee where you would  
21      have members of the House and the Senate work out the  
22      differences on the bill.

23      **Q**       And for House Bill 6, was there a conference committee  
24      held?

25      **A**       No, there was not.

1       **Q**       Was there a concurrence vote that was scheduled in the  
2       House of Representatives?

3       **A**       There was a concurrence vote scheduled, yes.

4       **Q**       And while House Bill 6 was pending in the General  
5       Assembly, was the General Assembly also working on a budget?

6       **A**       Over the Senate, yeah. We had passed the budget out  
7       of the House, and it was over in the Senate, and they didn't  
8       have it finished yet, and that's the same as House Bill 6.

9       **Q**       And does the budget need to be completed by a date  
10      certain?

11      **A**       Yeah, June 30th.

12      **Q**       And does -- do the chambers in General Assembly go on  
13      recess after June 30th?

14      **A**       Yes. So you schedule that ahead so that members know  
15      that this is a time that they can go off with their family  
16      and have vacation, and we were on break.

17      **Q**       And was a vote scheduled on the budget while the  
18      chambers and the General Assembly were on recess?

19      **A**       It was, yes.

20      **Q**       The concurrence vote to House Bill 6, was that  
21      scheduled while the House was in recess?

22      **A**       Yes.

23      **Q**       And did members -- did members return to concur in  
24      House Bill 6?

25      **A**       Yes, because there was a -- there was a conference

1 going on, a conference of state governments was going on in  
2 Chicago. We had a number of members that wanted to go to  
3 that. We had another member that was in Canada,  
4 Representative DeVitis had gone on vacation, he had a  
5 vacation planned with his family. And so we had told the  
6 members before we went on break, we don't know how long it's  
7 going to take for the Senate to get this done, you might --  
8 we'll go on break and just know that we'll communicate with  
9 your staff and let you know if you want to return to vote on  
10 the bill, either one of these bills.

11 **Q** And ultimately, did the House concur in the Senate  
12 amendments to House Bill 6?

13 **A** Yes.

14 **Q** And after the House concurs, where does the bill go  
15 next?

16 **A** It goes to the governor for signature.

17 **Q** And do you know when the governor signed the bill?

18 **A** Yes, I do.

19 **Q** When was it?

20 **A** The same day.

21 MR. OLESKI: Judge, permission to publish  
22 Government Exhibit 517 D?

23 THE COURT: We're getting close to break.

24 MR. OLESKI: I've got, I think, one more question,  
25 Judge.

1 THE COURT: Very well. And, yes, you may publish.

2 MR. OLESKI: Thank you, Judge.

3 Q Sir, do you see this document on your screen?

4 A Yes, I do.

5 Q What's the date?

6 A July 23rd, 2019.

7 Q And who are these text messages between?

8 A Larry Householder and Chuck Jones.

9 Q What did Mr. Jones say to you?

10 A Chuck Jones texted to me: "Thank you for your  
11 leadership. Bob and Betty are better off under your watch  
12 than they have been in a long time. Let me know when you  
13 have time for a quick chat."

14 Q Did House Bill 6 -- was House Bill 6 signed into law  
15 on July 23rd, 2019?

16 A I don't know. I assume it was, yes.

17 Q And the "Bob and Betty" that Mr. Jones refers to, is  
18 that the same Bob and Betty Buckeye?

19 A All of us, 11-and-a-half million Ohioans.

20 MR. OLESKI: Judge, now would be the perfect time  
21 to take a break.

22 **EXCERPT CONCLUDED**

23 \* \* \*

24

25

