JOLENE UNSOELD

"Un-sold"

www.sos.wa.gov/legacy

Jolene addresses an anxious group of employees at Hoquiam Plywood Company in 1988 as the uncertainty over timber supplies intensifies. *Kathy Quigg/The Daily World*

Introduction: "The Meddler"

Timber workers in her district were mad as hell over set-asides to protect the Northern Spotted Owl. Rush Limbaugh branded her a "feminazi." Gun-control advocates called her a flip-flopper. It was the spring of 1994 and Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld of Olympia was girding for the political fight of her life. CSPAN captured her in a bitter debate with abortion opponents. Dick Armey, Newt Gingrich's sidekick, was standing tall in his armadillo-skin cowboy boots, railing against the "self-indulgent conduct" of women who had been "damned careless" with their bodies. As other Republicans piled on, Unsoeld's neck reddened around her trademark pearl choker. Men just don't get it, she shot back. "Reproductive health is at the very core of a woman's existence. If you want to be brutally frank, what it compares with is if you had health-care plans that did not cover any illness related to testicles. I

think the women of this country are being tolerant enough to allow you men to vote on this!"

Julia Butler Hansen, one of Jolene's predecessors representing Washington's complicated 3rd Congressional District, would have loved it. Brutally frank when provoked, Julia was married to a logger and could cuss like one. She won 23 elections in four decades of elective office.* If Julia came across as LBJ's chain-smoking aunt, Jolene was a tenacious, self-described "citizen meddler" and mountaineer. Someone said she seemed like a Quaker lady with an REI card. First names sufficed for both.

Jolene came to Congress in 1989, a generation after Julia. With a jump-start from EMILY's List, the pro-choice political action committee, Jolene was only the third woman ever elected to Congress from Washington State. The lunch-bucket district Julia once owned was in the throes of change. Environmentalists were demanding endangered-species protection for the owl; the population of Thurston County, home to the state capital, had more than doubled to 150,000 in less than 20 years; to the south, suburbanized Clark County, with nearly a quarter-million residents, was becoming the wild card. Today, it is represented by a conservative Latina Republican. Jolene could see it coming.

As the 1994 campaign got under way, Jolene's supporters were hoping she would keep channeling her inner Julia. The political atmosphere was so polarized that Jolene felt as if "civility is also an endangered species." This campaign—her sixth in 10 years—promised to be the most grueling yet. "Sometimes," she said, "I feel like I'm in a marathon relay race. I'm running alone, but they keep sending in replacements. I wipe them out, and they send in more."

JOLENE UNSOELD'S political odyssey—the second half of a remarkably eventful life—began in 1970. Her husband, the legendary mountaineer Willi Unsoeld, had joined the founding faculty of The Evergreen State College, a very liberal, liber-

* "Julia never wore a miniskirt," an aide quipped, "because she didn't want her balls to show."

al-arts school. When Jolene set out to explore Olympia she was drawn to the imposing Capitol. "I gazed up at that dome and wondered 'What's going on in there?' " She didn't like what she learned. Lobbyists were wining and dining lawmakers with impunity. Governor Dan Evans, a progressive Republican, had pushed through creation of a Department of Ecology, but business interests were trying to thwart pollution-control and hazardous waste cleanup legislation. Weyerhaeuser and ITT Rayonier ruled timber country. Jolene resolved to follow the money and disrupt the system with sunlight. "I am not a patient person," she says, "and I don't give up easily."

In 1955 Jolene became the first woman to ascend the direct north face of Wyoming's Grand Teton. Falling rocks or one false move on the slippery slab can lead to a closed-casket funeral. Arms aching, she pushed ahead to the summit alongside Willi.

In Olympia, Jolene joined the League of Women Voters, Common Cause and the newly organized Coalition for Open Government. Early on, Jolene and several other activists invaded a legislative committee hearing. "What are you ladies doing here?" a flinty Eastern Washington lawmaker inquired. Jolene remembers the shocked look on his face when one piped up, "We're watching you and listening to what you say."

She helped lead the campaign for Initiative 276, a landmark in citizen-mandated government transparency. The new law established an agency to monitor campaign contributions and lobbying. She also wrote a powerful little book on entangling alliances—*Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?*—that became a best-seller around Olympia.

As an unpaid lobbyist, Jolene stood up for utility ratepayers, backed environmental legislation and championed Indian fishing rights. She won election to the State Legislature in 1984 and Congress four years later in a photo-finish that marked her as perpetually vulnerable. When she sponsored an amendment that derailed an assault weapons ban, many longtime supporters were appalled. Had "Un-sold" Unsoeld sold out? Never, she insisted. But she had given them lots of ammo.

Though her great-grandfather, grandfather and influen-

Jolene in a characteristic pose. She wears her trademark pearl choker, which had belonged to her mother. *Brian DalBalcon/The Daily World*

tial Republican father were lumbermen, Jolene's unflinching environmentalism during the controversy over the Northern Spotted Owl was a major factor in her defeat after three tumultuous terms in Congress.

Jolene has been a rare bird since childhood. A writer she detests claims she was "as high-strung as a hummingbird" when she was a freshman at Oregon State College, falling in love with a charismatic mountaineer. Since 1982, that line has popped up in practically every story written about her. "I was bouncy, not high-strung," Jolene says, blue-gray eyes brightening at the memory of her teenage exuberance. At 84, despite arthritic fingers and other irksome maladies of a long, vigorous life, there's considerable bounce left in her lean frame. She hustled up the hill to fetch some ointment when a strapping young man removing decayed trees from her property had a brush with poison ivy. Then, as the crew finished yarding the salvageable logs and began loading its ropes and pulleys, Jolene and her son Regon, 64, demonstrated the knot-tying skills they'd learned from Willi.

Krag, her younger son, says their mom has always been more like a raptor than a hummingbird "because she can soar high and see wide."

CHAPTER ONE: ROOTS & BRANCHES

YOU CAN TRACE the roots of Jolene Unsoeld's paternal family tree to the 1600s in Yorkshire, the storied county that sprawls across northern England. Her great-great-grandfather, Xerxes Bishopric, was a papermaker and sawyer.* Xerxes' son, John X. Bishoprick, arrived in North America around 1850. John became a farmer in Ontario along the north shore of Lake Erie. He married a Scottish immigrant girl, Ellen Helen Allison, and built a lumber mill. In 1875, the seventh of their eight children was born. That was Arthur Stanley Bishoprick, Jolene's enterprising grandfather. He went by "Stan," as did her father, Stan Jr.

When gold was discovered in Alaska in 1896, Stan Sr. hightailed it to Skagway, the gateway to the Klondike. He tried his hand at mining but had more luck with the fledgling Bishoprick Lumber Company. When the gold stopped rushing at the turn of the century, Stan was front-page news in Juneau as "the lucky bidder" on a contract to provide lumber for the wharf at the U.S. Army's new Fort Seward near Haines. Soon thereafter he married Bertha Goding, a grocer's daughter. Their son, Stanley Jr., was born in Skagway in 1904.

By 1920, Stan Sr. was superintendent of a lumber mill in Portland. His namesake was sorting freshly sawn lumber along the green chain, the bottom rung of the sawmill business. Stan Jr. was a good-looking young man with a winning smile and first-rate brain. He loved to play poker and rarely lost. Everyone said he was going places.

While studying forestry at Oregon State College in Corvallis in 1929, Stan Jr. boarded at a rooming house run by a Dutch immigrant woman with a beautiful, dark-haired daughter. Fifteen-year-old Cora Trapman was the second-youngest

* Xerxes Bishopric (the "k" was added later) was named for an ancient Persian king, Xerxes the Great. The Bishoprick family name—"Bish-uprick"—derives from a bishop's jurisdictional district, an Anglican diocese.

of seven children. The household had fractured after Cora's carpenter father was injured in an accident. It was not a happy place. Petite yet self-assured, Cora helped with the cooking and serving. When she was picked to represent Corvallis in the Miss Oregon contest, she lied about her age, telling pageant officials and reporters she was 16. She was second-runner-up to Miss Portland. Eight days later, on May 10, 1929, Cora and Stan were married. He was 10 years her senior. "She looked older and acted older," Jolene says. "When he first found out how young she was" he was taken aback. "But they fell in love, and my dad was very protective of her." The tongue-cluckers who speculated it was a marriage of necessity must have been disappointed; Jolene wasn't born until December 3, 1931.

The Bishopricks lived briefly in Prince Rupert, British Columbia, where Stan was a timber salesman, before he returned to Oregon to recuperate from a logging accident and finish college. In 1936, Stan joined the Dant & Russell Lumber Company, which had played a key role in the development of the Port of Portland. Dant & Russell controlled vast lumber and shipping operations, including the States Steamship Company and the Coos Bay Lumber Company. It banked substantial profits from the Pacific Rim, wheeling and dealing around the globe. Dant & Russell had agents in Japan, Australia, Africa, Chile and Argentina. Charles E. Dant, one of the founders, had been a major stockholder in the China Import & Export

Jolene hugs her dad as he prepares to depart for Shanghai in the summer of 1937. Her mother is dressed to the nines as ususal. The photo appeared on the front page of *The Oregonian*.

Lumber Company, which owned a large lumber mill in Shanghai. "One of Dant's coups was to corner the market on sale of railroad ties to China," an expert on Pacific Rim trade wrote. Dant & Russell's new man in Shanghai was Stan Bishoprick Jr.

On June 30, 1937, the front page of *The Oregonian* featured a photo of Bishoprick bidding farewell to "his pretty wife and small daughter" as he boarded a States Line steamer for China. Clutching her dad's neck, 5-year-old Jolene was doing her best to maintain a stiff upper lip. Her brother Stanley was a babe in arms. A few months later, the family was reunited 5,800 miles from home in a war zone. Imperial Japan had launched a full-scale invasion of China on a trumped up provocation. Three million people lived in and around Shanghai, a strategic port across from the Japanese archipelago. Shanghai's polyglot international settlement featured British, American, German, White Russian and Japanese businessmen. Some 20,000 refugees from Central Europe, most of them Jews, were pouring in. Bishoprick talked his way through a battle zone to check on a lumber mill owned by a Dant & Russell subsidiary in Nanking. He acquired a Japanese soldier as his escort and finally reached the beleaguered city. Bishoprick secured provisions for the mill's Chinese workers, who "desperately needed rice for their families." When Nanking fell, the Japanese Army raped and murdered in an orgy of bestiality.

During her 3½ years at the Shanghai American School, Jolene was largely cocooned from the fascism enveloping the world. She grasped, however, that her adventuresome father was respected by both the Chinese and Japanese. So shrewd was Stan Bishoprick that he talked the invading Japanese into paying for two bargeloads of Dant & Russell lumber at a 300 percent profit. "The Japanese liked to take pictures with us," Jolene remembers. "They wanted to show they were still friends with Americans" because U.S. oil and raw materials were vital to controlling their growing empire.

By December of 1940, with Western economic sanctions making the Japanese warlords increasingly bellicose, the U.S. Embassy urged Americans to leave China. Bishoprick sent his wife, 9-year-old daughter and preschool son home to Oregon.

Cora Bishoprick was pregnant with their third child, Kareen. Her husband closed up shop before joining them in Portland. He would become a major stockholder and officer of Dant & Russell.

THE BISHOPRICKS became a popular, upwardly mobile young couple. Jolene loved fly fishing and camping with her outdoorsy dad, who was drawing up plans for a substantial sailboat. Her mother's idea of fun was growing roses and organizing elaborate church socials. Cora Bishoprick dressed beautifully and was frequently photographed for the society pages in stylish hats. Her daughter was a tomboy who loved adventure stories. "My dad treated me like I was the eldest son. Mother asked him to take me to get a dress for my birthday party. We came home with a hunting knife, jeans and a jacket."

On December 7, 1941, a quiet Sunday, the Bishopricks were roaming the hills outside Portland in search of the perfect Christmas tree. Snug in the back seat, Jolene was listening to a musical program on the radio when an announcer interrupted with a bulletin; something about an attack in Hawaii. "I didn't quite understand what was going on, but by the mood in the car I knew something serious had happened. My parents were whispering back and forth and all I could sense was the tension. I was 10 years old and the world had just changed in the space of one morning."

By 12, Jolene was emerging as a free thinker, butting heads with her starchy Presbyterian Sunday School teacher over whether God was more vengeful than forgiving. "I finagled to work in the nursery and take care of the babies and toddlers instead of being indoctrinated," she recalls.

Her parents were staunch Republicans who believed that Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt were subverting capitalism and cozying up to minorities. But by 17 Jolene was a fledgling liberal who blanched at racial slurs, her sensibilities heightened by the influx of black children whose parents had found jobs in the Kaiser Shipyards at Vancouver and Portland during the war.

The family moved to Vancouver when Jolene was enter-


Bishoprick, Jolene
President, Corresponding Secretary Girls' League; S.W.W.-G.L. Conference; Leaders' Conference; President Advisory Group; Office Assistant Miss von Berg; Vodvil. Committees: Junior-Senior Prom; Homecoming; G.L. Mix; Tolo. Assemblies. Clubs G.A.A.; Lettergirls'; International; Spanish.

Jolene is featured in the Vancouver High School yearbook. She was the co-valedictorian of the class of 1949.

ing ninth grade. Her father was building them a new house, complete with dock, along the Columbia River.

At Vancouver High School, Jolene was an honor student immersed in extracurricular activities. She lettered in basketball and helped plan assemblies, homecoming and proms. Boys didn't interest her much. "They were all immature." By her senior year, she was president of Girls' League and office assistant to the Dean of Girls, an inspirational spinster who took promising girls under her wing.

Jolene won an essay contest sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution. She declined the prize when she discovered the DAR had barred Marian Anderson, the brilliant black contralto, from singing at Constitution Hall in 1939.

Jolene's senior year was enlivened by the arrival of 600 new students after the wartime Ogden Meadows High School on the east outskirts of town was torched by a teenage arsonist. The student body suddenly swelled to 1,600. With her toothy, incandescent smile, bright eyes and practical glasses, Jolene bounces off the pages of her high school yearbook. Her peers seem pleasantly plain in comparison. Jolene was co-valedictorian of the Vancouver High School Class of 1949, still unsure of what she wanted to become—perhaps a first-grade teacher. She knew one thing for certain: she wanted to climb mountains.

A Portland orthodontist was trying to manipulate the

big teeth Jolene inherited from her father into the small jaw she got from her mother. His office was a few floors below the headquarters for the Mazamas, Oregon's venerable mountaineering club. Jolene signed up for "the easy route" ascent of Mount Hood. "When we got up to the top and looked down I just exploded with emotion. So when I got to Oregon State College, the first thing I did was to join its mountain club and dive in."

She also enrolled in a journalism class. Jolene was hanging out in *The Daily Barometer* newsroom, bounciness on full display, when she was assigned to help cover U.S. Senator Wayne Morse's campus appearance. Morse, a former dean of the Oregon State University Law School, had been elected to the Senate as a progressive Republican six years earlier. When he sat for an interview with the wide-eyed freshman, Morse's maverick streak was on full display. The 50-year-old senator exuded vitality. He was a handsome man with bushy eyebrows, graying temples and a Walter Cronkite mustache. Morse would morph into an Independent before bolting to the Democrats in 1955. In the 1960s he emerged as a vociferous opponent of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. Morse made such an impression on Jolene that he became her first political role model. "He had no idea of what magic he brought into my life by exposing me to other ideas and challenging me to be able to write about him."

CHAPTER TWO: BILL

BEFORE LONG, Jolene was elected secretary of the Mountain Club. She heard about an avid climber named Bill Unsoeld, one of the club's founding members. He'd been trekking around Europe and South Asia with an Army buddy and other friends. They practiced climbing techniques in the Alps and taught rock climbing to soldiers in India. After meeting a Hindu holy man, they explored the Himalayan foothills. On the flanks of Nanda Devi, a stunning peak named for a "bliss-giving goddess," ice caves beckoned like shimmering wormholes. Everyone said Unsoeld would be back on campus soon to complete his studies for a degree in physics.

Young Bill Unsoeld at Oregon State College. *Unsoeld family collection*

One night, just as the club was getting down to business, heads turned as he walked in—"late as usual," Jolene would learn. He was wearing a faded plaid shirt with safety pins in place of several missing buttons. He was clean-shaven and sturdy-looking, about 5-10, with a freckled forehead, lively blue eyes and close-cropped reddish hair beginning to recede. For Jolene it certainly wasn't love at first sight. Bill Unsoeld, at 23, wasn't yet the bigger-than-life "Willi" he would become. But something about him was contagious. He would later claim he fell for Jolene because she had lined the thighs of her climbing khakis with elk hide to prevent chafing when she was rappelling. Though only 18, it was clear she was serious about climbing. He liked her pants. "Whenever he said that, I teased him because he really went out first with a girl who was wearing shorts."

Bill spent the following summer as a Forest Service smokejumper, fighting fires in the Siskiyous of Southern Or-

Jolene and Willi in the Cascades around 1954 with their first two children: Devi in the papoose backpack and Regon. *Ira Spring*

egon. "He was full of life," Jolene says, "and the best storyteller ever." They quickly fell in love. Their engagement—more like a declaration of intent—was announced to fellow climbers atop Mount Saint Helens. Two days later they summited Mount Hood. And a month after that, on June 11, 1951, they were married along the banks of the Columbia River. Bill had just received his degree from Oregon State. Jolene dropped out of college to become a nomadic grad-school wife. Their first stop was Ohio, where Bill attended the School of Theology at Oberlin College. Next came the divinity school at Berkeley; then it was on to Seattle and the University of Washington where Bill pursued a doctorate. In 1958, he joined the faculty at Oregon State College as an associate professor of philosophy and religion. All the while, the Unsoelds headed for the hills at every opportunity.

A Colorado climber encountered the Unsoelds in the 1950s at Grand Teton National Park: "I'll never forget coming out at the bottom of the Garnet Canyon Trail into Lupine Meadows right behind Willi one summer. He gave a mighty

yodel, and across the meadow, through the front door of their log cabin, out stepped his wife Jolene with blond pigtails, followed by his kids, who yelled back to Willi. It was right out of a Disney movie from that era!"

Bill's ambition to summit Mount Everest was energized by an historic 1954 reconnaissance of Makalu, the world's fifth highest mountain. Nearly twice as high as Mount Rainier, the craggy peak looms 27,825 feet, just southeast of Everest on the border between Nepal and China. The Sherpas in Unsoeld's expedition marveled at his rock-climbing skills and fearless determination. At one point he fell ill with dysentery and had to fall back. After willing himself better, he led the way as his party ascended into the clouds, pushing ahead through waist-deep snow. They were finally forced to make camp at 23,500 feet as the weather worsened. The summit was tantalizingly close, but the conditions too dangerous. Unsoeld vowed he'd be back, regaling listeners with what it was like up there: simultaneously scary and liberating. He'd throw back his shoulders, puff up his chest and mimic the howling whoosh of the winds buffeting a climber clinging to a ledge.

AFTER HER RECORD-SETTING 1955 ascent in the Grand Tetons, where Bill was working as a summer guide, Jolene's own climbing increasingly took a back seat to mothering four carefully conceived tow-headed kids. They arrived in May every two years—boy-girl, boy-girl—starting with Regon in 1952 when Jolene and Bill were at Oberlin. Desperately homesick, they invented their first child's name by dropping the O from Oregon. Next came Nanda Devi, who was always called Devi. Krag's name, pronounced "krog," was inspired by Ernest Thompson Seton's popular short story, *Krag, The Kootenay Ram*. Terres is the youngest. "I incubated them; he named them!" Jolene says with a grin and the distinctive little chortle she emits when something tickles her. "Terres was born the spring after the Russians launched Sputnik. We had purchased a globe because we were trying to get the kids interested in geography." On the morning the contractions began, Jolene barked, "Come on, Bill, it's time to go!" The globe was

The Unsoelds' 1959 Christmas card: Bill, Krag, Terres on Jolene's lap, Regon and Devi. *Unsoeld family collection*

on a shelf near the front door. Bill gave it a spin and declared, "In the space age we should turn our eyes homeward: Terres for terra firma!"

Bill's students and close friends like Bob Utter, a Washington Supreme Court justice who was one of the nation's leading Baptist laymen, often asked what he was thinking when he turned his eyes upward. His answer was that you could get closer to God—whoever he or she was—the higher you climbed. And no one passed a collection plate at the summit or complained about the sermon topics.

In boyhood, Unsoeld sometimes imagined becoming an Episcopal rector, intoning the liturgy in clerical collar and vestments. His spiritual horizons broadened practically overnight the first time he tromped into the Cascades with his Boy Scout troop when he was 12. Man-made steeples were no match for God's; nothing could rival the majestic "bare austerities of His earth's high places." In college, he weighed becoming a missionary and working with impoverished people, but the mountains were his calling.

Jolene was on the same spiritual path after a childhood trip to the slopes of Mount Hood. Whenever the mountain was out the world seemed better. "It was picture-perfect, looming snow-white behind Portland and visible from my bedroom window. You wanted to be up there," she remembers. Sunday School, with its rote lessons, was stultifying. Being in the mountains made you feel alive and closer to God.

In 1974, when he was famous, her husband said people kept asking him to define "religion." He liked Einstein's definition: "It's what a man does with his solitude." Paul Tillich, the Christian existentialist theologian, suggested it was "man's ultimate concern." At first blush that seemed "kind of weaselly," Unsoeld said, "but when you see it functionally it sings. It's whatever concerns you most. However, that lays open the possibility that money could become a religion, or sex. ... It is very hard to arrive at what concerns you most." His conclusion was that religion is "the anchor that secures us to life, that keeps us going, that makes sense when *nothing* else does. ... So what do you turn to? Or what do you wish you could turn to? Or what do you hope you might someday be able to turn to when the bottom has fallen out. Well, whatever that is, that's religion. It gives meaning where none was before."

Jolene has yet to hear anyone put it better than that. Functionally, however, their marriage didn't always sing. Jolene is intense, idealistic and indefatigable, with her own sense of adventure. She is also well-organized and practical. Sometimes it was just plain exasperating to be the spouse of a swashbuckling mountain man. One day, when she was weary of his maybe-just-one-more-mountain routine, she looked up from her typewriter, cupped her right hand into a megaphone and bellowed "Bullshit!" Willi smiled. What endured, especially when the bottom was falling out, was their love and respect for one another.

Chapter Three: The Peace Corps

IN THE FALL of 1962, Bill, Jolene and their four young children—Regon, then 10, was the oldest—embarked on the adventure of a lifetime. Bill secured a leave of absence from Oregon State University to join John F. Kennedy's new Peace Corps. Its goal was to promote democracy around the world by helping liberate Third World nations "from the bonds of hunger, ignorance and poverty." Everything about that appealed to Bill and Jolene's altruism. And it would be a great experience for their kids. For Bill, there was another tantalizing motive: Their destination was Nepal. He had already signed on as a leader of a select team of American climbers planning an Everest Expedition. So when Bob Bates, president of the American Alpine Club, was picked to establish a Peace Corps branch in fabled Kathmandu, and invited Bill to become his deputy everything fell into place. Their 70-member team of volunteers fanned out into the villages below the greatest mountain range on Earth. The contingent included gung-ho young college graduates—teachers, social workers and civil engineers—as well as a medical doctor and a sprinkling of idealistic retirees; one was 74.

Regon, who had sailed on Stan Bishoprick's 56-foot schooner, the *Corahleen*, as a junior "Flag Officer," promised his grandfather he would keep a log of his life in Nepal and send home excerpts. The grade-schooler reported that In Nepal you needed to keep an eye on the monkeys because they had fearsome, four-inch teeth.* He was learning French at school but wished it was Nepali or Hindi instead. Meantime, "Dad went to the Rapti Valley today with some of the volunteers. He took all of Mom's flour and sugar ... and when she found out she was sure mad."

* Krag remembers that one day, while out for a walk with his mom, they encountered a snarling pack of monkeys. Jolene yelled, put her head down and ran right at them. They turned tail and scattered. "Mom basically never let things stand in her way."

Jolene and Bill in native costume for a wedding in Nepal. *Unsoeld family collection*

Mom sure was busy, too. Visits to one remote village took four days round trip, with the last 18 miles on foot. But it was beautiful country, Jolene wrote home, "with rocky gorges, rice paddies, jungle trails and heavy forested areas." Her winning smile and good manners needed no translation. She was welcomed inside the villagers' mud and wattle huts where there was "excellent tea and rice and an occasional chupatti (flatbread) or two." That first winter, the Unsoelds summoned the volunteers back to Kathmandu "because it was too cold in the villages to continue teaching from the middle of December until the first of February. Things reached a climax on Dec. 11," Jolene wrote her parents, "when I figured that so far that month I had cooked a total of 57 extra meals for individuals who had shown up at odd moments hungry." At Christmas, most of the presents were handmade, including peep shows fashioned from toilet paper cores. Krag, who was 6, used a shoebox as the stage for a night-before-Christmas scene. Everyone pitched in to hand-cut cookies into snowmen, Santas and trees. "The kids said it was the best Christmas we had ever had," Jolene wrote, "and I think they were right, too."

Before long, Jolene volunteered to take over direction of an English-language program for the Nepalese. From a handful of students eager to learn English, as well as Western customs, the institute grew to 200 students and six instructors. Some of the women, including the wives of government officials, had a great time practicing wringing out their clothes with the Unsoelds' hand-cranked washing machine after Jolene demonstrated how it was done.

February, 1963, found Bill Unsoeld pacing anxiously as

members of the Everest Expedition arrived in Nepal. Sargent Shriver, the Kennedy brother-in-law who headed the Peace Corps, was sufficiently steeped in the New Frontier ethos that he liked the idea of a Peace Corps official conquering the world's tallest mountain, but he dithered on granting permission.

Regon and Krag vividly remember the day they kissed their dad a quick goodbye before he sprinted up the trail, backpack bulging, to catch up with the other members of the expedition. Shriver had given his OK at the last minute. They would come to learn why their mother seemed doubly conflicted: Not only was their father departing on a hazardous adventure—Regon, at 10, was old enough to wonder whether he would ever see his dad again—they would have to move out of government housing for the duration. Bill's salary also would be halted. The mountain called, Jolene says, "and he just figured everything would work out because he'd done it before and somehow it had."

Jolene persevered, drawing on her remarkable resilience—and all the friends she had accrued with her kindness. "The head Napali in the Peace Corps office was marvelous," she remembers, voice thick with gratitude.

ON MAY DAY 1963, Jim Whittaker, a handsome 6-foot-5 mountaineer from Seattle, stood atop Everest with an intrepid Sherpa named Nawang Gombu, all of about 5 feet tall. But this Mutt and Jeff pair were in trouble. Out of oxygen, their water bottles frozen, Whittaker and Gombu had staggered to the top, planted an American flag and barely lived to tell about it.

Three weeks later, Unsoeld and Tom Hornbein, a Seattle anesthesiologist, made it to the summit via a more dangerous route on Everest's West Ridge—a feat never before attempted. Retreat even riskier, they descended along the southern route Whittaker and Gombu had taken to the top—but not before being forced to spend a night in the raw open at 28,000 feet, with not so much as a sleeping bag. They were hanging "suspended in a timeless void," Hornbein remembers. At daybreak, still exhausted, feet numb, they resumed their descent.

Exhausted, feet badly frostbitten, Willi Unsoeld and Barry Bishop of the National Geographic Society appear at an impromptu press conference with their wives, Jolene and Lila, after summiting Mount Everest in May of 1963. Bishop and Lute Jerstad had reached the summit from the south while Unsoeld and Tom Hornbein were the first to ascend via the West Ridge. Unsoeld and Bishop would lose most of their toes. *Unsoeld family collection*

While Whittaker was the first American to summit Everest, Unsoeld and Hornbein were the first climbers to traverse the storied peak. And Bill Unsoeld became forever "Willi." The price he paid was nine toes. The frostbite was so severe that they blackened and shriveled. Skin grafts proved useless. Doctors finally amputated the dead stubs. Jolene says Willi had warmed Hornbein's feet on his stomach, oblivious to the fact that his own toes were freezing. "It was reflexive," she says, "and he'd done it before when other climbers' feet were numb."

Hornbein and Jolene talk by telephone every May 22, the anniversary of the West Ridge climb. "We don't make a lot of it," Hornbein says, "but it's just a little piece of precious past." For her part, Jolene has a wistful smile when she says, "We

have our annual phone call. He's a good friend." She's saving the rest for a book of her own that's had a long, thoughtful gestation. She has a trove of letters, journals, photos and ephemera.

"Big Jim" Whittaker, arriving back home as the mountaineer equivalent of John Glenn, became a national hero and friend to the Kennedys. Unsoeld and Hornbein are celebrated "mainly by those who know mountains," says Joel Connelly, the longtime *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* writer who knows mountains. It took Hornbein several years to come to grips with being mostly identified as "the doc who had climbed Everest." Willi, being Willi, was less conflicted, but he admitted, "Once you've climbed Everest, it's like an albatross around your neck; there's no getting away from it."

Unsoeld's wife and children were proud of his accomplishment, yet their anxiety at how close they'd come to losing him was hard to compartmentalize, especially because they understood all the while that he was bound to go off and climb more mountains. Regon Unsoeld, who taught social studies at Tumwater High School for 30 years, always challenged his students to become critical thinkers. He tells a powerful story:

> On May 22, 2013, we were in Seattle for the 50th anniversary of Willi and Tom's climbing of the West Ridge. I had been determined not to say anything. But then Jim Whittaker raised a toast: "Hey, Tom, 50 years ago today you and Willi were passing beyond the point of no return and the only way down was up and over the top. Hear! Hear!" That's when I decided to speak. I waited until all the hear-hearing had died down and stood up. "I'd like to offer another perspective. It's the perspective of a 10-year-old boy back in Kathmandu who knew that his dad was somewhere high on the mountain with a failing flashlight, out of oxygen, failing radio battery and not knowing if he would ever see his dad again."

The room fell quiet. The drama was palpable. "Point of no return? *Bullshit!*" Regon said. "You could have turned back the day before. You had four young kids and a partner back home. *What the hell were you doing?*"

Regon went on to say that over the years he had learned a lot more about his father's childhood—that Willi had grown up in a home with not much unconditional love or nurturing. Regon said he was now able to reconcile his resentment at the risks his father took with an understanding of "the camaraderie of being in an exposed place with someone you care deeply about—your climbing companion."

When the festivities concluded, Regon says the first person to approach him was Whittaker. "He said, 'Regon, I want to thank you for your words. We climbers sometimes overlook or are not sensitive to the effects on our children.' "

Willi once said that "risk is at the heart of all education" and "it has to be real enough to kill you." It was palpably real for Jolene and their children. They loved the mountains—Devi almost preternaturally. Yet when Willi evangelized about "pushing past your personal comfort zone," audiences hanging on his every word, Jolene and their kids had long since pushed way past.

Chapter Four: "That dome"

WHEN THE UNSOELDS returned from Nepal in 1967, Willi joined Outward Bound USA in Andover, Massachusetts. He quickly became one of the most enthusiastic and influential exponents of "Experiential Education," extolling wilderness skills as a path to self-confidence and a sense of purpose, especially for at-risk youth. Lessons learned on backpacking and climbing treks build character, promote teamwork and instill a sense of community service, Unsoeld said. His first classes focused on troubled teenagers. Soon adults were also enrolling, including upwardly mobile young corporate types. Outward Bound schools sprang up around the country in a climate of self-discovery and environmental consciousness.

In 1970, Willi and Jolene jumped at the chance to help launch an unconventional new four-year college back home in the Northwest. Willi would be the philosopher-mountaineer and director of an Outdoor Education Program at The Evergreen State College. The new school was nestled among the firs along a finger of land that pokes into Puget Sound just west of the Capitol. Faculty spouses were encouraged to play key roles in the planning and get involved in the community.

Governor Dan Evans embraced the new college, citing a need to "unshackle our educational thinking from traditional patterns." Evergreen was founded on "four no's": no academic departments, no academic requirements, no faculty rank and no grades. Its first class matriculated at the height of student protests over the war in Vietnam. Conservative lawmakers' worst fears about unshackling were realized when the new school attracted idealistic, long-haired kids—"Greeners"—with wet dogs and bongs. Evans, an Eagle Scout who had summited Mount Rainier, accepted Willi's challenge to rappel the school's new clock tower, a rite of passage for many first-year students.

Jolene, only 40, was fizzing with a sense of activism.

"In Nepal, keeping up with what was happening in the rest of the world was difficult," she recalls. "We had a short-wave radio but we kept running out of batteries. Newspapers and magazines arrived two months late." It was both disconcerting and energizing to be thrust back into a polarized America. She was inspired by dinner-table debates with Regon. He had just graduated from high school and was profoundly troubled by social-justice issues and the war. "Vietnam in many ways resembled Nepal," Regon says, "and Nepal was a country I had come to love: The rice paddy culture, the jungle, the highlands; people living very close to the land." He was determined to defy registering for the draft—willing to go to prison if it came to that. His father counseled moderation, saying it would be a brave gesture, "but I don't think going to jail will stop the war."

Willi always nuanced his misgivings by saying he and Jolene would support whatever decision he made. "Dad!" Regon vividly remembers saying, "you can't have it both ways. If you're gonna support me, you gotta support me whole hog." Regon finally registered under protest, feeling like a coward for not following his conscience. A Baltimore Quaker had set himself on fire outside the Pentagon in 1965, following the example of Buddhist monks in Vietnam.

"We'd be sitting around the table and I would be throwing out my youthful, idealistic solutions—not just to Vietnam—and having them shot down. Dad and Mom would say, 'Did you really consider this or that?' One day out of frustration, I said, 'Well, what are you gonna do about it? If you don't like my ideas, what are you two going to do about it? I don't see you doing shit about it!' "

Krag, 14 at the time, remembers it as a pivotal moment. So does Jolene. "That was a big mark on my consciousness—on his dad's too. I wasn't going to stop the Vietnam War either, but I could learn about things that might influence what was going on in our government."

She was drawn to "that dome" on the hill. Times were changing.

IN 1971 JOHN CHERBERG, Washington's nimble lieutenant governor, didn't need a weatherman to know which way the wind was blowing. Influence-peddling scandals, Vietnam and the Nixon Administration's paranoia heightened public mistrust of government, from city hall to the White House. A bipartisan group of freshmen lawmakers in the Washington State House of Representatives was agitating for open-government legislation.

She's leading two lives

By PETER RINEARSON
Times Olympia Bureau

OLYMPIA — Jolene Unsoeld, self-appointed watchdog of the state's Public Disclosure Commission, dashes as a top citizen lobbyist to the Legislature.

At stumping "for" analyzes legislators' financial disclosures, helping the public and the press make sense of the often bewildering collection of figures.

As citizen lobbyist, she argues for or against proposed legislation, telling lawmakers how a citizen without ties to special-interest groups feels about potential bills.

IN THE TWO roles, Mrs. Unsoeld spends thousands of hours a year. And she gets paid for none of it, because she believes her work is a personal obligation to society.

"My husband supports me and I perform some of our social responsibilities," Mrs. Unsoeld said.

Her husband is Willi Unsoeld, a philosophy professor at The Evergreen State College at Olympia and a noted mountain climber.

Last September, one of their children, Nanda Devi, 22, died in the Himalayas while climbing a mountain after which she was named. The climbing team had included her father.

Mrs. Unsoeld, 44, is preparing to publish the second edition of her book, "Who Gave? How Got? How Much?", an analysis of the contributions given state legislators in their 1970 campaigns.

The edition, like the previous one which examined 1964 campaign contributions, took Mrs. Unsoeld about 2,000 hours to compile. "From July (1970) to March 1, I did little else," she said.

THE BOOK was necessary because no other comprehensive summary of contributions existed, Mrs. Unsoeld said. "A citizen coming in, just looking at the disclosure forms of a candidate from his district, isn't necessarily going to recognize a lot of the contributions."

The new edition shows where the $2,361,756 contributed to legislative candidates come from. It also decodes the names of the major committees which make contributions.

It shows, for instance, that the Fair Campaign Council represents private utilities such as Puget Power and Washington Natural Gas; that the Washington Consumer Finance Association and Political Action Committee represents most small-loan companies, and that the Committee of Reforms, which might be mistaken for a bipartisan political group, actually represents franchised new-car and truck dealers.

Jolene Unsoeld

When not compiling disclosure figures, Mrs. Unsoeld lobbies on behalf of legislation she believes will be good for the public. She often comes face to face with a paid lobbyist for a business or special interest in the legislative hearings.

ALTHOUGH SHE takes her lumps, she frequently wins her point. "It makes a difference just to have two unbiased eyes at a hearing," she said.

Mrs. Unsoeld said she would encourage other citizens to lobby, especially other women who have time. "Dependent women have a unique position to exercise an enormous influence over government at all levels," she said.

But one's effectiveness is equal to the work invested, Mrs. Unsoeld added.

"If you want to change government, you really have to roll up your sleeves and get muddy in it," she said.

"If you're only here briefly, it's pretty darn hard to make a difference, unless you have expertise in an area that separates you from the crowd."

The Seattle Times spotlights the citizen activist.

Cherberg copied the "sunshine" law California had adopted and dropped it in the legislative hopper as an executive request. He soon discovered one size didn't fit all. The lieutenant governor turned to state Rep. Alan Thompson, a savvy, well-liked weekly newspaper publisher from Cowlitz County, to repair the problems and run interference in the House.

Thompson's Senate allies included three fellow newspapermen, Bob Bailey of South Bend, John S. Murray of Seattle and Bruce Wilson from Okanogan County. "We had a very supportive public at that time," remembers another co-sponsor, former state senator Pete Francis of Seattle. "The tide was rolling," he says. "Pretty soon it was at full flood."

The Open Public Meetings Act Governor Evans signed into law in the spring of 1971 features a ringing declaration of intent:

> The people of this state do not yield their sovereignty to the agencies which serve them. The people, in delegating authority, do not give their public servants the right to decide what is good for the people to know and what is not good for them to know. The people insist on remaining informed so that they may retain control over the instruments they have created.*

The Legislature balked, however, at enacting tighter reins on lobbyists and requiring comprehensive disclosure of campaign contributions and expenditures. Proponents had threatened to launch a ballot initiative. They weren't bluffing. That summer, Jolene Unsoeld was one of the founding members of the Coalition for Open Government. "Coalition" was no misnomer. In addition to progressive lawmakers from both parties, it included representatives from the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, the Young Republicans of King County, the Metropolitan Democratic Club, the American Association of University Women, Seattle's Municipal League and the Washington State Council of Churches. "It was a remarkable collection of bright people who believed in government transparency," Jolene remembers. "We held several public meetings. And when we began drafting what became Initiative 276, Bennett Feigenbaum was our chairman and our brains." Feigenbaum, an attorney for Pacific Northwest Bell, was a sparkplug in a dozen civic groups, including the Seattle Urban League and the Washington Environmental Council. A youthful 84 at this writing, Feigenbaum now oversees a dispute resolution practice in New Jersey. "Our adversaries in the Legislature decided the way to combat us was to put two competing initiatives on

* Over the years, many have wondered whether Alan Thompson or one of his confederates wrote the act's eloquent introduction. "Wasn't me," Thompson says. "I think it was just part of the California law." He's right. It was lifted verbatim from California's Bagley-Keene Open Meeting Act of 1967.

the ballot.* A code of ethics was their hallmark, so we amended ours with a code of ethics," Feigenbaum recalls. "And our timing was great." The "Spirit of (2)76" campaign easily collected the signatures needed to secure a place on the ballot.

In the summer of '72, as the coalition planned a full-court-press to win votes come fall, Nixon campaign operatives were caught attempting to bug the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate complex. "Trust and confidence in governmental institutions is at an all-time low," proponents of Initiative 276 observed in the Voters' Pamphlet. "High on the list of causes of this citizen distrust are secrecy in government and the influence of private money on governmental decision making." The next line was the genesis of the title Jolene would choose for her primer on campaign financing: "Initiative 276 requires public disclosure of where campaign money comes from, who gets it and how much." All candidates and campaign committees would be required to make regular, detailed reports of contributions and expenditures. Professional lobbyists would have to register and reveal their terms of employment, their activities subject to monitoring year-round, not just during legislative sessions. All expenditures would need to be itemized. Elected officials and their staffs, who often cranked out campaign propaganda on the office mimeograph machine, were admonished that henceforth expenditures of state funds for lobbying would be prohibited. The initiative also called for strengthening access to public records. A Public Disclosure Commission—the PDC—would be established to administer the act.

Opponents called it "well-intentioned" overkill and a threat to individual privacy. What small-town Chevrolet dealer would make a campaign contribution to the mayor's challenger if he knew it would be "splashed all over" the newspaper? Moreover, the act would encourage "frivolous or acrimonious citizen lawsuits" and discourage many from participating in politics, especially "in low-paying part-time offices" like city

* Covering their bases, senators backing Initiative 276 scrambled to get the minimum reportable donation in a competing referendum lowered from $100 to $25. They prevailed by one vote.

councilman and school board member, foes of I-276 maintained.

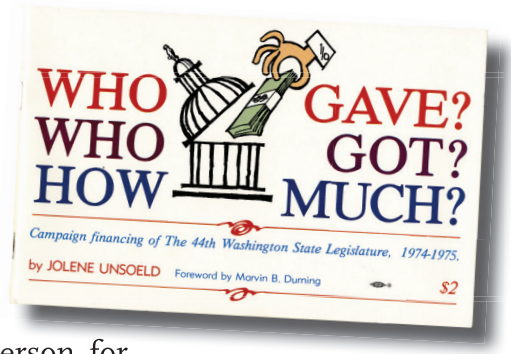
Boeing, Weyerhaeuser, Seattle-First National Bank, Puget Power, Washington Water Power, the Association of Washington Business and the Port of Seattle, "with their deep pockets and wide influence, were all arrayed against us," Jolene remembers. "When 72 percent of the voters backed I-276, it was a great victory, but we spent the next three years fending off the backlash—a series of lawsuits and legislative amendments, more than a hundred in all." The Washington School Directors Association even joined the litigants.

"The tactics of the most truculent lobbyists now turned to arguing for a universal and literal application" of the new law, wrote former state senator George W. Scott, a progressive Seattle Republican with a Ph.D. in History. Their goal was to drown the Public Disclosure Commission before it learned how to even dog paddle. "Jolene gave thousands of hours to improve and protect the Public Disclosure Law—and may have saved it," Scott says, "by being more knowledgeable and believable" than her adversaries. When she appeared before a legislative committee to plead for practicality, she observed that one amendment was "a chocolate-covered cherry cordial, but when I took a bite, someone had left the pit in the cherry."

The skeleton startup staff of Public Disclosure Commission, operating out of a tiny loaned office on the fourth floor of the Insurance Building, was soon struggling with mounds of paperwork. When Jolene offered to help, she was deputized on the spot. They even gave her a key to the office. She often worked late into the night—sometimes until 2 a.m. Willi had built her a cabinet on wheels with portable drawers. She'd fill them up at work and tote them home. As campaign-spending data began to accumulate, Jolene painstakingly indexed and cross-referenced contributions, entering amounts on wide columnar pads and pecking away at her old Underwood. What the media called "Jolene's book" was taking shape. Willi and the kids pitched in whenever she was bleary-eyed. "That was crucial because this was the pre-computer era, and if I ever fell a day behind it was so hard to catch up. Concentration of money

patterns in legislative races began to emerge."

Jolene duly registered as a lobbyist. Asked to state her occupation, she often wrote "Professional meddler, unpaid."



The cover of Jolene's book. *Washington State Library*

She was elected a precinct committee person for the Democrats on Cooper Point, though some were taken aback when she declared her admiration for Governor Evans. "It was kind of symbolic of the way I worked," Jolene remembers with a chuckle. "I got kicked off the board of Common Cause for getting involved in politics. For them you really had to be something like virginal. They weren't recognizing reality. But it actually freed me."

In the parlance of the media, Jolene Unsoeld was "good copy." She was smart, tenacious, refreshingly candid, the wife of a world-famous mountain climber and a mountaineer herself. A most unconventional politician, she flashed her toothy smile for every photo and before long became known as "the conscience of the Washington State Legislature." Critics like Adele Ferguson, the hard-nosed, intensely competitive political writer for *The Bremerton Sun*, groused that Jolene's citizen do-gooder image was shaped by *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reporters as reward for her help in digging through the public disclosure files for juicy stories. The fact is, *Seattle Times* reporters spotlighted her, too. So did KING-TV, Seattle's most influential news station. David Ammons, the even-handed former Olympia reporter for The Associated Press, remembers Unsoeld as "a great resource for the Capitol Press Corps. She was our pipeline to the Coalition for Open Government. Jolene made frequent visits to the Press House to preach the gospel of financial disclosure—campaign spending reports, officeholder personal finances, lobbyist spending and all the rest. It was a new day, quite simply. Jolene knew that the reports were mean-

ingless if no one paid attention to them or had a system of tracking the story. She paved the way by her relentless education of reporters and other government-watchers. Over the past 40 years nothing has changed the state political landscape like Initiative 276," Ammons says.

Jolene's quotes from that era offer evidence of lingering stereotypes even as the women's movement of which she was a part was gaining momentum. "My husband supports me," she told *The Seattle Times*, "and I perform some of our social responsibilities. ...Dependent women are in a unique position to exercise an enormous influence over government at all levels."

THE FIRST EDITION of Jolene's *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* was produced on a copier in the winter of 1974-75. It couldn't be judged by its almost childish, hand-lettered cover. The content was sophisticated analysis. Jolene apologized in advance for any inadvertent errors, "with a keen awareness of the sheer gall required to offer such a report to the public at all. I submit it to you as at least a first approximation of the kind of summary which must be produced in the future if Initiative 276 is eventually to do the job for which it was designed." She had invested 2,000 hours in parsing legislative campaign contributions and gifts during the 1974 election, cross-checking the new Public Disclosure reports filed by the candidates and their largest contributors. The third, fourth and fifth printings of the 50-page booklet were issued only weeks apart and snapped up at $2 a copy. They were now professionally printed, thanks to a donation from Marvin Durning, a Rhodes Scholar who was making his mark in Seattle as an environmental activist. Overall, the evidence was already clear, Durning wrote in a foreword: "Special interest campaign finance money buys influence; special interest campaign finance money finances leadership in both parties; special interest campaign finance money has poisoned the system in Washington State, as elsewhere. ...The workings of 'the system' are now known—it is up to us, the citizens of Washington, to clear it up."

Though the candidates, lobbyists and political-action groups had squinted long and hard over her record-keeping,

the corrections they submitted amounted to barely 0.2 percent of all recorded contributions. On average, incumbent legislators raised a total of $8,199 for their primary and general-election races in 1974; challengers $3,041, while candidates for open seats raised $9,240. Adjusted for their purchasing power in 2015 dollars, those amounts translate to $40,000 for incumbents; $14,600 for challengers, and $44,500 for open-seat aspirants. The dramatically higher reality is footnoted below.*

By 1977, *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* had grown to 82 pages. When it went on sale, the marbled halls of the Capitol looked "like yearbook signing day at Olympia High School," a legislative page quipped. "Everybody's looking for their name and so am I," a lobbyist admitted. Jolene's analysis was now more thorough—and nuanced. Small individual contributions had accounted for less than 17 percent of the total amount raised by legislative candidates in the previous election, she noted. Tellingly:

> In the 1976 general election 1,584,590 votes were cast. Had each of those voters contributed only $1.43 to an election "general fund," the primary and general election for all legislative candidates could have been funded at the 1976 level of $2,265,276. ...
>
> Although no simple relationship can be drawn between campaign contributions and subsequent voting records, it does seem fair to say that all those contributions are not likely to stem from a purely disinterested concern for the success of the democratic process. So-called "special interest" groups do make their contributions with specific

* In 2014, 111 incumbent state legislators raised a total of $17,015,554, or an average of $153,320, according to the Public Disclosure Commission. The 113 challengers raised an average of $46,000, while 39 candidates for 12 open seats raised an average of nearly $99,000. Incumbent members of the House raised an average of $116,859, senators $309,441; House challengers raised an average of $29,865; Senate hopefuls $109,536. Candidates for open House seats raised an average of $78,605, while those seeking open Senate seats raised on average $144,831.

> legislative objectives in mind—which lends weight to public suspicion of "undue influence" being wielded by such groups.
>
> However, we must also be aware of the responsibilities resting upon us—the members of the "general public." We are quick to criticize, but how well do we understand the work-load carried by those we elect? We demand high standards of conduct and performance from elected officials, but we are hostile towards all attempts to provide an adequate and just salary for the services we expect them to perform. We have created a system which simply begs for abuse and we perpetuate it by our shortsighted stinginess and lack of participation. As citizens we receive pretty much what we deserve.

Or, in the immortal words of Pogo the possum, "We have met the enemy and he is us." Forty years later, "it's worse than ever," Jolene says, pointing to the U.S. Supreme Court's 5-4 *Citizens United* ruling in 2010 that corporations have a "free speech" right to make unlimited political contributions. "What we hoped to accomplish in the 1970s was to show the value of motivating more citizens to get involved in the process and make small contributions," Jolene says, brow furrowed.

In a pivotal 2013 race for the Washington State Senate, outside contributors ranging from the National Rifle Association to Planned Parenthood spent a total of nearly $1.8 million. Democrat Nathan Schlicher, the appointed incumbent, and the winner, Republican state Rep. Jan Angel, raised and spent a total of $1.2 million on their own. At nearly $3 million it was the most expensive legislative race in state history.

JOLENE AND WILLI were troubled by the environmental and cost implications of the Washington Public Power Supply System's ambitious nuclear power plant program. They helped organize a movement called Fair Electric Rates Now—

FERN for short—arguing for energy conservation and rates that would reward consumers who used less power. In 1982, FERN's warnings proved prophetic as WPPSS—appropriately pronounced "Whoops"—teetered toward financial meltdown and electric power rates soared all along the West Coast.

Water quality issues were central to Jolene's environmental conscience. She was active in Alternatives for Washington, the bipartisan citizen task force Governor Evans launched after he was elected to a third term in 1972. Jolene lobbied passionately for Evans' plan to eliminate oil tanker traffic on inner Puget Sound. She became increasingly concerned about toxic wastes and untreated sewage.

In 1980 Jolene was elected to the Democratic National Committee by delegates to one of the most tumultuous political party conventions in Washington State history. A large majority of the 1,400 Democrats who assembled in Hoquiam were, like Jolene, opponents of their sitting governor, the volatile, enigmatic Dixy Lee Ray. A marine biologist, Dixy had been happily photographed on the bridge of an Arco oil tanker. U.S. Senator Warren Magnuson, in one of his last hurrahs, brought the crowd to its feet when he denounced her machinations. Ray stalked out in a snit, leaving the floor to the liberals' champion, State Senator Jim McDermott of Seattle, who went on to win the gubernatorial nomination.

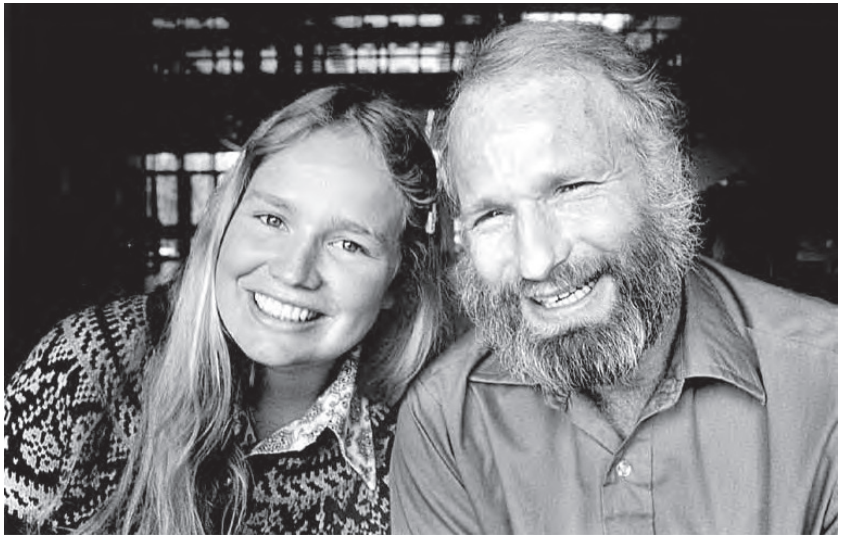
CHAPTER FIVE: BEYOND GRIEF

THERE WAS ANOTHER REASON Jolene worked 16-hour days, always flirting with exhaustion: It was therapeutic. In the space of five years she endured a series of losses so devastating many wondered how she could carry on.

When Jolene's father arrived home from work on Friday, February 1, 1974, her mother was nowhere to be found. Cora Bishoprick's purse was on the table. Nothing seemed amiss. Hampered by darkness, sheriff's deputies searched the riverbank below the Bishoprick home on the outskirts of Vancouver. Cora's body was discovered in the Columbia the next morning, not far from the family boat dock. There were no signs of foul play. The family surmised she slipped on the dock and tumbled into the river, which was running high. Jolene's 60-year-old mother had been a mainstay of the Washington State Republican Women's Club and a member of the Vancouver Historical Society.

In June of 1976, 19-year-old Krag Unsoeld took a bad spill on his bicycle and was in a coma for 22 hours. As he began to recuperate, his father and older sister pushed ahead with their plan to climb Nanda Devi, India's mystical mountain.

Devi Unsoeld, at 22, was a flower child knockout. With sun-bleached tousled hair, apple cheeks and a luminous smile, she was Jolene and Willi rolled into one. On the day she enrolled at Olympia High School, the other teenagers "stared at the wake she left behind." And they would never forget "the day she arrived late for school, pushing her bike through 6 inches of snow in soaking tennis shoes." A strong, experienced climber, Devi had long dreamed of climbing the two-peaked mountain for which she was named. "I can't describe it, but there is something within me about this mountain ever since I was born." Reaching the summit with her father on an expedition designed to minimize disturbance to the environment



Devi and her dad. *Unsoeld family collection*

surely would be a highlight of her life, she said. For his part, Willi emphasized that Devi and 25-year-old Marty Hoey, the second female member of the expedition, were great climbers who would play an important role in putting "the 'hardman' image of mountaineering behind us."

On September 8, 1976, around 1,500 feet from the summit, Devi fell ill and died—likely from a blood clot, Jolene believes. Willi, heartsick, committed her body to her mountain. "Nanda Devi died fulfilling her dream," he said. Losing Devi was like a corkscrew to her heart, but Jolene said, "There are a lot worse ways to go."

DAN EVANS, the second president of The Evergreen State College, remembers March 4, 1979, as one of the saddest days of his life. Together with the college provost, Byron Youtz, and Byron's wife Bernice, he drove to the Unsoeld home. "Jolene opened the door and greeted us with that big smile of hers." In a split second, she read their faces and knew the news was bad. Willi and one of his students had been swallowed by an avalanche on Mount Rainier. William F. Unsoeld, a legend in his own time, was dead at 52, together with 21-year-old Janie Diepenbrock. Twenty other Evergreen students survived. Af-

ter losing Devi, someone asked Willi how he could continue climbing. "What—you want me to die of a heart attack, drinking beer, eating potato chips, and watching a golf tournament on TV?"

At 26, Krag Unsoeld wanted none of that either. In the summer of 1982, he was climbing in the Tetons with a friend when a climber's wedge popped loose from a crevice. He fell 18 feet, landing on his head, and was in critical condition when his mother and brother arrived at a hospital in Salt Lake City. As Krag slowly recuperated, Jolene told reporters she wouldn't be surprised if he returned to the mountains. Nor would she counsel otherwise. "That's not what a parent's supposed to do. It's a parent's prerogative to worry, but they ought not feel they have the right to tell their children how to live their lives. ... Climbing still is not as dangerous as getting in a car and driving 200 miles. But because automobile deaths and injuries are so common, we no longer think as much about them—until they hit home. Mountain climbing deaths are bigger news."

Whenever a climber died, Jolene seemed to be on every reporter's speed dial. "How do you explain it to someone who doesn't feel it?" she said. "Life is not meant to be wrapped in a cocoon of total safety. It's only by stretching our limits that we as human beings grow."

Sitting at the dining room table in her Cooper Point home—surrounded by photos, paintings and mementoes—Jolene gazes out through a cluster of towering trees. Eld Inlet is rippled and gray on a drizzly March day. Devi and Willi have been gone for 40 years. It hardly seems possible—especially to think of Devi being 61. She's forever young. "With both of their deaths I was so immersed in the political stuff that I didn't have much time to think about lots of things. The projects I was working on were so time consuming—monitoring all those public disclosure reports. I also think learning to live beyond grief toughened me up for running for office."

IN 1984, Jolene took the plunge. With solid backing from the Democratic Party and an admiring press, she easily defeated Republican Jim Wright, a Port of Olympia commissioner, to

win an open 22nd District seat in the Washington State House of Representatives. While Wright emphasized his commitment to cleaning up Puget Sound, Jolene's environmental bona fides were more compelling to Thurston County's increasingly liberal voters. "We haven't inherited this earth from our ancestors," Jolene said. "We've borrowed it from our children. They are entitled to what's fair—not just what's left."

Jolene as a legislator.
Kathy Quigg/The Daily World

Jolene's seatmate was future Lands Commissioner Jennifer Belcher, an ambitious, forceful politician who had been an aide to Dan Evans and Dixy Lee Ray. They shared many environmental goals, including Growth Management, as well as the push for "comparable worth" pay equality for women in state government.

"Jolene arrived in the Legislature as kind of a princess, and I don't mean that disparagingly," says Dan Grimm, the Puyallup Democrat who was chairman of the House Ways & Means Committee. "She was an open government person who had played a key role in establishing the PDC; she was Willi's widow. ... But when it came to the give and take and the mud and the blood and the beer associated with politics she wasn't a good fit, especially in the beginning. Having said that, she was a good trouper; she didn't pout or throw fits and always had the best of intentions." Alan Thompson, who had moved to the State Senate in 1982, says some expected her to be a force of nature. "She was more like a breeze."

"I had a lot to learn," Jolene acknowledges. She was surrounded by old hands, other promising newcomers and strong personalities. The Speaker of the House was Wayne Ehlers, a savvy, fair-minded Democrat from Pierce County. Rep. Joe

King, a lanky insurance man from Vancouver, was the ambitious new majority leader. His predecessor, 33-year-old Denny Heck, was now chief clerk of the House and a confidant of Booth Gardner, the ebullient new governor. Helen Sommers, the veteran legislator who served on Ways & Means and became Appropriations chairwoman, was an intimidatingly bright Democrat from Seattle. Lorraine Hine, a relative newcomer from Des Moines, was a rising star for the House Democrats. Future governor Gary Locke, the grandson of an Olympia houseboy, was beginning his second term in the Legislature. Of the 147 legislators, only 35 were women, 23.8 percent. But that was far higher than the national average, 14.8 percent.* Washington's female lawmakers had clout beyond their numbers because they were so bright and politically adroit. Sommers had a master's degree in Economics. Jeannette Hayner, a shrewd lawyer from Walla Walla, was the formidable GOP leader in the state Senate.

Jolene became vice-chairman of the House Environmental Affairs Committee, headed by the like-minded Nancy Rust of Seattle, another former member of the League of Women Voters. Unsoeld would also serve on the Higher Education and Energy & Utilities committees during her four years in the Washington State Legislature. Her successes included tougher waste-water discharge standards; enhanced worker safety rules, especially with regard to radiation; a comprehensive management program for the Nisqually River system; acid rain legislation and a ban on smoking in many public places. Jolene emerged as a champion of the community college system and was a co-sponsor of Speaker Ehlers' push for an independent commission to review and set the salaries of legislators, statewide elected officials and all judges.

Jolene also cast gun-control votes that would come back to haunt her. In the 1985 session, her first, she was among a

* By 2015 the national average had climbed to 24.4 percent. In Washington State that year, 49 of the 147 members of the Washington Legislature were women, 33.3 percent. The peak year to date in Washington State was 40.8 percent in 1996 and 1999. Future U.S. Senators Maria Cantwell and Patty Murray arrived in the Legislature in 1987 and 1989 respectively.

handful of House members who opposed a Senate bill backed by the National Rifle Association. SB 3450, which became law, blocked local governments from enacting more restrictive gun-control laws. In the 1988 session, her last in the Legislature, Jolene voted twice for House Bill 1845, which allows law enforcement to revoke concealed-weapons permits for anyone convicted of carrying a handgun while under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Jolene had been an early backer of the 1986 referendum asking voters if they opposed allowing Hanford to become the national high-level nuclear-waste repository. A resounding 82 percent did. And Jolene won a second term with nearly 66 percent of the vote.

UNSOELD'S SIGNATURE achievement as an activist state legislator was helping spearhead voter passage of a Model Toxics Control Act—a state "Superfund" hazardous waste cleanup plan. Jolene's key allies were Nancy Rust, state Senator Janice Niemi, Seattle attorney Rod Brown, David Bricklin, president of the Washington Environmental Council, and Nancy Pearson of the League of Women Voters.

Early on, as the battle unfolded in the Legislature, Jolene found herself in closed-door combat with some of the finest legal talent in the Northwest. Big oil, Boeing, Kaiser Aluminum, the timber companies and asphalt manufacturers backed legislation that was weaker than the environmentalist-backed toxic waste tax, seven-tenths of a percent on hazardous substances. Joe King, who in 1987 had succeeded Ehlers as speaker, squashed one watered-down bill.

"For some reason, Joe trusted me to meet with those corporate lobbyists," Jolene recalls. "That someone would have so much confidence in me when I didn't have a whole lot of legislative experience almost makes me cry. We tried to come up with legislation to create a funding mechanism they could swallow—one that would create a toxic cleanup fund that would especially benefit smaller communities that lacked the money to deal with spills and hazardous waste sites. If we could work out a reasonable deal, there would be no need for an initiative

to the voters. But they fiddled and diddled around with me for a long time and didn't believe Joe wouldn't back down."

King remembers that in the middle of "a pretty tense caucus," Unsoeld was never strident. "Jolene, the citizen activist, was used to battling through press releases and calls to action to her activist base. Jolene, the legislator, learned that her opponents weren't abstractions—weren't really boogie men, but flesh and blood folks with whom she would have to work the next day on another issue. I remember the entire leadership being grateful for her learning curve, for her grace and basic civility," King says.

The statewide ballot in 1988 featured dueling toxic-waste proposals. Initiative 97 was backed by the environmental/civic group coalition; 97B was the alternative approved by the Legislature in a special one-day session when it was clear initiative backers had the momentum to gather enough signatures to qualify for the ballot.

Sheri Tonn, a chemistry professor who strongly supported I-97, marveled that Jolene "could take the technical stuff and ...make it more understandable on a political level. She was masterful at that." The grass-roots campaign for I-97 was reminiscent of the groundswell of support for a Public Disclosure Commission 16 years earlier. The Sierra Club and other environmental groups joined the League of Women Voters, the State Labor Council and the Church Council of Greater Seattle to push for passage of a robust toxic waste cleanup law. Unsoeld was part of a speakers' bureau that pointed to public-health catastrophes around the nation. "Washington is the second worst state west of the Mississippi for hazardous waste sites," they charged. "Seeping landfills, pesticides and petroleum products can cause cancer and birth defects."

Outspent 4 to 1 as major oil companies "poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into 97B to protect a tax exemption," initiative supporters nevertheless prevailed on Election Day. Fifty-six percent of the voters chose I-97 over the legislative alternative.

The fight over toxic-waste legislation italicized the strong feelings Unsoeld engendered. State Senator Ray Moore, a

flinty old Democrat from Seattle, huffed that she "caused more problems than she solved."

"People who like her, like her a whole lot. People who don't like her, don't like her a whole lot," Joe King would say.

And now she was running for Congress.

CHAPTER SIX: EMILY ARRIVES

IN THE FALL of 1987 an Amtrak passenger was deposited in the middle of what seemed like nowhere. Olympia's only railroad "station" was little more than a lean-to miles from the Capitol. The visitor from California was shocked and befuddled. "She knocked on somebody's door and asked if she could use the phone to call me," Jolene remembers, laughing at the memory. "That was my introduction to EMILY's List."

Jolene's visitor was not named Emily. In fact, there is no Emily. It's an acronym for Early Money Is Like Yeast, which "makes the dough rise." Founded two years earlier by IBM heiress Ellen Malcolm, a stalwart of the National Women's Political Caucus, EMILY's List was created to recruit pro-choice Democratic women to run for office. In 1986, with a boost from EMILY's List donors, Barbara Mikulski of Maryland became the first female Democrat elected to the U.S. Senate in her own right.

When U.S. Senator Dan Evans balked at enduring "another six years of frustrating gridlock," he created the state's first wide open U.S. Senate race since 1944. Don Bonker, the seven-term Democratic congressman from Vancouver, jumped at the chance. The 3rd District seat in Congress was now in play. EMILY's List urged Jolene to go for it. "I was not very good at raising money," Jolene says, shaking her head. "I hate asking for money. It's just horrible, so EMILY's List was crucial to my campaign." They even hired a pollster to help her shape her message. The first infusion of cash paid for radio ads during the primary election battle. John McKibbin, a handsome Clark County Commissioner, was her main challenger for the Democratic nomination. Despite being the Chamber of Commerce candidate ("Jolene isn't anti-business—she hates business," potential McKibben donors were told) McKibben never caught fire. Jolene won the endorsement of the State

Jolene campaigns outside the Weyerhaeuser pulp mill on Grays Harbor. *Brian DalBalcon/The Daily World*

Labor Council and nearly 40 percent of the vote in a five-candidate field, advancing easily to the general election. That's when the going got tough. They accused her of promoting her congressional campaign through her legislative office by sending out bulk mailings that "coincidentally dealt with federal issues." They said the "Miss Purity" who had lobbied for campaign finance reform was now raking in money from liberal female supporters around the nation.

The 3rd District Republican nominee in 1988 was Bill Wight, a clean-cut West Pointer. Wight had served with distinction in Vietnam and went on to work on Capitol Hill as the legislative liaison for Reagan's "Star Wars" defense initiative. His no-new-taxes platform emphasized "traditional American values" and a "common-sense balance" on environmental issues. The debate over endangered species protection for the Northern Spotted Owl was raging in courtrooms and on the streets of the 3rd District's timber towns. Wight echoed McKibbin's charge that Unsoeld was "an environmental extremist." When Weyerhaeuser announced it was laying off 250 sawmill workers in Longview, Jolene reiterated her call for a permanent ban on raw log exports from federal lands—a position Wight branded "knee-jerk" and unfair to longshoremen. She called him "a right-wing extremist" for supporting Reagan's "morally repugnant" veto of an anti-discrimination act Wight maintained was constitutionally flawed. As late September drizzled into mid-October, the campaign mirrored the fear and loathing unfolding nationally between Bush and Dukakis.

The $75,000 Jolene received from EMILY's List donors

helped fund TV ads that spotlighted the hazardous waste initiative and her support for a higher minimum wage and early-childhood education. She denounced Wight as a carpet-bagging "tool of the Pentagon." Wight's spots, crafted with advice from GOP media guru Roger Ailes, hammered her as a bleeding heart liberal out of touch with working folks. *The Seattle Times* and the majority of the newspaper editorial boards in the district agreed. The last vestiges of Jolene's political virginity disappeared when Dan Evans, a Republican after all, gave Wight a boost down the stretch, lamenting that Jolene had chosen to "associate herself with extreme left-wing organizations." That was the low point, Jolene says. And Evans would have misgivings of his own about super-heated rhetoric. It was one of the reasons he was leaving Congress.

Jolene with her predecessor, Don Bonker. He narrowly lost to Mike Lowry in the U.S. Senate primary while Jolene squeaked to victory in November. *Unsoeld family collection*

Toughening up, Jolene kept piloting her vanilla-white Honda hatchback from town to town, usually all by herself. In Napavine, pop. 700, a burg in conservative Lewis County, she commiserated with a Republican grocer who lamented that times were so tough school levies kept failing. "We need more women," the grocer said. "Women are more caring." Jolene nodded emphatically and headed down the road. She was nice, the grocer told the reporter who'd been listening in, but she still planned to vote for Wight. "She won't win because she's a woman. She'll be eaten alive." Only in Lewis County. It was close everywhere else.

On election night, the crowd at Unsoeld's headquarters chanted "JO-LENE! JO-LENE! JO-LENE!" as her daughter Terres played cheerleader. "Does anything worthwhile in this life come easy?" Jolene declared. But not so fast. It was so close a recount was mandatory. National caucus attorneys for both parties and EMILY's List representatives hovered as the ballots were double checked. Five weeks after Election Day, Jolene Unsoeld was certified the winner by 618 votes out of 218,200 cast.* It was the closest House race of 1988.

FOR HER CHIEF OF STAFF Jolene hired Dan Evans, a sharp young attorney who was also an old hand on Capitol Hill. No relation to the former governor and senator, Evans had been one of Don Bonker's top aides for 10 years. Evans and Unsoeld clicked from the get-go. He had an undergraduate degree in environmental studies and a sense of adventure, although he was unprepared for her spontaneity. "We agreed that we were going to maintain a very disciplined track, focusing on natural resources and education," Evans remembers. "She was the most endangered member of the House after that 618-vote 'mandate.' And we had all these heavy-hitter politicos from EMILY's List and the National Women's Political Caucus looking over our shoulders saying, 'Be careful what you sponsor, Jolene.' We all knew she was strongly for gay rights and that it would be near-suicide to step out in front on that issue. 'Maybe in your second or third term,' we all said. What happened next is classic Jolene. Just after being sworn in, she was approached by Ted Weiss of New York, the most liberal member of Congress. He asks her to co-sponsor his gay rights bill. Which of course she does. Then she comes running back to the office, calls me in, closes the door and says, 'Dan I couldn't say no!'

* EMILY's List had helped elect two new Democratic women to Congress—Unsoeld and Nita Lowey of New York—and boosted nine incumbents to re-election, raising nearly $1 million in its third year. "Most importantly, we had reversed the historic decline of Democratic women in Congress," Ellen Malcolm wrote. In 1989, "fourteen Democratic women were now taking their seats in Congress, the highest number ever." By 2016, EMILY's List had raised $400 million for favored candidates, 800 of whom were victorious. It now has 3 million donors.

All the blood rushed out of my face and I blurted out, 'Oh no!' In short order there was a mailing going out declaring that Jolene Unsoeld's first act as a member of Congress was to sign onto a gay rights bill. We weathered the storm, obviously, but that decision was fearless, direct Jolene."

Staying on track was not the easiest thing to do "when Jolene wanted us to solve every problem in the world," Evans says, laughing at the memory. He did double-duty as her chief of staff and legislative director. "She would gallop around with her two bags under her arms—her mobile office. She'd grab me and we would literally run down the hallways to one office or another. I realized that she was an irresistible force who was going to track people down and make them do what she wanted them to do."

IN THE 101st CONGRESS, Jolene joined a diverse Washington State delegation: six Democrats and four Republicans. She and Jim McDermott of Seattle, the other House freshman, were the most liberal by far. Majority Leader Tom Foley of Spokane, Norm Dicks of Bremerton and Al Swift of Bellingham were classic Jackson/Magnuson Democrats. Of the three Republicans in the House, John Miller of Seattle was a prototypical urban progressive; Rod Chandler, from suburban King County, was a mainstream Evans man, and Sid Morrison, from a Yakima County orchard town, was an Eisenhower moderate. Slade Gorton, who had narrowly lost his Senate seat to Brock Adams two years earlier, was back, having defeated Seattle Congressman Mike Lowry for the open Senate seat. Critics styled Gorton as a Movement Conservative even though he had reduced Ronald Reagan to near rage more than once. Adams, hailed early in his career as "the young prince of politics," was a Kennedyesque figure with matching baggage.

"I was the only woman and pretty green," Jolene remembers. "I was cowed by Slade just because he exudes being very Republican—and intellectual. But they were all supportive, regardless of party." The delegation met monthly over breakfast in the Senate Dining Room. "There was always some joshing over party politics," Gorton says, "but we focused on bipartisan

Jolene with five strong supporters: Governor Booth Gardner, Don Bonker, Tom Foley, Norm Dicks and Al Swift. *Unsoeld family collection*

issues that were good for our state." To Gorton, Jolene always seemed more like the perennial citizen activist than a member of Congress. Cocktail party fundraisers, black-tie galas and the capital's Kabuki rituals struck her as pretentious. Political reporters and editors back home in the other Washington knew that if the phone rang at 11 p.m., sometimes past midnight, it was probably Jolene. It was three hours later on Capitol Hill, yet she was still at it, having long since shooed home her young staff.

That June, Tom Foley became speaker of the House after Jim Wright of Texas resigned in the middle of an ethics investigation sparked by Newt Gingrich, the crafty minority whip. Foley was the antithesis of Gingrich, Jolene says, her disdain for the Georgia Republican palpable. She respected Foley's civility and relished his advice. First elected to the House in 1964, Foley was tall, well-read, almost patrician, never a backslapper. "Tom worked for a sense of coalition in our delegation and hoped to instill that same sort of consensus-building rapport for the whole House," Jolene remembers. "He was perhaps too much a gentleman. It wasn't in his inner self to have

to do some of the things he had to do when the atmosphere turned poisonous. He was always kind and patient with me, even though he was very busy." It was also fun and instructive to be around Norm Dicks. "Here's this big football player kind of guy who had worked for Senator Magnuson and knew all the ropes after 12 years in Congress."

HER COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS—Merchant Marine & Fisheries, Education & Labor, and the House Select Committee on Aging—were a perfect fit for a freshman from a district with major ports, commercial and sport fisheries, an embattled forest products industry, five community colleges, two four-year schools, old-guard unions and an aging population with growing health-care needs.

Jolene was already aware that Japanese, South Korean and Taiwanese commercial fishermen were deploying deep-sea driftnets that depleted already endangered U.S. salmon and steelhead runs in the North Pacific. As she immersed herself in Fisheries Committee work, she was outraged to learn some of the Japanese nets were nearly 50 miles long. Ostensibly targeting squid, an Asian-table delicacy, the nets reached 50 feet deep and indiscriminately entangled all manner of marine life. "The numbers were staggering," Jolene says. "They were stealing $21 million worth of our salmon every year. And the international economic implications were even more dramatic." The driftnets were threatening the albacore tuna fishery crucial to the economies of Australia, New Zealand and South Pacific Island nations, including the Solomon Islands.

Unsoeld and Oregon Democrat Peter DeFazio found Republican allies in Congressman Miller and Alaska Senator Frank Murkowski. Billy Frank, the chairman of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, emerged as an eloquent supporter as they pushed for a United Nations driftnet moratorium.

As Unsoeld and Evans prepared for a trip to Japan with GLOBE—Global Legislators Organized for a Balanced Environment—a report by the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service offered a compelling snapshot of the driftnet toll. In 1990,

10 percent of Japan's 450-vessel driftnet fleet in the North Pacific had alone killed 1,758 whales and dolphins, 253,288 tuna, 81,956 blue sharks and 30,464 sea birds. The nets also intercepted "more than 3 million other noncommercial fish, including some salmon tagged from hatcheries in the Columbia River basin." U.S. agencies had no firm statistics on the Korean and Taiwanese driftnet fleets, estimated to total 300 vessels. "It's safe to say that removing the driftnets would be the single most important thing we could do to increase salmon in our rivers," Unsoeld said at the time.

By happy coincidence, Evans had a friend who knew the Japanese fisheries minister. "The Japanese rolled out the red carpet for the delegation, so we had some cachet," Evans remembers. "We were able to secure a meeting with him on short notice. I knew he spoke English but he still had an interpreter." Teetering on the edge of unbridled indignation, Jolene somehow managed to remain respectful. Evans suppressed a shudder when she concluded, "We are going to take this up with the U.N. and get sanctions if you do not stop driftnet fishing!" The fisheries minister was listening to his translator with one ear and absorbing blunt English with the other. "I loved watching this guy's face," Evans says. "He bristled a bit, but mostly maintained an inscrutable perma-scowl. We left not knowing if we had penetrated at all. Two months later the Japanese unilaterally bought out their entire driftnet fleet. I'm not saying it was because Jolene read him the riot act, but for me that meeting was an absolutely clear demonstration of her energy and persistence."

Enforcement of the U.N. resolution passed in 1991 was another matter.

The movement gained more bipartisan steam that year when Slade Gorton—a member of the famous seafood fishing family—teamed with GOP colleagues Bob Packwood of Oregon and Ted Stevens of Alaska to push a moratorium enforcement act through the Senate. Though the U.N. also adopted a stronger moratorium resolution of its own, Jolene worried that the violators would "try to wriggle free," as one commentator put it, and that the Bush Administration would be reluctant to

impose sanctions on its Pacific Rim trade partners. The maze of treaties and pacts governing exclusive catch zones, coupled with the difficulties of policing the high seas and making penalties stick, was tricky calculus. When Taiwan promised to comply with the U.N. ban, Unsoeld and Miller welcomed the news, but pointed to broken promises. "Now is the time to step up the pressure" on Korea and Japan, Jolene said, "not breathe a sigh of relief." She visited Japan, warning its fisheries director that she would push for harsher sanctions, including rescinded port privileges, if the practice continued. Japan agreed to cease drift-netting in the North Pacific by the end of 1992. Jolene and her staff also succeeded in their drive to amend the Driftnet Fisheries Enforcement Act to give the U.S. more leeway to push environmental initiatives through the GATT trade agreement.*

The high seas "curtains of death" were a major focus of Unsoeld's six years in Congress. They worry her still, given that the nylon nets, lost in stormy seas or intentionally abandoned, still cause untold ecological damage.

* The worldwide driftnet ban advocated by Greenpeace was adopted in 1992. To what effect is debatable. Driftnet use in European waters remains an especially contentious issue.

Chapter Seven: Fear in the air

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS historically are most vulnerable the first time they seek re-election. When the 1990 campaign got under way Jolene appeared to be as endangered as the spotted owl, having won by an eyelash two years earlier. "Witch!" one heckler shouted when she arrived at a timber worker rally. "There is fear in the air," said Lynn Kessler, the United Way director in Grays Harbor County, pointing to one estimate that 25,000 timber industry jobs might evaporate within five years. By fall, Unsoeld would be at odds not just with loggers and longshoremen, but with evangelical Christians, President Bush and Jim and Sarah Brady of Handgun Control Inc. Perhaps worst of all, philosophically, she was being forced to raise and spend what she agreed was "an obscene amount of money."

Jolene fields a tough question at a press conference on Grays Harbor. *Kathy Quigg/The Daily World*

On April 28 in Hoquiam, a Logger Solidarity event at high noon on a busy Saturday blockaded the main highway bridge to the ocean beaches and Olympic Peninsula. Many in the crowd of 4,000 wore "Dump Jolene" stickers. A month later, she made a surprise appearance at a Kelso rally that drew loggers and truckers from five states. A cavalcade of log trucks, their horns blaring, stretched five miles along Interstate 5. "I came here because I care," Jolene declared to a chorus of boos. Unsoeld's opponent,

Bob Williams, a former Republican lawmaker from Longview, had drawn cheers when he declared that with 4.2 million acres of old-growth forest already off limits to logging, the enviros wanted to "save nature by putting it in a museum."

Without alerting her staff, Jolene made a last-minute decision to attend what turned out to be an even more hostile rally after the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service officially listed the Spotted Owl as "threatened" under the Endangered Species Act. "If they were going to jeer me, so be it, but I was going to say what I needed to say: that I was not the enemy; that my grandfather and father were timber men; that I stood for sustainable forestry practices and curtailment of raw log exports, which were stealing American jobs while timber companies received subsidies. If we could help Weyerhaeuser boost its profits, the least we could do for the workers losing their jobs was give them federal assistance to train for new careers." As she was introduced and stepped to the microphone, "a sea" of angry people pushed forward menacingly. She managed to say a few words before sheriff's deputies cleared a path for her to safely depart. "I felt threatened," she remembers, "but so did those people. Their livelihoods were endangered. Things were never going to be the same."

Clover Lockard, Jolene's astute district coordinator, looked pensive when a newsman spotted her standing alongside a busy Aberdeen street a few months later. Many of the shingled houses along the thoroughfare bore stenciled signs that said "This Family Supported by Timber Dollars." Lacking a mobile phone, Lockard was hoping to intercept her congresswoman to warn of trouble a few blocks ahead: Sign-waving protesters were awaiting Unsoeld's appearance at the Woodworkers' union hall. Jolene pulled over when she spotted Lockard. Duly warned, she pushed ahead, wading into their midst and listening intently to the grievances. Her gumption and civility won her some points. Some even nodded when she said, "Nobody who knows anything about the forest believes we can continue cutting the way we have."

The controversial Uncle Sam billboard along I-5 in Lewis County castigated Jolene. *Unsoeld family collection*

That summer, when Saddam Hussein brazenly annexed Kuwait, President Bush vowed it might mean war if U.S. sanctions failed to produce an Iraqi withdrawal. Brock Adams, Jim McDermott and Unsoeld were among Bush's harshest critics. Jolene warned that if the U.S. failed to exhaust all alternatives to war it would be remembered "as a country that threw away the lessons of Vietnam" and became ensnared in a bloody conflict "to make the world safe for cheap American gasoline and Mercedes-driving sheiks." When she voted against a constitutional amendment to criminalize flag burning, the Republicans had another new sound bite to style her as a pluperfect liberal, though it was inconvenient for the Williams camp that Bush had signed her log export ban.

BOBBY WILLIAMS' DETRACTORS called him a "gadfly" and snickered at his real first name—Gomer. His resume told a different story. Williams was a Certified Public Accountant with a business degree from Penn State University. He had served in the Army as an Airborne-qualified officer and was an auditor at the Pentagon before joining Weyerhaeuser as a financial analyst. Boyishly earnest, Williams was also whip-smart. He could parse a complicated state budget in under an hour. When he was the top House Republican on the Ways & Means Com-

mittee, reporters knew they could count on his numbers. In 1988, Williams' army of "family values" Republicans propelled him to the GOP nomination against Governor Booth Gardner. Williams was a happy yet unpersuasive warrior in his rumpled raincoat, and no match for the wealthy, charismatic Gardner, who rolled to re-election with 62 percent of the vote.

But Jolene Unsoeld was no Booth Gardner. Moreover, Williams had represented a sizable portion of the 3rd Congressional District during his 10 years in the Legislature. Given Unsoeld's tribulations, the National GOP Congressional Committee smelled blood. The Republicans hadn't won a 3rd District congressional race since 1958.

After Williams did poorly in the primary, J. Vander Stoep, a politically savvy young lawyer, reluctantly took a good-soldier leave of absence from Slade Gorton's senatorial staff to energize the Williams campaign. Elected to the Legislature from Lewis County at 23, Vander Stoep was a forceful, well-organized campaigner. They hammered Unsoeld as a radical environmentalist, way too liberal for her district and ineffective to boot. "It's the loggers who got her elected, and she hasn't done anything for them," Williams charged. Vice President Dan Quayle jetted in for a Williams fundraiser. Jolene had EMILY's List, Tom Foley and Joe King in her corner—as well as Robert Redford, whose film company had commissioned two screenplays about Willi. The downside for Jolene was that being endorsed by a Hollywood environmentalist reinforced the "enviro" stereotype. That she was also fiercely pro-choice, anti-death penalty and a gay rights supporter was more ammo for the Williams campaign. However, they were still playing catch-up.

Then, a month from Election Day, Jolene appeared to have shot herself in the foot.

In a move gun-control advocates characterized as a desperate, cynical sell-out to the National Rifle Association, Unsoeld came to the aid of America's assault-rifle makers. She championed an amendment to neuter an omnibus anti-crime bill banning domestic production and sale of semi-automatic assault rifles manufactured from imported parts. Her amend-

ment would allow U.S. manufacturers to continue producing AK-47 and Uzi look-alikes if the parts were American-made.

Jim Brady, the former White House press secretary who took a bullet intended for Ronald Reagan, propelled his wheelchair down the halls of Congress, his chain-smoking wife Sarah at a near trot alongside. They were the nation's foremost gun-control advocates. "Trying to talk reason to the NRA is like barking up a dead dog's butt," Jim Brady liked to say. Money being the mother's milk of politics, especially in an election year, the Bradys' endgame strategy was transparent. They had sent a letter to Jolene's campaign contributors, urging them to lean on her. During a face-to-face, things quickly turned stormy as two strong-willed women collided head on. Sarah Brady threatened dire consequences if Unsoeld and Tom Foley, a onetime NRA Person of the Month, continued their "unconscionable" coddling of the gun lobby. Anyone with the slightest understanding of what made Jolene tick could have warned the Bradys that this strategy was calculated to make her even more determined to go her own way.

To the glee of the NRA and a firestorm of contempt from the left, the Unsoeld amendment passed the House 257 to 172. "We always accept battlefield conversions," an NRA strategist said with a satisfied smile.

Though music to the ears of the hunters in her neck of the woods, what Jolene said in defense of her stand outraged gun-control advocates: "I have no desire to own a gun, but I know sportsmen who are deeply responsive to a finely crafted mechanism. To them, a great firearm is a work of art—a masterpiece." A collector with different tastes might covet a Picasso with the same passion, Jolene advanced, adding that freedom of speech and the right to keep and bear arms have much in common. In her view, legitimate collectors should have the right to own any weapons they wanted, even machineguns, bazookas and anti-tank weapons. However, she wasn't proposing that. Her amendment did nothing to alter the laws restricting sales of such weapons, she said, noting that some people are offended by certain words, others by the desire to own certain types of weapons. It was all part of the price of

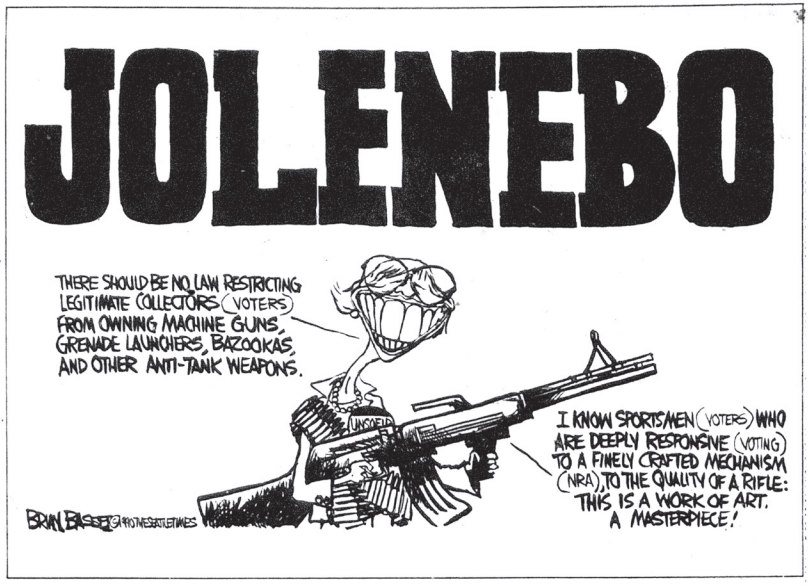
constitutionally protected freedom. Further, Unsoeld argued that if the assault weapon ban stayed in the crime bill it could doom the entire package, including her proposal to allocate $15 million in federal funds for local police departments to offer school anti-drug programs. As for the Brady Bill, which advocated a seven-day waiting period for handgun purchases to facilitate background checks, Jolene said she was convinced it wouldn't deter determined criminals.

Editorial writers and cartoonists opened fire. Brian Basset of *The Seattle Times* depicted her as a grinning "Jolenebo," wielding an assault rifle, bandolier over a shoulder. *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, heretofore a staunch supporter, denounced her "work of art" analogy as "both laughable and pathetic." Another critic said she was "flip-flopping more than a decapitated chicken."

"It is not true that I flip-flopped," she insisted during a long interview with a reporter she trusted, David Ammons of the AP's Olympia bureau. Well, how about those gun-control votes in 1985 when she was a state legislator? It wasn't that black and white, she said. "Has there been some evolution of my views [on the Second Amendment]? Yes. I have learned from my constituents. I'm not in favor of taking people's guns away."

All these years later, Jolene is still indignant over Sarah Brady's charge that she "sold her political soul" to the NRA in return for the $4,950 campaign contribution that arrived the day after her amendment passed in the House. "That was preposterous!" she says, eyes flashing. She had raised more than a million dollars and was still leading in the polls, "so that check from the NRA amounted to a drop in the bucket, and the gun-rights controversy caused me problems all out of proportion to the value of the donation. When I said my views had evolved it was the truth."

Jolene's father had taught her how to handle a rifle when she was a girl. "His guns meant a lot to him," she remembers. "They were beautiful guns. He made sure they were safely stored. He'd clean them and test them to make sure they were still aiming properly."



Brian Basset skewers Jolene in *The Seattle Times*.

Her gun-rights mentor as the issue heated up was Lewis County Sheriff Bill Logan, a Democrat so likable and honest that he had won the confidence of voters in one of the state's most reliably Republican counties.

"I need to show you something," the sheriff remembers telling Jolene during a coffee break at one of her town hall meetings at the Courthouse annex. "I took her up to my office where I had the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence in a big frame and a sign that said, 'The cost of freedom is eternal vigilance.' There were probably 30 rifles on the wall, including a rare Charleville musket brought over from France during the Revolutionary War. I took the Charleville off the wall, put it in her hands and told her it was held by a member of our Continental Army when we fought the British for our freedom. I could see that it made quite an impression her." Jolene remembers the moment, too. "I had asked Bill for advice on the gun rights issue, and what he said resonated with me: 'Responsible use of firearms is protected in our Constitution.' When he put it that way, I realized that protecting the freedom to own and responsibly use firearms was like protecting free-

dom of speech or a woman's right to reproductive choice."

The Gun Owners of America still gave her a "D"—and Williams an "A." The Bradys said a liberal Democratic woman was "the perfect foil for the NRA" and opened fire with a series of controversial radio ads in the 3rd District. One declared:

> You know the definition of a Washington, D.C., politician: Someone who takes a stand but then sells out to a special interest—for money. That's what happened to your Representative Jolene Unsoeld. She had a visit from some assault-weapon lobbyists. She pocketed thousands of dollars in gun-PAC money. In return, Jolene Unsoeld sponsored the assault-weapon lobby's bill to protect the manufacture of AK-47s right here in the U.S. The AK-47s used in the Stockton-schoolyard massacre. The AK-47s drug dealers and hate groups want. Your representative, Jolene Unsoeld. Now just another Washington, D.C., politician.

The NRA countered with $38,000 worth of radio ads for Unsoeld, charging that "Easterners" were "viciously attacking our congresswoman ...because she stands for our interests, our values, our way of life." Jolene campaigned tirelessly. "They are questioning my integrity," she said, face flushed with anger. Vander Stoep called the election "a referendum on a single question: Can a politician abandon longtime positions for political expediency and get away with it?"

On Election Night, a disappointed but unsurprised Williams asserted the answer was "Yes." Jolene dodged a bullet with surprising ease. She rolled up large margins in Thurston, Grays Harbor and Pacific counties and even narrowly outpolled Williams in Cowlitz and Clark counties to win a second term with nearly 54 percent of the vote. "I hope this indicates the people just aren't willing to swallow the kind of garbage that got thrown in this campaign," said a jubilant Jolene. The irony was that the

Jolene exults on Election Night 1990. After a fraught campaign, she had won re-election with 54 percent of the vote against Bob Williams.
Kathy Quigg/The Daily World

author of *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* had participated in what was then the most expensive congressional race in state history. She and Williams raised and spent a total of nearly $2 million. Jolene's contributions topped his by nearly $368,000.*

Democrats gained only seven seats in the House and one in the Senate, a mediocre result for a mid-term election. The president's party usually fares far worse. George H.W. Bush, who had broken his "Read my lips: No new taxes" pledge, had a lot of problems on his plate, including a recession at home and a crisis in Kuwait. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich professed to be chastened by his photo-finish victory in his Georgia district. Vermont sent a socialist named Bernie Sanders to the House.

WHEN THE 102nd Congress convened, war was in the air. Unsoeld, exhilarated by her re-election, was more confident and outspoken.

* Unsoeld spent $1,171,663, Williams $804,011. Unsoeld's total included $125,000 from EMILY's List.

On January 12, 1991, after three days of impassioned debate that saw both sides point to the lessons of Vietnam, Congress authorized Bush to use military force to expel Iraq from Kuwait. "War is not a simple righting of wrongs," Jolene argued. "It is about tears and pain. It is about lost arms and legs. It is about paralyzed bodies lying inert in already overwhelmed veterans' hospitals. It is about shattered dreams and shattered families and children losing their mothers and fathers. It is about sending America's children to kill and be killed." She was transfixed by CNN as an American-led coalition of warplanes attacked Baghdad. This was war live and in color. By mid-February, with Saddam Hussein's troops in retreat, Jolene, Jim McDermott, Nancy Pelosi and Bernie Sanders joined 38 other liberals in urging Bush against escalation. When U.S. jets accidentally killed 408 Iraqi civilians in an air raid shelter, Jolene was heartsick. The ground war lasted only five days.

There was no cease-fire in the battle over the spotted owl. A new front opened when the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service began weighing whether the marbled murrelet, a robin-sized seabird that nests in old-growth, should be added to the threatened species list. William L. Dwyer, a decisive U.S. District Court judge and lifelong outdoorsman, ruled that spring that the Forest Service was violating the federal Forest Management Act's mandate to ensure the owl's viability. The ruling, a turning point in the national debate over endangered species, halted logging on some 60,000 acres of public land. Unsoeld warned that the timber industry needed to "face the new reality" and explore ways to do more with fewer trees. She sponsored a bill to create an Experimental State Forest, saying, "I believe researchers can find ways to manage a forest ecosystem so that we're protecting habitat while harvesting timber." The plan to allow some logging on state-owned land that otherwise would be off limits under the Endangered Species Act was the only piece of forest-management legislation passed by the 102nd Congress.

Unsoeld teamed with McDermott and Senator Adams to derail the Bush Administration's plan to allow offshore oil and gas exploration between Grays Harbor and Cape Flattery

near the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. "At some point we have to question the motives of this Texas president and his underlings," she told a news conference. "The outer coast of Washington is one of the most ecologically sensitive areas in the country, and the administration cannot show us one study, one report, one document that justifies drilling for oil." The delegation's bipartisan unity on the issue led to the establishment of the Olympic Coast National Marine Sanctuary in 1994. Unsoeld also rallied support for continued funding of a river restoration program for the Chehalis River Basin and insisted that the omnibus Energy Bill give resource managers the leeway to control fish passage at federal dams. Otherwise, downstream fish runs could be jeopardized by moves to maximize power generation, Unsoeld argued. Her legislation banning computerized phone solicitation was hailed by personal privacy advocates. It would withstand courtroom challenges.

When the Brady Bill ricocheted back to the House, Unsoeld stood her ground, calling it "feel-good" legislation. The real way to combat crime, she said, was to invest in education and social programs that lift people out of poverty and despair. Still short of votes, the Bradys turned once again to evangelizing the Senate.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ANITA HILL CLASS

JOLENE, in her sensible shoes, is one step behind Barbara Boxer on the marble stairs outside the U.S. Senate. Four of their House colleagues—Pat Schroeder, Patsy Mink, Eleanor Holmes Norton and Nita Lowey—are hurrying, too. Shouted down in their own House, they were on a mission to confront the "old bulls" in the Senate.

Worth far more than a thousand words, the photo on the front page of *The New York Times* on October 9, 1991, was a harbinger of 1992—"The Year of The Woman."

President Bush's nominee to succeed Thurgood Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court was Clarence Thomas, a recently appointed federal judge. Beyond the fact that both were black, Thomas and Marshall had little in common. Marshall was a towering figure in the history of the Civil Rights movement. Before his appointment to the high court, Marshall argued for and won the landmark decision on school desegregation, *Brown v. Board of Education*. Thomas, who easily passed the administration's "true conservative" litmus test, had never argued a case before the high court. Liberals especially feared Thomas could become a swing vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. His nomination was advancing when National Public Radio aired a leaked FBI report that proved incendiary: Anita Hill, a law school professor, recounted that Thomas made crude sexual remarks when she worked for him early in her career. The National Organization for Women demanded that Joe Biden, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, reopen its hearings and subpoena Hill. When the committee balked, "we were all irate at the way her charges were being brushed aside by the Senate guys," Jolene remembers. "If they weren't going to let her testify we were going to stage a protest on the floor of the House."

By longstanding tradition, members of the U.S. House

A dramatic moment on Oct. 8, 1991, as Jolene joins her female colleagues (from right) Patsy Mink, Pat Schroeder, Nita Lowey, Barbara Boxer, Eleanor Holmes Norton and Louise Slaughter as they march to the Senate to "demand justice" for Anita Hill, who has accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment. *Maureen Keating/Library of Congress*

of Representatives are allowed brief speeches—"one minutes," in the parlance of the House—on topics of their choice, usually at the beginning of a session. Schroeder and Boxer went first, demanding that Hill be heard. Then "all hell broke loose" when Rosa DeLauro, a freshman from Connecticut, unwittingly broke the rules by not referring to the Senate as "the upper body." A Republican immediately objected; the parliamentarian ruled she was out of order and a vote commenced to see if she could resume. Schroeder huddled with Boxer and suggested they send half of their sisters to confront the Senate Democratic Caucus while the others stayed behind to back up DeLauro. Loaded for bear, Jolene was out the door in a flash. "When we got to the Senate, we discovered the guys were having lunch and they wouldn't let us in." By then the determined women had a flock of photographers in tow. Boxer, living up to her name, warned Majority Leader George Mitchell that if they were turned away the resulting headlines would be bigger yet. When they cornered Biden, he agreed to let Hill testify.

Unsoeld and the other Democratic women were outraged by the treatment she received. One senator referred to Hill as a "scorned woman." Thomas indignantly denied her

allegations, calling the furor a "high-tech lynching for uppity blacks." Thomas squeaked to confirmation 52-48. Unsoeld believes the chauvinism women saw in the conduct of the Judiciary Committee prompted a new sensitivity to sexual harassment and helped generate the surge of female candidates the next year. Some referred to the women elected to Congress in 1992 as the "Anita Hill Class."

JOLENE'S OPPONENT in her bid for a third term was 47-year-old Pat Fiske, a personable Clark County Republican. In the 1980s he crossed the aisle in the Legislature to help pass health-care legislation. Rebounding from a business setback, he founded a successful home health-care agency and carved a niche as a telecommunications consultant. Fiske's platform was a page from the 1992 GOP playbook: Term limits, a balanced budget amendment, lower capital gains taxes and protection of private property rights. Bringing it all back home was his contention that the Endangered Species Act ought to be amended to give equal weight to the economic impact of environmental decisions. "My first political hero was Scoop Jackson," Fiske said, "and if Scoop was in the Senate today the owl never would have eliminated jobs the way it has."

Redistricting had done Jolene no favors. It cost her a third of Thurston County, her increasingly liberal home base, and nearly all of Grays Harbor and Pacific counties, which were still Democratic strongholds despite the devastating economic and social impacts of mill closures, industrial automation and timber harvest reductions to protect the spotted owl.

Jolene pointed to her log export ban; to funding for community college and technical school retraining programs; to her support for early-childhood education and anti-drug programs; to the driftnet ban, salmon restoration programs, the experimental forest and port improvement appropriations.

Outraged by her assault-weapons amendment, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* endorsed Fisk. In a fighting speech entitled "The Bill of Rights, a Masterpiece in Jeopardy," Jolene shot back: "Many civil libertarians who are willing to stand up for the rights of Nazis, skinheads, serial killers and pornographic

art are nowhere to be found when it comes to protection of the right of law-abiding citizens to own firearms."

With another $61,000 from EMILY's List and $200,000 from labor unions, the Unsoeld campaign was well-funded and well-organized, though it was still mostly a one-woman road show. "She's a tough broad," one Republican conceded after watching her go door-to-door.

With the James River Mill in the background, Jolene and U.S. Senate candidate Patty Murray talk about lumber exports at a press conference in Camas in the fall of 1992. A few weeks later, Murray became Washington's first female senator and Jolene was handily re-elected. *Troy Wayrynen*

EMILY's List and Jolene boosted the U.S. Senate campaign of another tenacious woman, a first-term state legislator from suburban Seattle named Patty Murray. They campaigned together in Camas, a Columbia River forest industry town, hailing the export of finished lumber rather than raw logs. Scarcely 5 feet tall, Murray early on was a dark horse in her race with Republican Congressman Rod Chandler for the open Senate seat. Once dismissed as just "a mom in tennis shoes," Murray presented a dramatic contrast to the tall, confident former TV newsman. Then, down the stretch, Chandler ended one of their debates by sarcastically reciting a line from Roger Miller's "Dang Me" ditty—"woman would you weep for me?" Murray shot him a withering look and replied, "That's the attitude that brought me to this race, Rod." Unsoeld and thousands of other women watching the televised debate cheered. It was Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill all over again. "It was a huge blunder by Chandler," Jolene remembers. "He underestimated Patty."

Here's the link to the You Tube "Dang Me" moment: www.c-span.org/video/?c4583971/dang-rod-chandler

Come November, Bill Clinton's coattails boosted Washington Democrats up and down the ballot. Jolene rolled up nearly 56 percent of the vote, losing to Fiske only in Lewis County and clobbering him in Clark. Next time would be different. For now, the D's were riding high. Mike Lowry was elected governor, Chris Gregoire attorney general and Jennifer Belcher, Jolene's former legislative seatmate, commissioner of public lands. Maria Cantwell was elected to Congress in the 1st District, Jay Inslee in the 4th, Mike Kreidler in the newly created 9th. House Speaker Tom Foley, Al Swift, Jim McDermott and Norm Dicks were handily re-elected. The Republican interloper was Jennifer Dunn, a vivacious former state GOP chairwoman. The conservative voters on the East Side of Lake Washington elected Dunn to Congress in a landslide.

The national headlines from dateline Seattle hailed one of the signature victories in "The Year of the Woman." Patty Murray, who four years earlier was a suburban school board member, was Washington's new United States senator.*

Had Jolene, one of the first beneficiaries of EMILY's List, considered running for the open Senate seat? Some supporters planted that seed after her unexpectedly strong showing against Bobby Williams. "But I wanted to stay put. I didn't feel I really knew the whole state. And I knew there would be parts of the state, especially Eastern Washington, vehemently against me. I felt it would be more productive to stay in Congress and keep pushing for the elimination of Weyerhaeuser's ridiculous log export subsidies, timber worker retraining funds, Head Start and dropout prevention programs—all the things I cared about." She also sensed that Newt Gingrich would try to make Clinton's honeymoon brief and 1994 The Year of the Republican.

* "This is supposed to be the year of the women in the Senate," George H.W. Bush famously said during one presidential debate. "Let's see how they do. I hope a lot of them lose." A lot of them won. In addition to Patty Murray, there would be three other new female senators, Barbara Boxer, Dianne Feinstein and Carol Moseley Braun, and 20 new congresswomen.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS mandated two-year terms for members of the House of Representatives to make them more responsive to their constituents. In 1788 there were only 11 states, none reaching farther west than Virginia. Congress met first in New York before decamping to Philadelphia and finally, in 1780, to a mosquito-infested village on the banks of the Potomac. While a red-eye from SeaTac to D.C. rates as a lark compared to a 400-mile horseback ride from Providence to Washington, one thing has never changed: Once elected to Congress, you're always running for re-election. Two years go by in a blur, Jolene remembers.

The ban on exports of raw logs from publicly-owned lands was overturned on a legal technicality in the spring of 1993. Jolene and her staff authored a fix practically overnight. Murray sponsored it in the Senate and, with the rest of the delegation pushing, the bill became law in the space of 23 days. Clinton signed it on July 1, saying the measure had already saved 6,000 jobs. He said he was confident his recent Forest Summit in Portland and a scientific panel studying harvest levels would produce a "fair and balanced" plan. "The time has come to act to end the logjam, to end the endless delay and bickering and to restore some genuine security and rootedness to the lives of the people who have for too long been torn from pillar to post in this important area of the United States," Clinton said. He promised new assistance to workers and their families for job training and retraining, and funds to help communities build infrastructure to diversify their economies. But life would never be the same in timber towns like Aberdeen and Hoquiam.

Jolene worked with Murray, Norm Dicks and Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield to secure $60 million for watershed preservation and restoration and proposed a "Roads to Trails" project to convert abandoned logging roads into recreational trails. An Interior Appropriations bill in 1994 included funding for the first project.

After a seven-year struggle and "a harrowing final week of political maneuvering," as *Congressional Quarterly* put it, the Brady Bill was finally adopted on the day before Thanksgiving 1993. The Gun Owners of America called it a "constitutional

turkey." The background check waiting period for handgun purchases from licensed dealers had been reduced to five days. Jolene, Jennifer Dunn and future governor Jay Inslee, then an avowed "Second Amendment guy" representing a conservative Central Washington district, cast the delegation's only "nays."*

During the 1993 session, Jolene helped draft and sponsored amendments to the landmark Lyndon B. Johnson-era Elementary and Secondary Education Act, including funding mandates for dropout prevention programs focusing on pregnant teens, teenage mothers and homeless kids. To her frustration, the bill was derailed by Senate Republicans the following year.

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, she was part of a bipartisan coalition that drafted the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993. Signed into law that fall, the act created a corporation to oversee two new programs, Senior Corps and AmeriCorps, as well as existing programs mobilizing people of all ages and backgrounds for community service work.

In her opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement—initiated by Bush and embraced by Clinton—Jolene was the delegation's implacable maverick. Everyone from Jim McDermott to Jennifer Dunn maintained NAFTA would benefit a region heavily dependent on international trade. Unsoeld countered that NAFTA would mainly benefit large U.S. corporations intent on exploiting cheap labor in Mexico and overseas. NAFTA was a bum deal for American workers, she said, pointing to "thousands of U.S. jobs" already exported to countries where, moreover, there was little concern for environmental regulations and sustainable fisheries. Ross Perot, who had won 19 million votes in 1992, called it the "giant sucking sound" of American jobs heading south of the border.

* But Inslee would also vote to ban military-style assault weapons, "galvanizing the gun lobby against him," *The Seattle Times* noted.

Chapter Nine: The Contract

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON ascended to near the top of Rush Limbaugh's hit list of "feminazis" when her spouse appointed her to head a task force on health care reform. A Yale Law School graduate, Hillary had helped investigate Nixon's Watergate cover-up. She was a remarkably bright, assertive feminist. "Bitches like her" became a catchphrase for angry white men who saw their hegemony under siege, presidential historians William E. Leuchtenburg and Richard Reeves remind us. Angry white conservative women hated her, too.

The Clintons were political catnip for Newt Gingrich, who branded them "counterculture McGovernicks" and the "the enemy of normal Americans." Gingrich and Dick Armey, the Texas congressman who would later refer to Barney Frank as "Barney fag," began drafting a battle plan to reclaim Congress in the 1994 midterm elections. Employing his usual rhetorical hyperbole, Gingrich declared that "a Republican victory in November" would be "the first decisive step back to create a century of freedom for the entire human race." The minority whip told colleagues Clinton beat Bush because the White House had lost its stomach for hardball. From now on, no holds barred.* Jolene was one of the "abortion-on-demand, anti-family values" liberals in his crosshairs.

Before Christmas 1993, Jolene had two announced opponents, millionaire Camas businessman Tim Moyer and Paul Phillips, a Vancouver chiropractor. Olympia activist Herb Legg, a former chairman of the state Democratic Party, was so angered by her opposition to gun control and NAFTA that he was considering entering the race. By summer, the Gun Control

* When Tom Foley became speaker of the House in 1989, the Republican National Committee headed by merciless Lee Atwater issued a news release entitled "Tom Foley: Out of the Liberal Closet." The suggestion that Foley was gay, a baseless old rumor, outraged President Bush. He and Foley were longtime friends. "That kind of gut shot is so cheap I can't believe it," Bush said, declaring that the author of the release should be fired.

Jolene, who once contemplated a career as a grade-school teacher, listens intently to a 2-year-old at South Puget Sound High School's Child Care Center. *Brain DalBlacon/The Daily World*

Party had acquired a standard bearer in Caitlin Davis Carlson, a 28-year-old activist from Pacific County. Carlson had lost a friend in Massachusetts to a shooter armed with an assault rifle purchased at a sporting goods store. And now, Carlson said, here was Jolene Unsoeld, "sitting in a black leather chair taking money from the NRA."

Jolene was also at odds with fellow Democrats in her opposition to Clinton's sweeping $30 billion crime bill, which included a ban on assault weapons. The Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 also provided for 100,000 new police officers and more prisons to house what the First Lady described as "superpredators." Three strikes offenders would be going away for life. Jolene was deeply troubled by the potential for expansion of the death penalty, which she said was already disproportionately targeting African Americans. "Mandatory minimum prison terms were a huge mistake" that even the Clintons are now acknowledging, Jolene says now. "But the public wanted to lock 'em up and throw away the key, with little regard for social justice, the root causes of crime and the value of rehabilitation."

Gingrich, grousing that Clinton was twisting the Republican agenda to his own ends, asserted the act actually would release 10,000 drug dealers.

By July, Moyer had contributed nearly a million dollars to his own campaign and was under fire right and left. He was "too rich to honestly represent an honest people," Phillips asserted. Jolene labeled him a tax dodger. It was soon revealed that Moyer had been assessed tax penalties on luxury cars he

was driving—one sporting Oregon license plates, the other purchased there. Moyer next came under scrutiny for operating his charter-boat company without a Washington license. Its major asset was a 67-foot yacht that had been used in Washington waters. Moyer insisted he had paid "every dime" of any tax he "knowingly owed." But less than three weeks before the primary, he abruptly dropped out of the race. A state GOP official decried that Moyer had been "subjected to vicious personal attacks" by Unsoeld and Governor Mike Lowry, who allegedly conspired to sic the State Department of Revenue on an upstanding Republican businessman and leak his tax records to the media. Dr. Phillips, meantime, was in dutch with his party for violating Reagan's "11th commandment" to not speak ill of any fellow Republican.

It was a potentially propitious void. A conservative state senator with a devout following recognized it immediately. Her name was Linda Smith.

After a bumpy, working-class childhood, Smith had married young, raised two kids and worked at a wide variety of jobs. She was a quick learner and hard worker. By her 30s she was overseeing several tax preparation offices in Southwest Washington. A born-again Republican—and Christian—Smith won a special election for a seat in the Washington State House of Representatives in 1983. Three years later she moved to the State Senate and emerged as a leading conservative voice. The self-assertiveness that angered more than a few colleagues on both sides of the aisle endeared her to a core group of "family values" constituents. Smith was the sponsor of a successful 1992 initiative limiting campaign contributions, with labor unions and trial lawyers in her crosshairs. A year later, she scored what she considered her greatest triumph, approval of a hotly contested initiative requiring voter approval for tax increases to support state expenditures exceeding the rate of inflation and population growth.

At 44, Smith was an attractive, curly-haired brunette who dressed with careful femininity. Her eyes sparkled with self-confidence, and her voice could be soothing, indignant, sassy or demure. She had a habit of elevating her chin to make a

point. After spearheading two statewide initiative campaigns, she was the state's leading practitioner of grass-roots politics.

When Moyer dropped out it was way too late for election officials to remove his name from the ballot and add Smith's. So her supporters, "Linda's Army," fanned out in a two-week blitz to mobilize conservative voters and coach them on how to carefully, uniformly write in her name, while also raising $100,000 for a direct-mail campaign to get out the vote. On September 20, Smith easily won the GOP nomination for Congress, amassing a stunning 34,000 write-in votes. The outcome was doubly worrisome for Jolene, who won less than 40 percent of the vote against three Republicans and a gun-control candidate. That Caitlin Carlson had peeled off 2,269 votes in liberal Thurston County and 4 percent overall made the re-election calculus even more complicated. In addition to religious conservatives, Smith was attracting conservative Democrats and Perot populists. Asked to explain her appeal, Smith shrugged, smiled and said, "I've always been a crusader."

A week after the primary, Smith hopped a plane to join Gingrich and 365 other Republican members of Congress or hopefuls on the steps of the Capitol. Each held a miniature American flag. They solemnly recited the Pledge of Allegiance before lining up to sign Gingrich and Armey's "Contract with America." Gingrich declared that "four decades of one-party control" had created a government that was "too big, too intrusive and too easy with the public's money." By enacting tax cuts, a balanced budget amendment, term limits, welfare reform and effective crime control, the new Republican Congress pledged to revive government "that respects the values and shares the faith of the American family."

Jennifer Dunn, who'd been looking over Gingrich's shoulder as he exhorted the troops, took the floor of the House a few days later to second the motion. Perfectly coiffed in a pale yellow Chanel suit, the Washington congresswoman was sportscaster and cheerleader rolled into one: "For the past four years the Democrats have had the ball; they've controlled the clock and they've rammed their liberal agenda through the line despite the crowd of Americans roaring against them.

Jolene at first seems bemused as Linda Smith takes the microphone during their first face-to-face encounter, at Longview on Oct. 25, 1994. The debate turned nasty when Jolene denounced Smith as a liar and Smith asserted that the incumbent was just "desperate." Lois Huffman of the League of Women Voters is seated between them. *Roger Werth/AP*

The Democrats are nervous now. After a series of Democrat fumbles and penalties, the Republicans are *going on the offense!* But today, we're merely drawing up our game plan—that is the Republicans' Contract with America. ... And when we finally get our hands on the ball we will be ready! And everybody—all those Republicans who've been forced by the Democrats to sit on the bench, will finally get in the game!"

Jolene, grave-faced, urgency in her voice, used her 60 seconds to talk about early-childhood education. "Domestic violence has reached horrific proportions ...and the tragedy doesn't end there," she told her colleagues. "Children in abusive households all too often grow up to become abusers themselves, perpetuating this vicious cycle of violence ...I'm very pleased the Violence against Women Act is making a difference, but we must also put more emphasis on getting to the roots of violence prevention" by making education, especially early childhood education a priority. "Our continued efforts could mean the difference between life and death for thousands of women and children."

"It's too bad the Republicans didn't put this much energy into ensuring that the American people had quality health care that could never be taken away," Unsoeld said when she jetted home to rejoin what was fast becoming a street fight. "When I was denounced on both sides of the famous 'Uncle Sam' billboard along I-5 in Lewis County, I knew things were heating up," Jolene remembers with a laugh. Not that she was laughing then.

The National Taxpayers Union endorsed Smith, and conservatives cheered when she referred to the League of Women Voters as the "League of Women Vipers." Jolene's contributors rallied to underwrite $50,000 worth of visceral TV and radio spots featuring footage of Smith signing the "Contract" and asserting that the Republicans would slash Social Security and Medicare to help pay for increased defense spending. Even some true-blue Democrats, disillusioned with Jolene over the assault-weapons amendment, conceded Smith was advocating no such thing. "She's basically the challenger now," Smith asserted, saying her polls gave her a lead approaching double digits. "The momentum is out there. She's in trouble."

Things got very personal when Smith intimated that Jolene's ailing 90-year-old dad, Stan Bishoprick, had deeply mixed emotions about the race. Bishoprick, a lifelong Republican, had dropped off Smith's finance committee for the duration, she acknowledged, but "after the election, it is very likely he'll be coming back to D.C. with me because he'll be so proud." Smith added that she felt "kind of like an adopted daughter" to Bishoprick. "He's a special man." Her feelings for him restrained "what I would allow to be done in any kind of a campaign."

"I don't know what her game is," Jolene fumed when reporters asked her about Smith's statements, "but I don't find it honorable. For her to be suggesting in some way that my father is supporting her over me is outrageous." Her father, sisters and brother joined her for a news conference at the family home in Vancouver to show their support. Bishoprick was clearly dismayed. Anyone who knew him well, he said, could never believe he could be disloyal to his daughter.

The debate spilled over to a joint appearance before the editorial board of *The Daily World* in Aberdeen a few days later. Smith said that when she was first elected to the Legislature, Jolene's father "was actually my trainer in the free enterprise system. He was on my campaign; has been for years." A vein bulged and pulsed on Jolene's right temple. She clenched one fist and swiveled sideways to glare at Smith. If looks were a ray gun, Smith would have been vaporized on the spot.

Polls indicated the Republicans were surfing a wave of discontent with incumbents and making the most of the Clintons' myriad controversies, notably "Hillarycare" and the Whitewater real estate scandal. Seattle pollster Stuart Elway found House Speaker Foley trailing his Republican challenger, first-time candidate George Nethercutt, by 11 points. A Democratic campaign operative insisted the Republicans had peaked too soon. "We'll peak on November 8."

NOVEMBER 8, 1994, dawned gray and drizzly all along Interstate 5 from Olympia to Vancouver. By 9 p.m., the wind was blowing the rain sideways and Smith was rolling up big leads in Clark and Lewis counties and also carrying Cowlitz. Jolene's margins in Thurston and Grays Harbor weren't nearly enough. Fifty-two percent of the 3rd District's voters were sending Mrs. Smith to the other Washington. If Jolene had garnered the gun control candidate's 6,600 votes she still would have been nearly 8,000 votes short of victory.

"The windshield wipers couldn't go fast enough," Jolene remembers, as she drove from Longview to Vancouver, the city where she grew up, to concede her first election loss. The returns were already in from the East and Midwest. Republicans were winning everywhere. "It's kind of a dark and stormy night all across the country," she told a downcast crowd of supporters.

> Our friends—the friends of labor, the friends of working people—are being buffeted by the winds of "me first," the winds of "I've got mine," the winds of hate and the winds of anger, and politics that appeal to the

> very baser instincts of the human species, and a desire for overly simple solutions. So in the months to come, we need to pull together. We need to be ready to extend our helping hand to those who will be sorely hurt. We must keep the faith and keep the candle burning. ...I think the voters in the 3rd District—everywhere—are searching. They've got an itch, and they don't know how to scratch it.

Any plans for the future? "Yeah," Jolene said with a weary laugh. "I need to clean my house. You can barely walk into it."

The voters had definitely cleaned house. The insurgent Republicans gained control of the U.S. House for the first time since 1952. A pickup of eight seats gave them a Senate majority as well. They had elected a dozen new governors and seized back control of 20 state legislatures. "We got the living daylights beat out of us," Clinton conceded, his nimble mind already sifting ways to regroup.

Jim McDermott and Norm Dicks, with weak opponents, escaped the Democratic debacle in Washington State. Maria Cantwell, Jay Inslee and Mike Kreidler went down to defeat. Jack Metcalf, heretofore an also-ran for higher office, trounced popular Democrat Harriet Spanel for the open 2nd District seat in Congress; Jennifer Dunn was re-elected in a landslide and Slade Gorton handily won a third term in the U.S. Senate against King County Councilman Ron Sims, even carrying Thurston, Pierce, Cowlitz and Grays Harbor counties. But Gingrich's biggest scalp by far was Tom Foley's. Nethercutt had squeaked past Spokane's 15-term congressman by 4,000 votes. A sitting speaker of the House had not been ousted by the electorate since 1862. The GOP elected a dozen new governors and seized back control of 20 state legislatures. The Washington State House of Representatives flipped from 65-33 Democrat to 60-38 Republican. Democrats clung to control of the state Senate by one seat.

Chapter 10: A new assignment

A MONTH SHORT OF 63, Jolene wasn't sure whether she would ever again seek elective office. For now she was looking forward to spending more time with her four preschool grandchildren. "The two youngest practically didn't know who I was, I'd been away so long." But she wasn't ready to retire from politics. "There was too much at stake," especially education, natural resources and the environment. She was irate that revenues from the Model Toxics Control Act had been repeatedly raided by the Legislature to avoid cutting other programs and balance the budget. "For shame!" she said.

When Governor Lowry appointed Mike Kreidler to the Northwest Power Planning Council, Jolene candidly admitted her disappointment—not because she disapproved of her former congressional colleague; rather, she had coveted the job because the commissioners wielded considerable power over the Columbia Basin energy grid and fisheries. She was also leery of the Bonneville Power Administration's motives. She supposed she was just "too controversial" a pick for Lowry.

Jolene relished spending the fall of 1995 teaching at Harvard as a fellow of the Institute of Politics in the John F. Kennedy School of Government. She had dropped out of college 44 years earlier to marry Willi but gone on to acquire, at minimum, the equivalent of a master's degree in retail political science.

At semester's end she headed home with a new assignment: Lowry had appointed her to a six-year term on the Washington Fish & Wildlife Commission. That she was never confirmed by the State Senate would precipitate one of the most controversial events of her career in public life.

Jolene was appointed to the commission six weeks before 61 percent of the voters ratified a referendum to grant it broad new powers. Effective July 1, 1996, the commission would gain the right to appoint the department's director—

formerly the prerogative of the governor—and to regulate the harvest of shellfish and food fish in addition to managing recreational fishing, hunting and trapping. Proponents promised the change would help "end fighting over the last salmon" by promoting fair treatment for sport and commercial users. Ostensibly freed of infighting, the commission would have the leeway to "authorize equitable tribal, interstate and international agreements." Opponents, including former governors Dan Evans and Booth Gardner, charged that the change would give "nine unelected, part-time political appointees, representing narrow interests" and "accountable only to themselves" control of all fish and wildlife in the state.

Voters soundly rejected another proposal on the same ballot—one that would have given resource management priority to recreational fishing. "Citizen participation is going to be critical at this time," Jolene said in her first week as a commissioner. That would be no problem—*and* a problem.

By March of 1996, four months before the commission's new powers took effect, Joe DeLaCruz, the hard-nosed former president of the National Congress of American Indians, indignantly resigned from the commission when the State Senate would not grant him a confirmation hearing. He called it blatant racism; sportfishing groups called it a clear conflict of interest. Salmon runs were in decline, and the commission would be negotiating fish allocations with the tribes. DeLaCruz, Unsoeld and Roger Contor, former superintendent of the North Cascades National Park, were Lowry appointees. Contor's appointment was confirmed by the Senate; Unsoeld's was in legislative limbo. Absent a Senate vote, she could continue on the commission. DeLaCruz's departure was a metaphor for the crossfire that would grow more intense—ugly, in fact—as sport, commercial and tribal fishermen squared off over a dwindling resource.

Jolene, undaunted, plunged into her new job with her usual sense of mission, studying reports and talking with fisheries managers. She attended countless hearings and workshops and met with user groups, listening intently in her characteristic chin-in-hand pose.

Governor Gary Locke reappointed her in 1997 when he succeeded Lowry. Yet she remained unconfirmed.

As Jolene developed a conviction that catch-and-release sports fishing was "a mantra of political correctness" rather than a viable conservation measure, commercial and tribal fishermen found in her a resolute ally. "If you cut the commercials out of it, it would be too easy to say 'Look at those beautiful wild salmon, aren't they pretty?' Well, I am not content with that," she would say when her detractors demanded her head. "I want to restore stocks to healthy levels for commercial harvest." But many sports fishermen "believe commercial fishing should be strung up along with tribal fishing." Like it or not, she said, the landmark Boldt Decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, made the tribes co-managers of the resource.

Jolene with her favorite David Horsey cartoon, which celebrates her fearlessness. *John Hughes*

Skip Knowles, editor of *Fishing & Hunting News*, published a scathing editorial about Unsoeld. "This horrifically underqualified and completely phony, unconfirmed commission member must be shown the door," he wrote. "I thought she was a well-meaning idiot. She is not well-meaning at all." All things considered, she was pseudo-environmentalist with a "cannery-row mentality," Knowles would later say.

Bob Oke, the conservative Kitsap County Republican who

headed the Senate Natural Resources Committee, charged that Jolene had overstepped her role by interfering with middle management within the Department of Fish & Wildlife and had become such a polarizing figure that the work of the commission was being compromised. "It's pure baloney!" Jolene said.

On February 13, 1998, Oke had the votes to remove her from the commission. "As a courtesy," he gave the Governor's Office a few minutes to ask Unsoeld if she would just resign. "No way." It was all "raw politics," she said after the 22-26 vote. "If we're going to be able to preserve, protect and enhance the natural resources in our state, we must ask whether flinching in the face of political pressure is the way to achieve that goal."

Some sportsmen decried her ouster. She was a "breath of fresh air"—someone who "showed a unique capability to work intelligently on complex salmon issues," said a member of the King County Outdoor Sports Council. "The public needs this person." The council and the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission urged Locke to reappoint her. "I don't think that would be productive," the governor said, with regret.

It had been 30 years since the Senate had voted down a governor's nominee to a major state commission. In 2016, when it happened once again, Jolene—busy rounding up caucus votes for Bernie Sanders—was back in the news.

Republican state senators, castigating the Department of Transportation for its myriad problems, in effect fired Governor Jay Inslee's transportation secretary, Lynn Peterson, by refusing to confirm her appointment three years after the fact. Inslee was blindsided by the move, branding it "shameful" and "a blatant misuse of the confirmation process for political purposes" in an election year.

Jolene's phone began ringing. Reporters wanted to know if she empathized with Peterson and whether there were similarities to her own pillorying 18 years earlier. Orderly as ever, she batted out a press statement, summoning Regon to help her polish it. She hadn't met Secretary Peterson, she wrote, and wasn't up to speed on all the DOT's controversies, being happily miles away from Interstate 405's toll lanes. Yet in looking back—and forward—she concluded some things needed to be said:

Long before my appointment to the Commission, the Indian tribes were at the forefront of protecting and preserving the fishery resource, and the habitat that was necessary to sustain it. They are the real heroes here. The tribes had fought for decades to reclaim their rights to hunt and fish guaranteed by the Medicine Creek Treaty between the tribes and the federal government. State officials, shamefully, sent out the Washington State Patrol and other agencies to harass, confiscate their boats and fishing equipment and arrest and lock up tribal fishers; yet the tribes persevered. ...

During my tenure on the Commission, long after the Boldt Decision, the tribes continued to be the target of anti-Indian attitudes, and occasional violence, yet they continued to be at the forefront of those who were saying we needed to ensure sustainability of the resource by protecting the habitat and cleaning up the poisoned waters. They were the forerunners of the global justice movement today to protect our planet against man-influenced climate change. Indian tribes, native people, and indigenous people all over the world, are today leaders in that struggle. ...

I attempted to stand up for their efforts, to stand up for the resource, to stand up for sustainability. ...

My years of experience, from being an unpaid lobbyist in Olympia to representing Southwest Washington in Congress, have taught me that how we make decisions is often as important, sometimes even more important, than the actual decisions we make. Today our nation as a whole, and certainly our political institutions, are polarized to

> an extent that has nearly paralyzed us from governing ourselves in a way that serves the common good rather than the victory of one group over another. We see this at the national level, in the harsh rhetoric of the current presidential campaign, and apparently here in our own state Legislature where the Senate majority chose to flex its power in a way that seems unconcerned about the relationships among the people caught up in the politics of this moment. In the long run, how we treat each other, is as important as who serves as Transportation Secretary, or who holds the current majority in the Washington State Senate.

DURING HER TWO YEARS on the Fish & Wildlife Commission, Jolene remained a stalwart Democrat, taking a special interest in Brian Baird, the affable young psychology professor who challenged Linda Smith in 1996 and came within 887 votes of making her a one-termer. Smith overreached two years later when she took on Patty Murray. By then the mercurial congresswoman was even on the outs with Newt Gingrich and Jennifer Dunn. Her army was missing in action against Murray, who won a second term in the U.S. Senate with 58 percent of the vote. Baird, meantime, was handily elected to the open 3rd District seat. Maria Cantwell was among the comeback kids from the debacle of 1994. She became a dot.com marketing millionaire and in 2000 squeaked past Slade Gorton to win a seat in the U.S. Senate, giving Washington State two female senators. This was heady stuff for EMILY's List pioneers like Jolene, only the third congresswoman in state history when she took office in 1989.

Jolene served on the ACLU's state board from 2000 to 2003 and received the James Madison Award from the Washington Coalition for Open Government in 2008. An architect of the Open Government Act approved by the voters 36 years earlier, she was its relentless defender as a state legislator. In

Jolene with Regon, left, and Krag. *Unsoeld family collection*

Congress, she championed the Freedom of Information Act, railing against a Reagan executive order that gave federal agencies a "national security" loophole to withhold enormous amounts of information. She prodded Clinton to countermand the directive. Between 1995 and 1999, he would declassify national security documents more than 25 years old and "of historical interest." As Congress opened more doors, historians and the public discovered a trove of old secrets ranging from revelations about the botched Bay of Pigs invasion to the extent the U.S. government shielded former Nazi rocket scientists from war crimes trials in order to accelerate development of Cold War missiles. "What you don't know can hurt you," Unsoeld says.

"This woman defined open government," said Denny Heck, a founder of TVW, when Jolene appeared at a 2012 fundraiser that helped elect him to Congress in the new 10th District.

"I suspect there were few members with whom I had fewer political agreements than Jolene," Allen Hayward, the longtime legal counsel for Republican legislators, wrote in his

memoir of 34 years in Olympia, "but I never found her to be disagreeable. She brought great passion to her legislative duties and a sense that what we do in our lives is important. That is what our system of government requires—not people who always get it right, but people who think *trying* to get it right matters, and who show up each day for the task."

Jolene became a foot soldier, then vice-president, then president of a beach residents' association in her neighborhood. They formed a non-profit water company and successfully settled a lawsuit to protect their community beachfront.

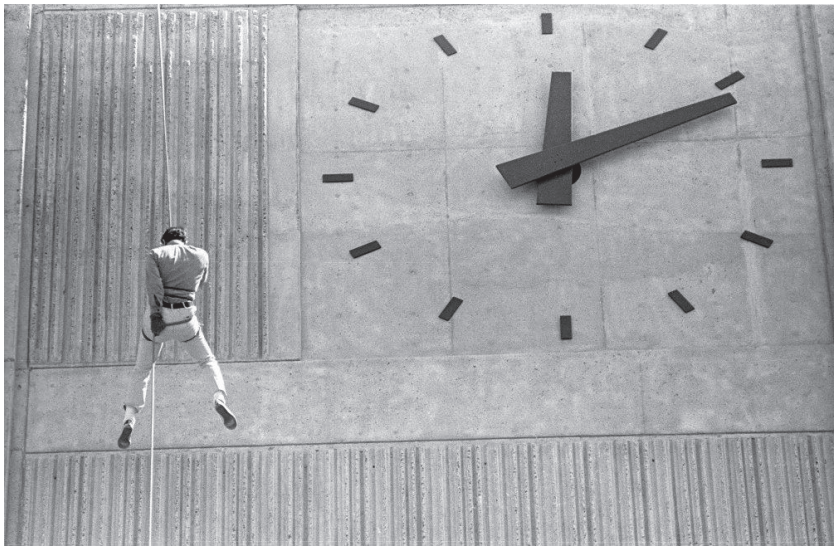
The first woman to climb the direct North Face of the Grand Teton took a tumble on the deck around her Cooper Point home a couple of years ago and broke her hip. While recuperating, she saw to it that the deck was replaced with moss-resistant material. "It's important not to fall," she says. But maybe more important to get back up.

"There is no substitute for an informed, participatory public," she says. "It just takes dogged, dogged work, and we're all tired—our age group particularly—so we've got to get those youngsters going. If you try to stay on the sidelines, you're just deceiving yourself so you have to find that inner strength to keep going."

In other words, "What are you going to do about it?"

She believes her proudest achievement is that she and Willi produced children "who have answered that question with their own actions."

John C. Hughes
Legacy Washington
Office of the Secretary of State
Published 2016



At Willi Unsoeld's urging, Dan Evans rappels the clocktower at The Evergreen State College in the 1970s. *The Evergreen State College*

Bibliography

Arntz, Dee, *Extraordinary Women Conservationists of Washington*, The History Press, Charleston, S.C., 2015

Boswell, Sharon, *Ray Moore, An Oral History*, Office of the Secretary of State, Olympia, WA, 1999

Hughes, John C., and Beckwith, Ryan Teague, *On the Harbor, From Black Friday to Nirvana*, Gorham Printing, Rochester, WA., 2001

Hughes, John C., *Booth Who?*, The Legacy Project, Office of the Secretary of State, Gorham Printing, Centralia, WA, 2010

Nancy Evans, First-rate First Lady, A Biography and Oral History, The Legacy Project, Office of the Secretary of State, Gorham Printing, Centralia, WA., 2010

The Inimitable Adele Ferguson, A Biography and Oral History, The Legacy Project, Office of the Secretary of State, Gorham Printing, Centralia, WA., 2011

Slade Gorton: A Half-Century in Politics, The Legacy Project, Office of the Secretary of State, Thomson-Shore, Dexter, MI., 2011

Heffernan, Trova, *Where the Salmon Run*, The Legacy Project, Office of the Secretary of State, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2012

Leamer, Laurence, *Ascent, The Spiritual and Physical Quest of Willi Unsoeld*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1982

Leuchtenburg, William E., *The American President, From Teddy Roosevelt to Bill Clinton*, Oxford University Press, 2015

Malcolm, Ellen R., with **Unger, Craig**, *When Women Win: EMILY's List and the Rise of Women in American Politics*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Boston/New York, 2016

Meacham, Jon, *Destiny and Power, The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush*, Random House, New York, 2015

Miyaoka, Isao, *Legitimacy in International Society: Japan's Reaction to Global Wildlife Preservation*, Palgrave Macmillan, in association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 2004

Paludi, Michele E., editor, *Why Congress Needs Women*, Praeger, Santa Barbara, Calif., 2016

Roper, Robert, *Fatal Mountaineer, The High-Altitude Life and Death of Willi Unsoeld, American Himalayan Legend*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2002

Roskelly, John, *Nanda Devi: The Tragic Expedition*, Mountaineer Books, Seattle, 2000

Scott, George W., *A Majority of One: Legislative Life*, Civitas Press, Seattle, 2002

Unsoeld, Jolene, *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* Self-published, Second printing, 1975; third printing, 1977, The Working Press, Everett; Washington State Library, Tumwater, WA

Warren, Karen J., editor, *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1997

Source notes

Introduction: "The Meddler"

"Reproductive health is at the very core," "Abortion kept in benefit package," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and "Anti-abortion groups blast bills," AP national wire, 5-13-1994

"any illness related to testicles," Ibid.

"civility is also an endangered species," Unsoeld to author, October 1994

"Sometimes I feel like I'm in a marathon relay race," "Always a Fight to the Finish for Unsoeld," Michael Paulson, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, p1, 10-25-1994

"didn't want her balls to show," quoted in Hughes, *The Inimitable Adele Ferguson*, p. 122

a closed-casket funeral, *Grand Teton, North Face & Direct Exum Ridge*, Mark Smiley, https://vimeo.com/16236339

"as high-strung as a hummingbird," Laurence Leamer, *Ascent*, p. 47

"because she can soar high and see wide," Krag Unsoeld to author, 2-3-2016

Chapter One: Roots & branches

"Skagway man lucky bidder," *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, Juneau, 2-4-1903

Cora Trapman as Miss Corvallis, "Beauty Queen Chosen," *Morning Register*, Eugene, 4-19-1929; "Miss Klamath Wins Second," *The Evening Herald*, Klamath Falls, 5-3-1929

Dant & Russell background, E. Mowbray Tate, *Transpacific Steam*, p. 108, Cornwall Books, New York, 1986

"One of Dant's coups," Jim Kadera, "Dant & Russell," *Oregonian*, 3-25-1984, p. 53

"With a Japanese soldier," Ibid.

"desperately needing rice," Ibid.

300 percent profit, Kadera, "Unable to react to market changes," *Oregonian*, 3-25-1984, p. 47

Chapter Two: Bill

"I'll never forget," comment string, www.supertopo.com/climbers-forum/1561809/The-Life-of-a-Teton-Guide-Willi-Unsoeld-AAJ-1960

"waist-deep snow," L. Bruce Meyer, M.D., and Fritz Lippman, "First Attempt on Makalu, 1954," *The Himalayan Journal*, Vol. 19, 1956,

www.himalayanclub.org/hj/19/4/first-attempt-on-makalu-1954/

"bare austerities of His earth's high places," quoted in Leamer, *Ascent*, p. 31.

"Why not stay out there in the wilderness," http://wilderdom.com/Unsoeld.htm

Willi Unsoeld speech *The Spiritual Values in Wilderness*, presented at the Conference on Experiential Education, Estes Park, Colorado, 1974, www.wilderdom.com/pdf/Unsoeld1974SpiritualValuesInWilderness.pdf

Also as delivered at Keene State College in New Hampshire disquietreservations.blogspot.com/2014/01/willi-unsoeld-spiritual-values-of.html

"Bullshit!" quoted in "The sweetness of fear," Worth Hedrick, *the Weekly*, p. 12, 4-7-1976

Chapter Three: The Peace Corps

"from the bonds of hunger, ignorance and poverty," JFK message to Congress, 3-1-1961, www.history.com/this-day-in-history/kennedy-establishes-peace-corps

"Dad went to the Rapti Valley," "Youngster details Nepal Life," *Sunday Oregonian*, 3-10-1963

"with rocky gorges, rice paddies, jungle trails," Ibid.

"excellent tea and rice," Ibid.

"it was too cold in the villages," Ibid.

"Mom basically never let things stand in her way," Krag Unsoeld to author, 2-3-2016

"The kids said it was the best Christmas," Ibid.

"suspended in a timeless void," quoted in "Everest: The West Ridge, a climb into the heavens," Joel Connelly, *seattlepi.com*, 4-26-2013

"We don't make a lot of it," quoted in "Legendary climber Hornbein still a mountain man at heart," John Meyer, *The Denver Post*, 4-5-2011

"mainly by those who know mountains," "Everest: The West Ridge, a climb into the heavens," Joel Connelly, *seattlepi.com*, 4-26-2013

"the doc who had climbed Everest," quoted in "Legendary climber Hornbein still a mountain man at heart," John Meyer, *The Denver Post*, 4-5-2011

"like an albatross," Ibid.

"I'd like to offer another perspective," Regon Unsoeld to author, 2-16-2016

"Risk is at the heart," Willi Unsoeld quote compilation, www.wilderdom.com/Unsoeld.htm

"It has to be real enough," Ibid.

Chapter Four: "That Dome"

"unshackle our educational thinking," quoted in "Evergreen: Making History since 1967," evergreen.edu/about/history.htm

"four no's," Ibid.

"What are you going to do about it?" Regon Unsoeld to author, 2-16-2016; and Krag Unsoeld to author, 2-3-2016; Jolene's reaction also documented in "Jolene Unsoeld and Citizen Activism: 'What are you going to do about it?' " Janine Gates, janineslittlehollywood.blogspot.com/2009/11/jolene-unsoeld-and-citizen-activism.html

"We had a very supportive public," Pete Francis to author, 1-26-2016

"The tide was rolling," Ibid.

"The people do not yield," RCW 42.30.010, Legislative declaration, apps.leg.wa.gov/rcw/default.aspx?cite=42.30&full=true

"It wasn't me," Alan Thompson to author, 1-26-2016

"Our adversaries decided," Bennett Feigenbaum to author, 1-26-2015

"And our timing was great," Ibid.

"Trust and confidence ... at an all-time low," Initiative Measure 276, 1972 Voters Pamphlet, Office of the Secretary of State, Olympia, www.sos.wa.gov/_assets/elections/Voters'%20Pamphlet%201972.pdf

"High on the list of causes," Ibid.

"who gets it and how much," Ibid.

"well-intentioned" overkill, Ibid.

"in low-paying part-time offices," Ibid.

"prevailed by one vote," Scott, *A Majority of One: Legislative Life*, p. 184

"the tactics of the most truculent lobbyists," Ibid., p. 348

"gave thousands of hours," Ibid., pp. 236-237

"a chocolate-covered cherry cordial," quoted in Ibid., pp. 348-349

"the conscience of the Washington State Legislature," quoted in *When Women Win: EMILY's List and the Rise of Women in American Politics*, p. 109

"Miss Purity," "No attention," Adele Ferguson column, *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 8-17-1988

"A great resource," David Ammons to author, 3-25-2016

"She paved the way," Ibid.

"Over the past 40 years," Ibid

"My husband supports me," quoted in "She's leading two lives," Peter Rinearson, *The Seattle Times*, p. 14, 3-17-1977

"with a keen awareness," Jolene Unsoeld, *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?*

Second printing, 1975 Washington State Library

"Special interest campaign finance money," Marvin Durning, foreward to *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* Third printing, 1977, The Working Press, Everett

"like yearbook signing day," "Olympia abuzz," AP, *Tri-City Herald*, 3-23-1977

"Everybody's looking," Ibid.

"In the 1976 general election," Jolene Unsoeld, *Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?* Third printing

CHAPTER FIVE: BEYOND GRIEF

"stared at the wake she left behind," "A Mountain Called Her By Name," Emily Gibson, www.briarcroft.wordpress.com/2009/09/15/a-mountain-called-her-by-name/

"the day she arrived late for school," Ibid.

"I can't describe it," quoted in "I am going to die," *People* magazine, 10-4-1976

"the 'hardman' image of mountaineering," quoted in "The sweetness of fear," Worth Hedrick, *the Weekly*, p. 13, 4-7-1976.

"Nanda Devi died fulfilling her dream," quoted in "I am going to die," *People* magazine, 10-4-1976

"There are a lot worse ways to go," quoted in "Nanda Devi called one of the best women climbers," *Eugene Register-Guard*, p. 4A, 9-18-1976

"Jolene opened the door," Daniel J. Evans to author, 2-8-2016

"What—you want me to die of a heart attack," quoted in Roskelly, *Nanda Devi: The Tragic Expedition*

"That's not what a parent's supposed to do," "She won't fight mountains' lure," AP, *Eugene Register-Guard*, p. 12B, 9-11-1982

"How do you explain it?" "For climbers, the high is worth risks," Lisa M. Hamm, *The Seattle Times*, 5-15-1996

"Living beyond grief," "Always a Fight to the Finish for Unsoeld; Liberal Incumbent Is 'A Good Target,' Says Longtime Supporter," Michael Paulson, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, p. A1, 10-25-1994

"We haven't inherited this earth," 1984 Washington State Voters Pamphlet, Edition No. 5, p. 43, Washington State Library

"Jolene arrived ...as kind of a princess," Dan Grimm to author, 3-30-2016

"She was more like a breeze," Alan Thompson to author, 1-26-2016

"a pretty tense caucus," Joe King to author, 4-4-2016

"Jolene, the citizen activist," Ibid.

"grateful for her learning curve," Ibid.

"could take the technical stuff," quoted in *Extraordinary Women Conservationists of Washington*, p. 121

"Washington is the second worst state," also quoted in 1988 Washington State Voters Pamphlet, Office of the Secretary of State, p. 6

"poured hundreds of thousands," "Voters endorse Initiative 97," Karen Dorn Steele, Spokane Chronicle, p. B1, 11-9-1988

"Caused more problems than she solved," *Ray Moore, An Oral History*, p. 237

"People who like her," quoted in "Unsoeld-Williams: Hot race gets hotter," Jim Simon, *The Seattle Times*, 10-30-1990

Chapter Six: EMILY arrives

"another six years of frustrating gridlock," "Why I'm quitting the Senate," Daniel J. Evans, *The New York Times Magazine*, 4-17-1988

"Jolene isn't anti-business," quoted in "No attention," Adele Ferguson, *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 8-17-1988

"coincidentally dealt with federal issues," Ibid.

"Miss Purity," Ibid.

"traditional American values," 1988 Washington State Voters Pamphlet, Edition No. 6, p. 45

"common-sense balance," Ibid.

"knee-jerk," "Weyco shutdown 'tragic example,' " *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, 10-26-1988, p. B-2

"a right-wing extremist" and "morally repugnant," "Unsoeld and Wight swap 'extremist' labels," David Ammons, AP, *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, 10-19-1988, p. 1

$75,000 from EMILY's List in 1988, "Sullivan skipped by group," *The Seattle Times*, 4-16-1990

"extreme left-wing organizations," quoted in "Fear and loathing," *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, 11-1-1988, p. A-4

"We need more women," quoted in "Jolene goes to Washington," Mary Ann Gwinn, *Pacific magazine*, *The Seattle Times*, 1-29-1989, p. 15

"She won't win," Ibid.

"JO-LENE! JO-LENE! JO-LENE!" Ibid.

"Does anything worthwhile in this life come easy?" Ibid.

"Most importantly," *When Women Win: EMILY's List and the Rise of Women in American Politics*, p. 111

"We agreed that we were going to maintain," Dan Evans to author, 5-3-2016

"What happened next," Ibid.

"She would gallop around," Ibid.

"more than 3 million other noncommercial fish," "Taiwanese to end use of drift nets," AP in *The New York Times*, 8-25-1991

"It's safe to say," "Drift net ban catches wave in Congress," Larry Swisher, *Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, p. A-6, 6-3-1991

"The Japanese rolled out the red carpet," Dan Evans to author, 5-3-2016

"I loved watching this guy's face," Ibid.

"try to wriggle free," Ibid.

"get tough with its ... trading partners," Ibid.

"Now is the time to step up the pressure," "Taiwanese to end use of drift nets," AP, *The New York Times*, 8-25-1991

Chapter Seven: Fear in the air

"Witch!" quoted in "Unsoeld Jeered, Branded 'Witch' at Loggers Rally," *The Seattle Times*, 5-21-1990

"There is fear in the air," quoted in "Loggers see livelihoods lost to owl," AP, *Spokane Chronicle*, 8-22-1989

"an obscene amount of money," quoted in "Freshman Legislator Girds for Bruising Campaign," Robin Toner, *The New York Times*, p. A20, 8-22-1989

"Dump Jolene" stickers, "Loggers block state highway, UPI, *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 4-30-1990, p. 14

"I came here because I care," quoted in "Unsoeld Jeered, Branded 'Witch' at Loggers Rally," *The Seattle Times*, 5-21-1990

"save nature by putting it in a museum," "A rally against the 'Greenies,' " Don Duncan and Joni Balter, *The Seattle Times*, 5-20-1990

"Nobody who knows anything," also quoted in "Debate over Logging Means Trouble for Incumbent," Timothy Egan, *The New York Times*, p. A-18, 9-25-1990

"threw away the lessons of Vietnam," quoted in *Slade Gorton: a Half Century in Politics*, p. 281

"cheap American gasoline and Mercedes-driving sheiks," Ibid.

"It's the loggers who got her elected," "Debate over Logging Means Trouble for Incumbent," Timothy Egan, *The New York Times*, 9-25-1990

"Trying to talk reason," quoted in "The Brady Offensive," Ron Rosenbaum,

Vanity Fair, January, 1991

"unconscionable," Ibid.

"We always accept," quoted in "The 1990 campaign," Michael Oreskes, *The New York Times*, 10-26-1990

"I have no desire to own a gun," "Unsoeld advances a gun-rights bill," Christopher Hanson, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, p. 1, 10-5-1990

Picasso analogy, Ibid.

"Jolenebo" cartoon, Brain Bassett, *The Seattle Times*, p. A22, 10-7-1990

"both laughable and pathetic," "Unsoeld on guns, art," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, p. D-2, 10-7-1990

"more than a decapitated chicken," "Wheat & Chaff," *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, 11-6-1990

"It is not true that I flip-flopped," "Feisty Third District race is clash of rival values," David Ammons, AP in *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, 11-2-1990

"Has there been some evolution," Ibid.

"I need to show you something," Bill Logan to author, 4-4-2016

"The perfect foil," "quoted in "House guns down gun-control efforts," Mary McGrory, *The Des Moines Register*, 10-22-1990

"Unsoeld gets 'D,' " *Spokane Chronicle*, 10-9-1990

"You know the definition," quoted in "The Brady Offensive," Ron Rosenbaum, *Vanity Fair*, 1-1-1991, www.vanityfair.com/news/1991/01/gun-control-199101

"Easterners ... viciously attacking our congresswoman," quoted in "Unsoeld is the apple of NRA's bull's- eye," Jim Simon, *The Seattle Times*, 10-18-1990

"a referendum on a single question," quoted in "Congresswoman Unsoeld dodges a bullet," *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 11-7-1990

"I hope this means," Ibid.

1990 Unsoeld-Williams spending, PDC Receipts and Expenditures: Congressional Candidates 1990

"War is not a simple righting of wrongs," quoted in *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature*, p. 251

joined 38 other liberals, "Lawmakers against war escalation," AP, *Indiana Gazette*, 2-14-991

"face the new reality," Unsoeld to author, May, 1991

"I believe researchers can find ways," Ibid.

"At some point we have to question," "Lawmakers draft bill to bar oil drilling," David Schaefer, *The Seattle Times*, 5-9-1991

"The outer coast of Washington," Ibid.

"feel-good" legislation," "Brady Bill under gun," Washington Post news service, *The Seattle Times*, 5-9-1991

Brady Bill final passage votes, Govtrack.us, www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/103-1994/h156

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ANITA HILL CLASS

"True conservative," quoted in "The Thomas-Hill Question, Answered Anew," Margo Jefferson, *The New York Times*, 11-11-1994

"one minutes" speeches defending Hill, "An oral history of the day women changed Congress," Lisa Chase, *Elle* magazine, 9-9-2014, www.elle.com/culture/career-politics/a14737/history-of-nytimes-photo-house-of-representatives-1991/

"all hell broke loose," Ibid.

"scorned woman," quoted in "Anita Hill talks feminism," Irin Carmon, MSNBC, 3-27-2014, www.msnbc.com/msnbc/anita-hill-her-regrets

"high-tech lynching," Hearing of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court, 10-11-1991, Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library

"The Anita Hill Class," "Women on the verge of the law," Jill Abramson, *The New York Times*, 7-18-2009

"My first political hero," quoted in "GOP's Fiske is no big risk," *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, p. A-4, 10-29-1992

"Many civil libertarians," Ibid.

"She's a tough broad," Ibid.

"Woman would you weep for me?" Chandler-Murray debate, You Tube,

www.c-span.org/video/?c4583971/dang-rod-chandler

"That's the attitude," Ibid.

"This is supposed to be the year of the women," quoted in *Why Congress Needs Women*, p. 180

"fair and balanced" plan," *William J. Clinton Public Papers*, p. 966, Library of Congress

"The time has come to act," Ibid.

"And we need to end the subsidies," Ibid.

"a harrowing final week," "President signs 'Brady' gun control law," CQ Almanac 1993 library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php?id=cqal93-1105725

a "constitutional turkey," quoted in GOA blog, www.gunowners.org/nws9402.htm

"Second Amendment guy," quoted in "Renewable energy was Congress-

man Inslee's key passion," Kyung M. Song, *The Seattle Times*, 9-30-2012

Inslee also voted, Ibid.

"more than 25 years old," quoted in a report, the "Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)," Illinois Institute of Technology Paul V. Galvin Library

"large U.S. corporations," quoted in "Northwest NAFTA foes blast vote," AP, *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 11-18-1993

"giant sucking sound," quoted in *The American President*, p. 700

Chapter Nine: The Contract

"Bitches like her," Ibid., p. 746

"counterculture McGovernicks" and the "the enemy of normal Americans." Ibid., p. 746

"A Republican victory in November," Ibid., p. 747

"Outraged" by her opposition, quoted in "On the House," *National Journal*, 12-22-1993

"sitting in a black leather," quoted in "Gun-control candidate takes on Unsoeld," Mindy Chambers, *The Olympian*, 6-10-1994

"too rich to honestly represent," quoted in "2 GOP candidates eye Unsoeld," Mindy Chambers, *The Olympian*, p. C-1, 8-28-1994.

"Tom Foley: Out of the Liberal Closet," from Destiny and Power, *The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush*, p. 391

"That kind of gut shot," quoted in Ibid.

"subjected to vicious personal attacks," quoted in "Moyer quits congressional race," Mindy Chambers, *The Olympian*, 9-1-1994

"I've always been a crusader," quoted in "Mrs. Smith goes to Congress?", David Ammons, AP, *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, 10-9-1994

"Contract with America" quotes, "Contract with America," www.u-s-history.com/pages/h2052.html

"The Democrats have had the ball," Jennifer Dunn one-minute speech, 10-5-1994, www.c-span.org/video/?60683-1/house-session&start=755

"Domestic violence has reached," Jolene Unsoeld one-minute speech, 10-4-1994, www.c-span.org/video/?60683-1/house-session&start=755

"It's too bad," quoted in "Unsoeld, Kreidler criticize GOP 'Contract,' " Mindy Chambers, *The Olympian*, 10-1-1994

"League of Women Vipers," quoted in "Rep. Unsoeld faces another political mountain," William DiBenedetto, JOC.com, 11-6-1994, www.joc.com/maritime-news/rep-unsoeld-faces-another-political-mountain-climb

"She's basically the challenger now," quoted in "Jolene's toughest climb?"

David Ammons, AP, *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, p.1, 10-21-1994

"after the election," quoted in "Smith sets off a feud," Mindy Chambers, *The Olympian*, p. 1, 10-22-1994 "he'll be so proud," Ibid.

"kind of like an adopted daughter," Ibid.

"I don't know what her game is," Ibid.

"was actually my trainer," quoted in "Unsoeld says her father not backing challenger," David Ammons, AP, *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, p. 1, 10-22-1994

"We'll peak on November 8," quoted in "Did the GOP peak too soon?" David Ammons, AP, *The Daily World*, Aberdeen, p. A-4, 10-23-1994

"It's kind of a dark and stormy night" and the remainder of Unsoeld's concession speech, quoted in "Republicans Romp," Laurie Smith, *The Daily News*, Longview, p. 1, 11-9-1994

"We got the living daylights beat out of us," quoted in Leuchtenburg, The American President, p. 747

CHAPTER 10: A NEW ASSIGNMENT

"too controversial," quoted in "Unsoeld: More time for grandkids, issues," Gregg Herrington, *The Columbian*, Vancouver, WA, 2-26-1995

"end fighting," Statement for Referendum Bill 45, Washington State 1995 Voters Pamphlet, p. 10

"nine unelected, part-time political appointees," Statement against Referendum Bill 45, Ibid., p. 11

"Citizen participation is going to be critical," quoted in "Unsoeld chosen for wildlife panel," Bob Partlow, *The Olympian*, p. C6, 9-25-1995

"a mantra of political correctness," quoted in "Fishing factions snared in feud," Lynda V. Mapes, *The Seattle Times*, 3-1-1998

"If you cut the commercials out of it," Ibid.

"believe commercial fishing should be strung up," Ibid.

"This horrifically underqualified," Ibid.

"cannery-row mentality," Ibid.

"Pure baloney!" quoted in "Unsoeld booted from Wildlife Commission," David Postman, *The Seattle Times*, 2-14-1998

"Raw politics," quoted in "Unsoeld removed," AP in the *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 2-14-1998

"If we're going to be able to preserve," Ibid.

"breath of fresh air," quoted in "Unsoeld showed a unique ability," letter to the editor, *The Seattle Times*, 3-2-1998

"The public needs this person," Ibid.

"I don't think that would be productive," quoted in "Fishing factions snared in feud," Lynda V. Mapes, *The Seattle Times*, 3-1-1998

"shameful" and "a blatant misuse," quoted in "WSDOT chief ousted," Mike Lindblom and Joseph O'Sullivan, *The Seattle Times*, 2-5-2016

"Long before my appointment," press statement by Jolene Unsoeld, 2-8-2016, emailed to author; now in Legacy Washington files, Washington State Library

"This woman defined," quoted in "You are more than just a voter," Little Hollywood blog, 10-30-2012

"I suspect there were few," Allen Hayward, *My Ride*, p. 323

Washington's Kaleidoscope

21st century Washington is rapidly changing. Our diverse state is made up of independent and innovative people who persevere against long odds. Who are we? Where do we come from? Who do we become? Follow the journey of key Washingtonians in a series of online profiles published by Legacy Washington.