Wilbur G. Hallauer

An Oral History

Washington State Oral History Program
Office of the Secretary of State

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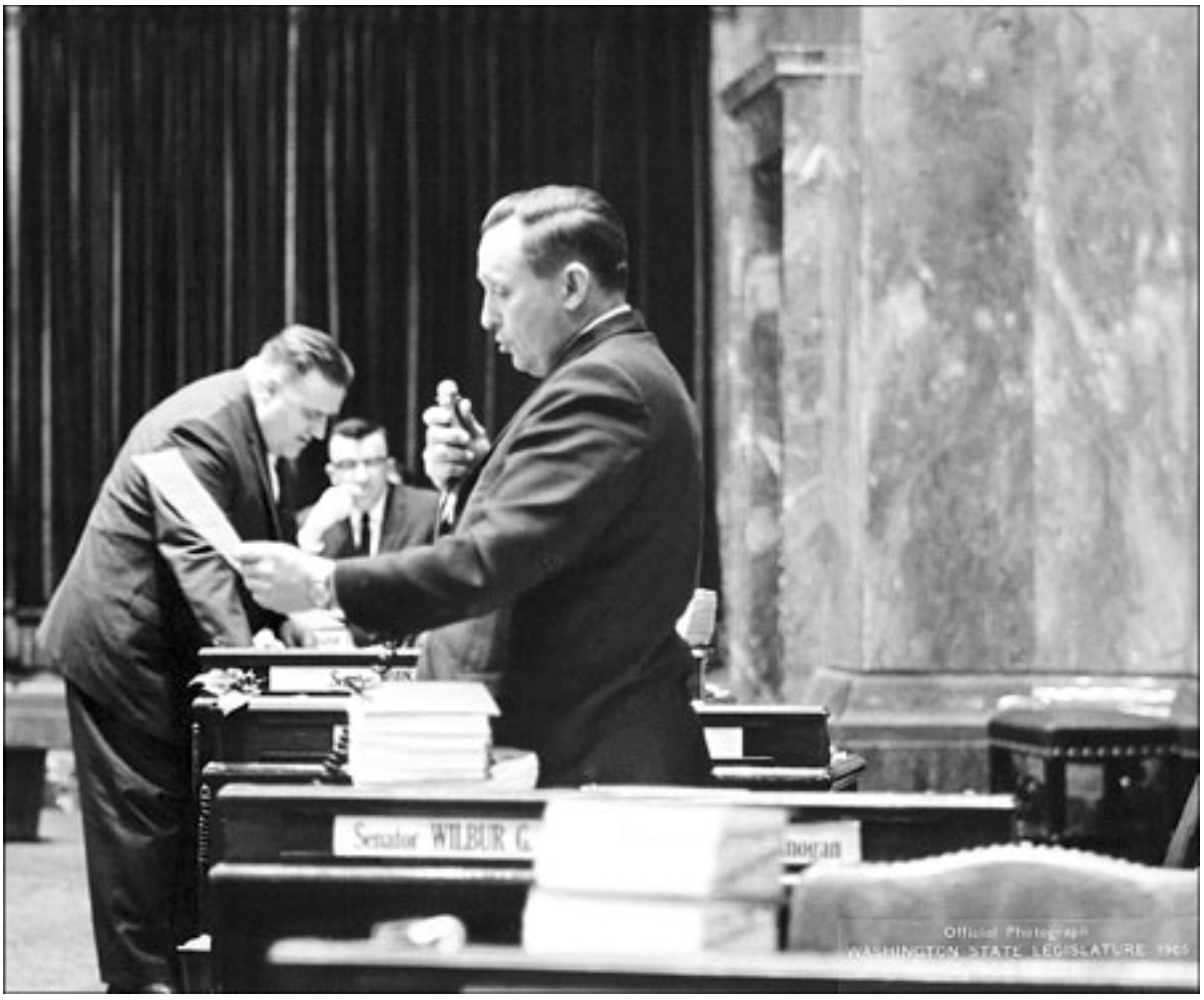
Interviewed by Thomas J. Kerr

Washington State Oral History Program
Office of the Secretary of State
Ralph Munro, Secretary of State 1981-2001
Sam Reed, Secretary of State



Senator Wilbur Hallauer on the floor of the Washington State Senate in 1965.

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The political circus attracts many who do not become performers within the charmed rings of public observance. Whether carrying water to the elephants or setting up the wire cables for the high trapeze acts, the work of these associated workers is necessary to the gladiators who hold the public attention. Without dedicated and talented people to help, the show could not go on. Often the political and intellectual acumen of the politician's support group is the making of that politician.

This applies in my own case.

Over the years, Max R. Nicolai, Warren Featherstone Reid, and Charles B. Roe have been, variously, nursemaids, intellectual stimulators, alter egos, challengers, Simon Legrees, and, above all, friends. If I amounted to anything in politics and otherwise, it is because I am, in large part, THEM.

I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

WEB HALLAUER

FOREWORD

ABOUT WILBUR G. HALLAUER

As a long-time legislative colleague and friend, it was an honor to be asked to write a foreword for Web Hallauer's oral history book. Web was an outstanding legislator—one not seeking headlines, but dedicated to doing a good job and always unswerving in those basic principles in which he believed. Web was a team player, but never wavered from support of his beliefs. He was very knowledgeable on issues and matters on which he was asked to act.

Coming to the House of Representatives in the 1949 session, Web was named chairman of the Horticulture Committee in his first session, also serving in that capacity in 1951.

During his legislative career, Web served on a multitude of committees, but over time steered himself to two main interests—higher education and libraries, and the committees relating to revenue, taxation, and appropriations, usually encompassed in the Committee on Ways and Means.

In the field of higher education, Web was a leader in work done at that time to bring our institutions of higher learning to a much improved standard. He was one of the architects leading the organization and establishment of our present excellent community college system.

I would say that the zenith of Web's legislative career occured during the four years he was chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee—a very powerful and important position. It was the most difficult job in the Legislature and demanded many days of long hours and hard work. Web was always in command of the situation, and when his budgets were presented on the floor, Web knew every detail of the document and his presentations went very smoothly, which was a far cry from some similar situations in previous sessions.

A few years after leaving the Legislature, Web served four years as director of the Washington State Department of Ecology.

Throughout all of the years I have known him, I have always been impressed with Web's unfailing support for social issues and his devotion to the cause of civil liberties and civil rights. A successful businessman, Web never forgot those less fortunate in society. He always stood firm on their behalf. His loyalty to friends with problems and his fight to see that everyone be given their rights to be seen and heard put Web, in many cases, in the public eye on positions that most politicians would have dodged or just remained silent. Not Web Hallauer.

FOREWORD

In all things, Web Hallauer was always a compassionate person—this at a time long before the word “compassionate” became an adjective to a political ideology.

ROBERT BAILEY
Former Washington State Senator

PREFACE

The Washington State Oral History Program was established in 1991 by the Washington State Legislature to document the formation of public policy in Washington State. It is located in the Office of the Secretary of State and guided by the Oral History Advisory Committee.

Each oral history is a valuable record of an individual's contributions and convictions, their interpretation of events, and their relationships with other participants in the civic life of the state. By reading these oral histories, the complex interweaving of the personal and political processes that shape public policy are revealed.

The Oral History Advisory Committee chooses candidates for oral histories. Extensive research is then conducted about the life and activities of the prospective interviewee, using legislative journals, newspaper accounts, personal papers, and other sources. Then a series of taped interviews is conducted, focusing on the interviewee's public life and contributions, but also including personal sources of their values and beliefs. Political values, ideas about public service, interpretation of events, and reflections about relationships and the political process are explored. When the interviews have been completed, a verbatim transcript is prepared. These transcripts are edited and reviewed by the interviewer and interviewee to ensure readability and accuracy. Finally, the transcript is published and distributed to libraries, archives, and interested individuals. An electronic version of the text is also available on the Secretary of State web site (www.secstate.wa.gov).

Recollection and interpretation of events vary. It is the hope of the Oral History Program that this work will help citizens of the State of Washington better understand their political legacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Washington State Oral History Program wishes to thank all of those who contributed to this project.

Senator Web Hallauer and Jo Hallauer graciously offered hospitality to our interviewer as well as their full attention to the crafting of this oral history. We thank them for their dedication to accuracy, patience, and deep interest in the program. Charles Roe read the entire manuscript and offered helpful suggestions. He contributed several of the photographs and plumbed his prodigious memory for names and other details of fact. Merilynn Wilson also gave generously of her time and expertise with her careful reading of the manuscript and thoughtful comments.

We appreciate the members of our Legislative Advisory Committee for their guidance, support, and unfailing interest in this work. The committee includes Senators Sid Snyder, Shirley Winsley, and Al Bauer; Representatives Patricia Lantz, Karen Keiser, Don Carlson, and Kathy Lambert; Secretary of State Ralph Munro, Secretary of the Senate Tony Cook, and Co-Chief Clerks of the House Tim Martin and Cindy Zehnder. Ex Officio members are Warren Bishop, David Nicandri, Dean Foster, and former legislators Robert Bailey, Alan Thompson, Eugene Prince, and Don Brazier.

This oral history was printed by the helpful staff of the Washington State Department of Printing. We thank them for their professional assistance.

Secretary of State Ralph Munro and Deputy Secretary of State Tracy Guerin have been a constant source of support. Their encouragement and dedication have sustained the program. Many others in the Office of the Secretary of State have lent their assistance to the program in innumerable ways. We thank them for their generous assistance.

All those named gave more than we asked. It is a privilege to acknowledge them.

THE WASHINGTON STATE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

INTERVIEWING WILBUR G. HALLAUER

The interviews comprising this oral history were conducted between August 1998 and March 1999. All of them took place at Web Hallauer's Oroville home, overlooking Lake Osoyoos. Because of the considerable distance between Ellensburg and Oroville, Web and his wife Jo graciously opened their home to me, insisting that I spend the night there on each of my trips, and treating me like a favored guest.

The visits took on a pattern. Jo would have soup and homemade bread ready for my arrival at lunch time. The three of us would visit for a while and then Web and I would adjourn to his office to begin the interviewing. Our discussions, both on and off the record, would usually last about three hours. After more visiting, we would all drive the short distance across the Canadian border to Osoyoos for dinner. Upon returning, Jo and Web would engage in the most furious best-of-three games of cribbage I have ever witnessed. Although I am a life-long cribbage enthusiast, I quickly concluded that the prudent course was to remain an observer of the proceedings, rather than a participant. After breakfast the following morning, Web and I would again work for two or three hours. And, after lunch, I would drive back to Ellensburg.

This pattern had the effect of transforming the interview process into a real social occasion, and I found I looked forward to the visiting as much as the interviewing. As a result, I had an unusual opportunity to get to know Web and Jo and, of course, our conversations went well beyond the formal context of the interviews. Their warmth, grace, and enthusiasm have been a constant source of pleasure to me and, indeed the opportunity to forge a lasting friendship with these two wonderful people has been the most rewarding result of the entire experience. And while Web's words and recollections more than speak for themselves, a few observations and remarks may be appropriate at this point.

Certainly, it would become obvious to anyone who spends any amount of time with Web Hallauer that he is a man of extraordinarily broad interests and experiences. Not only has he been deeply involved in both business and politics throughout his life, but he also, to this day, manifests an extremely lively intellectual curiosity and is as completely at home in the world of ideas and books as he is in the more "practical" domains of business and politics.

Web has been an entrepreneur and business manager throughout his entire life, and continues to be active in business today. The office in his home continues to resound with the ringing of the telephone and the clattering of the fax machine. Over the years he has engaged in a wide variety of business

enterprises, ranging from fruit drying to gold mining, a number of which he discusses in the following pages. What is clear to the outside observer is that not only has he been very successful in those activities, but that he continues to enjoy the process of "closing the deal." From time to time during our conversations, we would be interrupted by a call from an attorney or business associate, and Web's business acuity became apparent even to me, a complete stranger to the world of commerce.

The principal focus of our discussions was upon Web's political life. In that respect, several aspects of his life, philosophy, and outlook come through quite clearly. Throughout his political career, Web exhibited a willingness to step forward and take on the tough jobs. He became a member of the House Revenue and Taxation Committee in his first legislative session in 1949 and, for the next twenty years, continued to serve on the critical revenue and appropriations committees of the House and Senate. For a number of years he was chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee.

The same willingness to tackle difficult and controversial issues can be seen in Web's work as chairman of the Interim Committee on Water Resources. Under his skillful leadership, that committee produced a total of ten major bills, all of which were passed in a single session of the Legislature. Later, as director of the Department of Ecology, he set in motion, among other things, the long and arduous process of sorting out the water rights of people living in the area drained by the Yakima River system—a process that continues even today.

Over the course of his long career, Web continued to demonstrate an ability to reach across party lines. A spirit of compromise, of give and take, seems to have come quite naturally to him. Certainly, that quality was no small factor in explaining his repeated elections as a Democrat in a conservative constituency. His flair for interrelating with people of different parties and viewpoints also proved to be indispensable in the difficult legislative committee work he consistently undertook—especially on the tax-writing and expenditure committees of the House and Senate.

From time to time during the interviews, Web would comment that he liked many of the people he found on the opposite side of an issue. This ability to see others, and especially political opponents, as human beings of good will, rather than bearers of party or ideological labels, is absolutely crucial in the successful forging of the compromises that define the legislative process. Those many people who today seem to minimize the value of compromise in a system of representative democracy would do well to pay attention to the records of legislators like Web Hallauer.

Similarly, in an era of poll-driven politics, when there seems to be an increasing tendency of legislators to refer many of the difficult issues to the voters, Web's philosophy of representation merits comment. He has always believed deeply in the principle of republican government. That is, he has always assumed that representatives are elected to make decisions on behalf of their constituents on the basis of the information available to them and their own best judgment. They are responsible to their constituents, but only they can decide and act. In listening to Web describe and discuss his life as an elected representative, I found myself constantly reminded of those words expressed more than two-hundred years ago by Edmund Burke when he set forth his view of what the relationship between the representative and his constituents should be: "The wishes [of the constituents] ought to have great weight with [the representative], their opinions high respect, their business unremitted attention. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living." Web himself is probably far too modest to claim such a pedigree, but his willingness to make the tough calls, and bear the political consequences, should serve as a model for those who aspire to public service.

Over the course of his life, both in and out of public office, Web has remained a stalwart defender of civil liberties. Since joining the American Civil Liberties Union in 1940, he has continued to support that organization, once serving as a Washington State board member. The specific interests and causes have varied: providing comfort to Japanese-Americans who were interned during World War II; supporting those whose civil liberties were jeopardized by various "professional anti-communists" during the 1940s to the 1960s—most notably his friend and colleague, John Goldmark; defending religious liberties in the State Legislature against periodic challenges; supporting the rights of students to protest the Vietnam War. It is no accident that many of his former colleagues remember him best in the role of spokesman for civil liberties.

Web had an active interest in environmental problems well before that became a fashionable cause. His work as chairman of the Interim Committee on Water Resources represents one of the very first serious efforts to address some of the major environmental problems of the state of Washington. As director of the Department of Ecology, he continued to address the vexing problem of how to balance the need to maintain a healthy environment with the needs of people to make a living. While there will always be disagreement about where the balance should lie, I came away from these interviews with no doubt that the quality of Web's opinions are such that they should occupy a central place in any public debate on environmental policy.

Finally, the opportunity to engage in these extensive conversations served as a powerful reminder of something we too often take for granted. And that is that the ability of government to function, to address an unending stream of difficult and complex public problems, depends upon the willingness of our fellow citizens to step forward and serve—often at considerable personal sacrifice. We are fortunate indeed that men and women of Web Hallauer's caliber have been willing to do so.

THOMAS J. KERR
Interviewer

BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

WILBUR G. HALLAUER

Wilbur George Hallauer, known by everyone as Web, was born on May 29, 1914, in Webster, New York, near the city of Rochester. He was the seventh of eight children born to George and Amelia Hallauer. His father and grandfather were engaged in farming, fruit growing, and the fruit and vegetable drying business. His father had also served as the first "president" of the village of Webster.

When Web was twelve years old, his family moved to the Yakima area where his father re-established himself in the dried fruit business. He worked in the family firm, the Valley Evaporating Company, while continuing his education. Graduating from Yakima High School in 1931, he attended the newly established Yakima Junior College before going on to the University of Washington, where he earned a degree in labor economics in 1937.

Upon completion of his university studies, he embarked on a round-the-world trip that took him through such countries as Japan, China, the Soviet Union, and Germany on the eve of World War II. That was the first of numerous trips that he has taken to various parts of the world.

In the course of the late 1920s and 1930s, the Valley Evaporating Company established a number of drying factories in Eastern Washington and, in 1936, Web became manager of the firm's Oroville facility. Along with other company responsibilities, Web continued in that capacity for the next forty-one years. During the same period, he engaged in numerous other entrepreneurial activities, including orcharding, property acquisition and management in the Seattle area, and tree farming. These activities have extended as far as Argentina, where he established a fruit drying factory.

Web also developed a keen interest in geology and continued to take university courses in that discipline even after having been elected to the state legislature. That interest has led to investments in mineral properties in the United States, British Columbia, and several South American countries. He continues to be active in this area and, since 1994, has served as chairman emeritus of Yamana Resources Inc. of Spokane.

Web began his political career in 1943 as a councilman in the town of Oroville. He was elected to the Washington House of Representatives in 1948, serving there for eight years before being elected to the Senate, where he remained until 1969. During his twenty-year legislative career, he was particularly well known for his committee work and for his staunch support of civil liberties. During his Olympia years he chaired the House Revenue Committee, the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Ways and Means Committee. He was also the chairman of the Legislative Interim

Committee on Water Resources—a committee that had the distinction of recommending ten major pieces of legislation, all of which were subsequently enacted.

Joining the American Civil Liberties Union in 1940, Web has continued his support of that organization to this day, on one occasion serving as a member of its state board of directors. He has been a consistent supporter of the First Amendment rights of free speech and freedom of religion. He frequently spoke on behalf of those values on the floor of the legislature during his long career. He was also a firm supporter of his Okanogan colleague, John Goldmark, in the latter's libel suit against Albert Canwell and others in 1963-64. In the period 1967-68, he toured college campuses throughout the state, speaking against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam and he publicly supported the right of University of Washington students to protest the war.

He chose not to run for re-election in 1968 after redistricting had drastically altered the nature of the district that he had represented for twenty years. After a number of years in private life, he was called back into public service by Governor Dixy Lee Ray to serve as director of Ecology, an office that he held from 1977 through 1980. During his years at Ecology, Web addressed a number of important policy issues, including that of oil ports on Puget Sound, the setting of minimum flows on the Columbia River and its tributaries, and the Yakima River Basin Enhancement Project. While director of Ecology he also initiated the landmark case of *Department of Ecology v. Acquavella*, which has been concerned with the distribution of water rights in the Yakima River Basin.

Web married Rose Marie Scacco of Oroville in 1942 and they had two daughters, Merry and Teresa, who presently live in Seattle. The marriage ended in divorce in 1967. He subsequently married Jo Pardee, who had been the director of the North Central Regional Library. They live in Oroville in a home overlooking Lake Osoyoos where Web continues to engage in various business enterprises and where he and Jo continue to enjoy vegetable gardening, book collecting, and visits by their children and grandchildren. They also continue to make occasional visits to their beloved retreat on Savary Island, in the inland waters of British Columbia.

CHAPTER 1

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Thomas Kerr: It's customary in these oral histories to begin with a discussion of the family and personal background. So I'm going to ask you some questions about your grandparents, your parents, the establishment of your family in Webster and, ultimately, your move to Yakima.

But first of all, for the record, could you please indicate your name and the place and date of your birth?

Wilbur Hallauer: My name is Wilbur G.—for George—Hallauer. Everybody calls me Web. I was born on May 29, 1914, at Webster, New York.

TK: Could you tell me something about your grandparents, on both your father's and your mother's side? Where and when were they born?

WH: My grandfather, John W. Hallauer, was born in Switzerland in the canton of Schaffhausen in 1840. He came with his parents to the United States in 1849. They settled in Monroe County just east of Rochester, New York in the community of Webster. Evidently, they must have had a bit of money because they bought one hundred and sixty acres of land, put most of it into orchard, and built up a rather large farming complex. My grandfather, as he became older, got involved in the dried fruit business, fruit packing, fruit and vegetable canning, cold storage and all that sort of thing. He died in 1909. My father inherited half of those original hundred and sixty acres.

My grandmother, who married John W. Hallauer, was born in Baden, Germany, and evidently was somewhat younger than my grandfather. Both of them died before I was born, so I never had a personal acquaintance with either one. What I know about them is largely hearsay. But, certainly, Grandfather Hallauer was an entrepreneur of sorts in the community.

My mother's parents were Emil Klauss and Emily Seyler. Both were Alsatian and came from Strasbourg in 1873. My mother was their oldest child, and she was born in the United States.

My maternal grandfather was, according to the family history, an "officer" in the French army at the time of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871-72. He was captured by the Germans in the course of the war, and while in a German prison camp learned to be a cobbler. When the war was over between Germany and France on that particular occasion, he was no longer welcome in Alsace because the province had been annexed by the Germans. He obviously had urgent reasons to leave, and so he and his new wife moved to the United States to a little place called Union Hill, New York, which is on the boundary between Wayne County and Monroe County, and about three miles away from the town of Webster. I know very little about my grandfather except he apparently had a little bit too good a taste for stimulating beverages. I did know the one grandparent, my mother's mother. She is the one of the grandparents that I actually knew. She died while the family was still situated in Webster.

TK: That was the Klauss family?

WH: Yes. My mother was the oldest child in that family. I think there were five children in the family.

TK: I noticed in reading your personal statement that your grandfather Hallauer immigrated to the United States in 1849 or 1848?

WH: It was 1849.

TK: Well, that was a time of great political upheaval in Europe, and I was wondering whether there might have been a connection between those events and their decision to leave Europe?

WH: I've often wondered about that, but there is nothing in the family records that say anything about it. We do have some family records that go back a couple of centuries beyond that, but all they are is listings of who were children of whom, and it doesn't give any personal flavor of what sort of people they were or anything. But, obviously, they lived in an area of Switzerland noted for its grapes and orchards and horticulture, the region of the Rhine Falls. The little town of Hallau is obviously where most of the Hallauers came from. The little town of Wilchingen that is mentioned in the official records as being the birthplace of my grandfather, is situated about two miles from Hallau, so for all purposes, they amount to a single community. It's the south-facing slope towards the Rhine River with lots of vineyards. I've been there several times, and the name Hallauer has a little magic because it's the biggest wine making group in the whole country.

TK: I also noticed that you mentioned that your paternal grandmother and grandfather, as children, traveled with their families on the same boat to America.

WH: Yes.

TK: Were the families traveling together?

WH: No, obviously not. I had never heard anything like that.

TK: Immigrant families often traveled in groups, and I was curious as to whether that might have been the case with them.

WH: I attribute that to the fact that the land companies that owned a great deal of the agricultural tracts in upstate New York put on active sales programs over in Europe, and they would target a whole community and bring a number of people together. They must have done that, generally, in the German-speaking communities of the Rhine country.

As you said, things were politically upset at that time, and people were on the move.

TK: Do you know whether they went directly to upstate New York, or did they try other places first?

WH: As far as I know they went directly there. I suspect that they had made some sort of connection with the land before they even saw it, but there's nothing in the family record on that. This is supposition based on what little I know of their activities. They immediately went to work and started farming the property.

TK: So their original intent, apparently, was to get into the food industry?

WH: Yes.

TK: With respect to your grandfather, Emil Klauss, did he immigrate to the United States first, and then send for your grandmother?

WH: I'm not clear about that. That could be the case.

TK: What did your paternal grandfather's family do for a living before he came to America?

WH: I have nothing to go on. I have an obituary from 1909 for my grandfather, John W., and it just gives the bare-bones facts that he came to the country as a child in 1849.

TK: On the maternal side, just to get that straight, did your grandfather continue to work as a cobbler?

WH: Yes.

TK: That was in Rochester, or the Rochester area?

WH: Yes, in this little village of Union Hill. He had a cobbler's shop there. He also had what I'd call a small, household-type farm, maybe five acres. He kept that immaculate. It always was that way. Evidently, he used the boys in his family to keep it up, and they had really everything you could imagine in the way of fruits and vegetables in that little tract. They lived off the land and his earnings as a cobbler, I always supposed.

TK: You also mentioned that he was something of a puppeteer?

WH: That was in the records, yes. He must have learned that as a child or a young man over in Strasbourg.

TK: What about your grandparents' education? Do you have any information on that?

WH: The only educational bit that I have is the business about prisoner of war training as a cobbler.

TK: How many children did they have? First of all, your paternal grandparents and then your maternal grandparents?

WH: The paternal grandparents had four children of whom my father was the youngest. There were two boys and two girls. I remember my Uncle John, my father's brother, very well because when we moved to the state of Washington from New York State, a year later he and his family also moved. And while they didn't join us, we were always very close. My cousin, Walter, and I had to share a bed for awhile when this process was going on. Walter later became an active businessman in the Wapato area of Washington. He had the Wapato Evaporating Company.

TK: They had four children. And you've said that your mother's family consisted of five children?

WH: Yes, that's right. My mother, Amelia, Fred, Otto, Louise, and Arnold. Of course, Aunt Louise, she was my favorite. She was the cookie producer on my way home from school.

TK: Was German spoken in that family, in your grandparent's family?

WH: In both of them, yes. My Alsatian grandparents were bilingual. I remember a number of visits from two cousins who came from Nice in France to visit us. They had a hairdressing salon there. Then there was Eugene who lived in Los Angeles, who was a sausage manufacturer. Anyway, the French element must have come from my grandmother, whose maiden name was Seyler. The Seylers certainly didn't use their German very much. They used French a great deal.

I know that my mother was a member of the same church as my father in her early days and sermons would be given in German. That was so even when I was growing up and living in Webster. I learned a few words out of it and we even had these ministers come for Sunday dinner and the like.

Dad and Mother had the habit of whenever they wanted to say something to each other without the children catching on, they would talk in German. That provided the greatest incentive in the world to learn a little bit of it!

TK: There must have been quite a few Germans living in that area.

WH: Oh, there were. We had a lot of German-speaking friends, and German was a fairly common thing around the house when friends came to visit. Otherwise, the conversations were always in English.

TK: With respect to church life, the area in which they lived, western New York had been the scene of great evangelical fervor during the nineteenth century. Did any of that religious enthusiasm affect your grandparents as far as you know?

WH: They belonged to what was called the Evangelical Church. Then, maybe, thirty years ago that church joined with the United Brethren Church. But it really had some connection in Europe with the Mennonite movement. Anyway, it was a very strict church, and my greatest difficulties with my parents always centered on my father's particular insistence upon our church and Sunday school attendance. He believed in the very strictest Old Testament application of morality.

There were some bitter occasions, frankly, when I was growing up, between my father and myself. They eventually got resolved, but they were very unpleasant at the time. Mother didn't participate in these quarrels, but Father pushed

me hard to be a conformist according to his faith, and I wasn't ready for it.

Matter of fact, one of the things that probably got me started in my interpretation of the hereafter and religion was that we had that well-known five-foot bookshelf known as the *Harvard Classics*. Included in it was Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, which I read in full at age nine. The quarrels started about then.

TK: Really? How did your family react to that kind of material? Or did they know anything about the content of the book?

WH: Nobody paid much attention to it. I read everything that came to hand, and the house was wonderfully well stocked with books. My sister, Ada, who was sixteen years older than I, attended college in Illinois. My brother, Harley, had attended Cornell. Ralph had attended Rensselaer Polytechnic. And then brother Arthur, he was ten years older than I, attended the University of Rochester and surprisingly got his degree in history. Ralph started out in civil engineering and wound up as the secretary and sales manager for our family company. Nobody did what they took their training to do.

Anyway, we were all readers. My sister, Lillian, got her degree and her Phi Beta Kappa key at the University of Washington in library work. Helen took liberal arts courses at the UW and then took nurses training. Evelyn went to Central Washington and got her degree there and taught school for awhile.

So, it was a pattern of university training for all of us.

TK: It certainly does seem that education ranked high on the scale of Hallauer family values and that books have always been very important to you.

WH: Yes.

TK: Back to the subject of your grandparents before we move on, what about politics? Did your grandparents take out citizenship?

WH: Yes. They became citizens. All of them did.

TK: Did your grandparents participate at all in politics?

WH: Not to my knowledge.

My father, however, was elected the first president, which is what they call them back in New York State, of the village of Webster when it incorporated. I went there fifteen years ago, I guess, with an elderly cousin who knew all the people in the city hall. The city has enlarged considerably, since it's now the location of the Xerox Corporation. But hanging there in the Webster city hall are the pictures of all the village presidents from then up until now, and my father's picture was there at the head of the line.

They gave me a copy of a play that somebody had written for a replication of the ceremonies that took place when Webster was incorporated. And one of the characters in the play was George Hallauer.

Anyway, he was somewhat active in politics.

TK: Was that non-partisan political activity? Or did your father ever get involved in party politics?

WH: No, I don't think he was ever involved in partisan politics.

I know my Uncle Harry and Aunt Louise were active in the Prohibition Party and that made it very difficult for him to get his appointment as postmaster of the town. With the Republicans in power in the 1920s when he was appointed, it took a lot of political doing to get them to agree to the appointment of someone from outside of the party.

TK: Has your family passed along any memorable stories about your grandparents beyond what we've talked about?

WH: There is one little reference to my Grandfather Klauss having had a little bit of notoriety for indulging. That's about the only thing that would classify within the bounds.

TK: What kind of notoriety did he enjoy?

WH: Well, it was known that he liked his

schnapps. But, certainly, on the other side of the family, it was drearily prohibitionist.

In fact, related to that is an amusing story about my father who was a prohibitionist. At a Christmas, maybe sixty years ago when Mother was still living, probably about 1940, he stopped somewhere on his way home and bought a bottle of Loganberry Nectar. When he got home, he dutifully poured a dram or two for each one of us, and there were quite a few of us at home at that time of the year. My brothers and sisters and I of course immediately recognized that there was some alcohol in the beverage, and I went and got the bottle and read the fine print. It said something like twelve percent. Dad liked it, and he was having two or three of them, and I didn't dare tell him that it was alcoholic or he'd have been dreadfully upset.

TK: With respect to your parents, could you give me the names, dates and birthplaces of your mother and father?

WH: Dad was born March 31, 1872 in Webster. Mother was born May 28, 1873, I believe, in Union Hill.

TK: What was her first name?

WH: Amelia. My father called her Mil.

TK: When did they die?

WH: Mother died in early March of 1949. I think March 3. It was during my first session at the Legislature, and I had to be excused to attend the services.

TK: What about your father?

WH: My father died in 1955 on September 26 in Yakima.

TK: Both of them died in Yakima?

WH: Yes. In the family home. In fact, I'd talked to my father on the phone the day before he died. Everything seemed normal. He wanted to know how the crop was proceeding, what it looked like and all that sort of thing. He kept his interest up and always encouraged me when I got the idea I wanted to plant a few fruit trees, which I'm afraid I overdid in the course of my life.

TK: With respect to your mother, could you tell me anything about her life up to the point that she married your father?

WH: I have a few stories that my aunts told me about her. One of the stories was that in Union Hill there was a cheese factory, and the kids got playing over there, and mother fell in one of the cheese vats on a Sunday afternoon and had to be rescued. That caused a great commotion because if she hadn't had company with her she could have been gone.

Then, when she grew to be a young woman, she got a job in what they called in those days, a millinery store. They did a lot of sewing to order for women who had their clothes made-to-order. She did that, as far as I know, until she met my father through the church. They married in January of 1897.

TK: Did she have a chance to go to school?

WH: As far as I know, Mother's education was eighth grade. Father went through high school and then business college in Rochester.

TK: That was something rather unusual because relatively few people went on to higher education in the nineteenth century.

WH: I think the business school was just a one-year thing. They taught you bookkeeping and that sort of thing.

TK: You mentioned that your mother and father met in a church setting. Did they have a long courtship?

WH: I can't answer that. I don't know.

TK: How old were they when they were married?

WH: In 1897 Dad would have been twenty-five, and Mother would have been twenty-four.

TK: How many children did they have?

WH: Eight. I'm number seven.

TK: Did all of the children survive into adulthood?

WH: Yes. All who were born survived.

TK: Given such a large family, eight children, you must have lived in a big house in Webster.

WH: There were seven bedrooms in it.

TK: Do you remember it?

WH: I remember it, absolutely, very, very well. For whatever reasons, we didn't move into the old farmhouse that my grandfather had occupied until 1918. Probably, my first memory was the truck taking the household goods the distance of a half a mile from where we were living in a house that my father and mother had built in 1897, when they were married, for fifteen hundred dollars. It only had four bedrooms. We moved to the farmhouse a half a mile away which had seven bedrooms. And by that time we needed them.

TK: How would you characterize the relationship of your mother to you and to your siblings? Was she a disciplinarian?

WH: No.

TK: Was she permissive? How did she interact with all of you kids?

WH: She would say, "Now Wibby, I'll have to tell your father if you don't behave."

TK: Raising eight children in the years between 1898 and 1916 could not have been very easy?

WH: Mother was very, very hard working.

TK: What are your sharpest memories of her during those years of raising all those children?

WH: She was a wonderful cook, in her way, and one thing that always defeated her was pie crust. She never could do it so that they came out tender. But some of the Alsatian dishes that she prepared were fabulous. She made French-fried potatoes when nobody else knew there was such a thing.

TK: What about your father?

WH: My father was a very, very stern disciplinarian. I think I probably got ninety percent of the lickings that were administered, and I deserved them, undoubtedly. Some of them were for things that I didn't think at the time were quite appropriate. He would take a piece of lawn hose about three feet long and use it on my backside, and he would use it with vigor. Then about two hours later he'd come to me when I was in my bed, sometimes still crying, and try to comfort me and make amends. But he always insisted that I had to behave better. Some of these occasions came from his insistence on religious conformity. Some of them were for just pure juvenile delinquency, you might say. Those I deserved. The ones that I got from my religious resistance were not!

TK: So the values he was trying to impart to you were based upon a literal reading of the Bible?

WH: Oh yes. You had to accept the Bible as it was, and I couldn't do that.

TK: Did your other brothers and sisters have the same problem in that respect?

WH: I know Harley, my oldest brother, did to an extent. But then he went off to college. He had acceded to father until he got away from home and then he became pretty much of a wild man for a while.

I remember one of the problems. When Harley got through with Cornell, instead of coming home and beginning work, as he was expected to do, he took off for New Orleans. He'd been working as a stevedore, unloading bananas, and had an accident and had a broken leg and was in the hospital. Of course they sent for Dad and he went there and gathered him up. And when Harley was

well again, he again went back to different things. That's when he started in with journalism in the city doing reporting. And then he, eventually, at a rather youthful age, became financial editor of the *Rochester Evening Journal*.

And then Dad got him to come west in 1929. Harley would have been twenty-eight or twenty-nine, and he was about to get married. So Dad got the two of them to come west and run the factory that he had started in Prosser, Washington.

TK: Despite their religious differences?

WH: Yes. Then Ralph was a different stripe. When he got through with college, and even before that, he just refused to go to church. Art was a conformist and remained in the church until he died a year ago at age ninety-one. But of the eight of us, two stayed with the church and six of us did not. Sister Ada and Brother Art stayed with the church.

TK: As a boy, did your father work for his father?

WH: That's my understanding, that he worked on the farm, largely. But my grandfather also had this dried fruit packing operation and there were quite a number of farms that would have their own little drying plants. My picture of it is that he bought dried fruit from these smaller plants and assembled it, mixed it, cured it and shipped it, in those days, largely to the Deep South or abroad to Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

TK: Is that where your father began to learn the food-drying business, from his father?

WH: Yes. In the late 1890s, about the time my father got married, he did start drying factories in southern Missouri. Springfield, I know, was one of the places and I think he may have possibly had one down in Arkansas, also. They manufactured dried fruit. And while I never had any discussion about that, I always presumed he shipped that dried fruit to Webster for packing and readying for the market. Later, apparently he didn't find that a very satisfactory location and he started drying factories in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.

I was down there with him for a summer when I was nine years old—that would have been 1923. Things were a little different than now because it was three hundred miles from home, and it took us three days to get there by tin lizzie, stopping in tourist homes at one dollar a night on the way down. We would stop in places like Williamsport in Pennsylvania and Hagerstown in Maryland to get there.

He had four factories located down there. They were in Winchester, Sperryville, Staunton—what's the other one? It was actually in West Virginia.

TK: How big were these factories?

WH: The one at Winchester was pretty huge even by present-day standards. It was what we would call a twelve-kiln plant, something of that sort. It was fired by coal.

TK: Looking back on the Hallauer family in New York, do you recall being part of an extended family? Were there lots of aunts and uncles and cousins around?

WH: Oh yes. There was always visiting around.

Uncle Harry and Aunt Louise had a summer place down on Lake Ontario about three miles away, and my brothers would maintain a tent camp down a quarter of a mile from that. So, the lake played a part in our growing up lives. We did all the things that kids do, then. I went trapping, hunting, and there was always work for idle hands. There were lots of aunts and uncles and cousins about.

TK: What kind of things did you do for relaxation and recreation as a family?

WH: My grand kids like to hear me tell about the chickens that we raised. This was part of my brothers meeting their college expenses.

They would drive into the University of Rochester in a tin lizzie. The day started about five o'clock in the morning with their getting up and milking twelve Holstein cows and taking care of five hundred chickens. Every year they would

get five hundred chicks and these had to be sorted as they grew up for cockerels and layers.

My job, that the grand kids like to hear about, is that the chickens would all roost in the trees after they got big enough to fly. That's where they would hide at night. I had to go up and ascend these old sour cherry trees and catch the chickens. I had a device with a stick and a piece of heavy wire on it and a hook on the end of it. I'd hold a flashlight in my mouth so that I'd have some light to work by and see where the chicken's feet were. I'd work this thing around its legs and draw it in across the cherry limb, and then decide whether it was a cockerel or one that was going to be a laying hen. The cockerels, I had to somehow wrap twine around their feet and accumulate them until I had five or six of them, and then climb down the tree and give them to my brother. In these years I would have been nine, ten, eleven years old, and I could do this with some agility, which I couldn't now.

They would take these cockerels in and sell them to the Italian grocers and other grocers at the public market in Rochester. Rochester had a big foreign population of Italians and Poles, largely, and they had neighborhood groceries, and these people would sell live cockerels to their customers. Anyway, the laying hens were kept over and, of course, one of the duties was to collect the eggs, and that was my duty.

Another duty was to pack the milk as they milked and take it to the shed where we had a cooling arrangement to cool the milk. Once it went through that device, they would take it in these old five-gallon cans—I'm sure you've seen them; there were five and ten gallon ones—and they'd drop them off at the creamery on their way to school in the morning. They had to be there before eight o'clock, I think it was, with that milk. Everybody preferred raw milk in those days. Well, there ain't no such animal nowadays! That's sort of an overview of the twelve Holsteins and chicken business.

We'd raise cucumbers and all sorts of things. There were about sixty acres of orchard on the eighty acres we had and some pasture. There were two creeks on it, and one of the things I had to do was see that the cows got to the right pasture and bring them in at the appropriate time.

I remember Brother Ralph and Brother Art going off in 1926—there was a big exposition over in Toronto—and they took our eighteen-foot wooden Thompson canoe, which was a wonderful vessel. They paddled around the end of Lake Ontario, probably a hundred and fifty miles to get over there. Then, when they came back after being there a week, they went east on the north shore of Lake Ontario and then directly across. The lake is sixty miles wide. Ordinarily, the breeze would be from the north. They survived it. They were pretty tough customers when they got done with that one.

I was at home helping with the milking, and Brother Harley came out in the mornings and evenings and helped, too. That was so that they could have the time to make that trip.

TK: I can imagine that the Rochester area was an ethnically diverse place in those days—a lot of Italian and German people, among many others. Can you remember whether having a German name caused people any problems during World War I, when patriotic passions were being fanned?

WH: I remember some stories about some of the people with German names having a little difficulty when it came to Liberty Bond sales. If they didn't contribute, the community found ways to put pressure on them. But Webster was heavily enough Germanic, so that it would have been quite a contest if they had pushed it too far. All you have to do is go through the graveyards in that community and the Germanic names are pretty heavy there.

My father knew George Eastman, for example. I think that was through his service as president of the village. George was great for involving the community in his benefactions. In fact, I think he funded the University of Rochester, with something like five hundred million dollars. So it's a pretty well endowed school due to George Eastman.

And my father also knew H. J. Heinz, and of course that would be natural because the Heinz family were in the vinegar business, and Dad was in and out of that at times.

TK: You mentioned that in addition to the drying

plants, your family also had some orchards.
WH: Oh yes.

TK: What kind of fruit did you grow?

WH: It was nearly all apples. The area where we lived was what they called the Lakeshore Belt, and it ran from the boundary on Lake Ontario to what they call the Ridge, which is evidently a beach of the former Lake Ontario that existed for eons. Evidently, the outlet of the lake must have cut down sometime about the time the glaciers in the area were decamping, and left this lakeshore area which is much influenced by the climate control provided by the lake. Frosts weren't a problem in it. Because of this effect at night, frosts wouldn't get you there, but if you went ten miles south, further away from the influence of the microclimate of the lake, you could have serious problems if you wanted to raise fruit.

TK: Did your father find that his experience of tending orchards in New York was of help in getting started in Washington?

WH: I'm sure it helped, but primarily he was in the business, factory business, of drying fruit.

When he came out here, the fuel of choice was crude oil, or rather bunker oil. That was less of a problem than coal in having your factory burn down.

TK: You were mentioning that one of your father's factories in Virginia burned down three times. How did that happen?

WH: In firing with coal, it could happen if anybody were the least bit careless. You have these high temperatures with a wooden superstructure around it.

TK: When you say "firing with coal," I don't know what that involves. Could you explain it?

WH: They had a little railroad that had small cars on it like a mine car, and these cars were pushed down this, if you want to call it a tram, and you'd come to one of these kilns and the firemen would throw coal into a big, heavy steel furnace in there. If he overdid it and got it too hot he could set the place on fire.

Here in the Oroville factory, while we never burned down, we had a couple of occasions a week apart that the thing was on fire and we managed to contain the fire within what they call the drying tunnels.

TK: How hot did those kilns get?

WH: Typically, we were carrying one hundred and seventy degrees in the front end of the drying tunnels. I presume in the kilns it might have been a little bit lower and a little better spread. They were natural draft in the old days; later we used propellers and made artificial draft to help, and that improved the drying effectiveness about twenty-five percent.

Anyway, it's quite an art. There are all kinds of drying devices. Nowadays it's kind of an endless belt proposition. They cut the apple up in little cubes and dry it that way. But if you want the old-fashioned slice with the hole in the middle like a donut you still have to do that in a tunnel or on a kiln.

TK: Looking at your family's situation, when you were a young boy, would you say that your economic circumstances were reasonably comfortable? I'm referring to the years in the Webster area, before you moved west.

WH: The family became used to ups and downs, and there were stories about—I suppose the time when I was probably in diapers, which I don't remember—unprecedented prosperity, when there were servants in the house and all that sort of thing. My recollections go to 1918 and subsequently, and there were certainly no servants and all of us had to pitch in and help.

My particular chores involved the chickens and the family garden. I became the family gardener for the household garden, that is.

TK: What accounted for the ups and downs? Were they due to crop failures?

WH: The fruit business is that way. Very much up and down. The thing that finally got Dad and

caused the move west with the family was that the big factory in Winchester in 1925 or early '26 burned down for the third time. It had gotten to the point where he couldn't insure it, and he didn't have any money to rebuild it. He had borrowed everything he could from the banks. At that point he made the decision to try again in the state of Washington.

TK: Your father moved from the East to the Yakima Valley because he was convinced that there was no way for him to get any further in New York and in Virginia?

WH: Yes. He'd had it. He had to start over.

TK: And he was over the age of fifty when he determined to start anew?

WH: He was born in 1872 and he moved out by himself in 1926. He would then have been fifty-four. The rest of the family came in March of 1927, probably about eight months behind him.

TK: Was the decision to move west a family decision or pretty much his?

WH: Oh yes, it was a family decision. It was made with my brothers Ralph and Art involved, and Mother, of course. My sisters, I don't think, had any voice in it.

My sister Ada, was off on her own career by then. Ada had had a career of sorts. She'd gone to the Eastman School of Music and was an organist, and very good. She played in what seemed then to be rather big churches in the area. Then she moved to Oakland where some of Mother's relatives were in the beauty business, hair doing and that sort of thing. This was the Seyler side of the family. They always called it Seyler, but some of my French friends say it's "Sealer." Take your pick.

TK: So it was pretty much a family decision to pick up stakes?

WH: Yes. We were losing the old farm, and that's where our living had been, and we had to move. We had an auction and off we went, leaving the family dog behind.

TK: You indicated your father knew some people in the Yakima area or he'd been associated with them in the food processing business?

WH: Yes. He'd kept in contact with them over the years. He made arrangements with an old childhood friend of his who was at Selah, Washington. The fellow's name was Louie Smith. Anyway, Louie gave Dad a job of running the factory for him. Louie did the administrative stuff and the selling and so on. Dad parlayed that into a situation where, the next year, he could bring the family out there with him. I remember him and my brothers painting houses in Yakima. He painted one building down there, near the public library, which was an immense three-story thing, and it was pretty dangerous for Dad. He was then a man in his mid-fifties who had picked up his family and moved out there because, financially, he'd failed, though he was not bankrupt. But he got enough money together, some of it borrowed from ever faithful Uncle Harry and Aunt Louise, and some from the other uncles.

Also, a good friend that Dad made at the time he moved out was Dr. Cardiff, who had the Washington Dehydrated Food Company for some time here. Dr. Cardiff had been a professor at WSU and had gone into business in dried fruits in 1916. He had drying plants in Yakima, Wenatchee and Manson. He certainly knew that there was an opportunity out here.

His friend Louie Smith, invited him to come and work and join the throng. Uncle Fred, mother's brother, had a fleet of taxis in Rochester and I'm sure they put the tap on him because his only son, Lawrence, was always the ninth child around the dinner table in the summertime at our place.

Anyway, he got going with a little drying plant at the town of Buena, which is near Toppenish, in case you don't know the lower Yakima country. And the next year he started a factory in Prosser, and the next year got a much bigger plant built in Yakima. I worked on the construction of the one in Buena at age fourteen, I guess. No, it would have been thirteen. Then in Prosser at age fourteen and Yakima at age fifteen. That was when I really got a man's pay for a man's work. Another plant

was started in Wenatchee in 1931. That was the year I graduated from high school, so I was a little readier for that one.

TK: Then, as I understand it, your father arrived in the Yakima area in 1926 and, within a relatively few years, was able to establish a substantial business with a number of plants in central Washington. That seems to be quite a story. Could you tell me something about how he did it?

WH: Of course, my father began by looking for financing to try to get back on board in the business that he knew, having been in it all his life. He initially raised some money through his painting contracts and by borrowing from friends and relatives. My father also became acquainted with a man named Sam Peterson, who ran the Portland branch of a firm called Rosenberg Brothers and Company. The Rosenberg people looked him over and his history, and provided some of the financing for him, which helped a great deal. I'm sure that the price of what we sold them probably reflected that, at least in the first years. They were wonderful. They did give us a secure base of finance that enabled Dad to go on with expanding the Buena plant. We were expanding it at the same time we were running it. The 1927 season went on until July 1928 with full operations all that time, and generated a cash flow that allowed us to start a plant at Prosser at the same time. So, that's the way it went.

TK: How long did it take him from the time he arrived in the state of Washington to the point that he had established factories in the Yakima area, in Chelan Falls, and in Oroville?

WH: Oroville was in 1936.

TK: I'm trying to get some sense of how long it took for this family enterprise to develop.

WH: It was very, very rapid to begin with. Of course, my three brothers were also in it; they were ten to fourteen years older than I. I think it was probably about July 1927 when he had gotten enough money together to make the first effort at Buena. He got secondhand machinery, old hand-cranked Rival paring machines that cost on the secondhand market then about fifteen dollars each. He bought on a dollar down basis, an old lumberyard in the outskirts of Buena. It was along the highway. Put in two or three kilns and put oil-fired apparatus in it.

TK: Did each of your brothers manage a different plant? Is that how it worked?

WH: The plant at Buena was managed probably more by my brother, Arthur, in its second year, but in the first year all of us were in it. Even me, but not as a manager. I was a flunky and did anything where I could fill in.

I remember pounding nails in the floors of those kilns. It takes a certain type of rather trapezoid-shaped piece of wood to allow the heat to come through, and they have to be spaced about a half-inch between, for air passage. They load cut fruit on those floors and the heat comes up through it, and somebody goes with a shovel and turns the fruit over every few hours and keeps it drying. Sort of like stirring a kettle when you've got it on the stove on simmer. You don't want it to stick.

By 1928, Harley came out from Rochester and we built the Prosser plant. Ralph was in charge of the construction, with Art providing some help. Harley was here and settled in time to get the thing really running about the first of October. He took that over, and then about the same time we were laying plans to start a plant in Yakima, which we did beginning early in 1929. During summer vacation in high school that year, I worked on that construction job. It was a big plant, bigger than any of the others.

TK: How big, would you say?

WH: They called it a twelve-kiln plant. Buena, by that time, was eight and Prosser was six. The Wenatchee plant, when it was built in 1931, was a ten-kiln plant, but each kiln was much bigger, so it became the biggest of the bunch.

The Oroville plant was bought in 1936, and then in 1940 we bought the Chelan Falls plant from the Hogue family of Payette, Idaho. They'd had it for some years. It was a pretty good plant.

TK: So two of the plants were purchased, and your family built the others?

WH: That's correct, yes. But then, of course, we completely rebuilt the Chelan Falls plant. In fact, after the war, it became the prime plant for some of the exotic products that we were getting into in order to have something to sell.

One of the things that happened in connection with my friend, Tiny Walrod, was that we'd made this trip down to Mexico. Tiny had gotten his education at Oregon State University, which had a food processor program that was probably, in the 1930s, tops in the country. Then he went on from there to the University of California at Berkeley.

One of the friends he made was a man named Wallace Miller, and Wally lived in Hood River, Oregon. Tiny and I, when we were traveling, going to the canner's convention or something, would stop and see Wally. I was impressed by Wally and hired him. He had been the food technologist for the Apple Growers Association at Hood River. It meant a step up for him in that he would be given management of the Chelan Falls plant. He had a technological background that was far better than any of the rest of us in the company, and he became like one more brother. He's still living. He's in Chelan, and I see him once in awhile. He was with our company from 1946 when we hired him until after we sold out.

TK: Did your father have a broker? How did he market the products?

WH: He made connections with a firm in Portland. At least it was a branch in Portland. The Europeans had money for dried fruit, and there was fruit available for drying. Then, of course, it went on.

When I got out of the university in 1936, Dad had bought the bankrupt drying plant in Oroville, and sent me up to run it at age twenty-two.

TK: You mentioned that your father was a life-long leader of the fruit drying industry. Did he become involved organizationally in trade groups?

WH: Yes, very much so. He was one of the founders of the Northwest Dried Fruit Association which was based down in Portland, Oregon. It included both prune and apple drying plants. I don't know of any other type of drying that was included in the group.

He had the typical trade association type of thing—people who followed the export policy and could advise members about what the rules were for, say, shipping to Sweden or someplace like that.

The dried fruit business, as we knew it when I was getting into it, went out the window with World War II, because all dried fruits were one hundred percent set aside for the military. The normal market never did come back to its full volume. It came back about half, perhaps, after the war. But by then people had gotten out of the habit of using dried fruits, and frozen foods were making inroads.

So, we had to find new outlets and we started developing new types of products and supplying these to the cake mix companies and pie filler companies and so on. Dried fruit does have a lot of advantages in some ways over frozen. That's where the market is now, as a supplier to other manufacturers.

TK: So your father was active in getting information about this new situation out to other people in the dried fruit business?

WH: Yes.

TK: Did the organization in which he was active do any kind of lobbying?

WH: Oh yes. In fact I got involved in it in the early 1950s myself, because of the activities of the California Dried Fruit Association. That was a rather huge organization, which included the raisin people and people involved with a lot of other products.

One of their members and I went back to lobby the Department of Agriculture to talk about including dried fruits in the surplus foods program. We had some success with it. That was my first venture into Washington, D.C. lobbying.

TK: One of the things that makes the story of your family's great success so interesting is that this early expansion seems to have coincided with the onset of the Great Depression. In retrospect, have you ever considered that an unusual development?

WH: Yes. It was rather odd. It was a counter flow, because dried fruits are really a very cheap food. In the early 1930s—'32, '33, '34—we were selling dried apples for four cents a pound in bulk, fifty pound cases. When you took a pound of that four-cent dried apple and added the water back to it, each pound provided about six pounds of applesauce or pie filler, or whatever. When you put the water back in, that really changed the mathematics of it greatly. We were able to sell an awful lot of that, and the Europeans had an appetite for what we called dried fruit compote. Over there, some of them called it compote, some called it fruit soup. They'd take a mix of apples and pears and raisins and apricots and peaches and add water to it and let it simmer on the back of the stove overnight, and in the morning, there it was.

TK: In the 1930s, what percentage of your business would you say was international, as opposed to domestic?

WH: Somewhere between seventy and eighty percent. One of my jobs, weekends and vacation times, was at the Yakima plant, doing what we called counter marking the cases for shipment. I got acquainted with all of these oddly named places like Norkoping and even Helsinki. A lot of little places in Norway. Bergen was a great place for dried fruit, and there were places in Scotland that used a lot of dried fruit. Perth—wish I could remember them all.

TK: And it was through the Portland firm that you were able to market this product?

WH: To begin with, yes. They remained a mainstay customer of ours. They were always big, and they always had a retinue of different kinds of dried fruit that they were supplying the trade with. That way, when a customer wanted to deal with somebody, they didn't have to run around to half a dozen suppliers. They could get what they wanted from one supplier.

Later on, after the war, Rosenberg sort of pulled in their horns and didn't do very much. One of the people who inherited a great deal of their business was a man named Jack Gomperts, who had a brokerage in San Francisco. Our family became very good friends of the Gomperts. Jack was distinguished by the fact that he was the West Coast representative for the Swedish and Norwegian cooperatives. The co-ops over there are huge affairs. I would guess that half of the business in the retail food trades is handled by co-ops. Anyway, Jack had a handle on that one.

One of the curious deals he got us into, probably about the late forties or early fifties stemmed from the fact that Jack was Jewish and had a connection with the movement to make Israel an independent state. He worked out a deal where the Swedes shipped lumber to Israel and we shipped, in a barter deal, dried fruits to Sweden in exchange for all this. A triangular deal. Really, it worked out very well. We took part of our pay in Israeli bonds.

TK: Is that so? That's really interesting.

I wanted to ask you about the labor force during the early years of your family's business activity in Washington. Were the workers Hispanic or Japanese at that time?

WH: Oh no. A lot of them were Okies and Missourians. There was quite an element of people who were refugees from the drought in those times and who came from places like North Dakota, South Dakota, even Nebraska. But I'd say Okies—there were an awful lot of Okies—particularly in Yakima. Wenatchee was more Arkies and Missourians. Up here in Oroville, we had a lot of Missourians.

TK: So do you think that it was the Dust Bowl conditions that brought them here?

WH: I think so. They just dried out and loaded things in the car and went west.

TK: Going back to the 1920s when your father first got out here, were there a lot of Asian farmers in the Yakima Valley?

WH: There were a few. There were Filipinos and there were Chinese. I remember Chinese vegetable vendors coming around with their horse and cart, vending off the back of their cart through the neighborhoods of Yakima.

TK: They were truck farmers?

WH: Yes.

TK: What about people who worked in your factories?

WH: I don't ever remember any Asians. There were very few Indians working in Yakima, although there were some. But they were Oklahoma Indians, Cherokees and Creeks, rather than Yakima Indians. They were very good workers. Quite a different stripe than the Yakima tribe, I'm afraid I have to say.

Those were the days of ten-hour days. I remember the going rate in Yakima for a job was ten cents an hour in 1932, and there were five-cent hamburgers. When the Northern Pacific trains went through, one of our pastimes working around the factory, was to stop work long enough to count the number of people who were on the train, and it would often run to two or three hundred. You'd see a flat car going by with forty people on it. They were traveling because they didn't know anything else to do, and with some hope that at the end of the line there would be something.

I remember one of the fellows I worked with, a chap named Art Hill, who was an excellent worker, came from Kansas if I remember right. When the factory shut down in the spring after we ran out of fruit, and the cold storage would empty out, he would go to work on the ranches. He was working for ten cents an hour, and would walk ten miles to and ten miles back. Sometimes he would be lucky and catch a ride. He lucked out. He made enough of an impression on a bank that owned a pear orchard out in the Selah area, that they hired him and financed him to run the place. That gave him enough to eat, and I'm sure it was a better deal than what he had been doing. He lucked out, and pears went up to thirty dollars a ton, or some price we would think was peanuts nowadays. He made himself a couple of thousand dollars and got himself up off the floor, and became a prosperous small farmer. Wonderful.

TK: So one could certainly say that there was no labor shortage in those days?

WH: Oh no. One of the problems around the drying plant in Yakima, particularly, was that with those warm fires and warm tile walls in the factory in the wintertime, there would be a pile of those guys covered with newspapers leaning up against them. They were a bit of a fire hazard. They were trying to survive and they would eat apples. But who cared? Apples were two dollars a ton or five dollars a ton, in an odd year maybe ten.

One of the things that the bums found were the peelings from the fruit—we called them bums, but they really weren't; they were just refugees, economic refugees. The peeling bins would drip juice because of the cores and peelings that were in them waiting to be trucked over to the vinegar factory when the truck got around to it. We'd have fifty-five gallon drums there to collect the juice. The drippings would ordinarily be run in there. In the wintertime these things would freeze and thaw and of course they weren't emptied often enough so the cider on a warm day would get a little hard after awhile. These guys soon figured out that if there was a big chunk of ice in there, they would pull it out, and the beverage that was left had a little excitement in it!

TK: Going back to the time of your family's arrival in Yakima, I wanted to ask you how your mother and the rest of your family reacted to that new environment after having lived all their lives in upstate New York? I can't imagine two places more different. Did they like it or what?

WH: Mother hated it. She didn't drive, and it was sort of a prison, as far as I'm concerned, for Mother. Of course, as they became more prosperous, they could go almost anywhere they wanted to. And Dad and Mother would always drive down to California in the winter, along in

January. I went with them one time and did the driving duties. Uncle John went along on that one. That was kind of fun.

In 1931, in January, and we had a new Dodge car. By the end of high school I'd gotten ahead of my group and had stayed out and worked in the fall until Christmas, and then went on this tour with the family. Then I went back into school about the first of February and graduated in June. So, I was still technically a high school student. I was sixteen.

We went everywhere. Dad did have a taste for travel and doing things right and really seeing the sights. That trip I told you about being down in Virginia with him when I was nine years old. He took me to all the battlefields and walked me up the George Washington Monument, I think with the idea of tiring me out a little bit, but it tired him a lot more than it did me. I get these stories a little crossed up. I hope you don't mind.

Anyway, it was a good taste of California, my first tour down there, and I enjoyed it immensely. I really sorted out the agenda and did all the work, and wherever they wanted to go, visit relatives or whatever, I had to figure out how to get there and do it.

TK: Did your Mother eventually develop a liking for Yakima?

WH: No. But she did get used to it.

TK: Where was your family home located in Yakima?

WH: Our first home, I think, was a two bedroom home on Seventeenth Avenue quite close to where the community college is now. We were there, I think, about a year and a half. Then the folks bought a four-bedroom home over on Summit View Avenue and Park Avenue, on the corner. Then in 1934, they built what then passed for a mansion. It cost eleven thousand dollars on the contract. Had four bedrooms. Up on Grandview Avenue: 510 South Grandview Avenue. Up near Dr. Cardiff.

I think I told you the story about Voltaire Avenue, didn't I? Anyway, Dr. Cardiff was an atheist. He'd been a professor of mathematics at WSU before he went into business, and he had a subdivision in the area of his home with a street that he'd named after Voltaire. He went broke like a lot did during the Depression, and the savings and loan association foreclosed on it. Dad bought the property from the savings and loan association. Then he discovered about our house being on Voltaire Avenue. I don't think he'd ever heard of him before. But given Dad's inclinations about religion, Dr. Cardiff did change the name of it to accommodate his friend.

TK: Did your father, after he'd moved out to Washington, become interested in Washington State or national politics?

WH: No. It was the farthest thing from his mind.

TK: He was active only with respect to the fruit drying industry?

WH: Yes, and his church. He was always deeply involved in his church and the Western Evangelical Seminary down in the outskirts of Portland. It used to be called Jennings Lodge. There is a place there where they teach and give degrees in religion, and the library was largely built with his benefactions.

CHAPTER 2

YOUNG ADULTHOOD AND EDUCATION

Thomas Kerr: I want to return later to your work in the fruit drying industry, as well as your other business enterprises. But first I'd like to ask you about your years as a young man, growing up in Yakima and your education experiences.

How old were you when you and your family left Webster for Yakima?

Wilbur Hallauer: I was twelve years old, and my birthday was going to be two or three months later when I would be thirteen. I was a freshman in high school, in a four-year high school when we moved.

When we got to Yakima, my father took my two sisters and me down the next day for registration to what is now Davis High School. It was then just Yakima High School. We had no school records with us, and that presented the authorities, early in the morning, with a rather difficult problem of how to classify us.

An example of the differential between the East and the West was, when I came to school I was wearing the customary attire back East for a boy twelve years old, short pants above the knee. I discovered, at that point, the western style was long pants for all of the boys, no matter what age. So I was out of place and obviously a stranger.

My sisters didn't have that problem, but we all got categorized in the process of being registered in a rather strange system. Even today I think it was strange. The students were classified in Yakima High School on the basis of past record as being in a rapid group, or an average group, or a slow group. Part of the dictate was that if you were in the rapid group, your grade system started with A at the top and went on down through C. If you were in the average group, the grade you could achieve was a B and C and D. If you were in the slow group, the grade you could get was a C, D and then E at the bottom. I suppose there was intended to be flexibility in this system, but I was in that high school for four years and never arose above average, and yet I had been top student in my classes back as a younger person.

An example of the way it worked was that as time went on, and I was taking courses in American history, there was a prize given by the Daughters of the American Revolution, for the best history student. There were nine of us who were selected to take a rather difficult and lengthy three-hour exam in American history. Of course, the results of that test would determine who got the gold piece as a prize. As average students, my sister and I both were allowed to participate, along with seven from the rapid group, and none from the slow group. I won first prize and my sister won second prize. I got the gold piece in a public ceremony, which I found rather deeply embarrassing, because I wasn't used to that sort of thing. But still, although I was supposedly the top history student in the whole high school, my grade was only a B. I thought that rather unfair or worse.

TK: Would you say that situations like that resulted in memories of the Yakima public school system that are not all that favorable?

WH: No. We had excellent teachers in Yakima High School, particularly in mathematics and in chemistry. I remember my Latin teacher, Miss Strase. She had a hard time with me I'm afraid, because I didn't absorb Latin very quickly. Miss Genung was our English teacher. These people did add to the situation so that I think, on the whole, I came out as a pretty good student.

TK: Did your high scores in history reflect the fact that you had good teachers, or that the subject was of particular interest for you? Or was it a combination of both?

WH: I'd always been interested in history. When

I was a youngster and went down to Virginia with my father one summer, he took me to all the battlefields, like Bull Run and Gettysburg, and several others. Of course, we stayed mostly in Winchester, Virginia, which is right in the heart of the Civil War country.

I suppose I ought to add a bit to the student situation. I really don't think there's much to add about Yakima High School except that in the fall of 1930, I stayed out of school the entire fall semester and worked. Otherwise, I would have graduated at age sixteen. In fact, when I went back to school the first of February, and did graduate at the end of May on my birthday, May 29, it was my seventeenth birthday.

TK: Looking back on your school days, do you recall any books that you read while you were in high school that made a particular impression on you? I know you've read quite widely all your life, but I was curious as to whether there were one or two items that stick out in your memory.

WH: I can't really pinpoint anything in the way of particular items. It was along in that period that I got into reading Will Durant, who was a philosophy popularizer, I think you'd call him. He wrote a book by the name of *Transition* that I was very enamored of for awhile. I also read his *The Story of Philosophy*, that consisted of several volumes about the various ages of philosophy.

Anyway, I was an omnivorous reader, and my sister, Lillian, during that period, had a rental library in a downtown department store, Barnes Woodin, in Yakima. She was always bringing home stacks of books, and I think I probably consumed a great many of them. I remember that I tried to make it a book a day. I was a fairly fast reader.

I remember one of the pranks I was into back in Webster, yet. We had a really good family library because of my brothers and sisters attending college. We had the *Harvard Classics*. I rigged up a dry-cell battery with a white Christmas tree bulb, and of course my parents tried to see to it that I went to bed and went to sleep at night. My bed was in an exposed position where they could readily keep an eye on me. They probably planned it that way. I fixed it up so that I could get under the covers and have this battery and this little Christmas tree light, and I read there underneath the blankets, and they could never tell that I was reading because this was a hidden operation. I read a lot of things that way.

TK: You also attended junior college in Yakima. Was that school a forerunner of Yakima Valley College, or was it private?

WH: It was a forerunner, really. It was started as a private school, I think, about 1928 by Elizabeth Prior, who was a woman who had had her education at one of the eastern women's colleges. I've forgotten whether it was Bryn Mawr, or Vassar, but I believe it was a school of that style. She had an excellent education in the field of Greek history, Roman history, and generally in the fields of philosophy. I took courses from her directly, even while she was head of the school. This began in 1932, because typically I would work in the fall when there was lots of available work to be done in the drying factories, and then entered college in January of 1932. I got into Miss Prior's Greek civilization class and was so intrigued that I followed up with her class in Roman civilization. I became a pretty thoroughgoing reader of Greek history, and still read it today.

TK: How long did you attend that college?

WH: I went there, I believe, four or five quarters. I took enough depth in my courses so that when I left I had enough credits to be assigned junior standing when I went to the University of Washington, where I entered in the fall of 1934.

TK: Was Yakima College associated with a religious denomination?

WH: No. It was totally private. And the tuition was cheap, sixty dollars a quarter. They had wonderful teachers, for the most part. I would say that the teachers were either absolute tops or absolute bottom.

For example, Dr. Ross had just gotten his doctorate in mathematics at the University of Chicago. He taught mathematics and physics, and

I think his pay was the munificent sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month. I baby-sat for the Ross family several times, so I got pretty well acquainted with them. He was a wonderful teacher. I remember one of his practices was that when you took one of his tests you could use your textbooks in the test. He said, that if you're going to use mathematics after you leave school, you're going to have access to your books and you're going to use them. So why shouldn't you have access to them in the test? This will enable you to prepare to use your text as it should be used. That was his philosophy and he'd simply turn us loose with our text and leave the room, and then come back when the tests were over. It worked pretty well. Unfortunately, I didn't take the course in calculus that he offered. I wish I had.

Mr. Palmer in English and Miss Smith in psychology—altogether they were a pretty good group.

I even got into the athletics, which I didn't intend. I remember going up to Central in Ellensburg as part of a track team and was in the two-mile run.

TK: How big was Yakima College at the time you were there?

WH: I suppose about one hundred and fifty. I don't really remember just how many were on the faculty in those days. It wasn't a great number. It was in an old abandoned grade school that Miss Prior had refurbished with private funds. It was a bit seedy and the floors were worn, but the teaching was good. I think it was an adventure for Miss Prior. Her family had money and she took her share and poured it into something that obviously was a dream to her. I think she was to be greatly commended, and it did blossom into what is now Yakima Valley Community College.

TK: You were in high school and at the junior college during some of the most difficult times of the Great Depression. What do you remember about the Depression as far as the Yakima region is concerned? Are there particular memories or impressions of those days that have remained with you over the years?

WH: I remember one thing. We were talking about the political atmosphere when I was growing up, and this was, I think, similar to some of the later scare campaigns that have come along subsequent to World War II.

This was, I guess I'd call it, an accusation that the people who were called Wobblies, meaning the IWW, the International Workers of the World, had socialist connections and connections to the communists in Russia. People got all excited about it in the Yakima area and the sheriff and his deputies went out and rounded up a bunch of people who were supposedly active trying to organize labor groups in the area. The sheriff built a big stockade adjoining the courthouse and incarcerated these people inside this stockade. This went on for months.

Sometime in that period of time—I'm unable to fix exactly what year in my memory—but it shocked me.

TK: But it was in the 1930s?

WH: Yes.

TK: It was a compound that they built?

WH: Yes. They made a stockade of a half block that then adjoined the existing courthouse.

TK: Were these people thought to be organizing mill workers?

WH: Yes.

TK: How about people working in the orchards and fruit packing houses? Were they trying to organize them, too?

WH: The Cascade Lumber Company was a timber company and later became part of what's now Boise-Cascade Corporation. I think there was some involvement by the timber workers. Otherwise, I think it was orchard groups. I don't think there were any immigrant groups, as such, that were involved in it. Obviously, the officers of the law had some reason to at least point at suspects, and these people were all picked up. Of course, the general public accepted this and

believed the accusations.

It may have been a carryover from what had happened a dozen years before around the end of World War I when they had the Centralia tragedy and the IWW was involved in the timber organization efforts at that time. I did know one chap who worked with me at the company who had been a timber worker in northern Idaho. He told me enough to indicate that he had familiarity with the Wobbly groups, although I'm sure he wasn't a member of it. Great guy. It existed, but the problem was that officialdom acted on suspicion and incarcerated people without a trial. That was the thing as far as I was concerned that was fatal to it. I couldn't approve of anything like that.

TK: I remember years ago reading Big Bill Haywood's autobiography, and he actually describes having arrived in Yakima on one occasion and of promptly being run out of town by the sheriff.

WH: It figures.

TK: I don't remember what period it was, but it was almost certainly much earlier than the 1930s. So I think there must have been something of a history of that sort of thing in Yakima.

WH: I can believe it.

The Yakima newspapers, the *Daily Republic* and *Morning Herald* that were owned by Colonel Robertson supported that sort of thing. I'm afraid I'm in disagreement with all of it. They weren't treating people right.

Of course those were rough days, and employers were having a hard time. I can understand how these things come about. But still, it wasn't right.

TK: There was great unemployment, I presume, as well?

WH: An example of the unemployment, that I think I mentioned earlier, was that where we worked, right along side the main line of the Northern Pacific Railway, we would often count the number of people who were riding on trains as they went by. During those years it wasn't uncommon to count two hundred to three hundred people on a single train. The railroad had really given up trying to throw them off the train. They were simply overwhelmed by the numbers.

These poor people would drop off the train and come down around the factory and would be looking for something to eat. There was a hobo jungle not too far away. The stacked up apple boxes with apples hanging out of them were fair game. The price of them was so darn cheap that nobody bothered to drive them off.

During the winter it was worse. They would huddle around the factory because there was some warmth from the drying process. It was really an awfully sad scenario.

TK: Did having witnessed that kind of distress have an effect upon your political consciousness? Did it cause you to begin thinking about the world of politics?

WH: I was marinated in the tragedies of the Depression. You could see them all around you. This was the age of five-cent apples on street corners in New York City, for heaven's sake. You couldn't help but feel for these people. I worked with a great many of them who lived around the ragged edge of poverty and never knew where the next meal was coming from. It was the age of the five-cent hamburger. There was a lineup down at the Yakima Creamery every morning. They would give away the buttermilk, and people would line up. You'd see a line of fifty or a hundred men waiting for their ration of free buttermilk. Otherwise, it would have been turned over to go back out to the farms for the pigs.

TK: Do you remember any particular politicians or other people of that time who were trying to do something about those problems? For example, did you pay attention to what such national political figures as Herbert Hoover or Franklin Roosevelt were saying in those days?

WH: Well, I really wasn't politically aware enough in my high school days to pass any judgment on that. But during my community college days it began to seep into my thick head

that something had to be done. I got reading things like *The Nation* and other journals of political opinion, and the Roosevelt campaign in 1932 certainly attracted attention. As ex-New Yorkers, we knew something about Roosevelt. Of course, Al Smith had been the great governor of New York when we lived there. I remember my folks being very much upset with Al Smith because he wanted to do away with prohibition. I would say that Dad was pretty much Republican. Mother, I think, often canceled his vote, but did it quietly. They didn't talk politics very much, which was probably all to the good. Mother thought Franklin Roosevelt was great, but as time went on, she became prejudiced against the Roosevelt family because of all the divorces in the family. She thought there had to be something wrong that their children would behave in that fashion. Probably just as well that in my own history Mother was gone before I got into the divorce mills myself. But that's another story.

In 1932, I think, practically everybody in the family that was of voting age voted for Roosevelt and change. Things did start to get a little better because there were efforts to try and ameliorate the total economic distress of the country.

TK: As far as your brothers and sisters, there was no major political disagreement at that time that you can recall?

WH: No, I can't recall any. In 1936, of course, in that election I was out of the university, at least physically. My degree didn't come until 1937 because I had to take correspondence courses to fill in some of the requirements. The summer quarter of 1936 was the end of that.

At the university I got reading a lot of the political journals of the day and following politics, although I did not take any political science courses, your field. But I was really witless during that period about what I wanted to do with myself. I originally had the idea that I'd get into civil engineering. I took a lot of mathematics, four years of it in high school and junior college. I took all the science courses I could. And then I thought, well, in the summertime I'd get up in the Bumping Lake area and Rimrock area and do hiking and fishing and so on. I loved it, and then I got caught up in the forestry bug and thought when I was at the university I'd get into forestry. I didn't really care much for it when I got into it. I tasted a course or two, but then the course that I finally ended up in was labor economics. I got my degree in that under Dr. Theresa McMahon at the University of Washington. And there's a connection that had some real effect on me.

One of the required courses at the University of Washington was, naturally, American history. It involved a full year of three lectures a week. My major professor to begin with was Dr. Theresa McMahon in the Department of Economics. Her husband was one of the top lecturers in the Department of History. He was fabulous. He really put history out before a class of five hundred of us in old Bagley Hall in such a way that it really got to me. I started independent work on my own.

About the only time I ever raised my head in the history class had to do with the fact that Dr. McMahon always gave essay-type examinations. To me, an essay-type exam is fine depending on the questions. If the questions are general enough it amounts to a test on one's writing ability. I wasn't too bad at that sort of thing. But I thought it should be a broader agenda that really brought out what basic knowledge the student had of the facts of history. There should have been some way to get at that and I thought a combination form of tests would do it better. I wrote a lengthy letter, addressed to Dr. McMahon and delivered it to him, and damned if he didn't read it out to the class and rebut it. But anyway, he got me thinking about history.

TK: At the time that you were taking what sounds like a wonderful course in American history, do you recall what the atmosphere of the campus was like? Was there a lot of radicalism? Or did it seem that the student body was quiescent? Did the campus newspaper reflect the politics of the day?

WH: There would be the occasional, rather minor controversy, and usually it would show up in the *University of Washington Daily*. I can't say that I was very interested in it in those days. I had an antipathy to organizations. Still do. That's why I'm a Democrat. You remember that old quote of Will Rogers, "I don't belong to any organized

political party; I'm a Democrat." That was sort of my attitude.

TK: Did you make the acquaintance of anyone at the University of Washington who later joined you in the Legislature?

WH: I think I failed to mention when I was talking about Yakima Junior College, about some of the other students who were there. One of the groups that was attending was a carload of youngsters from down in the Zillah area. I casually knew the Woodall family because our factory was about a mile from their ranch. I also remember the Morrison family, but Sid, who became active in politics later, was maybe ten years behind us. But Perry Woodall and I attended junior college, and then the university, together. I was aware of him, and he entered politics before I did. Our earlier relationship was just a student relationship. It had nothing to do with politics.

TK: Where did you live while you were a student at the university?

WH: To begin with I lived in a rooming house, a block north of the campus. It was pretty uncomfortable quarters. I have here in my desk a copy of my expense record for the first year at the university. I think it was four hundred and sixteen dollars and ninety-five cents total, including bus fare to Yakima and back at the ends of the quarters. I used to ride once in awhile with a fellow who would put together a carload and each of us paid two dollars for gas. To get to Yakima and back for two bucks is quite a bargain. But four hundred and twenty dollars for a year at the university, including tuition and everything else, was great. I would sell my student ticket for the football games and things like that, and usually get a dollar a ticket. That was a supplementary income.

TK: Was that trip from Seattle to Yakima and back over Snoqualmie Pass, especially in winter, rather harrowing in those days?

WH: It was an adventure. It was a two-way track, and I remember one time we got into an accident up there that was pretty bad. People were injured, and it was eight or ten miles east of North Bend. In the wintertime you'd get a little bit of ice and all sorts of things would happen. There wasn't the kind of traffic we now have, but there wasn't the kind of maintenance we have now, either. So it was generally an adventure.

TK: You mentioned in one of our conversations about having lived, from time to time, during your university days, at your brother's place on Mercer Island.

WH: Yes.

TK: Could you tell me a little bit about that?

WH: My brother, Ralph, had a taste for the unusual, I guess, and in the early 1930s, I think it was in 1933, Ralph thought that we ought to have some sort of a family cottage where we could summer together. This was a slack time in the fruit-processing factory, early summer, particularly. Things got really active about Labor Day. So he bought some property on the north end of Mercer Island. Two lots at one thousand dollars each. Each lot had a seventy-foot frontage. Later he bought an adjoining lot for fifteen hundred dollars. He put in a dock and built a five thousand-dollar summer home. That was quite a bargain because it even had a fireplace in it. It also had three bedrooms, but it certainly wasn't insulated or anything. We would all go over there, except Father and Mother who didn't care for that sort of thing.

The gang of us would go over there and stay a couple of weeks in the summertime and do things like go down to Kirkland and play tennis. We'd take the sixteen-foot boat that he had bought with an outboard motor and go down to Kirkland to the Juanita golf course. We'd start playing golf on the fifth hole and go around and pay our two bits for the round, then take off in the boat and go back to Mercer Island. We also had a canoe and we'd paddle over to the university boathouse. We'd go out there with my university friends and take the canoe and paddle around Mercer Island. Take our lunch with us. Eighteen miles. It was a pretty good day's paddle for me. But it was

nothing like what my brothers and I had done back on Lake Ontario, which was a lot more severe with a bigger boat.

TK: Did you actually live there while you were going to school?

WH: It was mostly weekending. It's interesting to think that in those days on Monday morning I could leave the cottage at quarter of seven, catch the ferry boat at Roanoke on the northwest corner of Mercer Island and go over to Leschi Park, take the cable car across to Third and Yesler, down near the Smith Tower, and then transfer to the University or Ravenna car and make my class at 8:10 in the morning. Nowadays, if you were to try do that even with the bridge, with all the traffic and parking problems, you'd better start a lot earlier than quarter of seven in order to make an 8:10 class. They call that progress.

TK: Given what Mercer Island has become today, I just find it so intriguing to imagine that there was actually a time when it could be a vacation getaway.

WH: It really had quite a history. I had occasion to look it up because of my association with the island and the cottage that my brother owned there.

My major professor, Dr. Theresa McMahon, had been born on the island. Her maiden name was Schmidt. The Schmidts lived on Mercer Island, and in the course of talking with her and looking up some history about it, I found that the Northern Pacific Railway had offered the entirety of the island to the state of Washington for ten thousand dollars back in 1893. Interesting little sidelight as to how values change. It would probably take you several billion dollars to buy it now.

TK: Shortly after your graduation from the University of Washington, you undertook a very lengthy solo trip around the world. Could you tell me about that?

WH: I think the thing that triggered me the most in making that sort of a dream come true was through my sister, Lillian. She had become acquainted with a girl by the name of Merry Masuda, who had been born and raised in Ellensburg. Her father had a small store on the fringe of Central Washington College, then called Ellensburg Normal. Lill was attending Ellensburg Normal in the early 1930s and became acquainted with Merry Masuda through their classes. Merry would come home with her for weekends, and when she went over to Seattle to the university, the library school there, Merry Masuda went over about the same time.

In 1936, my sister Lillian and Merry Masuda made a trip to the Orient, which was arranged through Merry. They went to Japan and Korea and some corner of China, I don't know exactly where. It must have been a little bit difficult to arrange, but it was quite an adventure for Lill. Of course, all the discussion of it, and they were telling me about that, I think triggered my interest in travel to the Orient.

Some time in 1936, during my first season at Oroville, I fixed on the idea that in the slack season I ought to engage in what the Germans call a *wanderjahr*, which means a year of wandering at the time that you close your studies, your official studies. The British had something similar to that, the Grand Tour.

I developed the idea that I'd like to go to the Orient and up through China and across the Trans-Siberian Railway. I leaned on Lill's friend, Merry Masuda, for advice, and this is how I came to drop in at the White-Henry-Stuart Building where Merry was working in early 1937 for the man who we will be talking about, Ashley Holden. Holden was then the executive secretary of the Japan Society. I remember going in there and being introduced to Mr. Holden by Merry. She helped me arrange hotel reservations and things like that in Japan. I had a wonderful tour in Japan, later. Anyway, that's the way that connection and that plan developed.

To get back to the tour, another thing that triggered it was that in January of 1937, my brother, Ralph, gave me a belated Christmas gift, a check for five hundred dollars with a message attached to it, "Take this and go traveling. If you don't do it now, you never will." Good, sage advice from the elder brother, and five hundred

dollars then amounted to more than $5,000 now!

I accepted the advice in a rather unusual way. I knew that for the kind of plan I was thinking about, Trans-Siberian and six months on the road, five hundred dollars wouldn't do it. I had maybe three hundred dollars in savings. So I got on the Greyhound bus and went down to San Francisco, got a room in an old hotel in downtown San Francisco, and went out to the racetrack every day for about a week. I ran my stake up to a total of about eighteen hundred dollars, including my savings. Then I went back to Seattle, arranged my tickets, and bought them all in advance, which cost me about twelve hundred dollars including the Trans-Siberian railway from the border of Manchukuo and Manchouli, where you cross to Otpor over in Russia. I think it was something like sixty-five dollars to get to Moscow—seven days travel. Then I allowed myself five dollars a day for food.

I traveled third class, and I traveled absolutely alone, and it was a fabulous trip. I think it made a great difference in my life.

TK: That trip across the Soviet Union took place at a particularly difficult time for the Russian people and we may want to talk about it. But what are some of the things that stand out in your memory of the trip?

WH: I can give you a little bit of a resume, probably more than a little bit.

Japan was fine. Very well organized and I had been coached pretty well by Sister Lillian and Merry Masuda about where to go and what to see. I had hotel reservations both in Tokyo and Kobe. I took the *President Grant*, one of the American mail line boats out of Seattle, and of course it made the circle tour up near the Aleutians. Actually saw Attu in the height of a storm that we were going into the teeth of, and the boat was loaded with fourteen thousand tons of aluminum ingots. Pretty well fixed as far as ballast was concerned.

When we got into Yokohama everything worked out perfectly. I saw Tokyo and walked all over it. Went to the Waseda University and watched a ball game, all sorts of things. I got involved. I did somewhat the same thing in Kobe. I took the rail down there and walked all over. I like to walk, and so that worked out pretty well.

Then I caught the boat down to Shanghai from there, an American mail line boat, the *President Van Buren*. I stayed at the YMCA in Shanghai, and made the mistake of eating some fresh strawberries and got the equivalent of what the Mexicans call *turista,* which stayed with me for about a month.

After a week in Shanghai, doing everything I could think of there, seeing the sights, I took the rail up to Nanking and then north to Peiping, through central China, and was much impressed by a lot of oddities of the culture. I was in Peiping, I think, four or five days, and went up to the Great Wall and bought trinkets, one of which was an ancient, ancient coin, good luck coin, that I bought from a peddler up there. I'm sure he robbed a grave to get it. It became my wife Josephine's engagement ring. She'll have to show it to you.

I really did see all the sights. One of the things that startled me, to some extent, in Peiping and Shanghai, was seeing White Russians being employed as rickshaw people. I'd always thought this was done by the coolie class. But here, white men were working as coolies. This was a relic of the Russian civil war. These were people and their descendants who had been driven out during the revolution.

TK: You passed through China during the summer of 1937, only weeks before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, which led to full-scale war between Japan and China. When you were in Japan, and later in China, did you get a sense that big things were in the offing?

WH: Only when I was in North China and going through Manchuria did I get the impression that the Japanese were on the move. Also, when I was on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, going westward, it seemed that at almost every siding we came to, there were trains of flat cars loaded with guns—big cannons. I'm talking about thousands of cannons.

The Chinese and the Japanese seemed to be in a peculiar kind of warfare on the border between Peiping and Manchuria. The Japanese called it Manchukuo after they'd put up a puppet

regime there. They would shut down the war with the Chinese for an hour every day at four o'clock while the train went through.

TK: Did anyone on the train talk about whether the fighting was between the Japanese and the Chinese Nationalist forces or the Chinese Communist forces?

WH: No. It had nothing to do with the Chinese Communists. Very definitely these were Chinese militia and they certainly were a sloppy outfit. In going through Manchukuo, there were Japanese guards on the train posted between the cars. They would pull the shades down, and if you so much as tried to peek out they would come and slap you with something. If you tried to go out between the cars to get a breath of fresh air, they'd stick their bayoneted guns in your face and shove you back. They were pretty nasty and pretty rough.

So I went through on the train from Peiping to Mukden and then on up to Manchouli. Stayed in Mukden a couple of days and Harbin a few days.

TK: That was still in China?

WH: No, Manchukuo, but they were definitely Japanese guards. Then we got up to the border at Manchouli, which was the exit point from Manchukuo. Then a short walk across the border to a place on the opposite side of the boundary by the name of Otpor, which was on the Siberian side.

TK: So then you began the long trip across the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian Railroad?

WH: Yes. One of the interesting incidents on that trip was that traveling with me on that train through the Soviet Union was an Italian diplomat and his retinue. I think there were fourteen people in the party. Of course, in 1937, this was the age of the Berlin, Tokyo axis and the Italians were part of that. The Russians, of course, were on the other side. To show their antagonism towards Italy, they gave close attention to the baggage of this Italian diplomat, which was very extensive, with trunks and trunks and trunks. He'd apparently been posted to Tokyo for quite a long time. They opened up these trunks which were full of lovely silks and they just dragged them out for one hundred yards on that wooden platform, and then walked on them. They were trying to be insulting and they were pretty successful at it. Then they walked off. These were customs guards at Otpor and you then had to put your own stuff back together.

Then we got on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, which was quite an experience. The schedule was that every two hundred miles the train would stop for twenty minutes. There would be a place where you could get hot water for your tea. I was in the modern cars with the Russian group traveling third class, and the rest of the westerners—most all of them on the train were tourists—were up in what they called "Wagon Lits," which was a first class sleeping car with a very luxurious dining car. They paid fifteen dollars a day during the Depression for their meals. I paid five. I ate with them. We had two kinds of caviar for lunch, two kinds for dinner and really fabulous food.

TK: Did you have sleeping accommodations?

WH: Yes, there were sleepers. I was in third class with a Russian group and these were modern cars, and it was like sleeping on the top of this desk. They gave you one blanket over you and one blanket under you. There wasn't any pillow. You had to wrap up your jacket or something for a pillow.

They put me in a compartment with an English major who was going back home from Hong Kong. This was the quickest way for him to get there. He was going back on his annual vacation. There were also two Chinese businessmen, who had a store in London and had been in Shanghai with their families. This was an annual tour for them. They also had discovered this was the fastest way to get to London.

The four of us were in this one compartment together and the Chinese had a phonograph and had Chinese records. They would play these Chinese records and finally the Russians sent a delegation up to our compartment, people who spoke very good English, and they said, "We're tired of that kind of music. Here's some records.

Please play this Russian music."

I got acquainted with some of the people that were traveling in the same car with us. One of them spoke excellent English, and he was a marine engineer who had gotten his training in Britain in Liverpool. He told us quite a bit about the Russian system. He was employed by some official agency that handled maritime traffic.

We got into Moscow after six days of travel, I think it was. It may have been seven. Am I making this too long?

TK: Absolutely not. This is all very interesting. What were your impressions, looking out the window at Russia itself? This enormous country. I know there's a limit to what you can see from a moving train, but did you come away with any kind of feeling for that vast land?

WH: Just that it seemed to go on and on and was mostly flat. And there were lots of trees, though they weren't very big.

TK: Since this was the time of the great Stalinist purges, were you surprised that the Russian people on the train would be willing to talk to you?

WH: They were very willing. Even the Intourist guides would be.

One of the things that was intriguing was that at the time—this would have been about the first of June when I started going through Siberia—there had been an outbreak of hostilities between the Japanese and the Russians over something. From what I read it sounded like the Japanese were trying to promote something.

As we went westward on the Trans-Siberian, we'd go past these side tracks. The Trans-Siberian was single track in those days, and on the side track headed east there was always a train—practically every one of these places there would be a train—waiting for us to pass. As I said before: cannon, cannon, cannon, literally thousands of cannons headed east.

One of the things I read subsequently, I think, fits into this, because the next year the Japanese invaded Mongolia, which was kind of a puppet regime of the Soviets. Obviously, they thought that they had a plan to put the Russians on the run, and the Russians were ready for them and retreated. They'd prepared a giant trap for this one division that was a crack division of the Japanese army. When they got it far enough away from its base where there was no turning back, they closed in on it and smashed it. There wasn't a single survivor out of thirty-five thousand men. This is really the reason that the Japanese never attacked the Russians. There's a book written about it, and my story is based on that book. I have it around here somewhere. This was in 1938 that it happened.

TK: That sounds like the classic Russian strategy.

WH: It is the old Napoleonic retreat story.

TK: What was Moscow like at that particular time?

WH: They had laid on all these tours for people who held Intourist coupons. I would attend those, and on the first one I went on I had a great break. On the tour, as a fellow tourist, was a woman probably in her thirties. She was a White Russian and had returned from the United States to look for family members. She was trying to do that as a tourist. She was obviously from the upper classes, and when her family had escaped from Russia during the troubled times at the end of World War I, she had been a child. She had grown up and married a man who was a professor at Harvard. She was a very cultured and very learned person and spoke perfect Russian. She was like a second tour guide, showing the opposite of what the Intourist guides were showing us. She would take me around behind on some of the factory tours where the people weren't on display, and we would talk with some of the workers there and get the real low-down on finding out things—like if you bought a pair of brand-new shoes of any grade at all, it would cost some of these people a month's pay.

TK: Would they actually talk to you and tell you things like that?

WH: Yes. They really talked very freely. I found, just walking through the park in Moscow, there

were people—entrepreneurs might be the best word—who would try to buy anything from you that had gold in it. They wanted to buy my Parker pen because it had a gold point on it. They wanted to get American money. There was a definite black market that the government tried to cover up.

TK: Was there any evidence of the secret police on the train?

WH: No. And it was at the time of the purge trials. I think those came in July just after I left. It was a formative time in Russian history.

TK: So then you headed farther west into Europe?

WH: Yes. I went up to Leningrad and was there for four or five days. I didn't have my built-in guide there, but I walked around and got acquainted with some people. I got invited to come to what we would call a beer bust. In fact, it was some women who approached me. They just wanted to know something about the United States, and they wanted to practice their English. Everybody wanted to practice English on me.

From there I went to Helsinki in Finland. That was a little difficult with the border crossing. I remember that. I was in Helsinki only a day or two and then went on to Abo, which is on the southwest corner and took the boat over to Stockholm, where I ran out of money.

I got into the embarrassing situation of having a pretty fancy hotel where I had a reservation and of course I wired home for money. Our company had an agency in Stockholm, so I had an address to go to. I had asked that the money be sent to this agency, brokers, really, for dried fruits.

Anyway, at the brokers they said, "No, no money has come in for you." They were very nice to me and took me to lunch. Then I wired again for money and still it didn't come. Then, finally, I inquired at the U.S. Consul's office and found that there were banking regulations that money had to be transmitted through a bank. So we made the arrangements for me to pick up my money at one of the banks affiliated in some way with American Express. I became fluid again.

When I had gotten into Sweden, I had, I think it was, something like two Finn marks and no Swedish money. I invested my money in bread and cheese, and it took me ten days to get out of this jam. Bread, cheese and water in the public parks, and the hotel pushing bills under my hotel room door telling me that I was overdue in my payment, got a little uncomfortable.

TK: That certainly does not sound very pleasant.

WH: But I did have the connection through our broker.

I took the sleeper train down south through Sweden, to Stettin in eastern Germany, and then changed and went on to Bremen in western Germany where we had a broker by the name of Tietjen, who had been a really good agent for us. He had visited in Yakima, and he was a little different than the average German in that he and his wife had been in the Dutch East Indies during World War I. They weren't in Europe at all. They had some hope of going to Florida through some connections that they had, but they never made it. They were definitely anti-Hitler and felt trapped in Germany. Their daughter, Heidi, became a radio announcer. Their older daughter, Eta, became a medical doctor. And George, the youngest one, eventually moved to Vancouver, B.C.

They did me the great favor of taking me to Nazi party rallies. I went to one with them where the speaker was a German general who had been in command in South Africa during World War I. He talked about how the Germans had not been treated fairly. During the course of the rally, with a crowd of maybe thirty thousand people, they had these planes come over at low altitude and buzz the crowd. The warplanes were obviously new ones and they would come in very low. They were bombers, the ones I saw. Probably one hundred of them flew over.

TK: That can be pretty effective propaganda. Very powerful.

WH: Yes. There was obviously a military education going on here that Germany was going to reassume her rightful place in the role of things. The atmosphere was totally poisoned with military preparation.

TK: You really sensed the military presence on the streets?

WH: Yes.

TK: Were people talking about Hitler?

WH: Certainly they were in Germany.

I also remember that the Tietjens took me to dinner at the Rathaus, which is a sort of a restaurant in the basement of the Bremen city hall. They introduced me to esoteric things like three-hundred-year-old brandy, cherry brandy. It was fabulous, and I really got the red carpet treatment.

From there I went to Paris, where I again ran out of money and wound up borrowing from a girl who was traveling with her parents. She and her sister with her parents were on some of the same tours I went on. I don't know whether I got the money back to her when my money came in or not, but I left it at the desk for her at her hotel, which was one of the fanciest in town. I was staying at the Hotel du Nord, which was a transient hotel next to the railroad station.

TK: Were you able to get to Switzerland, your ancestral home, on that trip?

WH: Oh yes, I did. When I left Paris I took the train over to Basel in northwestern Switzerland, then over to Zurich and got out at Schaffhausen and went around on one of the tours of the Rhine Falls and learned a little bit about the area where my grandfather had come from.

Then I got back on the train and went to Berlin and was there for several days, and then went back to Bremen and caught the "Bremen liner" and went to Southampton. I took the train into London and met a friend from Yakima there. He was visiting family in England, a chap named Richard Oswin. His folks were from Britain to begin with and they were in the fruit business in Yakima. I traveled around London a bit with him.

TK: Was that a prearranged meeting?

WH: Yes. Rather loosely, but it worked out. While in London, I lived mostly, I think, on East Indian food because it was the cheapest thing in town.

TK: Was that also a little more interesting than the usual British food?

WH: The British have changed, believe me. They have good food now, but in those days, you're right, it wasn't all that great. It was a boiled potatoes and cabbage sort of thing.

I took the old *Britannic* back to the United States. It was a pretty well antiquated vessel of the Cunard Line, and it cost sixty dollars to cross from Southampton to New York, and took seven days. When I got into New York, I did a few tours around town and caught a Greyhound bus to Detroit and picked up a car for the family, and drove home.

TK: What an adventure! You've said that this *wanderjahr* represented a kind of dividing line in your life? In what way?

WH: I would put it this way: it certainly changed my perspective of the world. Instead of the United States and my home environment being the big picture, the world was the big picture and we were just the corner of it. I think that was part of it.

I was entranced with the Russian scenario, what they were trying to do. I'd heard both sides of it. Then, what the Germans were doing horrified me.

I remember the advice given by a professor, a British professor, who was lecturing at the University of Washington during the summer quarter of 1936. They do this sort of thing, bringing in outside visiting professors. I think it was fabulous, and I'm sorry that I've forgotten the name of that professor but he was obviously immersed in British politics.

He talked on the subject of the Nazis and the Russians. He defined each regime as being a part of what he referred to as state socialism. Sure, maybe the label for the Nazis and the Italians was Fascist, and the Russians were the communists. But, essentially, underneath that paint job was the reality that all three regimes were founded on total state domination of everybody and everything, and the submergence of the individual. He said that there is no real difference between these regimes. The people at the top are mouthing different things. I'm not quoting him word for

word; I'm making my own presentation of the essence of what he was talking about.

He said, "Mark my words, these people are going to get together and submerge their differences and dominate the world." To me, the Hitler pact with Stalin that came about in 1939 wasn't all that much of a surprise, because here was a man who had forecast that it would happen. It did happen.

Of course, when Hitler got to the position where he thought he had achieved domination and had pushed France and the rest of Western Europe under his thumb, he thought he could then take on the Russians, whom he didn't like. He always spoke against the Russians, but I think the British professor was right in his analysis of what the foundations of the regimes were.

He attacked Stalin. Stalin was stupid to ever let himself get caught that way by the Germans in 1941. But the Russian people did a magnificent job of repelling Hitler.

TK: Did what you see in the Soviet Union and in Germany fortify in your mind the ideas earlier expressed in those lectures?

WH: Yes. I admit I was intrigued by the dream of socialism: From every man according to his abilities, and to every man according to his needs. That's sort of an overriding philosophy. But human nature doesn't allow that sort of thing to work. People like to be rewarded for what they think they have done.

TK: Some people have suggested that it was Russian culture that endowed socialism with its particularly unfavorable image. The argument is that the socialist dream might have made greater progress in societies that were not rooted in the historic oppression of Russia. I've often heard it said that, despite his Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, Stalin was but the most recent czar.

WH: I think you're onto something, and I would add that I think there's something about the Russian people that applies right now, today, in the incipient stage of reversion to capitalism. It seems like that old cultural centrality of the Russian people is somehow going to reassert itself. You may see capitalism thrown out in Russia again in an attempt to revert to some form of communism. They're at a very critical point over there right now. A lot of people don't think this is possible, but I do.

CHAPTER 3

WORKING IN THE FAMILY BUSINESS

Thomas Kerr: Following your around-the-world trip, what kinds of things were you then occupied with?

Wilbur Hallauer: At that time the family decided to start investing, partly in defense of the Prosser factory, in apple orchards down in that area. We took them on option really, from the bank, thinking that maybe we could raise apples as cheaply as we could buy the processing culls. That turned out to be a mistake. But anyway, here we are with two or three hundred acres of orchard. When they finally put me on the job in 1940, the first thing I started to do was conserve the family cash and take the orchards out. I bought a lot of dynamite and blew a lot of tree stumps for quite awhile.

But then I got the family into the peppermint business and the dried berry business.

TK: The peppermint business?

WH: Yes. It was the essential oil business. We ran practically an experimental farm.

TK: Where was that?

WH: At Mabton. And then we had the property at Prosser, too. We sold that off fairly rapidly.

TK: Did you clear the orchard land of trees and then put in another crop?

WH: I put in Concord grapes on the Prosser land and sold it.

TK: It was a mint farm?

WH: We had two hundred and fifty acres of mint. This was at Mabton. The orchard had been at Prosser.

TK: Did you then dry the mint and market it?

WH: Oh no. Oil. The sort of thing you put in your Wrigley spearmint gum and peppermint gum, and so on. It goes into a lot of medicines and candies.

When I got interested in it in early 1940, in February, I went down and bought some property using company money. Land was cheap in the lower Yakima area, Mabton probably cheaper than most. A lot of it had been taken over for non-payment of irrigation charges by the irrigation district, the Sunnyside district. We made it go and the company ran it until we sold it to our manager in 1948. When I got started in it in 1940 and I bought my peppermint roots—this is the way you start peppermint, by digging the roots and planting them—from a fellow named Francis Wetherell who lived in Richland. He got expropriated in 1942 by the Corps of Engineers for the atomic energy thing. Of course, it was the Manhattan Project. We didn't know what it was all about and nobody was talking.

At the same time, by 1942, I was really at my wits end trying to keep up with expansion up here at Oroville, and travelling back and forth, so I hired Wetherell to run the place for me. At that point, I had moved to Oroville and so I let him run it. He was absolutely competent; he knew the business. He'd been raising peppermint, although he didn't have a factory still like we did, but he was a fast learner and he did a wonderful job for us. He made us a lot of money and when we decided we didn't want to be in that business anymore, about 1948, or maybe a few years later, and we sold it off to Francis.

But we stayed in the sale of essential oils. We had developed a pretty good Canadian market for our mint oil, and some in Europe. We would buy from others and sell along with our dried fruits.

TK: You also said you started some grapes?

WH: Yes, but that was on land that I sold quite quickly to people who wanted to be in the grape business. We didn't. The reason that I planted grapes there was that it had been an orchard and Concord grapes had shown that they could exist where there's a lot of spray residue in the soil because of the arsenic of lead that had been used on it for years. Grapes put down a deep taproot that got you out of that problem of the carryover of the poison. The soil was awfully stony, big rocks and lots of them, and grapes do well in that. Peppermint would have killed you; you couldn't do it. It was all right for orchards. You had to grow pretty big trees.

TK: How much oil can you get out of, let's say, an acre of peppermint?

WH: You handle it pretty much like you would in growing hay. You harvest it in about August, and the yield should be a bit over one hundred pounds per acre. What you do is cut it and let it dry in the field. At least we did in those days. Nowadays, they take it green and take it in a special truck that has a tank on it. There's a lid that can be put on it when you get it into where the essential oil extraction occurs. You put the lid on it, seal it, and water seal it above the seal, put thumbscrews on it to hold it so that when you turn the steam on, it isn't going to blow up. Put in maybe five pounds of steam, enough so that it could carry off the oil. This steam, as it rises through the material, picks up the essential oil and carries it with it. Then it goes into a condenser which is nothing but a big, thin-walled, metal pipe surrounded by a lot of cold water. The oil is mixed with the steam and floats on top of the water when that is condensed. The oil is deposited and runs out and there's a device called a separator that separates the water and the oil, because the oil floats on top of the water. It's a pretty simple process. Then you take that oil and put it up in fifty-five gallon drums. It sounds like a lot of money. I think it sells for about sixteen dollars a pound right now. When I first got into the business it was selling at two dollars, and then during the war we got, I think, about eight dollars. At sixteen dollars, a good field of mint ought to yield a hundred or a hundred and twenty pounds of oil to the acre. So you get fifteen hundred, two thousand dollars revenue.

We did a lot of custom distilling for small growers. They would bring their dried hay into us—we would do this after we got our own out of the way. We always gave priority to our own, but some of the fellows like to have this as an alternate crop. It was a cash crop. We got up to where we had two hundred and fifty, three hundred acres of our own and probably did a like amount of custom work. We had a pretty fancy distillery that my brother, Art, put together. He was really a great designer of machinery and equipment.

We had our own crew and our own shop in Yakima, which had fifteen or twenty people working there most of the time building food equipment. We did quite a bit of that for other people.

TK: So this was basically an enterprise that you began in your off period?

WH: Yes, that's correct.

I guess the story for me, personally, was that in 1940 it had been kind of a vacuum, in that I really didn't have enough to do. I exercised my prerogatives in the family enough to suggest that we ought to be getting into other things that I thought were attractive. So finally, I talked my brothers and father into some agriculturally related work based on the orchards we already owned down near Prosser in connection with the factory they had there.

I had looked into things like essential oil production and had some ideas about growing experimental crops, one of which happened to be black raspberries, and the idea of drying these for a base for soft drinks and berry nectar and preserves. In addition to the peppermint, we put in about two hundred and fifty acres of black raspberries and a bunch of experimental stuff from soy beans to who knows what. We tried a lot of different things. Pyrethrum was one of them. We had about four acres of that.

TK: What kind of plant is that?

WH: Pyrethrum is a flower of the chrysanthemum family. The dried flower is ground up and used as an insecticide. It's kind of an intriguing idea and Pyrethrum is a well-known insecticide. It does in insects like mosquitoes quite effectively.

We developed an interesting way of harvesting the black raspberries. We allowed the berries to dry on the vine and then went in and pruned out the canes that had the dried berries on them. Mabton is one of the driest places in the state. It's on the north side of the Horse Heaven Hills and in kind of a pocket where the average annual rainfall, in some years at least, is about four inches. Extremely low. We would take these dried canes and run them through a beater mechanism and then a fanning mill, and the result was kind of a cluster of the dried berries with perhaps a stem sticking on them. We developed a piece of machinery—mostly my brother Arthur's doing—to de-stem these berries. Then the end product was sorted and the ones that the stems weren't successfully removed from we'd sell to people who made fruit syrups and things like that. We sold some of this product to people like Dr. Pepper, for example. Jam manufacturers would buy the more perfect ones for their products. It was a unique way of doing business, and it was profitable.

I bought the properties for the family company and kept adding to them during 1941. But by December of that year, we were in the war. In 1942, I was at the age where I was eligible for the draft, and there was a bit of a mystery how I was going to run the factory at Oroville and the farming operations down at Mabton and Prosser. It was obvious that it was getting beyond my ability to handle it.

I was classified as 1A for the draft pretty early, and I had to decide what to do. It looked like I was going to be called up, and so my wife and her kid sister were going to live in the big house that my parents had in Yakima. That was the tentative schedule. But then my twenty-eighth birthday came up May 29, 1942, and somehow that became the dividing line between those who were being called up and those who weren't. I was past the age where they were going to call me immediately, so I got a 2A classification. That meant that I wouldn't be called until they exhausted the 1A pool. But my classification was later changed to 2C, which was a deferment category.

TK: Were you deferred because you were at work in the food industry?

WH: Being a manager in a business that was one hundred percent set aside for military, I think they figured that I was doing something.

That gave me enough security so that I hired my friend Wetherell who had been in the peppermint business down at Richland and, because of the Manhattan Project, was being evacuated or bought out or condemned, whatever you want to call it, of his holdings in the Richland area. I hired him to run the Prosser-Mabton operation of peppermint and berries and all the miscellaneous we had. We were rapidly dropping out of the odds-and-ends and concentrating on just those two, plus some cattle to use up the byproducts.

I then undertook to take on the Oroville plant and really treble its capacity to meet the war demands, because all of our product was one hundred percent set aside, at least as far as the dried fruits were concerned.

TK: Was the dried fruit being purchased by the military?

WH: Oh yes. They just sent us a notice saying, "All of your product is hereby declared in the national interest for the armed services. Get to work and make us lots." That's about what it said.

TK: Who would set the price for it?

WH: That was an annual negotiation, really. I'll admit that the prices were such that it was immensely profitable, but the other side of that was that there was an excess profits tax, so if you made more than your average earnings before the war, ninety-five percent of it was taken under the excess profits tax. But the other side of that was that they gave you pretty rapid write-offs of any additional investment you got into in order to meet these sudden demands. Like trebling the size of the Oroville plant was going to cost quite a lot of

money, and it was going to take some degree of priorities for materials like nails, oil or whatever. We got a 1A category for our needs for our operation. We got our fuel oil under a 1A priority. I got nails and steel for the building project, and anything I had to do in the way of piping, for example, to put in the boiler and the other products. The worst one was probably stainless steel. It was awfully hard to get. In food preparation you need a lot of stainless.

TK: Did you use these permits when you went to contractors and so forth?

WH: Yes. You had to issue a requisition and you had to stamp it with your 1A priority and sign it. That's the way the system worked.

I bought up quite a lot of secondhand machinery that I was able to locate. I went down to Camas, Washington and bought up an old prune dryer and raided that for a lot of the equipment we put in for adding to our drying capacity. I just took my crew and went down there with trucks and loaded her up and came home.

We put in a railroad siding ourselves, all sorts of things. I had a connection with a local lumber company and whatever I needed that way I could get pretty readily. I did treble the capacity of the factory; the labor force was something else.

TK: What was the labor situation during the war?

WH: It was really rough at times. I often worked in the factory at night, myself, just to fill in and keep things going. But we got by one way or another. Sometimes we scanted a little on quality in order to get quantity. Things like that that were real puzzlers.

I'd send a raiding party up into Canada to bring down truckloads of Indian people who wanted jobs. They were up there in the reserves. Interesting people, a lot of them, with lovely names like Cohen and Oppenheimer.

TK: How do you explain that?

WH: Evidently, in historical days, there were a lot of Jewish traders that traded with the Indians for furs and cattle and one thing or another, and it was rather customary that some of these people had dual families. Families out on the range, and families at home somewhere, wherever home base was. John Oppenheimer was an Indian who worked for me for many years, and was kind of a leader of the group. He was a lot of fun to listen to with the old Indian stories.

TK: So you would truck them down and they would actually live here?

WH: Oh yes. I built cottages out of concrete block that are still in use for cheap housing. I built those back in 1942. They really had quite an expansive program going on.

TK: Were those the years that the *Bracero* program was in effect?

WH: What program?

TK: The *Bracero* program—bringing in guest laborers from Mexico.

WH: No. There were no Mexicans.

TK: There were none at all at that time?

WH: Not to my knowledge. I remember, I think it was a few years after the war they started coming in. Late in the season when the Winesaps were being harvested, illegal Mexican workers would come here directly from Mexico. But they weren't *Braceros.* Anyway, they didn't like it when it got cold and there was a little bit of snow on the apple trees and they were supposed to pick apples. I remember seeing them sitting like a bunch of starlings on the railing of the bridge going into town, huddled under their ponchos.

But we did, in 1944 and 1945, have quite a lot of German war prisoners. Probably more of them at my orchard that I owned down at Malott at that time. We used a bunch of them down there. They certainly didn't work like they had their heart in it, but they helped and they did get us by. I'd say that, compared with our Indian pickers, they probably were about two-thirds as efficient. Some of them were quite good, and some of them were terrible.

TK: Was there a prisoner of war camp nearby?

WH: They had one at Okanogan.

TK: The town of Okanogan?

WH: Yes. What was then the B&O Orchard, which was about a thousand-acre orchard, used several hundred of them. They had their own camp of them.

TK: Do you know how many prisoners they held in that camp in Okanogan?

WH: I'm sure there were over two hundred. It might have been four or five hundred, I really don't remember.

TK: Were there prisoners of war further down in the Yakima area, or anything of that sort?

WH: I think it was a fairly general program around the state. In the Wenatchee-Okanogan we had quite a lot of them. But it was only those two years.

After the war the Canadian Indian supply kind of thinned out, and we started getting more and more of the Hispanics.

TK: Was the German prisoner of war labor voluntary?

WH: They got paid. And they got charged for their food in the camps. If they worked and they really put their heart into it, they could save some money.

TK: I'm interested in how the use of prisoners of war was arranged. Did the growers go directly to the military authorities? Or was there some kind of state agency that would arrange for these men to pick fruit?

WH: My recollection is that they had some Army personnel come in and they took over and put up some tents. I think they had about five hundred of them in the Okanogan area, and we got an allotment.

TK: Would U.S. military authorities come to you and say, "Well, we have this number of prisoners. Would you like to put them to work?"

WH: They'd check them out of there.

TK: Would the military authorities initiate this?

WH: No, you had to apply for them. That's the way I remember it.

TK: And you would apply to the military people in this area?

WH: Yes. There was a sort of camp and the Army was in control of it.

TK: As far as you know, there was one camp in Okanogan. Were there other camps, say, further south toward Yakima?

WH: I think there was a camp down in the Leavenworth/Peshastin area. I don't know what they may have had in the Yakima area.

TK: I suppose that would be getting a little close to the Hanford area.

WH: I hadn't thought of that.

There's a story I heard somewhere that at least one of the prisoners, maybe several, had been at Leavenworth during the war as prisoners and later came back. Then when they decided to go for a Bavarian village motif, those people were involved in that.

TK: Did anyone who you knew ever have a chance to talk to these men, to find out something about them—where they had been captured, how they viewed the war?

WH: I didn't. I didn't try. We used about twenty of them in the orchard down at Malott in 1945.

TK: Were they supervised by their own officers?

WH: No. I don't remember that.

TK: I seem to recall that the Geneva Convention

has something to say about that.

WH: I can't tell you. I don't know.

TK: Aside from the Leavenworth situation, did any of them ever come back after the war?

WH: A few. I know more stories about German war prisoners coming back to the Canadian Okanagan than to the U.S. Okanogan. In fact, there's a family over in Osoyoos that is related to the famous General Rommel, the North African general for the Nazis. They still live there and became part of the community. There were other Germans who were in the area as prisoners who I think came back after the war.

TK: I was also interested in the impact of the Hanford project. You mentioned that one of the people who worked for you on the peppermint acreage had been expropriated. Did you have any idea of what was going on there at that time?

WH: Not the slightest.

TK: Weren't people curious?

WH: Well, sure, but you weren't supposed to even talk about it or even think about it. I remember that business of getting told on July 1 to get my hundred and fifty head of cows and their calves out of there by July 31. We collected them on July 30 and it was one hundred and four degrees in the shade, and the nearest shade was about eighty miles due west on Mt. Adams.

TK: Did you have any idea of the magnitude of that project? There were thousands of workers coming into the area, but did you get a sense that this was a really huge project?

WH: We knew that they'd taken over a huge area, and the little town of Richland where my friend Francis Wetherell had graduated in the 1931 class just like I had graduated at Yakima in 1931. There were probably two hundred people there. I remember there was a nice little tavern where you could be cool. That's hot country down there, and when the wind blew, the dust went everywhere. They took over the whole darned area. We couldn't conceive what it could be.

TK: And the workers there lived right on the site, did they not?

WH: Yes, that's right.

TK: I was thinking of the surrounding labor force. It must have been severely affected. People must have been hired and disappeared from the farms and orchards.

WH: They had them coming in from everywhere and they were building housing all over everything. We had no conception of what it was.

In my own case, I had taken an engineering/physics course from Dr. Ross at the community college there in Yakima, and we had talked about the atom and all this sort of thing at that time. But we had no conception of the sort of business that was going on there ten years later.

TK: Did the workers who were on the reservation come into Yakima at all, so that it might have been possible to get a sense of how many people were involved? It strikes me as so interesting to have a huge project going on, and yet it was supposed to be secret. I would have expected the curiosity of human beings to assert itself some way.

WH: We just knew it was something huge. I suppose I thought it had something to do with the making of munitions.

I remember during the wartime seeing a map laying out the forbidden zone for flying. This was a map for flyers to avoid the area. I think they would have shot you down if you'd tried to fly over it. I was just totally appalled by the amount of land that they had consecrated to whatever it was.

TK: Of course, after having moved your cattle, you were working here in Oroville throughout most of that project.

WH: Well, sure.

TK: Did the war production agencies, at any

particular time, ask you to grow things that you had heretofore not grown in order to meet the war effort? Or did they pretty much take what you were growing to start with?

WH: During the war one of the things that we did get into was dried potatoes. The fruit supply was seasonal, and the end of the season for drying might occur in Oroville, say in January, because of the storing problems of the day. They didn't have controlled atmosphere storage and we'd simply run out of fruit sometime in the middle of the winter. But here was this capacity in the factory sitting idle.

In Yakima, and Wenatchee to some extent, we got a government request to make dried potatoes. The government was contracting with the growers to grow lots of potatoes. One of the interesting things was that after the war was over, the government had a lot of fairly long-term contracts with growers that went on for several years.

Come 1948 and the Berlin airlift and the showdown in Berlin, here's the government sitting with an immense amount of potatoes being grown for them and no outlet for them. About all they could do was haul them off to the dump and pay because they had a solid contract.

Through some lobbying by some people in the California industry, the dried products industry, somebody suggested that the government have these potatoes converted into potato flour. We heard about it and said, "Hey, we've got all this capacity, we can dry you a thousand tons a day of potatoes if you want, and make it into flour. It will take us a little time to gear up to make the flour, but it's easy for us to dry the potatoes and get started." We put together a deal in a matter of about ten days, and with a government, that's fabulous action.

We went out and bought up used flour equipment and put it in the Chelan factory, and I guess the Cowiche factory. I was drying potatoes here at Oroville, and then hauling the dried product down to Chelan to run through the flour apparatus. I wanted to get hold of some flour making equipment so we could do it all here, but it never did work out that way. There was equipment sitting in Okanogan that old man Blackwell wouldn't sell to me because he'd have to pay excess profits tax and any mark-up would upset his accounting. But I did hear some wonderful old-time stories from the Blackwells. They had their first store in Oroville in 1893 as I recall it.

TK: World War II was also the time during which you were married. Would you care to say something about that aspect of your life?

WH: When I first came to Oroville in 1936, I was twenty-two years old and just out of the university. I batched in the same quarters that I used for my office while I managed the small factory that my family had bought that year. This went on for several years. I would be up in Oroville seasonally, beginning with the apple harvest and staying until Christmas or a little later until the apples were all processed. Then I'd go back to Yakima and work on the family's operations in that area.

As I mentioned earlier, when the war began, I began to expand the Oroville factory to meet the armed forces orders that we had for products. At the same time I was continuing to manage the operations down at Mabton. Things had to change because I couldn't very well manage things there and at Oroville at the same time. So, as I said before, I hired an old friend Francis Wetherell to take over my job at Mabton. Then I turned all my talents to what was going on at Oroville.

In the last year or two, I guess in 1940-41, I had started courting the young lady who lived next door to the factory. Her name was Rose Scacco. Her family was Italian and her father was the night watchman at the Zosel Lumber Company. Rose's family lived on one side of me and her grandparents lived on the other side. She had a small sister, Barbara, who was then about six years old and had just started in school. She would bounce between her grandparent's home and her father's home, and she would stop by and visit with me. Rose's mother had died when she was twelve and Barbara was one year old. As the only female in the household of two brothers and a father, it just turned out that Rose found it impossible to continue taking care of the home and going to school, so she dropped out of school.

She went through the eighth grade and then dropped out. She would work in the fall and take care of the family, and her kid sister in particular.

Through Rose's brothers and her kid sister, I was sort of adopted into the family and started courting Rose. She was a beautiful person—a great person when it came to laughter and fun and that sort of thing.

We were married February 8, 1942. Of course the war had come while we were courting, and after we'd become engaged. After the marriage we did have a brief honeymoon down in California and then I went to work trying to separate from the situation down at Mabton. While I was working at that, we rented a home in Grandview. Rose one day made up her mind that her kid sister Barbara, needed to be with us, rather than staying with her grandmother who was in her seventies and her grandfather probably fifteen years older than that. She just took the car and went up to Oroville and got Barbara and brought her back. So we started with a ready-made family.

It was really a pretty good arrangement in a lot of ways. Barbara is still here in the community, here in Oroville, and refers to me as her father. She stayed in our family until she graduated from high school and married her high school sweetheart at age eighteen. He became an apple-grower locally and they've got a family of two. I'm treated like she was my daughter.

TK: That must be very gratifying to you.

WH: That relationship maintained itself through all the years, even the tough times when Rose and I were later divorced after twenty-five years of marriage. Rose and I did have our own two daughters, Merry who was born in 1948, Teresa who was born in 1952. Rose is now over in Seattle, and the daughters are both over there.

TK: Were both of your daughters raised here in Oroville?

WH: That's quite a story in itself. Merry, who was born in 1948, first attended a school run by the Dominican sisters here in Oroville through her first two grades. It was a very small school with lots of individual attention. The Catholic school closed and she was then in the public school for three years. Rose then moved them over to Seattle and placed them in the Forest Ridge Convent School. Merry started there at the fifth grade level, and Teri, being four years younger, started in the first grade at the same time. Anyway, they attended Forest Ridge for the years until the family breakup.

TK: That's up on Capitol Hill?

WH: It was then. I understand it's been relocated out somewhere around South Bellevue.

It was supposed to be a pretty good school, but daughter Merry had some special problems and when she was in high school she dropped out and attended high school at Rainier Beach. Of course, the family, as a practical matter, was separated at that time, with Rose choosing to stay in Seattle. Rose insisted that she didn't want to live in Oroville anymore and I finally bought her a house in the Washington Park area. When the family broke up I bought daughter Merry a house about a mile away from there down at Washington Park.

In 1967, Rose sued for divorce and I thought it was a good idea, too. We did quarrel about the girls and we quarreled some about the property, but mainly about custody. The way it worked out was that Merry, who was eighteen at the time, became my direct responsibility. She and her mother weren't getting along very well, and Teri was given to her mother for custodial purposes. But that didn't work out very well either, and Rose left her with her sister, Barbara. Barbara had, of course, grown up and had her own family in Oroville by then. Gradually, Teri started coming over to our place here and in about a year's time she had moved in with us. As a practical matter, that's the way it all turned out. Teri was a local cheerleader and all that sort of thing.

Both of the girls did their stint down in Olympia as pages, and they learned a bit about the political process, I hope.

TK: How long did they serve as pages?

WH: Teri got an award for having served longer than any other child had as a page. I think that

was mostly because the 1965 session seemed to go on forever. That was one of those years when we were quarreling about redistricting of the state. The session didn't break up until sometime in May and Teri got this award.

Merry went on to get her degree in botany at the UW, and Teri went to Western and got her degree in psychology. Now they're both state bureaucrats with the Department of Transportation. Merry is a review appraiser and has been for ten or twelve years now. Teri is in charge of title work for the Seattle district, which is kind of a complicated type of specialty. Property management, she's into that, too.

TK: I remember when we first met, you told me about your second wife, Jo, and how you became acquainted with her when you were still in the Legislature. I really enjoyed that story. Will you tell it again, for the record?

WH: Really, you ought to have Josephine involved in this, too. She's a professional storyteller to begin with. She taught story telling at the UW and Western. So my poor talents are really not up to the test here.

I was first introduced to Jo by Featherstone Reid, who was my assistant in running the Appropriations Committee of the state Senate in 1957. He simply brought her back—when she was assigned lobbying duties by the state librarian—to introduce me. Feather, as everybody called him, was a Wenatchee boy and so it was natural for him to know Jo.

TK: Jo had been a librarian in the Wenatchee area?

WH: Yes. After the war, she had finished her duties in the Navy where she was a cryptographer, and she made the tour around the whole country, and in the course of it, somehow she found out that there was a job opportunity in Wenatchee. She stopped there and wound up getting employment as county librarian.

In 1957 she was lobbying to get state matching funds to go with federal money to put together a large supply of books that would be distributed statewide to all of the interested library participants. The bill that was in the Legislature was a matter of—as I remember it—somewhere around eight hundred thousand or a million dollars.

Jo, after being introduced to me by Featherstone, told me about the program and what it was all about and I tried to be as helpful as I could. Of course, East Wenatchee was part of my district, so it was a rather natural fit that she would be lobbying me.

The thing came down to the wire at the end of the session as to whether the item should be in the state budget or not. As usual, the Legislature got into a last minute hurry-up situation with some items about to be left at the post and other items making it through in the final budget bill. We had a conference committee going and I was a member of it. Senator Bargreen was then chairman of Ways and Means in the Senate. In the House committee, John Goldmark was on it along with Cap Edwards, a legislator from Whatcom County who was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Each committee had a Republican member too, because there were Democratic majorities in both Houses.

There wasn't really enough money to go around, and we didn't want to pass a tax bill, that was pretty plain. So it looked like we were going to run a paper deficit and just tough it out. A majority of the committee apparently weeded out the item that Jo was interested in for the library appropriation, and when we came out of the committee room she asked me about it. She was on the floor and I told her that it wasn't in the bill anymore. Of course, that was supposed to be a secret proceeding and I shouldn't have told her, I suppose. And she said, "What shall I do about it?" I said, "Well, about the only thing I can suggest is that you might talk to Senator Bargreen. He's a key in this; he's the chairman of the big committee." I guess we were in the wings of the Senate when this conversation went on. Jo then ventured out on the Senate floor—we were in recess—and approached Senator Bargreen about her bill not being included in the budget bill. He said, "And who told you that?" She didn't realize that it was secret. That spilled the beans, and he asked her where she was from, and she said Wenatchee. He looked over and saw me in the

distance and said, "I know who it was." About that time I was coming out on the floor and he chewed me out in public, which was rather embarrassing. Anyway, when I got back to talk to Jo, I was pretty upset because I'd been chewed out publicly and embarrassed. I told her to go back where she came from until she learned more about the system. The upshot of it was that I was kind of ashamed of myself for behaving like that, and I wrote her a letter and apologized. She also wrote me a letter, which crossed mine in the mail, in which she misspelled my name, and apologized to me!

TK: I would consider that a most inauspicious start to a romantic relationship.

WH: Of course, this was just a passing thing in 1957. It was not until ten years later that we were married. It wasn't until the time of the divorce that we actually got to dating. She likes to tell the story about the time I picked her up to go on a date and I had my daughter Teri along with me and a piano in the back of the pickup truck!

Anyway, in 1967 Jo was having some problems with hypertension and was having a hard time coping with her job. So, something had to be done about it. She took time off, and she and her friend, Dorothy Doyle, who was in the state library over in Olympia, went up to a vacation home that I had on the beach of Savary Island, in British Columbia. It was September and a time when nobody was around. I left her up there with her friend, Dorothy, and a big, black Newfoundland dog. She was there for a month recuperating, and it really did a lot for her. Then later, we decided we would escape again to Savary Island, and we picked up a Canadian marriage license and that's where we were married—in front of the fireplace at the summer home up on Savary Island.

TK: That's really special.

The postwar period was also one in which you became involved in various business ventures, including orchards, mining, and fruit drying in South America. I'd like to ask you about all that. I might begin by asking you, when did you begin to get seriously involved in the orchard business?

WH: I got interested in orcharding during the war. To begin with, I had financed my brother-in-law, Guy Scacco and helped him get started in the orchard business, I think in 1942 or 1943, and then to move on to a larger orchard a couple of years later.

When American Fruit Growers was disposing of all of their orchard properties in the spring of 1945, I bought a ninety-acre orchard and a cold storage from them sort of off the cuff. It turned into a pretty good investment. I held on to the orchard, hired a manager for it, and was able to get really good people, and for four years it made money for me every year.

Then I traded the Malott orchard, which is what we called the place, for an apartment house property in downtown Seattle. I did that just in time to avoid a tremendously cold winter in eastern Washington in 1948-49. The bloom came on in May of the year, then the leaves came out, and then the bloom and the leaves all dropped off. The orchard was dead.

Well, of course, this wound up in a lawsuit where the other side of the bargain claimed that he had been harmed and taken advantage of. The wording of the contract did say that each party had the risk of the damage to the property until March 1. So I had to pay the man thirty-five thousand dollars, which was a lot better than getting the orchard back. But I still had what turned out to be a rather fabulous investment: thirty-eight or forty units in downtown Seattle next door to the Paramount Theater on Terry Avenue.

This brings in an interesting sidelight, because as my career in politics progressed, a number of people thought that somehow I had an insight on where the freeway was going to be located. Well, this deal was made in 1949 about ten days after I entered the Legislature, and I must have been very prescient in order to visualize where the freeway was going to be built in 1961, but that doesn't stop gossip. The state took the property for the freeway in the early 1960s and paid me cash for it, so that turned out pretty well.

I then bought another apartment house nearby, and I had my friend, Bill Mimbu, take them under property management. Bill had been at the university with me and was a successful lawyer.

He was the husband of Merry Masuda and our friendship had been maintained even during the war. Bill and Merry were interned first out at Puyallup at the old fairgrounds in early 1942. Their son John was very delicate, and my wife and I would go out and visit them there and take special dietary things out for John. There wasn't much you could do to help them. These were the rules, and the orders had been given. Eventually they were sent to Stockton and from there to a place in Arkansas called McGehee, down in the rice country. Bill managed to get released to work in Wisconsin in 1944.

Bill engaged his parents, who had also been interned, to run the apartment house. They did a very successful job of it, and when that was condemned and I bought the Olive Tower apartments nearby, they ran that for me very successfully, until I was divorced and there was need to sell it. Anyway, that's another sidetrack of my career. I was a landlord.

TK: As time went on, mining and geology seem to have become more and more interesting to you and, in fact, led to a number of business ventures. Could you tell me about that?

WH: About the time that I was first elected to the legislature, in 1948, I got acquainted with a man up in Canada who was about as diverse in his interests as I was. His name was Randolph Fillmore Sandner. Randy had an interest in everything that came along. He was a member of what they call the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, which was really a socialist group. I think that was generated by his experience during the Depression in the early days and being on the bum, riding on the trains going from one place to another, trying to find a job or whatever. He had been raised in a very remote place at the end of Christina Lake where his folks had a shingle mill. His dad was a prospector, and Randy got into prospecting. As time went on and Randy got on his feet economically, he had a couple of sawmills. He was a developer. He and I were kindred spirits.

I had heard about a small and rather unique sawmill in the community of Greenwood just north of the border, which was an unusual community in that it had been a relocation place for the Canadian Japanese. They had been moved out of the Vancouver area to Greenwood. His crew at his Greenwood sawmill was mostly Japanese. He was making use of Lodgepole pine, one of the first people to do so, and using it for box shook, we called it. Fruit boxes. I heard about this and went there and happened to run into Randy. We became good friends.

He was into mining and he educated me a bit on it and asked if I'd be interested in participating in some drilling that they were doing, exploratory drilling in an old mine called Camp McKinney on the Canadian side. It had been a rather fabulous mine at one stage back in the early 1900s. Well, I sort of went along for the ride, and so I wound up with a 5/32 interest in the Camp McKinney mine.

At the time, I was a little bit bored, and around this country if you're bored, the only things to look at are rocks. There's lots of geology exposed around here, so it was a rather natural thing to get into.

The drilling was successful. In the second year of drilling we hit the old vein that had been highly productive and wound up making it into a producing mine that operated on a rather low-tonnage basis for four years. They'd mine the material out and haul it down to the railroad and ship it directly over to the Trail smelter. It was almost pure quartz with some gold in it. We got a bonus because of the silica content of the ore. The thing made money and I suppose I got back about ten or fifteen dollars for every dollar I'd ever put into it, and it tickled one's interest to know that things like that were out there.

One of the things that arose out of that experience was that in 1952 I went back to the University of Washington to take a course in geology during the summer quarter. That's something that I'd done before.

TK: Could you tell me a little about that?

WH: Well, one of the first times I did that was when I enrolled in a political science class that was taught by one of your old professors, Hugh Bone.

TK: For the record, Hugh Bone was a long-

standing and very well known professor of political science at the University of Washington.

WH: Was he also the head of the Department of Political Science?

TK: Yes, for a time.

WH: He was an interesting person, and I'd heard about him at the Legislature. In fact, I think he came down at my first session of the Legislature in 1949 and told us how we ought to be doing things, which amused me.

TK: I can remember that he had some strong opinions about the Olympia scene, and was not at all bashful in expressing them.

WH: In retrospect, I took him pretty seriously then. I guess I was infected with a degree of idealism and I thought a professor ought to know something about it! How viewpoints change!

Anyway, I signed up for his class in introductory political science, Poli-Sci 1, and for one reason or another—with business involvements—didn't get into the class until the Friday of the first week of the classes. I walked in and sat down in the back, and he was up on the podium talking about the Legislature and the terrible kinds of crap that they passed in Olympia. I admit that part of it is true.

The example he was using was a bill that I had introduced in the Legislature at the behest of the raspberry growers up in Whatcom County. It sort of fell to my duty because I had been the chairman of the Horticulture Committee in the Legislature, both in 1949 and 1951. Of course, Hugh was making a point that this was a trade regulatory device. I admit it was, but it was in answer to political pressures in Whatcom County which meant not a great deal to me, but I had friends up there who were in the Legislature and they wanted it. So I put the bill in and pushed it. Then, Governor Langlie, in his wisdom, vetoed the measure. Hugh thought that was great; and maybe it was the right thing to do.

TK: Did you let on to Hugh Bone who you were, and that his example of poor legislation was, in fact, your bill?

WH: Oh yes. At the end of the quarter I went up to him and told him about it, and we were both amused. We were also struck by the coincidence of his lecturing about my legislation at just that moment when I arrived in the class. It started a friendship, and we kept in some degree of touch after that.

That's the story there. But to get back to the mining business, in 1952, the head of the Geology Department at the University of Washington was a man named Hoover Mackin, and I enrolled in a course in Introductory Geology that he taught.

Professor Mackin gave us quite a helping of general geologic theory, which I found vastly intriguing. In addition to that, he would take us up on Mount Rainier where he had been working for years on a project of measuring glacial recedence. He lectured to us quite a lot about the glacial age that had dug Puget Sound and, over here in this country, the Okanogan Glacier that ran down to the Columbia River and at times blocked the Columbia River. Hence, Dry Falls and the Columbia Basin Project were all in the scope of his theorizing about glaciers. It wasn't theory; the evidence is pretty solid about it. As you go south around Pateros you'll see an immense field area of boulders, and that was the terminal moraine of the Okanogan Glacier. The Methow had the same kind of glaciation. Lake Chelan was dug by mountain glaciers. There's evidence of glaciers all around here up at about the forty-five hundred foot elevation. Just imagine this whole thing being like the ice cap of Greenland. That's what it was.

I did a lot of reading about glaciers, particularly in the Canadian reports. Evidently there was an ice cap. The summit of it was about four hundred miles north of here in the Chilko Lakes area, and the glacial movement of that immense ice cap went in all directions, north as well as south. It dug the fjords over on the British Columbia coast. North of Vancouver the coast is like the Norwegian coast as far as fjords are concerned, all kinds of inlets. Where we have our summer home over on Savary Island, that's the glacial dump of the glacier that dug Desolation Sound.

My exposure to Dr. Mackin led me back to another university-connected exposure three years later when I discovered that Dr. Peter Misch, of the University of Washington Geology Department, was having a field course in what's called the "lime belt" here in Okanogan County. It was a graduate course at that time. They were going to be in camp for six weeks at Conconully State Park. Frankly, I exercised a little bit of political pressure on my friends at the university, and got entrée to that field course. I would leave home, here, about six o'clock in the morning and be up there at seven o'clock, and have breakfast with the guys. At eight o'clock we'd be out in the field up in the lime belt which was nearby, doing geological sampling and measurements. Dr. Misch had assigned them a problem in trying to theorize about the way that lime belt is constructed. It's layered, evidently, with the older rock on top and the younger rock at the bottom. There had been some kind of a flip-flop that occurred up there.

Peter Misch took me under his wing. I was with him all the time, when he would go around to the different groups of students—he broke them up into groups of four, and I think there were twenty-two or twenty-four students in the group—so I got a lot of exposure to Peter Misch.

Peter was an interesting study himself. He was a graduate of the University of Gottingen in Germany and, at the time the war broke out, he was in Yunnan Province in China. During the war Allied forces were flying aid into Chungking in China, and this went over the top of Yunnan Province. Of course there were occasional accidents where planes were jettisoned, and pilots had to parachute out of their planes. These people were often captured by the aborigines in these mountains of this wild province in southwestern China. Peter's duty, knowing the language, was to negotiate with these people and rescue the pilots and get them back. This wartime service was recognized and enabled Peter to come to the United States after the war, and to get a position on the faculty of the University of Washington.

I had undertaken, beginning in about 1955, a process of acquiring old mining properties by staking and purchasing or whatever. I would hire people who had been in mining and for one reason or another were available, to look at those properties. By 1967 I was beginning to drop out of politics and I knew that I would be getting more actively involved in mining. So I asked Peter for a suggestion as to a consultant that he might recommend for me to rely on for technical and professional help in looking at properties that I found of interest. Peter recommended a man named Alan Robert Grant, who had been in the graduate class that I attended under Peter in 1955. By 1967 he had his doctorate in geology and had been working for Kennecott on a copper project on the Middle Fork of the Snoqualmie River.

Anyhow, my interest in mining and food processing combined in a trip to South America in 1961 that led to the establishment of a fruit drying factory in Argentina and, later on, to some mining activity there.

TK: Please tell me about that.

WH: My wife and I were having a little domestic difficulty and I arranged passage for the whole family—my wife, our two daughters, and myself—on a Chilean vessel that sailed out of Vancouver, and stopped at various ports along the North and South American coast on its way to Chile. My Canadian friend, Randy Sandner, was with us on the trip, together with a friend of his from Trail, B.C.

We took the owner's cabin for my wife and myself, Randy and his friend had another cabin, and our daughters had another cabin. The maximum passenger capacity of this Chilean vessel was twelve, and we had a very interesting and congenial group.

In San Francisco we used the ship as a base and I saw all my friends down there. We made stops in San Pedro, and the harbor of Los Angeles, before going on down to Manzanillo and Acapulco where we enjoyed ourselves on the beaches, and did all the touristy things.

When we got into Lima, we met Randy Sandner's son, Stan, a geologist working in an iron mine on the coast, and another friend, Dan Turcotte, who was a professional diamond driller. When we came into the harbor of Callao, Turcotte was out there in the customs boat greeting us as we came in, shaking hands with all the customs officers. When they shook hands I noticed there

was a little bit of paper that seemed to be between the palms with the greeting going on. Somehow, we were whisked from the vessel into downtown before you could say anything at all. We had a great time in Lima for about ten days, then went out to the mine. Stan had done some mineral exploration for magnetite and found an immense deposit up in the *altiplano*. The deposit contained billions of tons. Of course, it was quite a way from the seacoast. But it had a lot of altitude, and a lot of water was available. We were theorizing that we could pipeline this material down to the coast after making it into a powder. The idea was to sell this material to Japan.

About the same time, a parallel sort of a thing was going on in northwestern Australia. Immense hematite deposits had been discovered there, and really what was happening was that we were presenting a competing iron ore supply for Japan from Peru. We didn't know about the Australian deposit until about the time we were starting to show the Japanese that this magnetite discovery was there and had real potential. But in fact, the Australian deposit was nearer the coast than ours was.

It was pretty simple for the Japanese to figure out the political safety of Australia in comparison with Peru. Naturally, they made the choice of Australia. So, we got left out in the cold, and I lost a little bit of money gambling on a prospect that didn't sell. But the material is still there, and some day in the future it might—

TK: Isn't it interesting that Peru has subsequently had a president who was of Japanese origin? Had he been in office in 1961, Japan may have looked at the situation differently.

WH: That's an oddity, isn't it? I knew of the Japanese presence. There were about forty thousand people of Japanese origin in Peru. But, of course, that was a really small element.

We then flew the rest of the way down to Santiago, the capitol of Chile. At that point, my wife and kids went to a summer resort area near Valparaiso, while Randy Sandner and I flew about seven hundred miles to southern Chile. Randy wanted to look over the forestry potential of that area. That trip was a bit like flying along the Pacific coast to California. You've got all these old volcanoes in the Cascade Range down to Mount Shasta that you fly by, and it's fabulous scenery. You fly by all these huge volcanic mountains, some of them with smoke coming out the top, so they're active. When we got down to Puerto Montt, we ran into a situation where the town we were headed for had been devastated about a year and a half before by a tidal wave that came in from a subterranean blow-up of a volcano off the coast. The Andes drop off to immense depths in the ocean and it's an extremely geologically active area. Obviously, there are uplifts going on in the southern Andes. Anyway, three thousand people were killed by that tidal wave, and the town was still a shambles.

We ran into a man who was there on behalf of the United States under the Point Four program, helping with the reconstruction. He saw us around and introduced us to people that were involved in the reconstruction. He also took us out into the boonies to see the forestry operation. That was interesting in that they were logging with oxen. A small sawmill would have thirty or forty employees and turn out about five thousand board feet a day. Inefficiency was monstrous.

We had a bit of adventure when we went out to look at the forestry things, the sawmills and the timbering. We had a flat tire, and then we had another one on the Point Four jeep we were riding in, so there was no way to go on. A truck eventually came along, loaded up with wood and with a bunch of people up on top of it. It stopped and tried to be helpful. What we did was to leave a man with the vehicle and take the two tires to a place where they could be fixed and brought back out.

It turned out that the business of the truck owner was a grocery store in one of the areas in the east end of the city of Puerto Montt, which at that time probably had a population of forty thousand. Nowadays I suppose it's two hundred thousand. When we got to his store, he invited us in and sent messages out into the neighborhood that some Americans and Canadians were there, and they wanted to put on a party to demonstrate their thankfulness for the aid that had been provided to the community.

Chilean wine is excellent. It wound up that

there might have been one hundred people in that store, and everybody had free wine and they brought things to eat. They made speeches, and we were supposed to reply in kind, and of course Randy's Spanish is worse than mine, and mine was terrible. We did the best we could, but we did have this professor from the University of Chile who happened to be with us, and was a guest of our Point Four friend. He was very helpful and helped us by giving us the scenario and telling us what was expected of us.

TK: Now, as I understand it, at this point in your trip you intended to go on to Argentina to look into the establishment of a fruit drying plant. Could you tell me about that?

WH: We'd had an Argentine man in the fruit business visit us a year before. His name was Beningo Segovia. He lived at Cipolletti in the fruit-growing province of Rio Negro.

TK: Where is that?

WH: Geographically, seven hundred miles southwest of Buenos Aires. There was rail service to Buenos Aires.

TK: So you flew from southern Chile to southern Argentina?

WH: Yes, When we landed at Neuquén, we were met by Ben Segovia and shown around. I was attracted enough by it that I recommended to the family corporation that we go ahead and start a drying factory down there. The idea originally was to have Mr. Segovia as the manager. It turned out that when we tried that, it wasn't very workable because Segovia seemed to have an endless supply of relatives. Before you could say "Jack Robinson," he had four brothers who he wanted on the payroll with a year-round salary. I didn't think much of that, so I told him no, and I proceeded to hunt around a little bit for somebody to be a technical manager, a hands-on manager. Segovia showed signs of wanting to be an administrator that didn't get his hands dirty, and we weren't that kind of operators. I had often gone out in the factory and worked on the machinery myself and did things to fill in myself. I had been brought up that way. That's the way we were.

As it happened, we found a person to manage the factory quite by chance. My wife was Italian and she grew up speaking that language. In about 1955, she was at Woodland Park with the children and came across a group of Italian sailors. She got to talking with them and invited them home, where they insisted upon cooking an Italian dinner. One of the young fellows was an electrician and one of his desires was to come to the United States. So I undertook to help him with it and couple of years later we succeeded in getting him into the United States. I even got him a job down at the then Bethlehem Steel Company Works on Harbor Island.

It turned out that Max, as we called him, had a brother who was really an engineer and was working in Chihuahua in Mexico, in a huge wood processing complex that included the construction of a pulp mill and all that sort of thing. It was in its construction stages. Anyway, it turned out that this man, Marcello Melchiorre, was in the market for another job. Here was a guy who spoke five languages, I'm not kidding, and he spoke them well. He had all his technical background. He was about to be married to a Mexican woman who spoke fabulous English and whose people were obviously cultured. So I thought maybe he was the man for our factory down in Argentina, and hired him. Eventually he became the manager of it, replacing Segovia.

The factory was built in 1962, and Marcello had been doing a good job. At the time of my divorce in 1967, I really needed to break away and I went down to Argentina just to see how things were going and to get away.

While I was down there I got acquainted with an old Italian prospector, Debiaggi, who was in on the mineral scenario. Marcello had sort of set this up. He knew the prospector, and I got so intrigued with it that I hired Dr. Grant as a consultant. He went directly down there, at my expense, and came back with some recommendations that I followed up on and got involved in the mining scenario in Argentina.

Later on, after I'd busted my pick on it a few years later, we resurrected it in 1991, and it was the beginning property for Yamana Resources, the

firm based in Spokane, which is on the Toronto Stock Exchange. I am currently the company's chairman emeritus.

TK: So that's still operating?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Was the food drying enterprise still going on at that time?

WH: Yes. In 1976, Marcello found us an Argentine banking group that wanted to buy the factory in Argentina, and we sold it to them at a nice profit. Then, in 1977, they apparently were happy with that purchase, and they came up to Yakima. I had been pushing my brothers to unload the family business. These people wanted to buy it and we sold out for a good price with a guarantee from Barclays Bank in Britain to this banking group of their debt to us. And, in due course, in about three year's time, they paid for it entirely, and we were out of it.

TK: Given all that activity, I hesitate to ask whether you've had any time left over for recreation and relaxation.

WH: I've had a lot of hobbies. One of my hobbies as a farm boy in upstate New York, was hunting and trapping and fishing and that sort of thing. It was part of life. When we came out to Yakima I would go bird hunting. When I got up to Oroville and finally settled down enough, and Rose and I were married, the first thing I got was a hunting dog which I trained myself. I had a series of hunting dogs for years that I trained. I always had them around with the kids. I didn't lock them up in a cage or anything; they were part of the family.

My brother, Harley, who was at Wenatchee, loved to hunt. It was always a great thing when he would try to come up every weekend in the fall. We'd go out hunting.

And then I always went fishing quite a lot. This is a wonderful place to go fishing.

TK: Fly fishing?

WH: Fly fishing, yes. I'm a member of the Okanogan Fly Club but I don't take that very seriously. My real fishing days were back in the thirties and forties and fifties and sixties. My favorite fishing places were up on the Ashnola River, beyond Keremeos, B.C. and on McIntyre Creek up north of Oliver, B.C.

Should we include a fishing story?

TK: Oh, absolutely. What oral history would be complete without one?

WH: My brother Harley, wasn't much of a fisherman, but I talked him into going with me. I had a carpenter at the time working for me on the house. He was a great fisherman, although he couldn't read—except for a carpenter's square—and he had a strong taste for liquid refreshments. His name was Elmer Buroker and he was from a pioneer family down in the Tucannon country. So the three of us went up on Ashnola Creek and, in forty-five minutes, Elmer had caught forty-eight trout. They're the little, hard mountain trout that averaged about eight inches. We were fishing two flies. I caught forty-two. But my brother Harley didn't catch a single one.

TK: That's just terrible. Did he continue to speak to you after that?

WH: I remember reading in the diary of the man who was the secretary of the British Boundary Commission, and he was there in that same Ashnola country in 1859, and they ran out of food. They were following the forty-ninth parallel across that rough country, and they were catching six hundred trout a day to feed the party. It's in his book. I found this out a lot longer after I had been up there fishing. Of course, with the improvement of the roads and all that sort of thing, it's hard work to get a decent fish up there now or very many of them.

TK: That's amazing. Six hundred fish a day.

WH: Yes. But this was in 1859. I was up there fishing in 1949, ninety years later.

But between fishing and hunting and developing an interest in politics, my time seemed to disappear. I got involved in the starting of a

golf club here. There was a group of us who would once a month go down to Omak and play the course down there. I was a member in the early days.

Some of us began talking about the need for a golf course up at Oroville and that finally blossomed into doing something about it. There was a local fellow named Len Barlow who was operating the hardware store here in town and he knew enough about golf that he could lay out a golf course. The present course was laid out by him. We had been talking about different sites and tried to get one here on Lake Osoyoos, but that didn't work out because of property ownership problems.

We finally wound up with a second choice of some old mining claims about two miles west of Oroville, up the Similkameen canyon. It was pretty rough country, but right adjoining it was the mainline canal of the Oroville-Tonasket Irrigation District. So there was water up there. I bought the claims and some additional land from the Bureau of Land Management. It was conditioned that if we kept it open to the public, we could get it for four dollars an acre.

I was the first secretary/treasurer of the Oroville Golf Club, and I put the land package together, and Barlow laid out the plans. With donated labor and the donated land and so on, they put together a very interesting course. It's quite a challenging thing.

TK: Is it still there?

WH: Yes, it's still there. Somebody told me what they charge now to play on it, and I was horrified. I think somebody said sixteen dollars just to play.

TK: Sixteen dollars for a round?

WH: Yes. My standards were set back in the 1930s when we could play for two bits at the Juanita course. That's where I did most of my playing.

TK: You've also had a long-term interest in Pacific Northwest history and book collecting. Could you tell me about that?

WH: I've always been interested in history and when I first came to town, the library here in Oroville was little more than a collection of *Elsie Dinsmore* and *Reader's Digest* and *National Geographic*—stuff that had been donated by people who really thought that was something.

I found it impossible to get along with that, and when I'd get into Seattle I started going down to Shorey's bookstore. That's where I really started picking things up. Also my Canadian friend, Randy Sandner and I would go into Vancouver occasionally on business. Randy was great about going to the old bookstores to pick up mining books. He had quite a collection of them.

He got me started on that, and I have over there [on the shelf] all the Minister of Mines reports in British Columbia from 1897 on. They go back a little further than that, but that collection has quite a bit of value. So I started collecting mining books in Canada and I'd occasionally run across something up there that I'd want. Shorey's had an awful lot of stuff in those days. It was cheap. And I got going to some of the other places and occasionally a book fair.

I got onto book lists distributed by people like this one here. This is called *Oregon Territorial Books*, and I think it's probably the most productive listing if you want to get into collecting. Right now I'm making motions at least. I called up *Oregon Territorial* the other day and the books that are listed at the top of it had to do with my next collecting effort, which will be collecting books in the area of the political liberation of women, beginning back in the nineteenth century. I'd like to get going on getting some of that stuff put together.

I also made a collection of Doukhobor books. That's one of the things that the Canadian contact interested me in. I gave my collection of that to the library up at Penticton.

TK: Have you collected materials relating to central Washington?

WH: I originally started by looking for things in this area. Then, of course, it's pretty hard to draw a line that I would not pick up things in the Yakima valley. Well, originally, I got Ben Snipes and Kamiakin and a few others, the Justice Douglas

book, things like that. Early on, I shifted my emphasis more towards the Hudson's Bay Company, the fur trader thing. I didn't try to confine it to the Yakima area. Anything I had there was purely incidental.

Quite a lot of the stuff that I collected came out of Portland and the Oregon area. The Willamette settlements—the Oregon Trail stuff—always intrigued me because, really, the reason that the American claims to the Northwest were able to survive came about because of the heavy movement in the early 1840s of American wheeled traffic bringing in people that simply outnumbered the Britishers.

TK: Going down into the Willamette Valley?

WH: Yes. The Oregon Trail. That's where most of them wound up. But, of course, after they landed in there they started spreading around pretty fast.

I did, of course, become a member of the Champlain Society and some of their books are very much on point about the settlement of the Northwest. David Thompson's book is one of the Champlain series.

There's another book that was vastly intriguing—at the moment I don't remember the fellow's name, but I suppose I could look it up on that list—but he was the head of the farm operation for the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver, and later in Olympia. Some of his stories—there's a story in there in the late 1830s he was on a canoe in the Columbia when St. Helens was spouting off. They were moving at night on the river and they could see this thing in the distance. So the 1980 explosion at St. Helens had happened before. It wasn't anything novel.

TK: That's what I was told, but it was still quite unforgettable for those of us who went through it.

WH: Yes. There was another facet of this that I was going to get into. The first person to have a fur trading presence in the Okanogan country was Alexander Ross at Fort Okanogan at the mouth of the Okanogan where it meets the Columbia. It was interesting that Ross also had a fort up in Canada in the Shuswap Lake area. He started the movement of furs up and down the Okanogan. Later, that became the principal way the British moved their British Columbia furs down river and on out after they took over from Astor in 1813. Then, of course, the Americans were gone for awhile.

Another very interesting character in connection with the eventual fate of the Northwest in terms of ownership was Albert Gallatin.

TK: The Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson?

WH: Yes. Jefferson and Gallatin were very close friends. Gallatin was the first president and a long time president of the American Ethnological Society. He was very interested in Indians. He was the one who gave Lewis and Clark their directions about what to do in terms of Indian language vocabularies. Jefferson is given the credit for all this, but Gallatin had a big hand in the direction of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

TK: Preparing them for the journey?

WH: Yes. And Gallatin was born in Geneva and he was basically a Frenchman. He spoke French fluently and he was given credit for paying off the national debt from the revolutionary days.

In his biography—there's one written by his son—it was brought out that he had been in Congress a long time both before and after his service under Jefferson. At one time he was Speaker of the House.

TK: I also seem to recall that he had been elected to the first Congress as a senator. But he was expelled because of having been foreign-born, and not having lived in the country long enough.

WH: I don't remember it quite that way. The way I remember it is that Gallatin's home district, where he had a big piece of land, was in the Pittsburgh area in western Pennsylvania. That was the area of the Whiskey Rebellion. It's my recollection that somehow they attacked him for not being more pronouncedly against the people in his area on the collection of the tax.

TK: I think you're right about that; the residence matter may have just been a political smokescreen.

WH: I'll have to go back and open up the biography.

Gallatin did write a memoir about the Oregon question, which is a fabulous piece. He was on every one of the conferences following the war of 1812 when they established the rule that it was going to be joint occupancy for ten years. Then he was on the next one when they decided to extend it for ten years, and then ten years more. When the final thing was settled in 1846, he was still around and in his eighties. All of his arguments are in that little book of his that I've got. I think there's about one hundred and twenty pages in it setting forth all the arguments how the United States had acquired—and he had something to do with this—the Spanish ownership interests. The Spanish claims in the Northwest had been acquired as part of the bargain regarding Florida. This is all very intriguing history that does have a bearing on this area.

TK: I understand that you made a rather substantial donation of books to the Okanogan Historical Society.

WH: Oh yes. My collection of about four hundred and forty, or four hundred and fifty, is what I've given them so far. I've got another twenty, thirty, forty books that they'll eventually get. Some of them are just too fancy, and, besides, some of them Jo gave me. There are a couple of them you ought to look at.

TK: Does the Okanogan Historical Society have offices down in the town?

WH: Yes. Somehow they've been able to wangle grant money and there are people there who are working with those things and working with the historical materials they have generally. They've made that into quite a fabulous thing.

TK: What books were of particular importance to you?

WH: Well, I've been a member of the Champlain Society for forty-some years, and every year they'd cough out a new book that would cost me thirty or forty dollars and as soon as I got it the thing was probably worth a hundred. Some of those things, like the *John Norton Memoirs* and the Champlain books, those things are worth in the hundreds of dollars each on the used book market. Of course, this is a tricky thing. You've got to find a customer like you do for a painting or anything. You've got to have somebody that's interested and has the money. But the market is there.

Some of these things that I bought for ten dollars maybe forty years ago are worth a big multiple of that. I've seen the odd one that I had on that list that are worth close to one thousand dollars.

TK: I'm sure those volumes will benefit the community for a long time.

WH: Jo has been collecting children's books, and I think in my field of history, the books have advanced in value maybe over the forty years by an average of five times, probably. Some of hers are more like five hundred times.

CHAPTER 4

ENTERING THE WORLD OF POLITICS

Thomas Kerr: At this point, it may be appropriate to move on to your life in the world of politics—a world that occupied your time and energies for a very long time.

Perhaps a good place to begin would be with your early political thinking. At the time that you were beginning to become involved in politics, that is, running for the Oroville City Council, what ideas about government or politics had you developed?

Wilbur Hallauer: By that time I had some fairly definite ideas, but I suppose my first political thinking had been determined to a large degree by family. I don't think my mother and father were particularly political, although Dad had been the first president of the village of Webster. They were both prohibitionists, but I don't think belonged to the Prohibitionist Party. But that was the principal thing they thought of in terms of, say, Governor Al Smith of New York State, who they rather despised because he was pro liquor.

There was some discussion within the family about Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt. I don't have any idea which way my parents voted, but I would guess Mother probably voted for Roosevelt and Dad might have voted the other way. Mother got off of the Roosevelt bandwagon because she just couldn't understand why all of the Roosevelt children were divorcing all the time. She thought there was something wrong with them.

I'd say about 1936 I came to develop some general political ideas—of course I had been at the university a couple of years by then and done a lot of current reading. I used to try and read the nascent *Time Magazine* of the day. These were post-*Literary Digest* times. Times were changing and there was a lot of misery in the country, and everybody was talking about what do we do to get out of this mess we were in. Ideas were being tossed about. Some of them crazy ones like Dr. Francis Townsend. I went and listened to him give a talk on his "Share the Wealth" ideas.

TK: You actually heard him?

WH: Oh yes. In Yakima. There was some rally and there were a couple hundred people there in a big grandstand by the old fairgrounds. I didn't think that was going to cure anything. Where was the money coming from, sort of an argument. I thought that Roosevelt was probably doing the best that could be done. At least he had some ideas and was trying them. Then the Supreme Court started knocking down things like the National Recovery Act, and people did talk about those things.

Things were beginning to get a little better in the late thirties. Wages got up from ten and fifteen cents an hour to two bits and thirty cents.

TK: Did you have any thoughts about what the role of governments—federal, state, local—ought to be in society?

WH: I think there was a general consensus that we had to engage in things like Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects, even though it seemed that they weren't doing their job very effectively. Make work stuff.

TK: But you didn't find it objectionable that the federal government was getting into areas that it hadn't been involved in before the Great Depression?

WH: Some of the things they were doing were a joke. But then, on the other hand, take the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). I thought that was a great program. They were actually accomplishing things.

TK: We still see evidence, even today, of their work all over the state.

WH: That's right.

TK: What initially attracted you to the Democratic Party rather than the Republican Party?

WH: The Republican Party of the day was engaged in saying "no" to any idea that came along. On ideas, even like the CCC effort, they were reluctant dragons, and we needed a more positive movement forward. Of course, the war came along, and all at once there was more to do than could be done.

By that time it was clear that Franklin Roosevelt had had the foresight to try and get the country moving towards preparation. Then, of course, his natural heir was Harry Truman when Roosevelt died in 1945. And I thought Harry Truman was right on the ball. He was a plainspoken guy who was trying to carry on the Roosevelt policies. By the time 1948 came along I was pretty much on Harry's bandwagon. I thought he was being abused by the Republicans.

TK: You've described yourself as a "Truman Democrat." What did you mean by that?

WH: He was trying to carry on the employment policies and civil rights policies of Roosevelt, and add his own twist to them. Sure, he wasn't a member of the elite by any means, but here was a plainspoken mid-westerner whose word seemed to be based on good, solid common sense thinking. But the Republicans were making fun of him, and I thought that was disgraceful.

He'd done a wonderful job for the three years he'd been in office. He'd met the change that had to come about because of the Russian attitude about Eastern Europe. The Russians plainly made it on the record that they were going to try and take over whatever was loose. So something had to be done to try and negate it.

The Marshall Plan was a marvelous thing to bring about. Sure, Truman used people like Marshall, but those things wouldn't have gone anywhere without Harry Truman to push them. It was time. Perhaps Roosevelt had been there too long.

TK: How would you distinguish a "Truman Democrat" from a "regular" Democrat?

WH: I think we may have a little problem of semantics here, because I think it was Truman who was the "regular" Democrat. If you recall the 1948 election, he had Henry Wallace on his left and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina heading up the Dixiecrat ticket. Those two candidacies peeled away a lot of support from the Democratic base. And the fact that he could still appeal to Democratic voters seems to me to speak loudly to the fact that he was the regular Democrat.

TK: Would you consider Truman to have been more conservative or less conservative that Franklin Roosevelt?

WH: I think the main difference between the two was that, with FDR, no one quite knew where he was going to go. He did not take many people into his confidence and was a pretty good "broken field runner." But with Harry Truman, he would say where he was going and he went there. And there was no quibble about it.

TK: He certainly enjoys high marks among historians, especially in the field of foreign policy.

WH: He does. I think it's wonderful that Harry always said when the people were making an issue out of something, "Read your history. It's all there. Read your history."

TK: He was indeed a life-long student of history.

WH: Yes, he was. And he was a very wise man in his way. Because he didn't have a college degree and that sort of thing, I think that people denigrated him and they shouldn't have.

TK: Eastern Washington, and particularly this central area, has always been known as a bastion of conservatism. Living in this part of the state as a moderate Democrat, have you sometimes felt

politically isolated?

WH: Oh no.

TK: For example, your life in the business world would seem likely to have brought you into contact largely with people who might have been expected to be Republicans. So I'm curious about where your ideas came from.

WH: If you want to look at the Okanogan and Douglas counties, they were in the forefront before my time in the public power movement, which really got started in the late twenties. A lot of those conservative Republican farmers, when it came to public power, knew they weren't going to get juice in their house and their barn unless something was done. It had to be done over the stiff resistance of the majority of the Republican Party. So they had to support a lot of Democrats.

With Roosevelt and changing times and the misery of the Depression, a lot of Democrats were created by the pocketbook route, and the public power route. Here in the county, there were a lot of stiff-necked Republicans who were public power Republicans, and they would vote for a Democrat if it seemed to them that they would get action from that Democrat. Whereas, the Republican candidate might not be with them on that issue.

Think about some of the defensive things we got into over in Olympia. If it hadn't been for a couple of public power Republicans, we'd have been swamped by the private power forces a lot sooner than we were. We finally lost out on that front about 1965. Really, the two sides married up.

TK: Did the experience of public power and other New Deal programs change the thinking of people in this area about the role of government in their lives, either positively or negatively?

WH: Certainly the public power movement brought, in this area at least, a lot of Republicans with it. The private power companies simply put too high a price on the extension of service to rural areas. They just wanted to take the plum out of the cake and serve the towns where they didn't have to spend so much money and where they got more bang for the buck for their investments. And, of course, in a rural county like ours, and most of central Washington, there were an awful lot of people who did not have electrical service and they would vote for a candidate who stood for public power, regardless of his party label. If there was really any issue between a Republican and a Democrat, I'm glad to say that the Democrats in this area nearly always lined up with public power. The Republicans sometimes did, and sometimes didn't.

But we were able to put together alliances and elect people who supported public power. There were not many Republicans in the Legislature supporting public power, but there were enough of them to be critical in making the difference in defending public power and keeping it from being legislated out of existence. That was tried repeatedly during my time in office. A group that I call the "Sagebrush Democrats," Mike McCormack, Jerry Hanna, Nat Washington and I, were each elected a number of times to the Legislature with considerable support from Republicans. We thought that was the way we could best defend public power. We still hold annual get-togethers at Lake Chelan.

TK: Beyond public power, the New Deal also included such measures as Social Security. Did New Deal programs such as that break through people's fear of the national government as a threat to their freedom?

WH: The New Deal programs were something of a mixed bag. The Social Security program was a winner all the way for the Democrats. But on the other hand, there were an awful lot of people on welfare and there were some pretty strong feelings in this area that the welfare program was inflated and costing too much money. If you look back into the 1930s and 1940s, there were initiatives on the ballot that at times increased the financial burden of the state very dramatically. And, around here, many people were critical of those programs because they thought it was too easy to get on the dole and to stay on the dole.

TK: Did Republicans in this area try to make

political capital out of those concerns?

WH: Oh, I think quite properly they did make capital out of it. And that helped some of us more conservative Democrats to moderate what I would call the excesses of some of our more liberal friends in the Democratic Party. We sought some sort of middle path between the Republicans, who wanted to be too tight, and the liberal Democrats, who wanted to be too lenient.

TK: Where would a man living in the Oroville area go for intellectual stimulation? You've mentioned that you've had a number of Canadian friends and colleagues over the years, one of whom you said had even been a member of the Commonwealth Federation. Was that a source of ideas?

WH: He also owned about four sawmills! Really, the Canadian political involvement was more of a curiosity for me. I never got involved in it.

One time when there was a close election, my friend was on the local board that met to do the counting of the votes in question. He invited me to come and join him. His candidate won by seven votes and it was kind of a fun operation.

TK: How did you first become interested in the American Civil Liberties Union?

WH: I think by reading *The Nation* and *New Republic* and things like that back about 1940. I think that's when I joined and paid my two dollars.

TK: Is there any specific area of civil liberties that interests you more than others, such as free speech, or religion, or due process rights?

WH: Racial equality was the big thing for me. I can remember as a kid down in Virginia, when I was down there with my dad, fighting over the civil war at age nine with the neighbor kids around there who were all Confederates. But that's just a side-play.

At Yakima High School we had some Philippine students and I used to play tennis with some of them. I always had, I think, borne on me by my parents that the world wasn't right in its attitude about these things.

When my sisters went to Central and got acquainted with Merry Masuda and brought her home as a visitor, that led to my involvement with her boyfriend, Bill Mimbu, when I was at the university. Their internment during the war brought home to me the problems of racial inequality. Also, when I was on my 1937 trip, Merry had made a reservation for me at the Sanno Hotel in Tokyo. I remember that it was full of Japanese Army officers when I was there and that surprised me. They were a pretty crummy bunch for my money. They were officers and they weren't brooking any tourists getting in their way.

TK: So you had a taste of discrimination from the other side?

WH: Yes, I did. They were set up with two rooms with a bathroom in between and I was sharing this bathroom with these Japanese Army officers. If I was in there and they didn't think I should be, they'd run me out.

TK: On the subject of the ACLU, you've also been a pretty staunch defender of free speech rights. Of course, that's been a mainstay of the ACLU.

WH: Sure it has. That's why the ACLU met with Mr. Albert Canwell's disfavor, because the ACLU insists that everybody should have an equal voice in any public discussion. The Canwell committee wasn't run that way.

TK: Do you still belong to the ACLU?

WH: Yes. I pay my dues to the national but I'm kind of upset with the state people. They're getting into a lot of crap.

TK: Like what?

WH: For example, right now the debate is about affirmative action. And really, I don't agree with that. I agree that affirmative action might have had a place in theory. We've tried it and I don't think it works very well. So I'm opposed to it.

TK: The ACLU is a supporter of the affirmative action concept, is it not?

WH: Yes. The state ACLU is. I don't know where the national organization stands. I suppose they are also of that mind, but I still think it's wrong.

TK: What is it about the affirmative action idea that you object to?

WH: I have always had strong opinions on this. One should be absolutely color blind about racial matters. It is the individual inside that outer husk that we should be concerned about. Thus I see the real enemy of racial harmony as discrimination itself, which is a reaction to that outer coating that we should become unable to see. And if discrimination is, itself, the enemy, then it follows that using it as a tool for the pursuit of supposedly "good" or "bad" purposes is not material. Discrimination for any purpose connected to race should be rejected as an unequal treatment.

I have friends who think this philosophy about racial or color blindness is merely a cover for the practice of a rather sophisticated racism. I reject that view totally. I find such allegations insulting.

TK: Could you tell me something about your decision to run for the Oroville City Council? What were the issues at the time?

WH: There really wasn't any issue except that this was war-time.

TK: This was in 1943?

WH: Yes. We needed water, city water, in the factory. The water, the city main, was located about three blocks away from the factory. The factory was a converted old lumber wholesaling shed. The only water that was in there came in a one-inch pipe. And with one hundred employees in the place and wash-downs to do, we needed a lot of water.

I went to the city fathers and talked to them about it. The mayor, Charlie Hinton, said, "Well, we haven't got any money. If it's going to be done, you've got to do it." Well, I went out and bought up a bunch of old boilers with four-inch boiler tubes in them and cut them up. I took the boiler tubes and de-scaled the things the best we could. My brother-in-law at the time, and one of his helpers dug the trench for three blocks. We buried that pipe and welded it as we went and put the pipe into the plant. We put in fire hydrants in case of fire.

That was the way I got into contact with the city. It was something they couldn't do to help me.

Anyway, I made it plain that I was interested in city affairs and in the city services that we needed to keep the factory doing all the things that it needed to do. At the same time, one of the things we had to do was put in a railroad siding into the factory to make a sensible connection, because we weren't exactly on the railroad. Again, I hired my brother-in-law and the whole darn section crew and got them down there on a Saturday and Sunday and swiped all of the working equipment from the railroad, Great Northern, and got some of their old rails and put them in there for which I paid them twenty dollars a ton, I think. We put in our own siding. It was "do it yourself or it didn't get done."

TK: No permits or anything like that in those days?

WH: That's right. I got in the back door with the city trying to get the road fixed and all that sort of thing. I guess I made such a nuisance of myself that when a vacancy came up on the council, Charlie Hinton said, "Would you take it?" And so I did.

One of the wonderful guys we had here in this town was a fellow named Bernard Wills who had an outfit he called the Fixit Shop where he fixed small motors and bicycles—anything you'd bring in. Bernard had been the city clerk of the town of Pateros, and he knew all about municipal law from that effort. He also was the maintenance man for the rural telephone system around here. He was a man of all trades. Did wonderful things.

He and I became fast friends. He had some ideas about fixing up the ordinances that the city had. We did a lot of planning about what the city should do once the war was over, which included a drastic overhaul of the water system and the

modernizing of it. We wanted to put in a sewer system. We had all of these plans, and I think it was in 1945 when I was actually on the ballot for election. I didn't have an opponent and I was elected. I chose to go ahead and stay on and Bernard and I pretty well rewrote all of the ordinance books for the town of Oroville.

Getting interested in that and the way government operated and what the rules were and what money you had and the limitations you had, seemed a vastly intriguing thing to me.

TK: What kind of things did you learn about people from that experience?

WH: I learned quite a bit. Some people are lazy, some are damn selfish, and some are always on the make trying to make a commission out of the city in some way.

When the war was over there was a lot of money around. We borrowed money in the money market on bonds that we issued for general revenue bonds for the town at one and one-quarter percent. We rebuilt the city hall and generally did things over. We put out water revenue bonds at one and three-quarters percent. These were fabulous things, and we did a lot. We wanted to go ahead with the sewer system and we could have gotten money at two and one-quarter percent for that at the time. The law at that time required that you had to have public approval for a bond issue of that size for a fourth-class town. So we had an election.

There were some old, hard-boiled guys who figured that it was going to break their financial backs if we were to charge them two dollars a month for sewer service, and so they opposed it. I remember Art Cedarblom opposed it. He had a privy. That was perfectly all right with him.

I remember there was an old guy downtown named Jasper. One of his neighbors said that he always looked out in the morning and Jasper, who didn't have water, would be pumping with an old long-handled pump, and the neighbor would say, "Ma, flush the toilet. Jasper needs more water." This is the way the town was. It was really god-awful.

The Peerless Hotel had a direct line over to the Okanogan River where the shit went through the sewer right into the Okanogan River. This sort of stuff was going on all over town. It was pretty sickening.

Anyway, we lost that sewer election by seven votes as I remember it. After I left office and ran for the Legislature, the new mayor undertook to get the sewer in. It cost them three and one-quarter percent to get their money, and it cost them another hundred thousand dollars because of the advance of costs. But Oroville did get its sewer system in 1948. I didn't have a hand in that. I was just a pioneer trying to get it. We could have done it for a hundred thousand dollars less with less interest. That sort of thing intrigued me. The money side of it always just did.

TK: You once said that initially you were uncomfortable in political debate and discussion. Was the council good for you in that respect?

WH: Yes. One of the other reasons that I got into politics was that I'd always had difficulty getting on my feet before a group of people. I had always been reticent about it. I always avoided the speech classes in college by managing to get out of it somehow even though it was required. I finally came to the realization, possibly after being on the town council and participating in small group debates, that if ever I was going to get over this ailment—that's really what it was—I would have to force myself into a position where I had to be on my feet and talking in front of the public.

TK: So do you think the council experience was good for you in that respect?

WH: I think so. We didn't debate. It was more like you and I talking here. Except that instead of two of us there were five councilmen and a mayor. And the town clerk was always there. He was an old German guy named John Jacobi who sometimes indulged himself a little bit too much with the Schnapps in the back room before he came to the meeting. It was a good working crew most all of the time.

TK: You knew each other as folks in the community?

WH: Bernard and I took the leadership of the council, and I think we did Oroville a lot of good in the immediate post-war period. But it takes money to make the mare go, and that was one of the things that was certainly impressed on me in those days.

TK: What did the experience teach you about the political process?

WH: I think I learned quite a bit about the process. I learned that debate on the council is similar to the debate in the legislative committees. But then, when I went over to Olympia, the mass of people who were involved was a little overwhelming. The senior people who knew what they were doing, of course, were in control of everything. It took me until my third session before I got my wings.

TK: But would you say that the kind of bargaining and compromising, that is central to the legislative process, is something that you might have begun to learn in Oroville?

WH: I got pretty good at that later, but it took quite awhile.

TK: What led you to begin thinking about running for state office?

WH: Well, first, I was bored. Things had been pretty tough in the dried fruit business. We were in trouble—"we" means the family company. Our factory in Wenatchee had burned down in 1947 and it cost a million and a half dollars to rebuild it. Because the plant burned down about the fourteenth of August, we put together a jerry-built plant that we later had to undo, and do over. They shipped apples up from Wenatchee to me where we could take care of our suppliers with all that fruit. I had a string of railroad cars outside the factory full of apples and was jamming the Oroville plant for all it was worth to make up for the fact that the Wenatchee plant was gone. It didn't get on line again in a small fashion until November, and the next year was taken up rebuilding it right. That's where the money went. The markets had been pretty well choked off. You were not able to put anything into our regular markets for five years because of the war and the military set-aside.

Between the fire and the change in demand for our product, we were in bad shape. The bank said, "Well, you owe us a lot of money now and we want you to sign over all your personal ownership—your houses and everything—if you're going to get any more money for this operating season." My brothers and I and Dad did that, and we got through the 1947-48 situation until the middle of 1948.

Also, I had my orchard down at Malott that had been making some money and I had accumulated a stake. I was scared to death of it because they were old trees and the outlook was that the apple growing business was going to be kind of tough. I had a packing house and a ninety-acre orchard.

With that sort of a situation I was casting about. Suppose all this falls apart, where am I? I've signed over the orchard to the bank. They may take everything and I may be out working for my brother-in-law pruning trees in his orchard. I'm not kidding you, that's what I was thinking about.

So I got pursuing the political front a little more and taking more of a local interest. I found out that Johnny O'Neil, the county Democratic chairman, was calling a meeting of the Democratic Party.

TK: Was that in 1948?

WH: Yes. It might have been earlier than that, I'm not quite sure. Anyway, I found out that the meeting was going on. I also found out that George Wilson, down at Brewster, didn't like the way Johnny O'Neil was running the party. Johnny had a little orchard down at Riverside, but was known as kind of a political hack. George was getting together a group to attend the meeting, and somehow I got in contact with George.

We all showed up at the meeting and proceeded to take it over from the chairman and elect George as our new chairman. George was much more of a political activist than O'Neil, and a good guy. There was nothing really wrong with Johnny except he didn't do anything. It was just a meal ticket for him. George asked me if I was

interested in doing anything political and I said, "Well, I might think about running for the Legislature." He said, "If you do it, I'll sure support you and I'll help you any way I can." He had a lot of friends around the county.

The district was a joint district with Douglas County, and the Democrats were getting roused up with what was happening with Harry Truman. We got in contact with John R. Jones, the old Democratic representative, who had represented Douglas and Okanogan counties and was first elected in 1922.

TK: Was that "Jackrabbit" Jones?

WH: Yes. This is John R. "Jackrabbit" Jones. When you approached his big house in Waterville, there was a big cut-out of a jackrabbit on the front steps that his friends in the Legislature had given him.

TK: How did he get the name "Jackrabbit?"

WH: There are several stories. John was quite a kidder. He'd tell you a new version every time. There was a fellow named Zack Vane in the Legislature from Tacoma and he told it this way: Back in the 1920s and in the early thirties, Vane was in the Legislature with John R. Times were tough and legislators were paid something like three dollars a day. So they had to board and room themselves. There was some complaint made by a number of legislators about the hardships they had, and I guess John told some of his people over in Waterville about it. So the Waterville folks had a jackrabbit shoot and shot a lot of jackrabbits and hauled them over there in a pickup truck as kind of a welfare gesture! That was Zack's main story. So John R. got the appellation of John R. "Jackrabbit" Jones. It fits the name beautifully. He was a wonderful guy and smart as a whip.

TK: I take it that he was a man of considerable legislative experience?

WH: His first session in the Legislature was in the old capitol. The first meeting of the Legislature in the new capitol was in 1929. By 1933 everything had fallen apart and the Legislature was meeting and there was starvation around the state. It was tough.

They had to revamp the property tax base of the state. It simply wasn't doing the job. John R. was chairman of the Revenue Committee. All of those bills that established the sales tax and the business and occupation tax and all of that stuff that now define the state of Washington came out of John R's committee.

I remember one of his stories about when Governor Hartley was in office. There were ninety-five Republicans and four Democrats in the House. The Republicans were in a war among themselves, pro-Hartley and anti-Hartley, and each faction sought the support of the Democrats by offering them committee chairmanships. As a result, John R. was chairman of the Revenue Committee and Pearl Wanamaker was chairman of the Education Committee, and so it went. Every one of the four Democrats had a major chairmanship.

TK: That's really a case of holding the balance of power, isn't it?

WH: Right.

TK: In 1948 had he been out of the Legislature for awhile?

WH: He quit in 1940 and the Republicans took over Okanogan and Douglas counties. Bob French was in the House, and a lawyer from Waterville named Malloy was also in the House. There were also two Don Millers involved. One was Don Miller from Spokane. He was the fellow who had been committed to Eastern State Hospital, and he was still serving in the Legislature. I remember Don making a speech that I happened to listen to in the state Senate. He said, "Some question has been raised about my ability to hold this office, but I will remind you gentlemen that I am the only one here who has a certificate that says that I am sane." Of course it brought the house down.

The other Don Miller, Don T. Miller, was from East Wenatchee and he represented what was District One in the Senate. He was a wolf in sheep's clothing. He was really a Republican. And he was part of the coalition when they had one of

those. When he decided not to run again in 1948 the seat became open and Bob French ran for it. That left the two House seats open.

John R. Jones, finally after a lot of arm twisting, agreed to run for one House seat and I ran for the other. John knew everybody in the district and I campaigned with him. When the primary was held the Republicans had gotten into a kind of funny situation where there were six candidates for the two House seats, and of course John R. was unopposed and I was unopposed. I think in the primary John got something like twenty-five hundred votes and I got twelve hundred. I was a new face and I didn't know people, particularly in Douglas County or up the Methow. That was really out of my territory.

Anyway, John came back to the wars and he was a great guide with all the people he knew and all of his experience in the Legislature, and we ran as a team. He took sort of a parental pride—I was thirty-four at the time—in seeing me well started in the Legislature. It was wonderful of him.

When I'd go to Waterville, I'd stay with him and Priscilla in their home and go down to Kneimeyer's Tavern and play pinochle with the boys in the back room. There's no better way in the world to campaign than that. I fancied myself as a pinochle player, but those boys in Waterville taught me a few things I didn't know before.

The Republicans, among the six of them, had a total of twelve thousand votes. Here's the Republicans having twelve thousand in the primary for the seat and I had twelve hundred. You can figure the odds on that one. So I went through the motions and I campaigned with John, but it was in late September and October, just the rush of the apple season.

We were also into a situation where at the factory we'd gotten into making potato flour for the Berlin airlift. So I had potatoes coming in one door from Moses Lake—great big trucks sitting out there panting during the night while we were unloading them and processing them—and trying to take apples and accumulate them, and run alternate weeks on potatoes and apples, and overseeing what was going on down in Chelan and the potato drying down there. We just quit drying any apples there; we ran straight potatoes. We were turning out about a carload of potato flour a day, and it was all being flown into Berlin. We were making money out of that deal. We got that damn bank paid off in about four months. It was great from the financial standpoint.

But at the same time I was supposed to be out there campaigning. I was putting in some long hours all right, but it got to be kind of fun.

TK: Did you enjoy campaigning?

WH: On a person-to-person basis. But getting up in a meeting always bamboozled me. I never had any taste for it. I always had trouble getting going even after lots of practice. After being in it twenty years, I still stumble the first fifteen seconds.

TK: I know that a lot of people love the political world, except when they have to go out and campaign. That, to many people, is a real cross to bear. How did you manage in that first campaign?

WH: All I had to do was tag along with John and he would introduce me and he had a few little tricky things that he would do. We'd be going around house to house and he'd hand the lady his card, "I'm John R. Jones and this is Web Hallauer and we're running for the Legislature as Democrats and I hope you can support us. Hey, give me back that card, it's the only one I've got." He had several things like that that he did.

I remember in Waterville at a Chamber of Commerce meeting. Remember that this was his last campaign. He said, "Well, I'm running for my thirteenth term in the Legislature. It'll make twenty-six years, and it's longer than anybody else has served in the Washington State Legislature. I hope you people can support me. But I want you to know, even though it's twenty-four years so far, I ain't done nothin' yet and I ain't gonna do nothin'—but give me one more chance."

TK: He sounds like a wonderful politician. Did campaigning in the Okanogan country generally consist mostly of the person-to-person type of thing, or talking to service clubs?

WH: Oh yes, you have a lot of that. The really effective place is on the person-to-person basis. Actually, in my business, going up and down the

Valley buying fruit, I had contact with all the warehouse people. I'd go in and they all knew that I was a Democratic legislator running for the Legislature to begin with. Most of these guys were Republicans and we'd get into a little political discussion. I tried to know my stuff well enough to point out to them what we were trying to do about roads and the practical terms of it. I'd talk about the fact that in the post-war world, with the booming population binge coming on us, and with all the growth that had happened after the war, you just had to have more money if you were going to meet your responsibilities.

I would defend the need for more taxes and that I thought the fairest way was an income tax, which the people had to approve. If they didn't approve it, the only way we were going to solve our problems was by raising the sales tax and other taxes of that caliber that applied to everybody.

TK: Did you find in talking to people in those terms that they could accept your reasoning?

WH: Yes. They very definitely did.

TK: In terms of campaigning, if you had to lay out any money, was it mostly for signs, yard signs, or newspaper ads?

WH: You had to do some of that because key people in every one of our fourteen small communities in this district were the owners of the weekly newspapers so you had to toss a little money their way to get their attention.

TK: You mean in terms of political ads and things of that sort?

WH: Yes. The party tried to help but it never had much money.

TK: How much did it cost to run a campaign in this part of the state?

WH: In my first campaign I spent five hundred dollars of my own money. No money was given to me. There were some joint ads sponsored by the party and I was presented in the joint ads.

TK: I was going to ask about that. Did the state Democratic Party help you in ways other than providing money, such as sending in such people as the candidate for governor, U.S. senator, and so forth?

WH: When you had visitors, that meant there was a get-together and there was a chance to stir up a little Democratic Party enthusiasm.

TK: Would that be a question of whether you helped them, or the other way around?

WH: It worked both ways. If you were to get Magnuson and Jackson, now they would expect time. But when it came to the Democratic governor candidates, ordinarily they weren't any help.

TK: Did Magnuson and Jackson come into this area very often?

WH: Oh, sure. Jackson and his wife stayed at my house when they were campaigning.

My connection with Maggie was really very close because Featherstone Reid, who was my clerk on the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Ways and Means Committee, and before that, for my House committee in 1955, decided after the 1961 session he wanted to go back to Washington, D.C. He'd worked back there before as a guard in the Senate. He was with Sterling Munro. There were four friends who lived together and were all working as Senate guards. Feather got a job in 1963 on Magnuson's staff and he went right up the ladder very quickly and became the chief clerk of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Whenever I went back there and I had problems, Julia Butler Hansen was there as a member of the House to help. I'll give you an example of how this worked. I had the people from the Whitestone Irrigation District who wanted to get two million dollars to improve their district and rehabilitate it. This was a Bureau of Reclamation problem. When I went back there with them, we took Julia, who was a member of the House Interior Committee, out to lunch and had a nice time. On the way back in we were going

up to the office with her in the private House elevator and there was the chairman of the money committee for the Interior Committee. Julia says to him, "Here, I want you gentlemen to meet Mr. Holmes and Mr. Gray. This is state Senator Web Hallauer, and they're here about this item I was talking to you about on the Whitestone District. Can you tell them that the item is going to be approved?" Right there in the elevator, he said, "Yes." Unbelievable.

TK: Later on I was going to ask you how do you account for being elected over and over again? I think I just got the answer.

WH: It certainly impressed my friends.

TK: I was wondering, for example, did the state Democratic Party provide you with issue analysis?

WH: As far as the state party is concerned it is just a label to run under. I stayed away from the state conventions after the one in 1956. I decided they were just a way to get in trouble.

TK: What happened then?

WH: You've got all of these people that have got these strange ideas. After you've been through the fire of the Legislature, you get pretty damn pragmatic. Oftentimes you have to work closely with the Republicans in order to get that local issue project through.

Some of these people over there expect you to be out there with knives cutting up any Republican that shows up. Some of my dearest friends and best helpers in the Legislature were Republicans. People like Marshall Neill who is from Pullman, and a state senator there. He was counsel for WSU and really an expert on all kinds of matters, particularly education funding. John Ryder, who was another Republican with a lot of specialized information about taxes. He was a vice president of Washington Mutual.

I always tried to take the position of being a compromiser. I think this is the art of politics, the art of compromise. John R. Jones and Julia Hansen started me in that direction and I tried to conduct my entire twenty years on that basis.

TK: Could you tell me more about learning the art of compromise?

WH: I suppose it was easy for me because, beginning in 1949, my first session, I was under the care of people like John R. Jones and then I graduated to being under the wing of Julia Hansen.

I also had a close relationship with Perry Woodall, who was the minority floor leader in '49. Perry and I had been at Yakima Community College together and I always thought highly of Perry. He was definitely a conservative, but when it came to the civil rights issues that I was interested in, Perry was pretty liberal on that. On an issue like public power, he and I could fight like cats and dogs about it. It was just a difference in point of view. We might fight quite a lot about how much money to appropriate for welfare. I was more moderate on it than he was. He thought people could get along without it. But I remember how poor the Woodalls were in the 1930s. Believe me, if that didn't convert him into being liberal, nothing ever would.

I always thought I took a central position between the parties. It was easy for me, when the arguments over money and taxes arose, to talk on a person-to-person basis with Marshall Neill and John Ryder and Perry Woodall and Al Thompson. I'd say, "Okay, how much histrionics do you want us to engage in before we get down to cases of cutting the cake so that we can all go home?" They would say, "Why don't you come into the caucus and tell us what your point of view is? Where can we cut this? What are you asking? Put it on the table for us." These people wouldn't talk about it much afterwards. We'd have a laying out of our heart's blood about what our end position was. They'd say, "Okay, we'll give you four votes," because when we had a tax increase on the table, I couldn't keep all my people in line. So I'd wind up with four Republican votes and they'd have four Democratic votes, and we'd get the damn tax bill passed by twenty-five to twenty-four, and then we'd approve the budget and we'd go home. It worked.

Of course, all the conservatives would scream about how they'd been sold out and the Democrats had wasted all the state's money. What did they expect us to do about meeting our responsibilities

at the university and common school level? After all, the amount of money that they were talking about where they might have had a more valid case was on the welfare subject, and that was only twenty percent of the budget. The other eighty percent we could get to agreement on pretty darn quick.

TK: Did you consider yourself more or less nonpartisan in such situations?

WH: I was a middle-of-the-roader. But certainly when election time came, the opposition represented me as a taxer. That was fair enough. I was. You had to have the taxes to pay the bills.

TK: Yet there seem to be a lot of people in the country today who regard compromise in a most unfavorable light—an abandonment of principle, a "pact with the devil," or some such thing. As a former legislator, how would you respond to that sort of thinking?

WH: I'd say that it depends a great deal on the issue. There are some issues that are meant to be compromised. Money matters, for example, are such that you have only a certain amount of money, which can go only so far. You have to make up your mind whether to accept limits on certain programs that you might support, or to go out and raise more money for the programs through taxes.

But there are issues out there on which people stand on principle. Abortion rights would be an example. It's understandable that people feel strongly about such an issue. I stand on the principle of free speech. I consider that to be an important value in our society and I'm not very likely to compromise on it. It's something that you simply have to fight out, and see who's got the votes to do what you believe in. The abortion rights issue in this state has been voted on by the people three times. The anti-abortion side has lost three times. When do they quit? Those people have a right to believe what they believe, but the majority obviously believes differently. Why don't they accept their licking and act on the basis of what's possible, rather than what's impossible?

TK: You earlier mentioned the 1956 convention as the one that soured you on state Democratic Party politics. At that time, did you feel that you were being abused by members of your own party for being in the middle?

WH: No. I didn't think I was personally abused. I just thought some of the people who had very liberal opinions about things like welfare and so on were asking more than it was ever possible to get. If you went out there to campaign and really meant it in terms of the state party platform, they wouldn't elect a single Democrat. Those people show up for the conventions. It's as though the John Birchers had taken over the Republican Party. We had a similar left-wing group within the Democratic Party that wasn't realistic.

TK: Political activists tend to be more extreme than other party members who are less politically active. So would you say that this could produce candidates and platforms that do not reflect the views of rank-and-file members?

WH: Well, sure. But you need them. We have our nuts and they have theirs. The 1956 platform was one of those things that I held my nose about and turned around and ignored it.

TK: Getting back to campaigning in the Okanogan country, would you say that the help you got from the party was fairly minimal?

WH: It was difficult for the party because they had a number of hungry mouths to feed with all the different candidacies for all the different offices. So I don't lay any blame on the party; they did the best they could. The usual contribution was a mass half-page picture in the local papers with all of the candidates given space in it. That was about all they could do except serve as a platform in different meetings, and members of the party taking candidates around on the local scene and introducing them and making arrangements with the Chamber of Commerce and other things of that sort.

TK: Americans have been uncomfortable with political party conflict since at least the

establishment of the Republic. Did you find that such an attitude had any effect in the politics of the Okanogan country?

WH: Well, yes. One of the peculiar things about American politics is that nonpartisanship is so valued by civic organizations that it's difficult for a partisan party candidate to secure time before organizations like chambers and senior citizens. I think that's a thoroughgoing mistake. You should open the doors and invite both sides and let the chips fall where they may.

TK: Do you remember over your twenty years of running for office, some of your memorable opponents? Would you like to make a few comments about them?

WH: One of my old opponents was Al Ridpath who lives in Okanogan. I think Al is about ninety-two now. He was a candidate back in 1948 and I guess in 1950. We're very good friends. He drops by and visits with Jo and me, and I think our feeling about the political path of the future had kind of merged so that he's joined us or we've joined him. One way or the other, there's a community of thinking. That's happened not just with Al but with a number of others. I'm glad to see it that way.

TK: I was wondering, for example, about someone such as George Zahn. You had a few run-ins with him, I believe, over the years. Yet you've mentioned that he was a good friend, too.

WH: He was. I always enjoyed George. He loved to get up in front of people and make jokes. My approach was quite different. I would take the serious things and try to go through them from a public policy standpoint and why we should be making decisions about them. George did like to be on the public podium, and I hated it. We made a good team. When somebody wanted a bit of entertainment they would invite both of us and let the sparks shine forth.

He was appointed to the Senate in 1954 when Senator French dropped out of the business. Bob was having some financial problems and the bank told him to quit bothering with politics and get to work. So he resigned, and the county commissioners of the two counties appointed George to the position. He did a good job. He served in the 1955 session, and I worked with him. He knew I was going to run against him in 1956; there was no secret about it.

I think the public made the decision that when it came to the serious issues of education and things like that, the program I was espousing was more in the public favor than what he was talking about in terms of saving money and ignoring the problems.

Later, friends in the Democratic Party—George Wilson, our county chairman—suggested that George really ought to be put to work because he very much wanted to be in the public eye and doing things that were useful. So the suggestion came that we get Governor Rosellini to appoint George to the Highway Commission. He was appointed and became chairman and did a grand job. I certainly honor him for the many fine things that he accomplished in that position.

TK: Let's talk about some of the basic issues that have moved voters in this area. I imagine water has always been an important local issue. Would that be correct?

WH: Yes, it is. Because our economy here is agricultural and our fruit growing industry depends totally on having irrigation water.

At the time I broke into politics it happened to be the year of the major flooding in the Columbia system. There was a tremendous flood on the Okanogan, and all of our towns were in some degree under water. Oroville, Tonasket, Omak had water down the main street, I think about four feet deep. There was a lot of it in Okanogan. The Methow, the bridges were taken out. The bridge into Oroville was taken out by the flood.

TK: Was that the year of the Vanport disaster on the Columbia River near Portland?

WH: Yes. And of course all the big reservoirs on the upper Columbia hadn't been constructed at that time.

I got active in what we called the

Similkameen-Okanogan Flood Control and Reclamation League. I was the secretary/treasurer of it beginning right after the flood. Our purpose was to be a lobbying organization and get something done in the way of dike construction to protect the towns, and to add to and protect the water rights that were of concern during the low water period of the year. I was an officer of the League from 1948 on until this day. Now I'm the president of it. In the old days I was only the secretary/treasurer. But we took our hat and went around and raised ten thousand dollars, and the interest off of that we used to fund our lobbying efforts.

TK: Whom did you lobby?

WH: The obvious people in those days like the Department of Conservation and Development in Olympia, and the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. We worked hard on things like the rehabilitation of the Oroville-Tonasket Irrigation District, the Whitestone Irrigation District, and the Okanogan Irrigation District. One of our projects is still in the making, and that's water storage on Palmer Lake west of here. The Similkameen has no water storage on it and it's the primary source of water for the entire Okanogan Valley. The Okanogan itself is largely preempted by the Canadians to the north of us who have a population that's growing rapidly and is industrialized. There are two hundred thousand people up there. We want to be sure that we've got enough water for our own services.

There's a real problem about what rights the Indians have, that have never been exercised, to the Okanogan River and the Similkameen, both for irrigation and for fish. That's always been a bone of contention. It's a subject I got into in my last years in the Legislature by way of chairing a special water committee that held statewide hearings. I've always been interested in it because my career has been founded on agriculture.

TK: How about highways? That sounds like another issue of considerable importance up here.

WH: I certainly kept informed on it and did what I could. But usually I was in a situation where I had other people from this district who were also serving with me, and you divide up the workload a little bit, and I always assigned that to my co-legislator. In Olympia, John R. Jones took it on.

The big thing in those days was that we were starting on the idea of getting another crossing of the Cascade Mountains that would come into Okanogan County. It had always been called the North Cross-State Highway. The first survey of it had been financed by legislative appropriation in 1893. That's a little bit ago.

Well, John R., being on the Roads and Bridges Committee, in effect said, "We've got this commitment to the people up in the Methow to get the North Cross-State road going, and I want you to come with me. We'll go in and talk to Julia Hansen about how we want to do this and what she advises us to do because we're entirely in her hands." So we did. Julia said, after thinking a bit, "What you fellows should do is go down to the bill room and you reserve House Bill Number 100 on the calendar. That number belongs to you for a bill that you're going to introduce with that number, and that will be your North Cross-State Highway bill." We had a bill drawn and got it into line, and that became House Bill 100. When the time came that we got up to that number, we had done what she said. She said, "I'll take care of you."

She went ahead during the session, and as the session built up, Julia put together a total highway budget bill, including all the additions to and deletions from the system. One of the rules that we had to operate under was that if we were going to put fifty miles of the North Cross-State Highway on the system, we had to take off fifty somewhere else.

We had a road up in Douglas County called the Pearl Hill Road and another road we'd found somewhere down in the Basin, and the road at the upper end of Lake Chelan up the Stehekin River. We added those all up and got about fifty-one or fifty-two miles, and we put those in as deletions, and Julia put them in the package without any attribution to us. When the time came and we were in the wind-up sessions, she took all this big, lengthy, ninety pages of bill and sh**e** put it on as an amendment on House Bill 100. So here's our bill, the North Cross-State Highway

bill, carrying the freight for the whole damn state. Nobody was going to vote against our bill because our bill was the wheels under the other one.

TK: It's usually hard for legislators to vote against roads, period.

WH: I think it went through on a vote of ninety-five to nothing.

TK: That's interesting. Was it a House rule that you had to include a kind of trade-off?

WH: No. It was the Department of Highways position that they wouldn't sit still for anything like that. It was a reasonable position because they only had so much money. We didn't argue with it and Julia didn't argue with it. If she wanted to get her way with the highway department she could, but on that one she sided with them and told us we had to adhere to the ad hoc rules of the department.

The bill went over to the Senate, and Julia had rather overpowering ways, and it went through the Senate about forty-five to nothing and became law. After all, all of the road money was tied up in it. What else could happen?

TK: So what had happened was that the cross-highway project was at least authorized?

WH: That's right. And then we had to have surveys made. There wasn't really any work done until about 1955, when George Zahn, who lived in the Methow, was in the Legislature for the 1955 term. Of course he worked hard on it. And then later, as highway commissioner, he really took the lead on it. He did great and all the rest of us were glad to see him do it and we helped him as much as we could. But George did a great job on that.

TK: Was the issue of roads something that the voters in this area have felt pretty strongly about over the years?

WH: Oh yes. The other one of local note was called the water-grade highway from Oroville down to Wenatchee following the Okanogan River and the Columbia. The old road going up into Chelan had a lot of quirks and turns in it and it wasn't a very good road. It wasn't sensible to climb up the hill and go down the hill again when the river was there and the grade level established. The key to that one was getting the bridge put in at Beebe in the Chelan Falls area. I think we authorized that in 1957, and then the rest of it by bits and pieces finally fell in place. And now for some time we've had the water-grade highway.

TK: One issue that always moves voters anywhere, including the Okanogan country, is taxes. I know that over the years you have been a major champion of the graduated state income tax.

WH: That's true.

TK: How has that affected your standing among the voters here?

WH: As a matter of principle I believed in it. The Democratic Party in the state always supported it, but always with the caveat that it was something that had to be approved by the voters. The voters apparently have somewhat mixed emotions about it. You get it on the ballot, and we did it about three times in my period of activity in Washington State politics, the last time with the help of Governor Dan Evans. The voters have turned it down by a rather overwhelming majority—even in the face of the fact that the sales tax was the alternate and had to go on up. Now you've got a state sales tax that is about at the eight percent level.

Besides that, you've got a business and occupation tax that in most ways is another state sales tax. That's really the effect of it. It's even more unfair than the sales tax because you pay it even if you're losing money. That's the choice the people of this state have made and it's an anomaly because down in Oregon exactly the reverse has occurred. The people are of a mind-set in Oregon quite the opposite of our people.

TK: How did you try to convince the people in this district that it was the best solution?

WH: I don't know what else I could have done. I

made the argument that this was the equitable way to give the people who were doing well more of the burden to pay. What seems to worry people is that there was another confounded form to fill out. There's no doubt but what the income tax is a burden in terms of the duties of preparation and figuring it all out. I don't enjoy my annual preparation of my own return for the IRS.

TK: It seems that your opponents over the years invariably raised the issue of no new taxes. How did you feel about that?

WH: It's kind of difficult to draw the line between what should be done by government in the way of doing things on behalf of the people of the country and of the state. What burdens they are willing to accept in the way of taxes and to get the education for their children paid for, get the roads that they want? As in most families there are a lot of things that the family wants and which would make good sense for them to have. Yet there are limits on what the family income is. Do you balance these things out on a personal level? When you try, with all of the voices of a political theater going on, to find the happy median in the game of what the government does for you and what government takes from you, it's a pretty difficult balancing act. I suppose, with fairness, my opponents could say that I wanted to take too much away from the citizens and that I wanted to give them too many services and take too much money to pay for them. I thought we drew the line where we best could.

We had to improve our higher education system. We had to try and keep up with the requirements of educating our citizens at the primary and secondary level. As technical progress was made in the world we needed to have a population that was equal to it. A new world was really being created every day and people needed the knowledge and skills to make their way through it. At the time of Sputnik, when the Russians appeared to take a jump ahead of us, there was quite an enthusiasm for that.

One of the things that I attempted to do, as chairman of Ways and Means in the Senate in those days, was to get our school year extended beyond the one hundred and eighty day norm that prevailed. I live here on the border and I see our Canadian friends with a two hundred and twenty day school year. I've been exposed enough to the young people up there to think that their system is producing a better-informed group of secondary school graduates than we were. By dint of putting into the budget bill a hundred and ninety day provision, I finally was able to extract from the teaching profession and the school directors—the education lobby I guess you'd call it—a compromise at one hundred and eighty-five days. After I left the scene as chairman of Ways and Means, we reverted back to the one hundred and eighty days—first with the idea that five days would be devoted to teacher conferences, and so on. Somehow, all this evaporated and we're back where we started. Sometimes I wish the Russians had come up with another Sputnik and spooked us once more.

TK: During your early years of service in the House, the Columbia Basin Compact was under consideration and, I presume, of interest to voters in your district. Could you tell me something about that?

WH: It's kind of hard to dig that one out of memory very well. Essentially it was founded on the war between public and private power. The Washington Water Power people in Spokane and their allies in the private power front over on the coast, Puget Power in particular, wanted the compact. They saw it as a means of putting some sort of a lid on the efforts of public power to create more hydro-power and impinge on the monopolies that they had with an extra supply of power.

I guess we won that war and we didn't get a compact. The commissions stayed in effect. As late as 1964 the executive secretary of that organization, John Smart, was over here campaigning rabidly against me. I'm sure he did that with the nod of the Washington Water Power people. So it had a personal level. I really never felt that way about it but you could understand why the private power people wanted to cage public power so that they wouldn't be interfered with in their own domain. They were dreadfully afraid that there would be more takeovers of their

empires, and there were efforts to do that.

It all got washed out about 1965 when there was a marriage of the two entities and the private power companies were able to move under the umbrella of the ability of the public power entities to raise money through bond issues that were not taxable. Some of the public power entities became the construction entities and there was a sharing of the power product. So you have the scenario of Douglas County and Chelan County PUDs and Grant County PUDs selling power from their hydro dams on the Columbia River to the private power companies on long-term fixed contracts that were built with tax free money. It really had quite a ratchet effect in terms of making the PUDs able to produce cheap power and the power companies to buy it cheap and supply their customers. They all joined together in the Centralia coal project about that time, too. That's been quite a success.

TK: How did people in this area come down on this issue?

WH: I'd say that in Okanogan County and Douglas County and Chelan County the lead people in the public power movement were personally members of the Republican Party.

One of my good friends was Ivan Compton down at Wenatchee. Ivan was a long-time Republican and served on the PUD board down there for years. We had people up here like Mr. King who was the chairman of the PUD, Irv Woods who was active and became a PUD board member. All of them were strong supporters of me personally, based on my stand on public power.

It took the two parties to be able to contend against the lobbying abilities of the private power companies. Those boys were good at it and they put a lot of money and a lot of heart into it. They believed in what they were doing and I guess it all turned out for the best. We have the present compromise but I felt that we lost the war. I'd rather have kept on fighting except we were losing. It was better that we folded our tents and compromised.

TK: Yet another issue of interest to people up here in the Okanogan has been that of conservation. I know that the old problem of finding a balance between conservation and development is an ongoing one almost everywhere. But how has it affected voters in this area?

WH: There was a fairly strong movement of conservation districts. Scott Barr, who was a successor to Bruce Wilson in the state Senate representing this area, came up through the political wars in that way. He was originally an advocate of conservation farming over in the wheat country. When redistricting changed Okanogan County into an appendage of the wheat country and Spokane County, Scott became the state senator. First, he was in the House. I remember his lobbying me when I was in the Legislature. He did a good job of it and represented the conservation interest. It's still a factor.

But when I started out back in the 1940s in politics, it wasn't yet on the agenda. Subsequently, I think I got into the arena as a conservationist because of my interest in water legislation and then later becoming the director of Ecology. I was one of the trapeze dancers trying to balance those interests between development and conservation, or environmentalism as I think it might better be called. That's a difficult assignment to try and keep them all happy. If you do, you're probably wrong. You're not doing anything.

TK: Is it very much a live issue here today?

WH: Oh yes, it is. We're dependent, as a population in this area, on natural resources. The things that the environmental movement is promoting impinge on what we're trying to do in a way of making a living from natural resources like timber and the way we treat our soils on our farms. The way we irrigate. The way we assign our priorities for water use. All of these things have brought us into opposition to the environmental movement.

On that one I clearly side with the development group because I think it's pretty important to have food and lumber and all those things. You've got to have materials for good living. Here we need to make a living and the

environmentalists are interfering with our making a living.

This shows up in our politics, and I'll give you an example. Okanogan County has the distinction of being the only county in the entire nation that had voted quadrennially for the winning presidential candidate, going back to 1904. So before each presidential election a lot of reporters from across the country would come here to investigate how we were thinking as the bellwether county of the entire nation. Joel Connelly of the *Seattle P–I* would always come and talk to me and spend an hour or two, and we'd talk about things going back quite a ways. He was pulse-taking, and he'd write a couple of articles about it when he got back to Seattle.

I remember the last time he was here in 1996. I told him that Okanogan County was not going to vote for the winner this time; people were going to vote for Dole, and that's the way it turned out. He called me up afterwards and he asked, "What happened to people over in Okanogan County? Why didn't they go for the Democratic candidate this time when the nation was pretty overwhelmingly for Clinton?" I said, "It's pretty easy. Their pocketbooks are dependent totally on natural resources businesses, and the environmental movement is in charge now at the national level. We have the Endangered Species Act invading our rights to harvest our timber, or to allocate our water, and people are disaffected. This is a hardship area. We're having a hard time. Our unemployment is way up—our unemployment is something like thirteen or fourteen percent. You talk about national prosperity, we're not in it." Being from the Seattle area, that really hadn't sunk in with him.

TK: Speaking of the voters, how would you characterize the state of their awareness or knowledge of the goings-on in Olympia? Did they have a pretty good idea of what you were up to while you were representing them?

WH: No. Maybe it's just as well. There were people who followed the action over there, or were interested in certain aspects of it.

When it came to roads I had plenty of attention. Of course that was kind of a sideline for me. Usually they picked on my seatmate more than they did on me about roads. But they made sure I was on board. I had to know what the drill was and be able to explain what we were doing.

It was kind of fun to explain to them things like House Bill 100 that I referred to before.

TK: Legislators today make great use of newsletters. Did you ever try that sort of thing?

WH: Heavens no.

TK: Did you come back home periodically during the session and hold information sessions or town meetings with your constituents?

WH: At the end of the session the Chambers of Commerce throughout the district all wanted you to come and make a report. That was the primary thing. If I went to Waterville or Twisp or someplace on one of those after-session visitations, I would also take the trouble to go around and have a heart-to-heart with the local weekly newspaper editor. That usually generated some sort of an editorial comment. The editorials were often quite adverse because these people were pretty conservative.

But people like Frank Emert in Omak were great. He'd been my first opponent, but he was very pro-education. He had been on the school board. Most of these people understood what the state was doing to be productive for the local area, whether it was roads or schools or the rate of tuition at the university.

What the state was up to had its reflections. One of the really heart-rending things I often got into had to do with families where there were children who were mentally handicapped. You'd often run into a case where the home was shattered by having within it a child who was mentally gone. I would be pressured to try and leapfrog this child into, say, Eastern State Mental Hospital or sometimes over to Sedro Woolley. These things were heart-rending. It was a public service I was glad to work on, but it wasn't much fun.

TK: It sounds as though you enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom from constituent pressures in Olympia.

WH: I thought it was wonderful that I was three hundred miles away.

TK: And aside from some of these key local issues, such as water, roads and so forth, did you usually feel that you were pretty free to vote as your judgment dictated?

WH: Some of the legislators always took the attitude that they had to check in with the people at home, and that they were the employee of the people at home. And that they should try and find out what was the desire at home.

My attitude was, frankly, very different from that. I thought I was hired to represent them. I believed that this was a representative democracy, and that they had entrusted me to use my brains to what extent I could and try and come up with the best thing as I saw it. I thought it would be both unrealistic and unwise if I had to check in with every citizen who voted for or against me before I voted in the Legislature.

In the first place, they don't have the opportunity to understand all the details of the particular issue that is before the Legislature. There are a thousand bills there, and legislators don't understand most of them themselves. You have to specialize and try to take a facet of what's going on and be one of the leaders in doing something that you consider important. You have to do it your own way, and report back what you did as honestly as you can.

TK: The question of how a representative relates to his constituents has been the subject of debate for centuries.

WH: That's right.

TK: Do you elect a man to serve as an errand boy, or do you elect him for his judgement? Have you noticed the growing practice today for legislators to throw all kinds of things back to the voters?

WH: Any hot potato.

TK: What do you think about that?

WH: I have real problems with the referendum and initiative process. Each side of those things seems to be doing its best to fool the public as to what the issue is all about.

The public hasn't got the time or the information to really look into the issue. It's like judging a candidate by what you see in a television ten-second exposure. You're rolling the dice. It should be done in a more considered fashion than that. The legislative committee process gives an opportunity to air that sort of thing.

Sure, as a legislator, I wasn't above trying to put my finger on the scale and make it come out my way, but I knew my next door neighbor was trying to fudge the scale from his side about the same issue.

TK: There's an old saying that Americans tend to be operationally liberal and ideologically conservative. They often think like conservatives but they act like liberals when it comes to supporting programs that benefit them. Has that been true in your experience?

WH: Well, sure. I think it happens at a personal level. People want all these goodies and then when the bill comes due at the first of the month, they have second thoughts about it.

TK: Then do you feel that you could be re-elected over and over again, regardless of party label, as long as you were able to meet the constituency needs of the district effectively?

WH: I was, and I did succeed a Republican to begin with. Something to remember is that this is a notorious swing district. When you look into the history of it, going back to the 1920s, you had ninety-nine House members and only four of them were Democrats. But two of those four of them came from this district. Then, in the 1940s, when the state legislature was heavily Democratic, this district was sending Republicans to Olympia. Then, at the time of the Truman election in 1948, all at once we swung back. We stayed Democratic until about 1980. The swings were rather long term.

Since the redistricting controversies of the 1960s, this district has been overwhelmed by the

conservative point of view because it isn't the district it used to be. I still think Democratic candidates could win here if the old Okanogan-Douglas County lines were in place and if we had the right candidates and issues. Or at least, it wouldn't be like it is now with the Republicans holding total control in both the Chelan-Douglas-Okanogan and east districts.

CHAPTER 5

RIGHT WING POLITICS AND THE JOHN GOLDMARK AFFAIR

Thomas Kerr: We've been talking about the politics of the Okanogan area and looking at some of the issues that had been important to people around here. But before we leave this subject, there's one related issue that would seem to stand out in local history, and that's militant anti-communism. The 1963 John Goldmark libel case would certainly represent a notable chapter in that story. It has also been an issue that has touched directly upon your own political career.

So I would like to explore this subject with you, and particularly to focus upon your memories of the John Goldmark affair.

But, to establish some perspective on all this, let's go back to the late 1940s. Am I correct in assuming that you were still a member of the Oroville City Council in 1947, when the state Legislature authorized the Interim Committee for the Investigation of Subversive Activities, otherwise known as the Canwell committee?

Wilbur Hallauer: Yes, it was in 1947. Albert Canwell had been elected in 1946.

TK: Do you recall whether there was any particular local interest in the activities of that committee at that time?

WH: It certainly never got through to my consciousness if it did exist.

TK: Were people in this area particularly concerned about the various events associated with the onset of the Cold War?

WH: People were certainly concerned about the change in the European situation. Everybody sort of expected the millennium to come about after the war was over, and the happy moment passed. All at once here was the Soviet Union on the move taking over Eastern Europe, and Communist Party is in position to gain control of the governments of France and Italy. They would have succeeded, too, if it hadn't been for the Marshall Plan. There was strong support—Republicans and Democrats—for that sort of action by our government.

The Republicans took over the Congress and the state Legislature in the 1946 elections. I think that was partly a release from the pressures of the war, and also a reaction to the period of the New Deal. People were sort of throwing off what they felt were chains. It was a psychological thing. Albert Canwell was elected at that time. But it proved to be just a temporary aberration. As result of the 1948 election, instead of having the Legislature with seventy-odd Republican members, you had a Legislature with sixty-seven Democrats to thirty-two Republicans. Mr. Canwell and all the members of his committee, except for one, were gone by the time I got over there in January of 1949.

TK: What about the news surrounding the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee? It was making a lot of headlines in those days. Were people informed about that?

WH: I don't really think they were. I think I was the odd ball in it because I was spending a lot of time over in Seattle. My brother had his summer home on Mercer Island and I had free use of that, and in the summertime when things weren't busy over here in Oroville, I'd be over there attending school or doing something. I had a lot of friends who were fairly liberal in their outlook on life. I also got the Seattle papers and they carried a lot about the Canwell committee. So I may not have been typical of the people around here.

TK: One of the first items of business when you arrived in Olympia for the first time in 1949 was whether or not to re-authorize another version of the Canwell committee. Had Canwell been

defeated for reelection in 1948?

WH: Yes, that's right. He was defeated by Don B. Miller. He was the fellow who had the certificate from Eastern State saying he was sane!

TK: According to newspaper accounts, Charles Hodde was trying to deal with the re-authorization question in the Democratic caucus. Do you remember anything about that?

WH: Some people wanted the committee re-established. Of course, with a Democratic majority in the House and a Republican majority carrying over in the Senate, it was sort of a difficult situation. The Democrats weren't entirely anti-investigation committee either. There was a conservative group based largely in Spokane and some in Seattle. In the 1930s there had been a lot of real left-wing activity in Seattle in terms of the pension union and some of our congressional Democratic candidates like Marion Zioncheck and Jerry O'Connell. There were questions about these people and what their real base of political belief was.

TK: How about Harry Bridges?

WH: Of course Bridges was in the union movement, and the union movement was badly split itself over it. We had a lot of good union people in our legislative caucus in 1949. One of the stand-outs was A. L."Slim" Rasmussen from Tacoma. Slim had been in the 1947 Legislature when the Canwell committee was authorized, and was very opposed to it. He was outspoken in criticizing the activity of the committee. I rather bought what Slim had to say about it—that rather than really investigating communists, it was a political tool to embarrass liberals. The committee didn't really care about the stripe. It was going to embarrass people who were politically liberal by saying they were the same breed of cats as communists, only a different color. Pink instead of red. A lot of language was wasted on this sort of thing. There's no doubt but what there were communists who were active at the political level and trying to do their thing and assert what to them were their ideals for the future of the country.

I've always theorized that the country was built on a system of dissidents. You have to have differences of opinion and you have to stand up for the right of those you totally disagree with. Our political system won't work unless there's a right to disagree strongly and advocate other things. I think Jefferson at one point said that about every generation we ought to have a revolution. Well, there's something to that.

But I had a different point of view than Mr. Canwell and his group.

TK: My impression was that at least part of the problem was that the Canwell committee had been like a loose cannon. It did not seem to have been responsible to either the House or the Senate. So the thinking was that if they tried to reinitiate the committee, they needed to put it under some kind of control. In fact there was talk of placing it under the Legislative Council, which had just been created, or the state Attorney General. Does that ring a bell?

WH: That does about the state Attorney General. I really hadn't been close to the thing when it originally was generated back in 1947. I just knew it from the newspaper reports. I had the strong feeling that it hadn't been conducted on the basis of fair play for these people. It had been conducted as a trial for those people, and it was supposed to be an investigating committee. The media picked it up and made it into a trial. That's the way it came about. These people would be accused of something and it would be dropped there. They didn't really have a chance to rebut what had been said against them and to confront their accusers. I thought this was totally wrong. It's supposed to be a committee to investigate un-American activities. I thought the major un-American activity was the committee itself. It was conducting itself on a basis of unfairness and accusations. The public was being presented with a view of the person that was not a proper representation of him. The committee didn't give the person a chance to give his side.

TK: Were you getting any kind of pressure from the district on this?

WH: Not at that time.

TK: But you voted against reconstituting the committee?

WH: Oh yes. I totally thought it was done wrong.

TK: Was there any immediate reaction to that from newspapers or groups in your district?

WH: No.

TK: Does that surprise you, in view of the fact that you were attacked repeatedly over the years for that vote?

WH: It really never got to any point until 1961. But I do remember one surfacing of it in the Methow Valley sometime in the mid-fifties. We had a county commissioner from that area by the name of Les Holloway, and I heard a report that he was accusing me in conversations around the Methow community of being a communist. I confronted the man. I caught him in his office in Winthrop and walked right up to him and said, "I hear that you've been saying things about me being a communist." And he said, "Well, no, no. You're awfully liberal, but, no, I never said anything like that." He shut up. I think I may have shook my fist in his face.

TK: After the 1951 legislative session that failed to re-authorize the Canwell committee, a bulletin circulated by the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee warned that the Republicans were going to subject Democrats to what the committee called a "campaign of smear and distortion" on the issue of communism. Do you recall whether that happened?

WH: Evidently it came about in the campaign in 1952. Of course that was the Eisenhower year and there was a Republican tide running, and our friends on the other side thought they could make a little political hay by associating Democratic candidates with communism and scaring off the public.

So, I guess in 1952 that did happen to me. An ad attacking me had been prepared by an organization called the "Veterans Committee for Good Government." I was forewarned that it was going to be submitted to the Bridgeport paper and got a copy of it. I think it was submitted to the other papers, but when we warned them that it might lead to a libel suit, they all backed off except this Bridgeport paper.

TK: What did the ad say?

WH: It asked a number of "have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife?" type questions personally to me. I'll read to you from a copy of the ad. It was headlined, "Do Birds of a Feather Flock Together?" and then it asked whether I could answer these "straightforward" questions:

"1. Is it true that you associated with known radicals and communists who came to the Legislature to lobby against an un-American activities committee?

2. Were you frequently in the company of such radicals and left-wingers as Bill Pennock, Terry Pettus, Karly Larson and others, recently arrested by the FBI and indicted for conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence?

3. Is it true that your associates in the Legislature were such left-wingers as Dave Roderick and Ed Henry, and did you employ Max Nicolai, an official of the American Civil Liberties Union, listed by the United States Attorney General as a communist front organization, as your attorney?

4. Did they induce you to vote against the work of the Canwell committee, which exposed communism at the University of Washington?

5. Why did you write a letter protesting the firing of the editor of the *University of Washington Daily*, who was discharged for writing editorials with a communist slant?"

The ad went on to say that the voters were entitled to "honest and direct" answers to these questions and that "it will not be sufficient to refuse to answer by hiding behind the Bill of Rights, or to scream that this is a smear..."

TK: Did you try to respond in any way to the ad, aside from threatening to sue?

WH: Well, for one thing, we addressed letters to all the newspapers in the area, pointing out the fact that the ACLU had never been declared subversive by the Attorney General. I also publicly responded to the first four questions with one simple word: NO. On the matter of the editor of the *University of Washington Daily*, I indicated that the charge against him was that of poor judgment on a news story, not communist slanted editorials, and I said that I had written a letter to the university suggesting a hearing before members of the Legislature regarding the editor's discharge.

I also ran a kind of tongue-in-cheek response to the ad in which I said:

"1. That it is a well-known fact that cannot be controverted, that your state representative, "Web" Hallauer, is a well-known producer of RED Delicious apples, and that he has consorted with other producers of RED Delicious apples.

2. That your state representative "Web" Hallauer, has in effect a FIVE YEAR PLAN for the elimination of marginal trees in his orchard.

3. That Rose Hallauer, wife of "Web" Hallauer, your state representative has several times admired coats made from SIBERIAN furs.

4. That "Web" Hallauer and about thirty other Democrats voted against H.B. 305 which would have re-established the witch-hunting Canwell committee. It is also true that "Web" Hallauer will vote in the same fashion if re-elected, and that he will do so proudly in the belief that he is protecting our American liberties.

5. That attempts have been made to smear "Web" Hallauer by a few individuals who are carrying a grudge because they could not dictate to him. This attempted smear has also embarrassed the Republican candidates who are gentlemen trying to win on their own merits."

I had a lot of fun putting that together, although a lot of people didn't know what it was all about.

TK: It's quite a response. Did the ad of your opponents have any effect in the district?

WH: It caused a little stir and a little kidding from friends of mine who saw me as a pretty good practicing capitalist.

I'm still convinced that the ad was prepared by Ashley Holden. I believe that he and Loris Gillespie had gotten together with a few conservatives from the Methow Valley and talked about how dreadful it was to have a liberal like Hallauer over there in Olympia and they put together a smear. The ad had the flavor that was reflected in Holden's type of writing. And it had the same sort of tone that was used on John Goldmark ten years later. But, of course, by then they had plowed and seeded the political fields a lot more extensively, and they used the John Birch Society to do it in the local area.

TK: This incident took place well before the U.S. Supreme Court decided the *New York Times v. Sullivan* case. But, putting aside this particular personal experience, do you support the idea that elected officials should be able to sue their critics in the press for libel, or do you think it might have a chilling effect upon the freedom of the press?

WH: If public officials can prove malice, they should be able to sue. That's what the *Sullivan* decision held. It's a tough standard, but not an impossible one.

TK: Was it about this time that Ashley Holden moved into this area?

WH: My recollection is that he moved back in 1952. In my visits to Tonasket, where I'd often go to buy fruit and talk with the warehouse managers, I'd usually stop in and talk to the owner of the *Tonasket Times*. He was a man by the name of Putnam, who was quite elderly and a real rock-ribbed Republican. But we were friendly and I discovered that he was about to sell the newspaper to Ashley Holden. The situation was that Mr. Putnam had been aging rapidly. The paper had a subscription list of about eight hundred, including a lot of people in the hill country around Tonasket. He didn't send out his bills or subscription notices, so the business needed some attention. But the idea of the paper being in the hands of Ashley Holden horrified me. So to keep it out of his hands, I made an offer to Putnam to buy his paper. I agreed to pay him the twelve thousand dollars and then had the job of

getting someone to run it for me.

TK: Was this a weekly?

WH: Yes.

TK: Were you able to find someone to run it?

WH: Yes. I talked to a good friend over in Seattle by the name of Elmer Vogel. He had been an Associated Press editor there and later went to work for the Boeing Company as an editor and public relations specialist. Elmer suggested a woman by the name of Adele Faber. She had just gone through a divorce and needed a job, so she became the editor of the *Tonasket Times*. She did a decent job of editing the paper, but we had all kinds of trouble with the old linotype and we didn't have any advertisers. What really happened was that Ashley Holden, in conjunction with the bank, set up a competing newspaper called the *Tonasket Tribune* and put it into a local building. Advertisers owed the bank money, so they all advertised in the *Tribune*. The *Times* had so little revenue from local advertising that it died nine months after I bought it.

TK: Are you glad you did that, even though you lost some money doing so?

WH: Yes. I gave them a run for the money to the best of my ability, but the reality of it was that it wasn't going anywhere. I donated the subscription list to my old friend Frank Emert, who had the *Omak Chronicle* paper. The files of the paper were really a historical treasure because they dated back to the original newspapers in the 1890s at Conconully. Eventually, I gave them to the high school, since at that time we didn't have a county historical society. I hope they were preserved.

TK: Getting back to Ashley Holden, how did he happen to end up in this part of the state?

WH: Ashley was born and raised up at Chesaw, which is twenty-five miles east of here. There are even some stories about his early life there. One of them is that when he was a kid, he painted a goat green and the goat died from it. There was a newspaper in Chesaw at the time and I gather it was written up in that. I never saw the printed version, but Ben Flock, a cattle buyer in the area, used to love to tell the story about Ashley and the green goat.

TK: Had Ashley Holden been the political editor of the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*?

WH: That's what they called him. I think that Ashley got that job as part of a legal settlement of a lawsuit that he had brought against *Look* magazine. Holden had been the executive director of the Japan Society in Seattle, and the magazine accused him of being a Japanese agent during World War II. He sued *Look* for libel and apparently had a pretty good case. *Look* was owned by the Cowles family, and a branch of that family also owned the *Spokesman-Review*. Ashley settled out of court, the way I remember it, and all at once he turns up as political editor of the *Spokesman-Review*. Of course, he was always an extreme conservative**.** I also believe that he was part of a little lobbying coterie in Olympia that put together the idea of the Canwell committee.

TK: What caused him to move from Spokane to Tonasket?

WH: He came there under the guise of having retired from the *Spokesman-Review* with a heart condition. But Ashley lived to be, I believe, one hundred, and I've long thought that he was invited to leave because he had become too extreme.

Some further light was shed on that matter in a conversation I had with Charlie Hodde in Olympia only a few weeks ago. Charlie told me that during his campaign for governor in 1952, he was on a plane from Seattle to Spokane. During the trip he picked up a copy of the *Spokesman-Review* and came upon an Ashley Holden editorial column saying that the newspaper had irrefutable evidence that Charlie was a communist and that the information would be published the next day.

Charlie promptly took a cab directly from the airport to the *Spokesman-Review* offices and demanded to see the editor and the publisher. He told them that he wanted a front-page retraction and apology the next day and that Ashley Holden

be fired immediately. That was done. And, as a result, Okanogan County got Ashley back, and he became a local scourge.

TK: Did Holden get some kind of financial support to set up the *Tonasket Tribune* from scratch?

WH: Yes. Arthur Lund was the owner of the local bank, and had been an officer of the state Republican Party. Since a lot of the advertisers owed the bank money, the bank was able to persuade them to advertise in Holden's new paper. Lund was a fabulous character and had actually supported me strongly when I first ran for the Legislature. We had worked together in support of Saint Martin's Hospital, an institution run by the Dominican sisters. They'd borrowed money to build it and Arthur Lund had been the financial helper to them, and I contributed to that effort. It was a community thing. A do-good deal for the whole area.

TK: When Ashley Holden started with this paper, did he continue to attack you?

WH: At every opportunity, and then some. He was very unfriendly.

TK: Was he influential? Did people in the Okanogan country listen to him?

WH: No. The Republicans that I was acquainted with made a joke out of him. I really think he should have been a joke. He got on this anti-communist thing and the net result of it was that he overstepped the bounds of propriety and said things in his paper in connection with Goldmark that led to the libel suit.

TK: In articles written by him that I've seen, he seemed to repeatedly bring up your 1951 votes against the Canwell committee.

WH: Oh yes, he would.

TK: He never seemed to forgive you for that.

WH: Oh no, he wouldn't. He found it a handy whipping tool, and maybe I deserved it. It's a free country and he had a right to say it, but Ashley was Ashley.

We had a good friend down in Tonasket who was head of the U.S. Forest Service there, Everett Lynch. Everett was a die-hard Republican, but Everett made kind of a business of baiting Ashley, a fellow Republican. One day on the street in Tonasket, Ashley came along while Everett and I were talking. Everett turned and said, "Well, hello Ashley. What damn foolishness have you been up to lately?" I think that epitomized the feeling of a lot of people about Ashley.

TK: He didn't see the humor in that?

WH: No. Ashley didn't think it was funny. Of course, I snorted!

TK: During the period in which Holden was establishing his paper in Tonasket, the early 1950s, the whole country was in the grip of McCarthyism.

WH: That's right.

TK: Would you say that people like Ashley Holden would have enjoyed greater local credibility because of all the national publicity connected with Senator McCarthy's activities? Again, I'm trying to get some sense of the political atmosphere the Okanogan country during those years.

WH: I think some of the comments that the extreme right-wing people like Canwell and Holden made in the course of events about President Eisenhower go to that point. They came to believe that President Eisenhower had his foot in the left-wing camp somehow. They blamed him for the demise of Senator McCarthy. I just think it was a case of reason finally prevailing over this flakiness of the extreme right. Reasonable Republicans like President Eisenhower could visualize where this was leading them. To accuse everybody who had any degree of political disagreement of being communist was a dead end in the American system. Those people felt that anti-communism was the only thing anyone

should pay attention to.

TK: Did Albert Canwell run for the Congressman-at-large seat in 1954?

WH: I think he also ran in '52 and '54. Somewhere in there he ran for the U.S. Senate and lost in the primary.

TK: One little item in your papers that caught my attention was a newspaper clipping describing a speech that John Goldmark had made to the Okanogan Rotarians. It was while he was the president of the Young Democrats, so I assume that was before he had been elected to the Legislature.

He pointed out that one of the great assets of this area was the strength of its people—their capacity for personal understanding, tolerance and a willingness to take risks in new ventures. And he asked his audience for "tolerance, no stampeding of minds, no labeling of persons without knowing why." In reading the report of that speech, it occurred to me that he may have been responding to something that he felt was happening in the area. Do you think that would be a valid perception?

WH: I think John was active in the Young Democrats at the time of the first Stevenson candidacy in 1952. It's the sort of thing that John would say. He and Sally were always very conscious about civil liberties questions. This is really what John is talking about.

TK: Moving up to 1956, you decided to vacate your House seat and move on to the Senate. Why did you do that?

WH: The opportunity was there. My friend, Bob French, was no longer in the state Senate, and George Zahn had been appointed to the seat. I'd made it pretty clear publicly, to the county commissioners who appointed George that I was going to compete for the seat. The decision had really been made back early in 1955.

TK: Did you feel that you would be able to accomplish more in the Senate?

WH: That's right. I would have more of my own power base. You wouldn't be sharing the podium of the House representation with another person. I'd shared it with John R. Jones very successfully and not so successfully with Horace Bozarth, who I think was first elected in 1954.

Horace was a Grange type, and a wheat farmer, and in many ways a good representative. He was strong on public power. On the other hand, when the Goldmark events came later, Horace was a fragile reed. He was chicken. He didn't have the guts for a fight. Sometimes you do have to fight.

TK: He was silent during the 1962 political attacks on Goldmark?

WH: Silent—it was worse than that. He was with the other side.

TK: At the time you moved on to the Senate, John Goldmark ran successfully to fill your old seat in the House?

WH: That's correct.

TK: So in 1956, when the country re-elected a Republican president, this area sent three Democrats to the state legislature—Hallauer, Bozarth, and Goldmark?

WH: That's true. The House membership had been Democratic beginning in 1948, and we took over the Senate at that time. It stayed in Democratic hands until Bruce Wilson quit in 1982.

TK: You've indicated that you considered yourself a political moderate. Would you have considered John Goldmark to be a liberal?

WH: Yes. He had the background of his Young Democrats position. He was suspect just on the basis of his being an Easterner. I was an Easterner too, by birth, but I had the good fortune of having come west at age twelve. He came as an adult after graduating summa cum laude from Harvard, and that was a little different proposition.

TK: I presume, since he was elected by the people of the district, that the communist issue was not a decisive one in the county in 1956?

WH: People weren't paying attention to it in 1956, as far as I can recall.

TK: In the late 1950s, and even into the early 1960s, an interesting controversy arose relating to the North Central Regional Library. We should probably talk about that at this point because it tells us something about the political climate of this area, and may also be seen as something of a precursor to the Goldmark affair.

Since your wife, Jo Hallauer, was quite involved in this issue, I was wondering if she might join us and tell us a bit about it.

WH: It would be nice to get Jo in here.

(Mrs. Jo Hallauer joins the interview)

TK: Jo, for the record, would you identify yourself, tell us your name.

Jo Hallauer: I'm Jo Hallauer. My name was formerly Jo Pardee.

TK: And what was your connection to the library?

JH: I was the director of the North Central Regional Library.

TK: Could you tell me about this concept of a regional library and how it got started?

JH: The whole concept was that no county or city was big enough to really provide an adequate book collection or adequate services for the people of this area. So the only way to do this was to enlarge the base, the geographical base. That's what was done.

The State Library divided up the state into what was felt to be viable units, and one of them was north central Washington, including Okanogan, Ferry, Douglas, Grant and Chelan counties. It was a very big hunk of territory. But they needed that much territory to include enough people or to provide enough money for a library.

The State Library then put on a three-year demonstration of a regional library, using both federal and state matching funds. The idea was to be able to say to the people, "This is what we're talking about." You can't go out to people who have never read a book and never used libraries and ask them, "Don't you want a library and don't you want to tax yourself for it?" They'd say thumbs down. So they put on an excellent three-year demonstration all over the whole area with book mobiles, with paid staff, and all that sort of thing. Tremendous book collections. Then, at the end of that time, in 1958 it was put up to a vote of the people in the general election, and to everybody's amazement, all five counties voted yes. They all had to vote yes in order to create the library. If one of them had voted no, it would have gone down the tube. So that's how the regional library got started.

TK: Was there any noticeable opposition to the library in that 1958 campaign?

JH: No, not really. I can't say for sure because I was not here during the campaign or during the election. I'd quit my job here and gone to work in California. But none was reported to me.

TK: When did you begin to experience opposition to the whole library idea?

JH: Very soon after I came back as director. As a brand new unit of government service you expected that there would be a certain percentage of the people who said literally, "What the hell do we need books for? We've gotten along without them for all these years." And you had a little bit of that. But that was all that I was really aware of I'd say for a year or so, and then gradually this opposition began to crystallize.

When it first appeared, I thought it was more of the same. People didn't like paying new taxes and they'd never had this on their tax bills before. Then I began to realize that there was something peculiar about this. The complaint was that we bought too many books that were leftist in political opinion, which was simply not true. And people said that we did not have enough books like, let's say, J. Edgar Hoover's *The Road Ahead*. I

remember that one particularly, when we had six or seven copies, which is all we ever bought of any non-fiction book. But the accusations began to appear.

I was not at the first aware that I, personally, was experiencing any criticism. When it did appear, frankly, I thought it was funny. It was just so ridiculous that I didn't pay much attention to it.

TK: Was this opposition expressed in personal comments to you or in letters to the editors in newspapers?

JH: Letters to the editors.

TK: How about public meetings?

JH: Not really. The meetings that were being held at that time were very surreptitious and private. That was part of the whole deal. They had met in people's homes, and I think they had a limit of something like eight in the membership of each group.

TK: When you say "they," who are you referring to?

JH: The John Birch Society and their predecessors. There were a few other groups that were formed a little before that. I can't remember what they called themselves, but they did meet in little cells. If they had any central organization, it came out of Skagit County, which was famous for being full of anti-everything. One of my friends once said that Skagit County Republicans were the most opinionated and the most regressive people she'd ever known.

I want to make it clear that I was much—as were the rest of my staff—much, much too busy running the library to bother about this. I, frankly, labeled it as just a bunch of kooks. I think Web did too, at the time. It wasn't anything you could….

WH: This all happened before we were married.

JH: It was just that there were a bunch of people out there saying wild and woolly things that you knew weren't true. But you had a job to do so you went ahead and did it. I guess at the time I was vaguely aware that there were always going to be people who would be against any public government service of any sort. That it was directed at me personally, I was totally unaware at the time.

TK: A whispering campaign would certainly seem to be something quite difficult to deal with. But were you able to identify individuals in the community who you thought to be part of the campaign against the library?

JH: Yes. One was reported to me as a woman who worked for the local radio station, and she had made the comment that I was a "commie." I thought it was funny. That remark got reported to me.

Another was a woman who lived in the area slightly south of Wenatchee. She was a very nice woman, and I'd known her for years. She was sort of a club woman type. She came into the library once to ask how I purchased books and where I got my advice. Nobody had ever asked me that before so I was very willing to haul out all the book review periodicals and let her look through them and see the sort of material that was there. She spent several days in my office going over these things, and at the end of her little foray I became aware that she was one of the people attacking the library. Up until that time I thought we were friends.

Other than that, I can't remember any individuals. I was too busy to go around picking out individuals and say who was against me and who was for me. I had a big job to do.

TK: Was there a point in time when the opposition began to mount in intensity?

JH: Not until 1962, when the Goldmark affair began to gel in that year's election, was I aware that I was in the spotlight, not only because I ran the library which they disapproved of, but also because I was a friend of the Goldmarks, whom they certainly disapproved of.

I wasn't aware that the situation was getting any worse. There may have been more criticism

out there, but it simply didn't reach my ears. However, I've found out since that time that that was part of their strategy. They didn't come and confront you directly. It was all behind the scenes.

One person who was a very active Republican was furious with me because I'd criticized some men who had been appointed to the library board. It's true, I had. One was an ex-mayor and very, very active in the Republican party. I thought the man was very stupid, and I criticized him to a friend of mine. She foolishly reported it to this person.

TK: How about supporters? Were any people coming forward to defend you and the regional library?

JH: Yes, personal friends and people who had supported the library from the very beginning.

Also we had strong support from important people like Wilfred Woods, editor of the Wenatchee paper. His editorial editor was on our board. And there were other very, very influential people throughout all the communities who were behind us. You knew that if things really got tough, you could always go to them and say, "Hey, get those people off our necks." I didn't do that personally. Instead I went out into the various communities and asked for their support.

TK: Did it ever occur to you that some of the opposition to the library might have been focused on Sally Goldmark who, I understand, was a strong supporter of the regional library idea?

JH: No, I was not aware that her advocacy of the library could be considered as a mark against the library itself. No, I was not aware of that.

TK: In terms of what they found objectionable, was it the books themselves or was it meddling from Washington? There are many people who believe, as a matter of principle, that the federal government has no business getting involved in these kinds of things.

JH: I don't think it was that. The only thing that emerged—what they said in their little private meetings in their houses was that we did not buy enough anti-communist material. Which was patently untrue.

One of the letters to the editor said that they had visited the library several times and tried to get J. Edgar Hoover's *The Road Ahead*. But we had eight copies of it. One of their little ploys, I found out later, was to go in and check these books out and not return them. Then another member of the same cell would go in and demand the book and it wouldn't be on the shelf. Therefore they said we didn't have it, which was a lot of malarkey.

TK: Was there a board of citizens who supervised the library?

JH: Oh yes. We had citizens who supervised the library appointed very carefully by the county commissioners of each county. There were two each from the larger counties and one each from the smaller counties. A couple of these people were liberals, frankly. One woman had been very active in the Democratic Party, but I don't think that she was aware that there was a lot of criticism of the library.

TK: Was the communist issue the only one raised by these critics?

JH: Well, occasionally somebody would come in and say that they'd found a dirty book on the shelf. Or they would say that their daughter had checked out a book that actually told her how babies were born and they didn't like that. I was used to this. What you would do would be to invite them to come to the library board and voice their complaints and usually that was it.

A whole group came once and they were upset at some classic that they'd found. It was such a classic that we brought out all the books about books and said, "Look, this book has been around for eighty-five years, and it's not going to go away." That's the sort of thing that happens to libraries all the time.

I knew that there was an undercurrent of unease in the whole community at the time. You felt it. Letters to the editor against everything governmental. Since we were part of the government, we got criticized. I don't think there were any other targets of criticism, except people

like Wilbur Hallauer who was too much of a liberal, and a few others. It was very quiet. It was all surreptitious in those days.

TK: In a conversation we had some time ago, you mentioned Father Emmet Buckley as one of the leaders of the anti-communist movement in this area. What recollections do you have of him?

JH: He came to my attention, but only after the regional library was formed and I came up here to do some electioneering. We went out around the county and went and rang doorbells and said, "The bookmobile is coming to your area. We hope you use it." And when I came up here, my board member from this area very carefully and very pointedly and purposefully introduced me to Father Buckley. I remember that he had piercing eyes that could be rather intimidating. When I was introduced, he said to me, "Oh yes, I've heard about you." My board member and I thought this was funny. We went away laughing, thinking that he was a little off balance and not quite right between the ears. He certainly did criticize the library, but probably not as much as he criticized other individuals in the community.

TK: Did any of the area newspapers become involved in the library controversy?

JH: Well, the editor of the Okanogan paper, Stan Pennington comes to mind. Now Stan took out after us, and everything we did was wrong. I was aware of his enmity but we were a new organization and had put a new tax on everybody. A lot of people, I think, were opposed to the library that said, "Hell, I never read no books, and I never needed no books, and we're gettin' along fine without this *liberry*." They objected to us on strictly financial grounds. We were just another government agency.

TK: Was Pennington's Okanogan paper the only paper that attacked the library?

JH: No, the *Tonasket Tribune* also joined in. They hated us passionately, and I was made aware of that, probably because of my personal friendship with the Goldmarks. The Goldmarks told me who in the county was going to be against the library and against me. That paper was one of them. Even though I didn't subscribe to it for the library, they donated a copy to the local library. Every now and then one of my employees would bring this paper home and say, "Did you see what they said about us this week?" We'd just laugh about it. You were too busy to be occupied. I did not try to go out into the community to counter this criticism. I thought that was not very productive. It was better just to go on giving the best library service I knew how to.

TK: Did you ever speculate on the cause and motivation behind all this?

JH: I do remember speculating on it. Most of them, we thought they were the same sort of people who would be—my father used to call them "aginers"—they were going to be "agin" everything that was the slightest bit progressive. There were a few people who I felt had brains, and I couldn't understand why they espoused this.

TK: Did any of the churches in the area, particularly the more conservative ones, become involved?

JH: They may have, but I was not aware of it.

TK: One reason I asked that is that I believe it was the Church of Christ that produced a film called *Communism on the Map*, that was quite influential among the supporters of the anti-communist movement at that time, including members of the John Birch Society.

JH: Was it? I was not aware of that. But I think most of the churches that participated in this campaign were the very, very conservative churches. I happen to belong to one of the liberal ones and I never heard any particular talk about the great threat of communism or that sort of thing. People were too busy seeing to it that the altar linens were washed and ironed.

TK: Whatever happened to the library?

JH: We just kept quietly doing our job, knowing

that the only way they could really get us was to vote us out of existence. It would have taken a vote similar to one creating the library. It would have taken a yes vote in all five counties, and I knew that would never happen because we were very, very popular in Grant County and Chelan County. Ferry County loved us. They didn't have enough people to spit at, but the ones who lived there certainly thought we were great. So we simply went on providing the sort of service we always had.

TK: In his book on the Goldmark case, William Dwyer made the point that the group that ultimately was responsible for the defeat of John Goldmark in his primary election in 1962, had earlier been involved in the library case, but that it did not satisfy them. He said that they then moved on to the Goldmark case. Do you think that's true?

JH: I think that's very true. Certainly Bill Dwyer knew what he was talking about, because he really went into the whole affair.

TK: Well, thank you, Jo. Your comments provide us with something of the political atmosphere in the Okanogan at the time of the Goldmark affair—the subject to which we may now turn.

Web, could you tell me when you first met John Goldmark?

Wilbur Hallauer: It was back in the early fifties, probably 1952. There was some sort of a local gathering in connection with service for public transportation given by the Okanogan Valley Bus Lines. They gave good service but were having trouble with the Public Service Commission. So a public meeting was held in the county courthouse in Okanogan and I was called as a legislator to be there and was. We all wind-bagged about what we ought to be doing.

At the end of it this young man who was in the audience with a cowboy hat, kind of skinny and wearing cowboy boots, got up and, in about four sentences, summarized what had been said and done and then he sat down. That was the first time I'd seen John Goldmark. He made pretty good sense and obviously was a very able person in terms of making a public presentation.

TK: Did you begin to associate with him?

WH: It turned out that he had been active in the Young Democratic circles. Such an organization didn't exist in Okanogan County, so his connections with that were largely over on the west side of the mountains. He began attending local functions of the local Democratic Party and naturally I was there, so we got acquainted. It progressed from there. We had the opportunity to talk both publicly and privately and I'm sure that they supported me in my campaigns.

Coming up to 1955, I think John had progressed economically and otherwise to the point where he wanted to get into some local politics and the Legislature appealed to him. When I was moving on up to the Senate that created a vacuum situation that he stepped forward to fill.

TK: Did you encourage him?

WH: Oh, certainly. I thought he was a great addition to the Democratic Party.

TK: How was he received by other people in the Okanogan party organization?

WH: By that time he'd been active in the Grange and in public affairs to the point where the Democrats generally thought it was a great idea.

TK: Did you also become acquainted with Sally Goldmark?

WH: In the course of it. I don't remember any specifics of it, but just assume that in connection with Democratic picnics and things like that that she and John would attend. That's where I met her.

TK: To what degree would you say that you shared opinions or values on public issues with John Goldmark? Were you pretty much in agreement on most of the basic issues?

WH: Oh yes. I'd say on issues like racial equality,

the income tax and the regular chain of things that held the Democratic Party together, we were in agreement. Obviously, so did Sally. Sally wasn't one to keep her light hidden under a bushel. She was a participant.

TK: Did she take part in the political discussions?

WH: She'd find something to talk to you about whether it was the latest books or whatever. She'd always be interested in the kind of things you might be reading. I rather prided myself on being widely read, and if she'd suggest something, I'd probably try it.

TK: Did you and John Goldmark work closely together in Olympia on legislation?

WH: Oh yes, very close. During the first session he was over there, which was 1957, John was a member of a group of House members who, in Democratic ranks, were called the "Young Turks." That might not be the exact terminology. But about a half-a-dozen of them—people like Norm Ackley and George Dowd, and I've forgotten who-all was associated with it, liberals all—would get together for a Chinese feed and have a little fun and talk about what the Legislature ought to be doing. I was kind of a senior reference point for the group. We advocated things that we thought, as good Democratic liberals, ought to be entered into by the state.

Since I was the senior member, they would want to get the low-down on financial things that the state was into, costs of things. Sometimes I'd be asked to recommend strategy, political strategy, because I rather fancied my ability in that field and apparently other people thought I was okay at it.

TK: He won election to the House three times all together, 1956, 1958 and 1960. Did he face serious opposition that you can recall before the 1962 race?

WH: Not really. He won his races rather handsomely, I thought. The roof fell in beginning with the 1961 session of the Legislature. Somehow I could get, and I'm sure John did too, a sense that at home something was brewing. The yeast was working and things were going on and they weren't boding well for anybody of a liberal bent.

TK: In this district?

WH: Yes.

TK: How was he regarded by his colleagues in the Legislature?

WH: They thought he was a very capable person. But some Democratic Party members who were associated with the private power people and voted accordingly, such as Bill Day from the Spokane area, were strongly opposed to John.

John had gone up the ladder in terms of the power structure in the House. He became the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and I was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the Senate in 1959 and 1961. We were called the "Okanogan Mafia." Here were two guys from this outlying county, cow-country to most of the people, and we were chairmen of the main financial committees.

TK: In his Washington State Oral History interview, Albert Canwell said that there were rumblings in the corridors over there in Olympia about John Goldmark's "leftist" viewpoints. Did you pick that up when you were in Olympia?

WH: It was true in 1957 and 1959 that John was a liberal. It wasn't just rumblings; it was a fact of life. When there was contention within the Democratic caucus, the liberals really had the votes to carry the day.

There were a lot of pretty good moderate Democrats like Bob Schaefer who became Speaker during that period. He was a Democrat from Clark County. Bob was a wonderful guy, a good lawyer and a middle-of-the-road guy by my definition. People from Canwell's political persuasion thought Bob Schaefer was a liberal. From their point of view he was. From my point of view he was middle-of-the-road. Depends on who's defining the terms.

TK: Meanwhile, back in the home district, in 1961 or 1962, groups such as the Okanogan County Anti-Communist League were being established by Loris Gillespie. Were you aware of that at the time?

WH: That sounds like Loris.

TK: Could you tell me anything about Loris Gillespie? We should get on the record who he was and what kind of a person you think he was.

WH: I think I met Loris for the first time about 1940 or 1941 when he was putting a theater in at Oroville. I don't know just what the context was, but it probably came about in connection with my service on the town council. I think the town had on its books some sort of an admission tax, and he wanted it taken off if he was to go ahead with his theater. I guess we accommodated him on that. It wasn't much money anyway.

Loris was a money hungry sort of a character and very active in public affairs. He had been chairman of the county Republican Party at some point before my time. I got very well acquainted with him when I got into politics. He supported me in my first couple of forays. That fell apart when somewhere along the line I voted for a state's admission tax for theaters. So I got crossed off of his list. He was public-spirited in things like highways and that sort of thing so it was natural to work with him. On some of the occasions when we went together to meetings on highways, he told me bit about his background.

He was of pioneer stock in Okanogan County and was a veteran of World War I. He went to China in about 1922 or 1923 and he sold aluminum cooking ware over there. He told some rather fabulous stories about it. He must have made quite a lot of money, because when he came home he got into things like owning newspapers and building theaters. He was the kind of entrepreneur that I think I am. I get into everything and try to make money out of it, but I didn't have quite the same point of view about public affairs he did.

Loris was a member of the American Legion from his World War I service, and he used the Legion for his own political ends. Anything that had the sound of super patriotism and Loris would be there. He always reminded me of that old saying about patriotism being the last refuge of a scoundrel. He epitomized that saying in my book. I didn't like the man. He'd do anything for money.

I didn't know anything about Harry Bridges, the leader of the West Coast longshoremen, but I admired him greatly because his union put the lock on one of Loris' ventures. It was a tourist cruise vessel that he and some of his fellow capitalists were reconstructing to go into the tourist cruise trade business. The longshoremen locked up the vessel and it wasn't able to sail for about a year and a half, and the venture went kaput. That's the only venture that Loris ever got into, that I ever heard of, that he lost a lot of money in. He really did. Of course, he blamed Harry Bridges, I'm sure. He probably added that it was a communist plot to take his money away from him.

TK: Also, about the same time in that year, Don Caron began to publish a column in the *Okanogan Independent*, which I believe was owned by Stanley Pennington. Could you say anything about either Caron or Pennington?

WH: I'd like to background it a little bit. The *Okanogan Independent* had belonged to Loris Gillespie. He tried running it himself for a while, but Loris didn't have much personal support in the community. A lot of people shared my view that he was a stinker. It wasn't very successful. So, to continue the business instead of closing it, he sold it to Pennington, who was one of his employees. I'm sure all the money in the venture was Gillespie's, and that Pennington was merely an employee for all practical purposes. But they had this umbrella that hid Gillespie's real control of the paper by having Pennington with nominal ownership. But whenever Loris would say jump, Pennington jumped. So that's the background of what you're looking at.

TK: It was apparently sometime during 1961 that John Goldmark met with George Wilson, the Okanogan Democratic chairman, and informed him that his wife, Sally, had been a member of the Communist Party from 1935 to 1943. Had you

known about this before 1961?

WH: No.

TK: Did George Wilson ever discuss it with you?

WH: No.

TK: That must have been a rather difficult meeting. Have you ever heard what Wilson's reaction to Goldmark's information was?

WH: No. But George was the kind who would treat it sensibly.

TK: At what particular point in time did you find out about Sally Goldmark?

WH: It would have been in 1962. I think John, in connection with the attacks that were obviously being formed against him, told me about Sally having been involved and that she had been interviewed by the congressional committee in Seattle on the subject of her past membership.

TK: Were you surprised?

WH: Somewhat. But the Communist Party was a legal party in the 1930s.

TK: I meant whether you were surprised at the fact that she had been a member, or the fact that John had not mentioned it to you in all of those years?

WH: I can understand their not mentioning it because a lot of people would have made a big thing out of it. Suppose you had been convicted of a crime of some kind and you'd moved to a new community. Do you put an ad in the paper and say that I was convicted of rape in this other jurisdiction and I'm now here among you. You just don't do that sort of thing. That's not reality.

TK: When you found out about it, did you consider that to be a kiss of death to his political career?

WH: I knew it was going to be a real war in that they were going to crucify John and Sally with it to the best of their ability. I thought it would be a test of the maturity of the electorate of Okanogan County. Given that he was running and they would be painted by this thing, I wondered whether the people in this area were grown up enough to say, "Well, that's the past. It was thirty years ago, the 1930s. We understand that those were dreadful times and people did things that were by present standards, extreme. We forgive them."

TK: Well, I suppose one might have to conclude that that kind of maturity in the electorate still lay in the future. But I'd like to touch upon some of the subsequent events of 1962, to serve both as reminders of what happened and to establish some kind of chronological sequence.

In January of 1962 Albert Canwell, who had been publishing a newsletter called *The Vigilante,* published an open letter to a person by the name of Sally Ringe, which was Sally Goldmark's maiden name. The open letter set forth some of the details of her affiliation with the Communist Party. This was followed up by a visit to the area by Herbert Philbrick, the author of the book *I Led Three Lives*. Philbrick was a FBI undercover informant, and something of a professional witness. Do you recall anything about that?

WH: He made a living out of it.

TK: He came into the county and made a speech apparently in Omak in which he attacked the ACLU. According to newspaper accounts of his speech, he referred to the ACLU as not just red, but "dirty red."

WH: Good electioneering, I suppose.

TK: So here you had an attack on the communist issue, and then the ACLU was brought into it. Did you sense that a real campaign was beginning to take shape here?

WH: It was, no doubt about it.

TK: Then during the summer of 1962, Joe Haussler, a county commissioner, declared that he would seek the Democratic nomination to the

seat held by John Goldmark. Could you tell me something about Haussler?

WH: Yes. He was a successful businessman. He had run a bakery and a car dealership and he was a very sensible sort of a businessman. He didn't have the nastiness about him that Loris Gillespie always seemed to exude, in my opinion. I liked Joe.

He had become a county commissioner and did a good job of it. He was a creditable candidate. But I was surprised and horrified that a decent Democrat, which Joe was, would take advantage of a man when he was down. That's what the situation was in regard to John Goldmark.

I want to get a little bit back to 1961. There was this thing going on and you could tell that something unsettling was being talked in the back rooms and so on. We could sense it when the 1961 session was going on. Some friends of mine told me a little bit about the John Birch Society, and I got a copy of the Blue Book from one of them. All this was early in 1961. This thing was building with these secret cells and the meetings and the listening to tapes. An atmosphere was being created. What you were talking about in 1962 had been going on for well over a year before.

Later on, after all this was over and Haussler and I had made our peace, probably when he was serving in the House, it must have been about 1970 anyway, he and I had a heart-to-heart. He said, "Well, Web, I know you were always very critical of me and I understand why. But if I hadn't done it, somebody else would." And he was speaking from the heart.

TK: At the time of his challenge to Goldmark, I think he denied that he had any contact with those people.

WH: That's a bunch of bilge.

TK: William Dwyer, in his book on the Goldmark case, indicates that Haussler, in a pre-trial deposition, had to own up to the fact that he was involved and had, in fact, given money to Albert Canwell to do the investigation of Sally Goldmark.

WH: Yes. The thing was probably hatched in Loris Gillespie's office in the back room of the *Okanogan Independent*.

TK: In his biography of John O'Brien, *The Speaker of the House*, Daniel Chasan indicates that there was a general belief in Olympia that it was the private power interests that were behind the move to replace Goldmark. Do you think that was true?

WH: John Goldmark was one of the leaders in the rather desperate battle between public and private power in 1961. Of course the private power people had him marked with a bull's eye to shoot at. But I don't think it was the thing that caused John's downfall in the primary election of 1962.

The thing that brought that about was the anti-communist stampede created basically by the John Birch Society in this area. They simply stirred up a storm and overcame the ability of people to stop and think about how they were being used in the name of anti-communism. I don't doubt but what private power had a hand in helping the process along, and had a few people out pouring gasoline on the scene. But, in my opinion, they weren't the primary cause of the situation.

TK: You mentioned that tapes were being circulated. Who was doing that?

WH: Father Buckley, I think, was the one who was in charge in the north part of the county and he was the great circulator of the tapes at the cell meetings of the John Birch Society.

TK: I understand that some of the tapes were of interviews with Albert Canwell in which he laid out these charges saying that Sally Goldmark could have never left the Party as she alleged in 1943. Is that what you had heard?

WH: Sure. How do you prove that she hadn't or had or whatever? You've got to accept her word for it. You're not going to rely on the Communist Party for your information.

TK: Did you ever try to get a copy of that tape to

hear it?

WH: No. I never tried to get them. I might have been able to, but nobody ever asked me to. I'd read *The Blue Book*, and I had the tenor of what I thought their beliefs were. I knew these meetings were going on. I asked a close friend of mine, who was in Republican politics and who was close to some of these people who were in the John Birch Society, to get me a copy of *The Blue Book*, and he got me one. We copied it rather liberally back in 1961 and circulated it. It was kind of funny because at the same time Jo got hold of one through the library association. It was sent to the State Library and they ran off a bunch of copies, too. You needed to know your enemy.

TK: That leads up, finally, to the meeting in the American Legion in Okanogan on August 23, 1962. Albert Canwell was the featured speaker, and his topic was the dangers of the ACLU. Would you give me your memories of that meeting?

WH: I think I'd like to talk a little bit about the background of the meeting. There was this Un-American Activities Committee formed by the American Legion posts of Tonasket and Okanogan. I don't think the Omak Legion or the Oroville Legion wanted to participate. But those two chapters put it together, and Loris was the chairman of it. They put out flyers about Canwell coming and that his subject was going to be the ACLU. Of course, it came as a surprise to me that John Goldmark was a member of the ACLU. I hadn't become aware of that until 1962.

There were only three members of the ACLU in Okanogan County: R.E. Mansfield, my close friend, John Goldmark, and myself. And I didn't know about either Mansfield or Goldmark. Anyway, there was a challenge to anybody who was in the ACLU to come and defend the organization that you were part of. Heck, I'd joined in 1940, long before I'd ever heard of John Goldmark or thought of the Legislature or anything. So, if somebody tries to knock the chip off of my shoulder, I'm apt to respond. That was my feeling about it.

John and I consulted with each other as to how to meet this. He was the one whose neck was on the block because he was running for office that year and I wasn't. Obviously it was a ploy here late in August that we're going to have a public meeting to talk about the ACLU to which both John and I belonged. They were targeting him, and by that time Haussler had entered the primary for the Democratic nomination. Here this so-called committee created by Gillespie for the obvious purpose of taking sides and creating an atmosphere antithetical to John. So something had to be done to at least make the appearance of defending ourselves.

We talked about it and John said, "I'll take it first and go ahead and tell what the ACLU really is about and what its purpose in life is and what good it's done." I said, "Okay, I'll handle it my own way according to the circumstances. But I'm going to say that this is a politically inspired effort to get you." And that's the way it turned out. Canwell made his address, which I think was a bunch of nincompoopery. I've read the printed version of it and I don't think it sounded quite that way—I think there was a lot of editing, post-recording. And then John gave his speech, trying to explain the ACLU.

Be that as it may, I got up on my feet and went up to the platform and started to point out that the chairman of the group that had put this meeting together was a long time political enemy who was out to get John Goldmark. I said that he also had been head of the local Republican Party. I tried to remind them that the primary election was only about two or three weeks away, and here we were talking about patriotism and the ACLU for the purpose of embarrassing John Goldmark. I said that he was being attacked because of his wife's past membership in the Communist Party, even though he had never been such a member.

I tried to get all this in, but Larabee, the head of the American Legion post in Tonasket—a big guy, about twice as big as I—and Gillespie grabbed me and told me, "You can't make a political speech here." I started right in again as soon as they sat down and they then threw me bodily off the platform, which was higher than the floor out front. And when I landed on my feet, there was Reese Mansfield in the front row, my friend, an attorney. He said, "You god-damned fool, why didn't you bust something?"

TK: What was the reaction of the audience to what was going on?

WH: About two-thirds were against us and one-third for us. People were there for quite a long time after the meeting.

I remember Judge Wicks was there. He was a hard-shelled old Republican and he was very anti John Goldmark. The Judge and I became very good friends much later because we happened to agree on a bunch of issues about Indians. Judge Wicks was Cherokee Indian. He had strong views. But I think he had a latter day conversion after the affair.

TK: I understand he had a pretty loud voice.

WH: He sure did. He had a preacher's approach to public speaking.

Later he made a total ass of himself when he was summing up the evidence of the trial. He attacked Sally Goldmark and her "indecent" ideas about raising children. He got into all sorts of byways that had nothing to do with human relations. It wasn't good. He should have been ashamed of himself, and I think he came to be ashamed of himself. Strangely, his son-in-law in Seattle was a member of the ACLU.

TK: In reading the accounts of that meeting, I was impressed by what Richard Larsen, who was covering it for the *Wenatchee World*, said. He pointed out that Goldmark was trying to appeal to reason, but that he couldn't seem to grasp, as he put it, "the full power of hatred." Did you sense that as well?

WH: It was there. It was absolutely venomous.

TK: Could you sense it?

WH: We knew it existed.

TK: Was John, himself, unable to believe that such a thing was possible?

WH: It was hard to believe. But we just felt that it had to be met head-on. There was no other way of trying to make people reconsider their thinking about it. It was a form of war, and you went over the top and charged the enemy's trenches to the best of your ability. Win or lose. You had to get people to think about it in terms of the real questions of our American rights and privileges. They were stampeding the population and we chose to meet the thundering herd head-on and I'd do it over again.

TK: After that meeting, did he think he had a chance to win?

WH: No. I didn't think he did. I never did. I'd simmered in the atmosphere after the 1961 session and could sense the proportions of what was building up. I didn't think he had a chance.

I didn't think I would have a chance when I came up if I chose to run either. It scared me enough so I seriously thought about not running in 1964, but then I felt that if I didn't run, I was a goddamned coward. So I chose, in my turn. I was a little different flavor. I was more of a centralist than John was. Really, my record in the county was certainly as a capitalist, and I had a lot of friends. I had a lot more friends than the Goldmarks, unfortunately, because I appealed to the middle-of-the-road people.

TK: But as you and Jo have said, this group represented a relatively small number of people.

WH: Yes, but they started a fire and stampeded the cattle.

TK: In the actual primary, John lost by a three-to-one margin, I understand.

WH: It was two-and-one-half to one.

TK: Was there was a very large crossover vote?

WH: Oh yes. Joe Haussler was one of those Democrats who just used it as a label and he ran for office as a Democrat as a commissioner simply because the Democrats were totaling up the biggest number of votes at the time.

TK: The newspapers pointed that in this county sixty-six percent of the registered voters turned

out in that primary, compared to a statewide average of thirty-nine percent. So people must have really been stirred up?

WH: There was a tremendous vote by people who had never voted before, that had been stirred up by this ruckus. And then all the Republicans voted for Haussler.

TK: Following the election, did John immediately begin to think in terms of libel?

WH: Yes.

TK: The experience must have been very devastating for him.

WH: It wasn't unexpected from my point of view, and I'm sure it wasn't from John's. But he didn't think it was going to be as bad as it turned out, and I don't suppose I did either. I thought he was going to be beaten substantially.

TK: In running for elections, candidates and their supporters are often said to experience an "elation factor," that motivates them to continue the struggle, even in the face of almost certain defeat. Would that be true of John or Sally Goldmark?

WH: I don't think that either one of them thought they were going to win. I think he thought that he had to go through it. Then, of course, the choice came. How do you stop this engine these people have got running down the tracks? We'd met the thing head-on at the American Legion meeting and that, I think, started people to thinking again. Then the libel suit slowed their train down and eventually, I think, brought it to a halt.

TK: When did John Goldmark decide to initiate a suit against Gillespie and Canwell and others? Was that immediately after the primary?

WH: It was probably within two weeks of his defeat in the election. I recall discussing it with John and several others in the area. There was a strong feeling that something had to be done to overcome the sort of tactics that had been used in John's defeat.

TK: Did you personally encourage him to take it to court?

WH: I certainly did encourage him in every way I could. I contacted friends over in Seattle to find out what they might be able to do to help, and how we should go about it. That included contacting people in the labor unions over there. I subsequently became co-chairman of the finance committee that supported the legal costs. The other co-chairman was Joe Davis, the chairman of the AFL-CIO in Seattle.

TK: Were the potential costs of litigation a factor in trying to decide whether to go ahead with a suit or not?

WH: Yes, it was very definitely a factor. And during the course of raising money, we held several cocktail parties in Seattle in support of John and his cause. That kind of thing raised substantial amounts of money. I remember one affair we put on that produced about twenty thousand dollars.

TK: Do you recall approximately what the legal costs of the trial were?

WH: No, I don't. But I suppose a ninety-three day libel trial with witnesses coming from all over the country would have run into far more money than I ever heard about. I didn't see the bills. My efforts were attempting to raise what money we could by private donations and so on, just to meet various emergency things of the moment. I put the touch on Stimson Bullitt, who was then the chief executive of KING-TV, a number of times, and he was always good for a thousand dollars.

TK: Do you remember what kinds of "emergencies" arose at the time?

WH: Usually, as I recall it, it was a matter of getting witnesses to the trial from as far away as Boston. We had a long litany of people who were willing to give their time to come and testify, but we just about had to put up the money to pay their transportation. When they got here, some of them were taken care of by local people in the

Okanogan area.

As far as the committee work of raising the money was concerned, Joe Davis, the head of the AFL-CIO and I were the co-chairs of the fund-raising committee. We put on several "happy hour" type parties in the Seattle area and there were some big turnouts. I think we had five hundred people at one of them. People would put money into the pot. Some were people who gave modest amounts and felt that, by doing so, they were participating in a good cause.

TK: You mentioned while you were on the stand during the trial that you had given fifteen hundred dollars.

WH: Yes, that's true. But Stim gave a lot more than that. I remember one time he gave five thousand, and other times he gave other sums. We had a number of pretty well fixed supporters who did donate generously. The money didn't go to me to handle; it went into a central treasurer who took care of that.

TK: Do you remember who that was?

WH: No, I don't.

TK: What would have been the interest in the case of people like Bullitt, who seem to have given so generously to the cause?

WH: Well, Stim Bullitt was simply one of those people who was a liberal in heart and mind, and believed in those things. He had run for Congress himself and wrote a book about it. He was something of a philosopher about politics and was interested in political theory. He saw John Goldmark as a man who had been imposed upon by a radical group that was trying to change the political direction of the country and to steer it into the reactionary column.

TK: Would you say that, as a result of those fund-raising efforts, there were adequate funds to mount an effective litigation?

WH: I wouldn't call them adequate. We were pressed at times. When the flag went up we would go out and run over our contacts one more time and squeeze another bit of juice out of them.

TK: Can you tell me anything about the decision to engage William Dwyer and also Reese Mansfield?

WH: I think John made those decisions himself. He knew Bill Dwyer very well. Bill had worked down at the Legislature in bill drafting back in the 1950s, and they were good friends. Dwyer entered a law firm that specialized in the financing and protection of public entities in the electrical field. As I mentioned earlier, Goldmark became deeply involved in the public power wars, and my opinion has been that this case was something of a subsidiary fight between public power and private power. I'm also sure that the other side got some money from the power companies.

TK: The trial was widely reported in the press, even in the national media. And we have William Dwyer's book on it, so quite a bit is known about what went on in the actual trial. But I would imagine that there was also a tremendous amount of work going on in the background as far as research, strategy, and so forth. Could you tell me anything about that aspect of the trial?

WH: That was all in the area of legal expertise, and of course as a non-lawyer, all I got was bits and pieces that fell off the table. I was deposed by both sides, and so was Josephine for that matter. Reese Mansfield, who was involved in the legal proceedings, undertook to keep me advised when I would ask questions.

TK: You've mentioned the labor unions. What was their interest in the case?

WH: John had been pro-labor as a legislator and had also been chairman of the Washington State Young Democrats. So his views were compatible with those of most labor leaders. They saw John as a friend, and he was a friend, and they support their friends.

TK: Was the ACLU involved?

WH: The people in the ACLU were involved. I don't remember whether there was any monetary connection on behalf of ACLU.

TK: Do you know whether any other organizations, such as the Young Democrats, which might have come to the aid of the Goldmark cause?

WH: There isn't much money in the Young Democrats. There's a lot of vim and vigor and good footwork and propaganda and media response and that sort of thing, but when it comes to the cash that meets the bills for lawyer's hourly rates, it's not quite that good.

TK: Could you say anything about the role of the media in the Goldmark affair?

WH: The big-time media simply did not exist in Okanogan and Douglas counties, where Goldmark's primary defeat took place. It would be hard to get major coverage of a candidate like John in a rural area when the media were all based in Seattle and Spokane. As far as the Spokane *Spokesman-Review* was concerned, it was a lost cause for John anyway because he was a public power man and that newspaper might just as well have been owned by the Washington Water Power Company. So that meant that you were down to the weeklies and the one radio station in Omak, plus the paper in Wenatchee. *The Wenatchee World* tried to follow a middle way and did provide some support for John. Dick Larsen, who covered the trial for *The Wenatchee World* did a fabulous job on behalf of John. But it wasn't enough. The sheep were in the corral and were about to be clipped.

The national press did cover the trial, of course, and that did a lot to arouse liberal opinion around the country.

TK: What about the other side, the defense in the libel suit? Did you get any feeling for what kind of resources they were devoting to defend themselves?

WH: Basically, they were the John Birch group locally and nationally. Their supporters were the sort of people who were affiliated with Albert Canwell and his group. I suspect that they were able to tap into corporate money, particularly power companies, but I couldn't prove it.

TK: With respect to the trial itself of course, it took place in the town of Okanogan in 1963 and 1964. I'm interested in your memories of the trial itself. I suppose I should ask first whether you were able to attend any of the trial?

WH: Yes. I probably attended about ten days. I remember, particularly, that Bill Dwyer and Reese asked me to come in and talk about the jury selection panel and go over the list with them and make my comments from my knowledge of different people who were on it. I knew a number of them, about a third of them, and I remember recommending in particular that they select Gerald Thompson, who was a local here in Oroville. I thought that he would be an open-minded sort of a person and not beyond understanding what we were trying to convey because of prejudice. He was selected and did get on the panel, and I'm sure that he voted with the majority in regard to the verdict.

TK: How did people in the area react to the trial and all the national publicity that it got?

WH: It was really a vicious time, and people felt very strongly about it. Old friendships around the county broke up. Some of them have not mended to this day. Good god, that's thirty-five years ago.

TK: Was that atmosphere also reflected in the courtroom?

WH: There was one situation that Jo and I still joke about. There was a lady, Golden Lesamiz, who was then the grandmother of a rather large family. They were the largest private landowners in Okanogan County, the Lesamiz family. Her husband, Victor, was a Basque who'd come here as a sheepherder sometime probably just about the time World War I started. He became very successful and acquired immense acreages of land, eighty or a hundred thousand acres of it, mostly at tax sales. Golden would sit in the back

row of the courtroom knitting, knitting, knitting. We all called her Madam Lafarge. She had a basket, too. That was one instance.

Another memory has to do with Bill Dwyer's wife. She was really an extremely attractive woman, and she knew it. She had style. She would come into the courtroom and sit in the front row with different colored dresses on, and I'm quite sure she was a distraction for a number of the members. Even Ted Turner, the judge, seemed impressed. I think that Bill planned it that way.

TK: Were you surprised that former U.S. Senator Harry Cain volunteered to appear on behalf of John Goldmark?

WH: It was a great surprise to many people. But after Harry got on the Subversive Activities Control Board, you could just read from the decisions that he was active in that something had changed. He was no longer a complete subsidiary of Joe McCarthy, which had been his position when he was in the Senate. At the trial he spoke marvelously to the point that here was a man who had gotten a new religion about this subject of personal liberties.

TK: I was intrigued to learn that as, mayor of Tacoma, he had been one of the very few public official who protested the relocation of the Japanese during World War II.

WH: I did know that too, because of my association with some very close Japanese friends. There's no nice word for what they did to those people.

TK: Given his record, before and after serving as an U.S. Senator, do you think he might have been something of a reluctant conservative?

WH: What he did in the six years he was in the U.S. Senate was out of step with the state of Washington. He made himself eligible for Jackson's run against him in 1952 by getting out of step with his electorate. Jackson beat him handsomely.

TK: He certainly was unpopular with Democrats. Do you remember that in 1949, your first year in the state legislature, the House passed a resolution referring to him as the "blatherskite" senator? I think it may have had something to do with his opposition to a federal appointment for former governor Mon C. Wallgren.

WH: It was a straight party vote.

TK: So the "blatherskite" senator showed up to support John Goldmark in the town of Okanogan in 1963?

WH: He changed stripes again, I guess.

TK: A major event that occurred during the Goldmark trial was the assassination of President John Kennedy. Did that have any effect upon the dynamics of the trial?

WH: We were very, very afraid that the atmosphere had changed. We worried that the effect on the jurors would be extremely negative for John Goldmark because of the obvious affiliation of Oswald with the Soviets. He'd lived there and came home from there. He had a Russian wife and had been associated with communist causes. Frankly, I thought we were dead at that point. I was amazed when we got a verdict after that happened.

TK: That must have been a bad moment.

WH: It was. And it went on for about two months after that before the verdict came in.

TK: John Goldmark sued for, I think it was two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars and the jury awarded him forty thousand. I guess that would be considered a real victory for John?

WH: Today it would be considered penny-ante.

TK: As you know from Albert Canwell's Washington State oral history interview, he argued that the outcome was the result of a biased jury and a biased judge. What's your reaction to that?

WH: Judge Ted Turner had been in the Washington State Legislature in 1946 and was one of those that voted for the Canwell committee. Here he was sitting as a judge in this case years and years later. So he knew Canwell, and he was a Republican, as was Canwell. I would say that if there was a bias, it went the other way. Essentially, Turner was a very fair-minded man.

And for Canwell to suggest that they were the winners of the case is an absolute falsehood, because here's an Okanogan County jury, very conservative in its basic instincts, and the people on that jury found for a judgment against him and his companions in the lawsuit.

I remember being in the courtroom somewhere in the beginning of the trial when Judge Turner made a ruling to the effect that it wasn't necessary to make any finding about malice. Of course, that was of great benefit to John Goldmark. But soon after the trial was over and the verdict had been rendered, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in an Alabama case that a public official could not collect unless he proved malice.

TK: Was that the *New York Times v. Sullivan* case?

WH: Yes. And that decision turned the Goldmark case upside down. The judge ruled that a new trial would be necessary, and the whole case went into limbo. But certainly nobody was going to go through all that agony all over again.

But what Canwell claimed as a victory, was really the result of a by-play of a federal court action. That's turning the facts on their head.

TK: I was curious about what seems to be a real irony here. That particular case is generally regarded as a major victory for freedom of the press. Yet in this instance, the decision worked to the disadvantage of people, such as John Goldmark and yourself, who were real civil libertarians, and who had long supported free speech rights.

WH: It's sort of falling on your own sword, isn't it?

TK: How do you think the case might have turned out if it had gone to trial after, rather than before, the *New York Times v. Sullivan* decision?

WH: I think I know this county pretty well, and if the judge had directed them to make a finding about malice, I'm absolutely positive in my own mind that they would have found that that was the essence of why they gave the forty thousand dollars. Not only was there damage, it was done with malice.

TK: Malice, of course, tends to be hard to prove. Isn't that the difficulty?

WH: I think it was proven over and over again by the behavior of Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Ashley Holden.

TK: What conclusions have you drawn over the years from this trial?

WH: I'm glad we did it. I think it had to be done. I think that the overwhelming propaganda that had been engaged in about lack of patriotism and this sort of thing had to be met head-on to maintain the possibility of any political liberalism or personal liberty in this area. They were conducting a scare campaign to make people get back in line, no dissent. The things that were done in the name of patriotism were really terrible here.

TK: Do you think it had a long-term effect on the region?

WH: Very definitely. Yes. I think it showed up later on in 1964 in my own case. I barely survived, but by golly I did survive. They put on a campaign against me in the primary. My opponent, John Larrabee, was one of the people who had been involved in the American Legion Un-American Activities Committee stuff. I don't think he had brains enough to think of it on his own. He ran with the support of the John Birch group, and he gave me a hell of a run in the Democratic primary.

TK: Was that the same kind of a campaign as had been waged against Goldmark?

WH: Under the bed sheets. Yes. A lot of the campaign was based on the fact that I had stood

up for freedom of speech and against censorship. Even the Teamsters union joined in. They distributed these pamphlets saying that I was a member of the ACLU, which they claimed was a subversive organization according to the attorney general's list.

TK: How did the Teamsters get involved?

WH: The Teamsters got involved in it because at that time I was conducting the defense against a union election that was held at the Chelan Falls plant of our family company. They had won the election fifty-two to fifty-one, so I had to enter into negotiations with them. I think we outwitted them at the end of it because the law required you to come to an agreement within a year or else another election would have to be held. They called me up and wanted a delay, and I said, "Okay, let me check with my lawyer." She said, "Yes, tell them yes, you agree to that, that's fine." Then later she called me up after the date had gone by and said, "They don't know what they did to themselves. The year has gone by and you don't even have to talk to them." So I refused to talk to them. They never did try to organize our factory after that.

Of course, they were mad as the devil at me and tried to sink me with all my labor friends over on the coast. I had quite a lot of them. They were decent people with their point of view, and I had supported them on a lot of freedom of speech issues and freedom of the right to organize. But when it came to their organizing my own company, I didn't go that far.

TK: So they came after you on the loyalty issue?

WH: That's right. They also took the position that I was really anti-union and all that sort of thing. But I took my degree in labor economics with the idea of becoming a labor arbitrator. That was the sort of career I had in mind when I was at the university. So I had a pretty good background in labor stuff, and I had made good friends with a lot of people in the labor movement.

CHAPTER 6

LIFE IN THE WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATURE

Thomas Kerr: I'd like to turn now to your career in the state Legislature which ran for twenty years, from 1949 to 1969. Let's go back to 1949, when you first arrived in Olympia. Can you recall any of your initial impressions of the Legislature?

Wilbur Hallauer: The way the working system in the House was organized was deplorable. If you wanted to send a letter you'd better write it out in longhand and send it yourself. There were pool secretaries that were available, and if you wanted to dictate a letter you'd have to find a seat in the back of the chamber during recess or after session and dictate it. I did some of that, but I had been accustomed to typing my own letters and finally found some way to accomplish it without complicating things.

If it hadn't been for John R. I'd have been lost. I had no idea what it was all about. I did have some vague idea that I might be helpful in connection with the problems that the small towns of the state had with the state. That turned out to be true in the long run. But, frankly, I didn't know where I was going.

When we were first over in Olympia, John said, "I don't often give advice, but if you want to rise in this business here in the Legislature, and you really want to get somewhere with it and do something at this level, what you'd better do is pick out a real tough job that nobody else wants, and do it right. People understand that you've done it right and you will get there. Nobody ever wants to get into this business of school allocation formulas for funding. Nobody wants to take the time and trouble of learning it. They don't want to be splattered with the tax problems and the responsibility of taxes. If you'll step in there—I did it for years in all the time I was in the Legislature—it isn't all that bad. But you'd better know what you're doing."

He said, "I'll go on the Roads and Bridges Committee. Why don't you go ahead and go on the Revenue Committee?" And I did. That's how I got started on it.

In 1953, which was my third term, I became really the minority head in the Revenue Committee, and then two years later when we had the majority I was chairman of the Revenue Committee in the House.

Naturally, then, when I went to the Senate, being on the Ways and Means Committee, they made me Appropriations subcommittee chairman my first term. Then in the next term, as we discussed in relation to Josephine, I was the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

TK: That would seem to be an excellent illustration of the old rule in the Congress that if you want to get anywhere, you have to become a specialist. With knowledge, you can compel people to listen to you.

WH: That's true. I became one of the few members of the Legislature who was conversant with the state allocation formulas and an expert on taxes.

TK: Did you have any other mentors during those early days?

WH: Really, my prime professor of political science on a practical legislative basis was Julia Butler Hansen. She was a wonderful woman and very smart. She'd been in the Legislature since 1941. She was chairman of the Roads and Bridges Committee.

I got acquainted early in the 1949 session—my first session—with Julia, because she was a power. She was in the front row and entered into the debates quite liberally. She was very strong on education, and certainly her home base of things, the highway department. She just was a smart woman and she knew the legislative

maneuvering game very well.

Julia had come from Wahkiakum County, which is one of the smallest in the state. After she got out of college the only job she could find was as a clerk for the county commissioners in Wahkiakum County. In those days county commissioners were more road commissioners than anything else. With her smarts she became an expert on roads because she was at the practicing level of it. Then later, when she ran for the Legislature, she had all this specialized understanding of the road system and how it worked at the county level. Pretty soon she was running the road department, and after that she brought her intelligence to the Legislature and pretty soon she was running the highway department. I'm not kidding. She was wonderful. I became one of Julia's boys.

TK: When you were first elected, did the state Democratic Party communicate at all with you in terms of establishing some kind of interaction? Did any of the legislative leaders contact you before you arrived on the scene?

WH: I think I had a few contacts by mail, and somebody sent me the official results of the election. That's about it.

When I did get to Olympia, they put on what I would call a Political Science I course, and some lady from the university came down and told us how the Legislature worked. But I found out more from John R. Jones in ten minutes than I found out from two rather lengthy talk sessions by the so-called technical experts. So much was done in person-to-person contact, and you can't explain that in a seminar type session.

TK: So you really did have need for a mentor when you first arrived? And John R. was the person?

WH: Yes, he was my contact and he introduced me to people and told me how things were done and how a bill was put in. Took me down to the bill room.

TK: Were you surprised that you were made chairman of a committee in your first term of office?

WH: I was there and they sort of created a committee just for me, called the Horticulture Committee, which I chaired. It was nice. It gave me a committee room where I could go and get a few more things done. I shared it with two other committees.

TK: Also, as a freshman legislator, you managed to secure a seat near the front of the chamber. Could you tell me how that came about?

WH: In 1949 we had, I believe, sixty-seven Democrats and thirty-two Republicans in the session, which was quite a reversal from two years before. When they were making up the seating chart, and we had more than half of the seats, some of us had to sit over on the Republican side.

John R., who was really the senior member in the whole place, was involved in the seating. It's customary that the leadership have the front seats, and he put us right behind the Republican leadership on the center aisle on the Republican side of the House. So I sat right behind Perry Woodall who was the Republican floor leader. The assistant floor leader sat beside him. John R. Jones and I had the two seats right behind the Republican leadership. It looked a little funny, but that's the way it was.

TK: Did it help you, in learning the ropes, that Perry Woodall was a friend of yours?

WH: Perry and I were friends and, as I think I mentioned earlier, we'd been at Yakima Junior College together. Perry was well acquainted with my sister and brother-in-law. My brother-in-law was the district court judge in Yakima County and Perry was always appearing before him in his legal practice. We had a lot of fun out of this seating arrangement, and Perry did trouble himself to teach me some of the maneuvering on the amendment process.

I remember one occasion when a bill had been introduced to cover farm operations with unemployment insurance. Of course the farmers were largely the people I represented in Douglas and Okanogan County, and they were pretty upset

about the idea. But on the other hand, we had a pretty strong labor group in the Democratic Party, and they wanted this bill. So I was siding against the majority in my own party.

It happened that the bill was up on third reading and had been hampered because the Democrats were split and the Republicans were solid. I think there was a bare Democratic majority for it in the House, but it would never have gotten through the Senate. When it was on third reading, I got up and made a motion to move it back to second reading for the purpose of amendment. Nobody knew what I was up to. When I got it back there I put an amendment on it making agriculture subject to unemployment insurance. Then we adopted the amendment and put it back to third reading. But then they couldn't get a majority for it and it died. Perry and I worked out this little strategy just back and forth in about five minute's time up there in front. We wanted to get rid of the bill completely, and we did. Perry was good at this sort of thing. He was my mentor when it came to legislative monkey business.

Of course there were a lot of farm Republicans in the group and they thought I was great, but the labor boys were pretty mad at me.

TK: It sounds like you had several mentors, from both sides of the aisle.

WH: That's right.

TK: Was George Kinnear the leader of the Republicans at that time?

WH: Yes. He was involved in it, but Perry was the actual floor leader. I don't know what Kinnear was, right at the moment. Whether he was assistant or whether he was caucus chairman, something of that sort.

I should explain about Julia Hansen a little more. We did have a very good friendship that was created beginning then. In 1953 she became the chairman of the Democratic Strategy Committee when we were in the minority, and she put me on it. That's where I really started earning my pay as a legislator, because I became part of the decision-making group within the party. We'd stay up until one or two o'clock in the morning figuring out ways to make the Republican Party regret their majority position. We did such a good job of it that ultimately we came to a peace treaty about what we would let go through, and they would recognize us and not be unkind. It was an accommodation treaty that came from the fact that we just tore the place to pieces with the nuts and bolts of the mechanics of it. Amending processes and all that sort of thing.

I remember Mort Frayn, the Speaker, being so frustrated by what we were doing to him by making motions, that he and Bill Howard, the Republican clerk, were having a colloquy up at the front of the House trying to figure out how to deal with it. Mort forgot that he had the speaker system on and Mort, who was a very fair-minded man, said over the speakers, "But Jesus Christ, Bill, that wouldn't be fair!" The place broke up in laughter; we took a recess and came back and had peace.

TK: Was that "Strategy Committee," that Julia Butler Hansen put together a regular party committee?

WH: Yes.

TK: Do you recall who else was on that committee?

WH: I think Bob Ford was on it, but Charlie Hodde wasn't. He'd run for governor and was no longer in the Legislature.

TK: How about John O'Brien?

WH: I think John was probably on it. There were seven of us. Like all committees it worked out that about four of us did the work, along with Max Nicolai who was our counsel.

Max had been involved as the deputy prosecutor in King County at the time of the Canwell hearings. He had been blacklisted by the Senate Republicans in 1949 and thus came over to the House to work for the Democrats. I really didn't get to know him until the 1953 session when he became counsel for the Democratic minority policy committee that Julia Butler Hansen chaired and I was on.

He and his wife, Wilma, were close to the university crowd. Wilma was also a sculptress and was prominent in Seattle art circles. The Sunday breakfasts at their big house on Capital Hill in the 1950s and 1960s were quite something. People like historian Giovanni Costigan and Theodore Roethke, the poet-in-residence at the university, were often there. There would usually be about fifteen people around a huge table talking idealistic impracticalities. I guess I got included in these affairs to supply a bit of terra firma to the musings. Melvin Rader was always present and, of course, he and Max told their Canwell committee adventures, including the time when the critical evidence about Rader's supposed attendance at a communist training session disappeared while in the hands of Canwell investigators. Max and Rader wrote a book together about the Canwell committee.

TK: You said that Max Nicolai had been blacklisted. Could you elaborate upon that?

WH: The Republicans were in the majority in 1947 and had supported the legislation creating the Canwell committee. They viewed Max's support of and assistance to Professor Rader as a plot to discredit the Canwell committee and, by implication, the Republican Party. So when, in 1949, the minority Democrats in the Senate requested the appointment of Max as their counsel, the Republicans refused to allow it. That, as far as I'm concerned, is blacklisting.

TK: Getting back to your early days in Olympia, did you also learn about the legislative process from social interaction with other members of the Legislature? Were there places in Olympia where the legislators liked to congregate or where it was possible to meet people in an informal setting?

WH: We had sort of loosely knit groupings. During my first session down there I was one of a group that liked to play cards, and generally the game was fourhanded cutthroat pinochle. We'd often play in my Horticulture Committee room or whatever committee room was available.

At the end of the session when they were playing the piano and dancing on the chairs and that sort of thing, and there was a little bit of lubrication around, they presented me with one of these cheap drugstore sort of pictures—you've seen the sort of tavern art. It's a picture of a group of dogs around a big card table with poker chips scattered all over and money scattered all over, and here's old Bruno, a Saint Bernard, with a big pile of chips in front. This was presented to me with my name stuck on the Saint Bernard's picture.

TK: It seems like you must have been pretty successful as a pinochle player.

WH: I generally was.

TK: It sounds as though those card-playing lessons learned on the campaign trail paid off for you?

WH: That's right. It was a great way to campaign—going up to Twisp with John R. and getting together a bunch of the locals and playing pinochle usually, but sometimes poker.

TK: Did you socialize with Republicans, too?

WH: Oh yes. In fact, we always considered it a coup to get some Republicans involved. We liked their money!

TK: Legislatures are social bodies that tend to develop customs and rituals that are sometimes mystifying and even irritating to outsiders. For example, in 1949 it was the custom in the Senate to begin a legislative day by moving to suspend the no-smoking rule. Thereupon cigars would be passed all around. Do you remember that kind of thing when you first arrived?

WH: Oh yes. We had that sort of thing happen now and then.

Let me tell you the story about Brig Young and his blowing up George Adams' moccasins. George was a legislator from Shelton and an Indian. His main livelihood was working as a judge at the racetrack in Renton. He was a nice enough guy, but really what he was doing down there was more representation of the racetrack

than he was representing Mason County, for my money.

George was in his seventies, and he'd quite frequently fall asleep on the floor when session was on. Brig Young, who was a legislator from Cle Elum, thought he'd have a little fun out of these naps and he put a firecracker in George's moccasins which had fallen down along side of George while he was napping. Of course the thing exploded, and Brig who sat a couple of seats away, jumped to his feet and pointed up in the gallery and hollered, "There goes the son-of-a-bitch!" Everybody was running every which way and they were pounding the gavel up at the podium to bring order. I saw it all happen. Kid play, maybe, but you needed a little breather in order to lighten things up.

I got so that once in a while I'd kind of do the—not a fire cracker trick—but start a stampede just for the hell of it to break the monotony.

TK: How would you do that?

WH: I'd find some esoteric amendment on something. I did this sort of thing in the Senate, too. The one that comes immediately to mind is that one time I thought things were kind of dull, and the newspapers in the morning had carried an item about the Seattle City Council adopting a resolution criticizing students at the University of Washington for some plain skylarking that the kids had done. The result of that one was that I put in a resolution to the effect that I accused the Seattle Council of thinking that was dead or dying, and I suggested that the Council was unprogressive. It had quite a bite to it. Initially it was co-signed by Wes Uhlman, who was later mayor of Seattle. But about the time I got it in, he got up and asked that his name be stricken from my resolution. He got cold feet because he was afraid that we'd attract some political heat.

Anyway, the result of that was that the kids from the university came out in a big pack to my house up in Seattle with a unicycle and got me up on the unicycle to ride it. Somewhere, I have a picture of that around here. That got in the papers.

I did this sort of thing several times in the House.

TK: A fellow-freshman colleague of yours from Chelan, Eva Anderson, published a periodic column in the *Wenatchee Daily World*, giving her views of what was happening in the Legislature in Olympia.

WH: Eva Anderson? She was related to the Woods family that owned the paper.

TK: Well, she was very, very enthusiastic about some kind of religious consecration service that was held during the 1949 session. Apparently it was held someplace in downtown Olympia and she said that "scores"—that was her term—of legislators and other people, such as Governor Langlie, and Bill Devin, the mayor of Seattle, would attend. Do you remember hearing about that?

WH: I don't remember it at all. I thought Eva was wonderful in many ways, and I often regretted a dirty trick I pulled on her in 1949. I mentioned a while ago about looking for roads to give back to the state. The road at the head of Lake Chelan was in Eva's district and we gave that away without her knowing it until six months after the session was over. Of course, she never saw my tracks on it, but I was guilty. She was very kind to me and I regret it.

TK: I'd like to turn to the subject of various political leaders who were active during your legislative career. Was Governor Langlie in office during all eight years that you served in the House?

WH: That is correct.

TK: As you gained seniority, and particularly as you became more and more deeply involved in revenue issues, did you have a great deal of contact with him?

WH: Not a great deal. I usually dealt with his underlings. He had a budget director by the name of Brabrook who really carried the entire state budget in his head, and it was pretty hard to get information. The only way you could really get it was from him. I established a pretty good

relationship with Brabrook and thought he was wonderful. But he was overwhelmed by what he was supposed to be doing. What he was doing should have taken a staff of fifteen people.

One of the first things that Governor Rosellini did when he became governor was to rationalize the system, and to put it out in the open instead of playing games under the hood of one person. It was not that Brabrook wasn't a good man; he was a fine man. But the state was growing and you're talking about billions of dollars. It didn't make sense to have to go to one man for all the answers.

TK: What do you most clearly remember about Governor Langlie?

WH: I remember that he was pretty stiff. Somewhere around here I've got a "Langlie for governor" button. Do you want it? In some ways I kind of liked him. He was an honorable man, but one thing I remember about him was that he was very partisan.

TK: Was he a social person? Did he interact with members of the Legislature?

WH: Not particularly. Maybe part of the problem was that when he had the soiree that's expected of a governor for the legislators, it would be at the Governor's Mansion, but there weren't any entertaining type of beverages.

TK: Was he dry?

WH: Oh yes, he was dry. That's fine with me. I came from a dry family so I was used to it. But for most people in the political field, they expect a little libation when they go anywhere, and it does help open things up a little bit. Of course, you don't have to overdo it.

TK: How would you regard him as a governor?

WH: Langlie ran a good show as far as balancing the state budget. In the 1951 situation we had to raise taxes, and I think we had one regular and either two or three special sessions in order to squeeze out enough money—a Democratic Legislature and a Republican governor—in order to get by.

TK: Did he ever advocate or support the idea of an income tax?

WH: I don't think Langlie did. But Dan Evans certainly did.

TK: But given the constant problems of obtaining revenues to support essential public programs, would Langlie ever back off and say, "Well, we've got to raise the money somewhere?"

WH: I don't remember Langlie doing that at any time. Of course the Legislature was always trying to push something through. There may have been different degrees of give-and-take. But I don't recall that we ever managed to put an income tax on the ballot during the Langlie years.

TK: Would you say that he was an active participant in the legislative process? Did he actively work with the Legislature to try to get legislation out?

WH: No, I wouldn't say he was.

TK: Whom did he rely upon in working with the Legislature?

WH: I'm sure he had a close relationship with people like Mort Frayn and George Kinnear—particularly Kinnear and the downtown group in Seattle. Some of them, like "Saltwater" Ed Riley and his group, were Democrats.

TK: Can you tell me anything about those people?

WH: Riley was a downtown businessman who was active in Seattle Chamber of Commerce affairs and later became a city councilman. He was one of the city councilmen who didn't think it was very funny when I put my resolution through the state Senate criticizing the drag-ass attitude of the Seattle City Council about university kids having a little bit of a flirtation with radicalism. I didn't take it very seriously, but those guys did.

TK: Did Langlie, from your standpoint, seem to get along well with other Republicans?

WH: There was some backbiting.

TK: Do you remember on what kinds of issues?

WH: One thing does come to mind. We've already talked about Ashley Holden in connection with the Goldmark trial. But Ashley was also over in Olympia as a news reporter for the *Spokesman-Review* during part of the time that Langlie was governor. I remember at the time that Governor Langlie was giving his State of the State message on the third day of the session, in 1951 or 1953, Ashley came up with a long poem, sort of a takeoff on Longfellow's poem *Hiawatha*. It started out with the phraseology, "And here comes Governor Langlie holding out in front of him something long and dangley." It went on from there and got worse. Ashley, of course, was a born and pedigreed Republican, and here he was ridiculing Langlie with this lengthy sort of thing that belonged out in the urinal section.

TK: There were three Speakers during your years of service in the House. There was Charles Hodde, Mort Frayn, and John O'Brien. Let's talk first about Charles Hodde.

WH: I thought he was wonderful.

TK: He was the Speaker when you arrived in 1949. What do you remember about him?

WH: I saw him in Olympia, shortly before he died in July of 1999. We had a lovely visit. We talked about quite a lot of things. He still had his wits about him, and he had always been a great idea man in the field of taxes, public power, you name it. He could come up with legislative answers. He had no legal training except what he got on his own in the Legislature. He was a farmer over in Colville, and came there from Missouri as a youngster. He raised apples and potatoes and we would talk about farming things because I would often go over and visit his farm. He had a little four-acre orchard up on top of the mountain with a sort of portable sprayer rig. He didn't need to spray much because there weren't other orchards to generate pests for him. He's an extremely smart, able and dedicated man. If it hadn't been for Charlie, public power would have been overcome long before it was.

TK: What do you remember about his leadership skills? Was he a good tactician as far as getting legislation through?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Can you recall any examples of his legislative leadership skills?

WH: Not at this late date. But I do have the general reflection that the management of the House in 1949 and 1951 was excellent because Charlie was able to do so well in concert with other House leaders. For example, the floor leader of the Democrats was Bob Ford—a unique personality with a very varied career, including teaching school in Alaska. The other leader was Art Paulson of Tacoma. They all pretty well worked as a team, with Hodde laying things out for the floor leaders. Of course, with a majority of sixty-seven to thirty-two, it was pretty simple to keep things in order in 1949.

TK: I seem to recall that he was once caught up in some kind controversy over a twenty-five dollar donation of some sort. Do you remember that?

WH: I certainly do. One of the legislators, a Democrat from the Puyallup area, claimed that he'd had been offered a big bribe of twenty-five dollars by some private power partisan. Charlie turned this into quite an epic. He closed the doors of the House so the legislators were all locked in. He then made quite an overwhelming speech about the bad manners and bad habits of private power. I thought twenty-five dollars, even in 1949, was kind of small change. I thought it was much ado about nothing, frankly.

TK: With respect to Charles Hodde, how did he try to keep the troops in line?

WH: It wasn't necessary. There was such a large

majority, and so many people like myself were green. Under those conditions, the sheep took care of themselves, and it only took one goat to make them follow.

TK: Was Slim Rasmussen a floor leader at that time?

WH: I don't remember whether he was or not. He was quite active. Of course, he was a labor partisan.

I particularly remember Slim and his wife Eleanor being very kind to Rose and me and inviting us to attend the dance of the season, the Legislative Ball, which was held at the armory. We went with Slim and Eleanor to that and had a lot of fun. We became pretty close.

When the rewrite of the Un-American Activities Committee legislation was proposed in 1951 and passed the Senate and came over to the House, Slim was a leader of the anti-Canwell group. He worked closely with Julia Butler Hansen in a series of quite complicated maneuvers, involving two different conference committees, to bottle the bill up. Throughout that whole process, I kept in touch with Slim and he always told me what was going on and how they were out to kill the bill, and they damned well did. It was Julia's strategy that did it.

TK: The press often referred to Slim Rasmussen as the champion of the little man or the little farmer, or something like that. Was that accurate?

WH: It wouldn't have been a little farmer. He was the champion of the lady in tennis shoes, if you will, and people like that. He was also a leader in the oleomargarine issue.

TK: Could you remind the readers what that was all about?

WH: Farming groups, who were concerned about the competition that oleomargarine would have with butter, had managed to get through legislation that required oleo to be sold without any coloring. That made it rather unappetizing to look at, and consumers would have to purchase a little ball of coloring to make it look like butter. After repeated failure to repeal the law, Slim got an initiative started to end the foolishness and went out and got enough signatures to get in on the ballot, and it won the voters' approval. He also got through legislation that enabled you to make your own will without the help of a lawyer and a fee. The legal fraternity managed to make it almost meaningless.

TK: Would you say that he was something of a forerunner of the consumer movement?

WH: Yes. Slim was a foreman in the railroad shops in Tacoma and was a leader in his union. He later in life became an extreme conservative by my standards. He and Sam Guess were out of the same litter in the last few years; Sam was probably one of the more rigid of the Republicans, and Slim ran his own show as if he was a third party. When I would go to the Senate to visit during the years after I'd been at Ecology, those two were still there.

TK: Could you tell me a little about Sam Guess?

WH: Sam Guess had spent most of his career with the Army Corps of Engineers. He was what might be called a "Mississippi Republican," and was a member of the most conservative group within the Republican caucus in the state Senate. He was very knowledgeable about things relating to construction and, with his background, he was always second-guessing the various departments on such things as building projects, road projects, water projects and so forth. Usually he had pretty good insights. He was a very straightforward person and didn't beat about the bush about the facts, as he saw them, and you knew that, whatever the conservative position was, Sam would be on it. And, when I was at the Department of Ecology, he was quite helpful to me because he had a hard-nosed attitude about a lot of questions that had to have answers based on facts instead of soft-soap feelings.

TK: As a consequence of the 1952 election, when Eisenhower and a Republican Congress were elected, both houses of the state Legislature went totally Republican for the first time since 1933?

WH: True.

TK: That brought Mort Frayn to the Speakership. What's your memory of him?

WH: I thought they were wonderful folks, both Mort and his wife. I remember being at a party with them and I got talking with Mrs. Frayn. It turned out she wanted to talk about her teaching days when she had just graduated from Washington State University, where she and Mort had attended together. They were emotionally involved as young people tend to be, and she was teaching up here at Molson, about twenty miles east of Oroville. This was back in the days of party-line telephones. Mort would call her up once in awhile and the conversation would get a little personal. She told me about going back to teach the next morning after one of these conversations with Mort and having repeated to her verbatim what Mort had said about "honey, honey, coo-coo." Obviously, her students or their parents had been listening in, and these little niceties of personal relationship were repeated back to her.

Of course, by the time she told me that story, the Frayns were probably about fifty, and looking back on it, they thought it was funny.

TK: How did he do as Speaker?

WH: He was fun. We liked to bait him a bit.

Mort even tried to help me get an income tax bill through. He even took it to his caucus and suggested all kinds of amendments to be put on it. I think maybe we did get it through the House and it got killed in the Senate. You had to have two-thirds vote for a constitutional amendment, and he had to twist a lot of arms to get it as far as it went.

TK: While Mort Frayn was Speaker, was Julia Butler Hansen Democratic minority leader?

WH: I'm not sure whether she was minority leader, but she was certainly chair of our Strategy Committee.

TK: Do you know whether she would have been the first woman to occupy a position of such power in the Legislature?

WH: I don't know. But I do recall that Pearl Wanamaker had been in the Legislature in the 1920s. And there was that 1927 session that I mentioned earlier, where all four Democrats in the House became chairmen. Pearl was probably chairman of the Committee on Education. She and the other three had their pick of anything they wanted, and enjoyed themselves to beat the devil.

TK: How did Julia Hansen interact with Frayn?

WH: They got along good. They were personal friends just like I was with Mort. Mort was a hard man not to like.

TK: This was long before the "Year of the Woman," and I was curious about whether the Democrats accepted Hansen's leadership?

WH: I don't know about any problems with it.

John O'Brien certainly had his friends then, and I know that Julia was totally aware that, if she ran for Speaker, O'Brien was going to run against her. It was a pretty tough race.

TK: That was something I was interested in, because it would seem that, if she had served as a minority leader in that 1953 legislature, she would have been the natural selection as Speaker when the Democrats regained control of the House in 1955. What happened?

WH: Although I can't prove it one way or the other, I think that Julia was a liberal in the classic sense of not wanting religion taught in schools. John O'Brien was a Catholic. Julia lost the election in, I believe, a twenty-five to twenty-four vote. The last vote for O'Brien was got by bringing Bill Carty in from Ridgefield, Washington on a stretcher. He'd been in the hospital. It was the Irish Catholics versus the rest of us.

Margaret Hurley was also in the House at the time and was a strong Catholic. In fact, Margaret sat right in front of me. She was born and raised over in the Methow country here in Okanogan County. It was one of those desperate situations

where a mother with a big family was trying to do everything and Margaret was eventually sent over to Holy Names in Spokane as a boarding student, where she had to earn her keep by working at the school. She was really a very bright and dedicated woman. Margaret's oral history has been done, and it does contain some bitter edges. All I would say is that her document speaks for itself, and the fact that she's chosen to copyright it to try and keep it from being circulated delivers some kind of a message.

TK: So the election of John O'Brien was decided on the issue of public aid to parochial schools?

WH: Yes, that and school prayer.

TK: Was Bob Greive, in the Senate, also interested in that issue?

WH: Yes. Bob Greive told me himself that he always went to early Mass at seven o'clock in the morning every day of the session. He was very dedicated, which is fine. I thought it got a little far in connection with some of the censorship bills that he was continually sponsoring at the behest, I'm sure, of the church. He and I would always take up a day of the Senate's time in a debate over the issues of religious teaching and censorship. Generally, those are the kinds of things that the ACLU has been noted for opposing.

People of that persuasion were nice people. I don't mean to downgrade them. My own position was a bit ambiguous. My two children were attending parochial school in 1955. Merry had entered the local Catholic school. Later, of course, both Merry and Teri went to Forest Ridge Academy in Seattle. They both attended Catholic schools. My wife was Catholic and that was what she chose. I didn't feel I should argue with it.

TK: What happened to their agenda in that particular session?

WH: Nothing happened. That was the news—that there was no news.

TK: How were the supporters of Julia Hansen subsequently treated by Speaker John O'Brien?

WH: Every one of us who supported Julia got the committee chairmanships that we had spoken for with Julia. I was chairman of Revenue Committee. John could have deprived me of it, he didn't. He let all of us have everything we wanted. The man is not a vindictive man in any way. He wasn't like Bob Greive.

TK: That 1955 Speakership election was puzzling because the newspapers at the time mentioned the possibility that a few Democrats, who were not identified, were actually considering voting with the Republicans to elect Mort Frayn as Speaker. It was not at all clear from media accounts what was going on within the Democratic Party. But your suggestion is that it was the religious issue?

WH: I'm sure of it.

TK: What kind of a Speaker was O'Brien? Was he effective?

WH: I always got along with John. I thought he was pretty fair. I can't really remember any blowups with him. I tried to be a team player with him.

TK: Was he able to rally the forces when need be?

WH: I think we had a fifty to forty-nine division in the House. That was pretty tough.

TK: I was thinking about that. When you have that close a margin the demands on a leader are pretty severe?

WH: It worked out. I didn't feel that we were in any particular bind and I worked with a lot of the Republicans in the Revenue Committee. Really, the fiscal experts were all Republicans. Some of them were good friends of mine and are to this day.

TK: Did the House leaders make use of the Democratic caucus? Was this an effective instrument of communication between the leadership on the one hand and the members on the other?

WH: Oh yes. That's where the really argumentative things were argued out and a party position taken. We found out whether anybody was going to break ranks. Actually, when you have a close margin like that, the tendency is for the party to solidify. It's only when you get an issue like public power that's of sufficient weight to cause a cleavage within the party, and you do something like what happened in the House when Bill Day and his group broke ranks and joined with the Republicans and Day became the Speaker. But that was some years later.

TK: Did the caucus meet regularly?

WH: It depended on what the issue was and what the calendar was. In the Senate Democratic caucus, we would bring up all of the bills that were on the calendar and Max Nicolai would stand up and give us a thumbnail sketch of what the bills were all about. He would tell us what the catches might be, and whether the bills might be a problem for us as a party. A lot of the issues really weren't party issues.

TK: Would the caucus take positions on bills?

WH: Sometimes.

TK: Would it be by vote?

WH: No. If somebody wanted a vote, all they had to do was ask and Bob Bailey would give it to them.

TK: Did the caucus usually work by consensus?

WH: It amounted to that. Say we had ten bills on the calendar. Probably, on the average, one bill would become the focus of the caucus discussion. All of the rest of them were sort of waived on by, by consensus, because nobody raised any points after Max would make his presentation. Then you'd have the one bill and there might be pros and cons, or there might not be pros and cons but just a lot of questions.

I would be the focus of a lot of this because, as chairman of Ways and Means, I had to explain all of the stuff related to money. For instance, the caucus had okayed a policy that I had recommended, that when a money bill would come in—any bill about anything that had a price tag of over one hundred thousand dollars—it had to get clearance from me. I would sometimes say, "I don't think very much of this. We're getting a lot of this flotsam around here and it's beginning to add up. I think we better send it back for cooling off in the Ways and Means Committee and I don't intend to let it out of the committee." Everybody would let it go at that. That's the way we controlled some of it. They were often putting in bills for the home audience. I did it myself sometimes.

TK: But the expectation would be that the bill goes nowhere?

WH: Yes.

TK: It would probably be disastrous if it did.

WH: If I wanted to play favorites and do a little vote trading, I had some trading stock.

TK: That's been a traditional prerogative of chairmen. In the U.S. Congress, if someone crosses the chairman, he's always got a few obnoxious or irresponsible bills that he can pull out and force the members to vote on.

WH: Yes. Sometimes people would come to me and say, "I've got this bill in here, and I had to put it in, but for heaven's sake don't let it out." It probably had all sorts of things going on.

TK: Did the Democratic Party members ever try to bind people to the caucus decisions? I know the Republicans tried to do that a couple of times.

WH: I don't remember it ever happening to me. I know it never happened in the Senate. You couldn't control that bunch of wild jackasses.

TK: Would that be a function of the fact that the party structure is pretty weak in the Washington Legislature?

WH: Oh, it's terribly weak.

TK: So might it be that, when we talk about caucuses and so forth, which imply some kind of discipline, we're really in a kind of fantasy land?

WH: Caucuses are used more to explain than to discipline. I think it has some effect if there's a majority and there's one guy sitting there who doesn't agree with it. Under those circumstances he can feel the pull of the current.

The senators were quite different from the House members in their attitudes. In the first place they had four-year terms. They didn't feel the degree of pressure, and they had more independence of spirit simply because of that. They felt that they had the right to make a choice for themselves. You see the same sort of thing in the national Senate. If the boys want to go off the reservation, they damn well do. It would be a mistake to try and chase them back on because there'd be other people who will say that this can happen to me. And all at once instead of having one or two guys out there, you'd have half of them.

TK: While we often focus upon the formal leaders of the Legislature, would you say that a real understanding of the legislative process demands that we also recognize that there may be many other people who do not occupy positions of formal leadership, but nevertheless can wield great influence?

WH: Oh yes. Some people prefer not to have the trappings. They feel that by their individual intercession that they could control the flow of events. Bill Gissberg was one of those people.

TK: From what I've been able to read, you, yourself, were considered very, very influential, even before you became a chairman.

WH: I had friends and people that I influenced.

TK: You've mentioned William Gissberg as an important informal leader of the Senate. What did he do? How did he manage to develop such influence, and who were some of the others?

WH: The little war between Augie Mardesich and Bob Greive may be illustrative. When Augie came into the Senate, Bob Greive gave him the chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee. Well, here's a lawyer and fisherman and a general speculator in business-book possibilities, who has been assigned to a field that he knew nothing about. And he felt insulted. I think Gissberg observed that if you got that Serbian up in arms against you for any reason, you were in trouble. That's what happened to Greive. He got Mardesich angry with him. He didn't take into account Augie's sensibilities, and when Augie found out who had put him there as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, he went for Greive's throat, right now, like an attack dog. Eventually, he brought Greive down, but that took a while.

Of course, Greive was never in my camp. I always had a difficult time getting the votes to obtain and retain my chairmanship of Ways and Means. In 1959, when I first got the position, I know it was a three-to-two vote. I think there were five men on the committee. Nat Washington, Bill Gissberg, and Bob Bailey would have been my three votes. Greive was on it and one of his other henchmen I had set out to displace—Mr. Bargreen—and I did.

TK: Were standing committee chairmen selected by the committee members, or by the party leadership?

WH: The caucus chairman selected the members of the Committee on Committees and it was sort of routine that his selection would be confirmed by the caucus. Bob Bailey was trying, in that case, to balance the two wings of the party—the Greive wing and the anti-Greive wing. He himself was interested in the thrust of legislation and in keeping a good face on the group as a whole. He was a very astute gentleman.

TK: What was your motivation in replacing Senator Bargreen as the Ways and Means Committee chairman?

WH: Well, you'd have to know "Pinkie" Bargreen to appreciate this, but I'll try to explain it. "Pinkie" had been chairman in 1957, and his modus operandi was to keep everything in a coat pocket. He had everything under his control, and all the

rest of us were just fluttering around him trying to be part of the process. “Pinkie” wanted to be the magician and take center stage. But he came up with a thirty million dollar deficit in the 1957 budget. We had just passed the Budget and Accounting Act, which required us to balance the budget—but it was obvious that we hadn’t accomplished that. He continued to insist that sufficient revenues would be there, but that did not happen. So when I took over in 1959, I had the great joy of raising the sales and the B&O taxes in order to pay the bills. I had pretty broad support, even from some of Bob Greive’s supporters, who didn’t like Bargreen’s way of doing things.

CHAPTER 7

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Thomas Kerr: I'd like to begin to focus on the various committees that you served on, both as a member and as a chairman. It's quite obvious that you were an extremely active member of the Legislature, having served, among other things, as Chairman of both the House Revenue Committee and the Senate Ways and Means Committee. You also served as a member of numerous interim committees and, most notably, as chairman of the Interim Committee on Water Resources. That kind of activity provided you with real insight into the dynamics of the legislative process, and I hope we might draw on that background to inform the readers of this history about how things worked in Olympia during the twenty years that you represented your district.

So let's begin with your very first session, when the House Horticulture Committee was created for you and you immediately became its chairman. How did that happen?

Wilbur Hallauer: I think horticulture had been part of the Agriculture Committee in preceding sessions. Here's a guy who had been in the tree fruit business all his life and he's a new legislator, and we're going to encourage him, so all at once there's a Horticulture Committee. Charlie Hodde and John R. Jones, I think, put it together. That's the way it came about.

TK: How big a committee was that?

WH: I think there were five people. People from the Yakima and Wenatchee areas were on it. I think we had a few bills about apples, and we had a few bills about berries. That's how it came to be that Hugh Bone, in his political science class at the University of Washington, used one of my bills that I had sponsored and run through the Legislature as a horrible example of special interest legislation. Governor Langlie, thanks to his ability and his authority, had vetoed it and Hugh was pleased about that. I thought I was just doing my duty as Horticulture chairman to put through a measure that had been asked for by an element of the business. I admit that he was right. It was a trade regulation bill and should never have happened. But that's the way I got my education.

TK: I noticed that each session that you were in the House you were on four different committees each time. Was that the custom?

WH: Pretty much, yes. A few people were on three and I think a few were on five.

TK: I noticed that one of your early assignments was to Aviation and Airports. That seems like a strange assignment for an orchardist from Okanogan County, especially given the importance of aviation to other parts of the state. What do you remember about that?

WH: I don't remember a single thing about the Airports Committee.

TK: Another initial assignment was to the Game and Game Fish Committee. That seems something of a more suitable fit. Do you remember anything about that?

WH: I do remember about Game and Game Fish. It didn't take me long to find out that the Game Department people manipulated the Legislature to suit themselves. They ran a nice little grand duchy of their own without reference to anybody else in the state government. They could get what they wanted by pressure of people involved in hunting and fishing organizations to do what they wanted. As far as the general public was concerned, this was often side-play and nobody

was paying attention while these boys had fun doing their thing.

I got to the point where I thought they were running a private corporation of their own, with their own benefits and to hell with the Legislature. It sometimes seemed that all we were there for was to rubber stamp the increases in their license fees, which were dedicated to the support of the department. They had built a fence between themselves and the rest of the world, and I wanted to get at their dream world and let the real world into it.

Some years later, when they came in for their very frequent increases in licensing fees, I decided to give them a little entertainment. I got up and made a big thing out of it on the floor of the Senate, and pointed out John Biggs, the director of the department. I said, "There he is up there in the gallery." This was at ten or eleven o'clock at night. "Emperor Biggs, he comes in here every four years and asks you to rubber-stamp his increases in the license fees. Do you really want to do this?" That was all kinds of fun.

TK: How did the vote turn out?

WH: I lost, but I got some votes, and they were pretty respectful after that. They got rid of some of their baggage of taking us for granted.

TK: This sounds like a good example of an agency working with interest groups to put pressure on the Legislature to advance its programs.

WH: Oh yes. The Game Department gave us some special lobbying attention by taking us steelhead fishing on the Skagit River and things like that. They also had their own lobbying organization, called the State Game Council, the wildlife council, something like that. That group would host a big party in Seattle—I think generally in December after the elections and before the Legislature would go into session. All the legislators were invited and there'd be five hundred people there. A big bust with a lot of drinking and "hail-fellow-well-met" stuff that would go on. Supporters of the Game Department would attempt to get the ear of the legislators who would attend. I just thought these people were having a perpetual game department party going on and having a lot of fun. Maybe they were doing some good, but if they were, I thought to some degree it was accidental. There were some very dedicated people further down on the staff. But I thought the higher-ups in Olympia were just having a hell of a good time, period.

TK: You got on the Revenue and Taxation Committee your first term. And you stayed on it the whole eight years you were in the House and then went on into the Senate in the same area. Was that a big committee?

WH: Oh yes. I think there were fifteen people on it. It might have been more.

TK: Did that particular committee have a subcommittee structure?

WH: Yes, a couple of times on specific issues, if I remember right. It took me until the 1953 session when I was a member of the minority to really have much of any say-so. Then I became, really, the leader of the Democratic group within the committee.

I knew B. Roy Anderson, the chairman, very well personally. He was a customs broker in Seattle. I did customs work up here at Oroville, and I went to Roy and told him some of my problems and he had his son, Webster, help me and eventually I actually worked it out so that his company gave me an umbrella to operate under up here. We were simply good friends and there weren't any partisan fights going on either before or after.

Then, of course, when I was chairman in 1955, B. Roy was sort of head of the Republican group under me.

TK: Since the Revenue and Taxation Committee was obviously one of the most important committees in the Legislature, was there competition to get on that committee among the members, or was there a desire to avoid it?

WH: I think the latter was the case. A lot of people viewed it as poison. I viewed it as "money was

what made the mare go." You had to know where the money came from, and you had to be familiar with the formulas for dividing up the money for the common school fund. And boy, it was a job to learn that mess. I really worked hard at it.

TK: Did the Speaker make the committee assignments?

WH: No. There was a Committee on Committees. It would be chaired by the Speaker.

TK: Do recall what kind of other people served on the Committee on Committees?

WH: In the Senate, it was chaired by the caucus chairman, Bob Bailey.

TK: Did the committee chairmen serve on it, so that they might have some control over who was assigned to their committees?

WH: No. Each member was individually named by the caucus chairman. The caucus chairman would take into account all of the various factions. And there are factions, but they varied with the issue. Bailey was as solid as a rock about the way he would divide things up.

For instance, Bob himself would be on the Committee on Committees, along with Nat Washington, Bill Gissberg, and Bob Greive and one of his people would be on it. When the crunch came, if they couldn't agree among themselves, Bailey really could do what he wanted to do anyway. He was quite a guy. Still is.

TK: In terms of making committee assignments, would the fact that a person had served on the committee previously guarantee that he would be assigned to the same committee the next session?

WH: It wouldn't guarantee it, but normally it was an element in their choosing. It was pretty unusual for anybody to be ousted.

TK: In discussing the committees of the Legislature, I think it might be useful to distinguish between the regular committees and the interim committees, both of which did substantial legislative work. In general terms, what was it that the interim committees did?

WH: I think the principal purpose they served was to get the legislators acquainted with the activities of the state and with the long-running debates on how state government should be run.

I know in my case, when I was on the Legislative Budget Committee, we visited the state institutions, such as the prisons, and we talked with people about how executive control is exercised over the activities of the agencies of the state government. As the funding organization, the Legislature had a great interest in how this was done, how efficient it all was, and what the underlying philosophies were. It gave me a much greater basic understanding of just how the business of government was run.

TK: Who created these committees?

WH: The Legislature itself. It was done at the time I was in the Legislature on the basis of people volunteering for the different committees that were in operation. I volunteered to serve on the Interim Committee on Education, as well as the Legislative Budget Committee. Those are the two that I found of greatest interest.

TK: What was the process used for determining membership and who is to be chairman?

WH: In my case I volunteered. I wanted to be on the Legislative Budget Committee and I wanted to be on the Interim Committee on Education. These were two things that I had pretty deeply held beliefs about. For example, the Legislative Budget Committee was involved in budget reform. I thought this was a wonderful idea and I wanted to be involved.

TK: Would most members of these interim committees volunteer to serve?

WH: In the Senate I think so. I don't think anybody was really drafted.

TK: Would that also be true of the House?

WH: I'm not sure. But I think it's the same.
TK: How was the chairman chosen? Was he elected by the committee members or appointed by the leaders of the House and Senate?

WH: The members of the committees picked the chairmen themselves, ordinarily. Usually it would be somebody who was deeply into the problem and pretty knowledgeable and who wanted to take the lead on some subject.

TK: So the make-up of the committees was not usually a controversial matter?

WH: No. For example, I had the opportunity to take the chair of the Legislative Budget Committee and turned it down. I felt that it really would be better for someone else to do it. If you live in Oroville, Washington, you're not reasonably available to the power centers where these committees meet and conduct their business.

TK: Would also the fact that you were a member of the Revenue and Taxation Committee have been a factor in your decision not to chair the Legislative Budget Committee?

WH: Sure. I was going to have my hand in the game anyway, and all I wanted was to get into the discussions and be able to understand and make my own points. I thought it worked pretty well.

TK: Would these interim committees usually be reconstituted over and over again in order to act between sessions? In other words, did they often they assume a semi-permanent character?

WH: That varied. The Legislative Budget Committee was supposed to be a long term, enduring committee. Paul Ellis was the executive director of the committee. He had an academic background and was very good in many, many ways. But that may not have been the best preparation, because so much of the work of the director is political in nature. One needs to be able to recognize the political forces that are at work. Academic theory is fine, but when you get down to the nitty-gritty where votes count and that sort of thing, you've got to have somebody who's able to count them. Eventually things caught up with him, but he did some awfully good work while I was there.

TK: Could you elaborate upon that a little?

WH: I think that Paul took too many positions on too many issues. Every legislator has a few favorite projects and will support those things that are necessary to his political survival. The Legislative Budget Committee was intended to raise questions about many of those kinds of things, and Paul tried to shape the direction of those inquiries. For example, public pensions were something that needed to be looked at. It was really a tough question because the legislators themselves were personally involved in terms of their own pensions. Paul was very critical of the pension system for the teaching profession. He felt that too much money was being put into the sock for those future pensions, and the result was going to be a ballooning of what would eventually be paid out to individuals. So instead of benefiting the taxpayer by reducing the future tax inflow into the pension system, it would be eaten up by an expansion of the outgo. Well, those who were connected to the education establishment wanted things to move in the direction that Paul opposed. There was a real conflict there. I introduced a bill to create a "Pension Review Commission" that would develop a full and accurate picture of the financial costs of the pension system. The picture would include all those little codicils that had been added in various bills each legislative session and would describe their cumulative costs. I think that's what Paul should have been doing: getting out the facts instead of trying to meet various powerful interests head-on. He was a good man and it's kind of a shame that he got into such difficulty.

TK: Did this committee have anything to do with the Budget and Accounting Act of 1957?

WH: The thing that I think really ought to be put on Paul Ellis' headstone is that he was the real author of the Budget and Accounting Act back in 1957. I was on the committee at the time and I took on the chore of getting it through the Senate.

They originated the bill in the House. We got it through and into law and I was pretty well acquainted with what they were trying to do. They'd been working at it for some time. That's been a savior of the state of Washington's fiscal position in many ways, because it automatically puts into effect a hold on items when we're in a deficit situation. It structures it so that they have to have a second trial before they can get a dollar of state money to spend. When you're in tough times in your own family, you start reviewing what you've got on your agenda. That's what it does. It was a wonderful law.

TK: So the Budget and Accounting Act originated in the interim committee?

WH: That's correct.

TK: When he assumed office in 1957, Governor Rosellini and his chief of staff, Warren Bishop, also put great emphasis upon budget reform. How did the interim committee interact with the governor's office on this issue?

WH: As far as I was concerned, while serving as chairman of Appropriations on the Ways and Means Committee, if I had questions that did not seem to be fully answered by Warren Bishop and his staff, and I felt that I needed another view, I would get hold of Paul Ellis and ask him. He had a great deal of experience in various budgetary matters and I had great respect for his viewpoint. If I had a choice on what view to go along with, I'd tend to go with what Warren said. But Paul could raise some damn good questions.

TK: Can you say anything about the political make-up of the interim committees?

WH: The Legislative Budget Committee was composed of equal numbers of the two parties. The Interim Committee on Education I think we worked the same way. The idea was to have inter-party cooperation and go at questions such as funding for education from a bipartisan standpoint, and understand what the real needs were and perhaps formulate a philosophy that they hoped would be followed to some degree.

TK: Were these committees always bicameral? Were they made up of both senators and representatives?

WH: Yes. All of them were.

TK: Did the interim committees have the power only to recommend legislation, or did they actually report it?

WH: That would be up to the committee. They have pretty much of a free hand. The committee that I instigated on water resources was designed to be just a two-year committee. I didn't want it to be a continuing operation. We came in with actual bills that we'd constructed. But in that instance, I very carefully avoided putting the committee imprint on the bills because in the political arena of the Legislature, if I put my name on a bill, it was likely to be somewhat controversial. That's a given because every legislator has crossed somebody in his efforts there. My name on a bill would label that bill in some way and there'd be those who might take it on as an adventure to corner it somehow, to hold it for ransom at the very least, or maybe even to kill it.

TK: Did you ever run into a situation where the work of an interim committee might impinge upon the work of a regular standing committee? Turf battles?

WH: No, not really. Ordinarily the chairman of the regular legislative standing committee would be deeply involved in the process of the interim committee.

TK: One particular body that functioned like an interim committee was the Legislative Council. I'd like to discuss that with you. When it was first created in 1947, it appeared as though it was a kind of executive committee of the Legislature.

WH: That's a fair categorization.

TK: The Legislative Council seemed to get a great deal more press attention than did the other

interim committees. Was that a reflection of the fact that the Legislative Council was not just another interim committee? What was so special about it?

WH: The Legislative Council could get into anything it wanted to. It was a general sort of an operation and it was always chaired by the Speaker of the House. It was pretty heavily politicized in the way it was divided up.

TK: So a senator could never chair the Council?

WH: The Legislative Council was balanced so that's simply the way it came out. There was one more House member than there were senators.

TK: Did the Legislative Council make recommendations as far as the legislative structure or legislative procedures?

WH: They could.

TK: So the Council had no set agenda?

WH: It could do anything.

TK: In the wrong hands, it would seem that such a body could be a real source of mischief. Was that a problem?

WH: I suppose it was, but I was never on the Legislative Council. I was rather repelled by the partisan bickering on the Council. It seemed to me that it was not a good atmosphere.

TK: Was the Council looked upon favorably by the members of the Legislature?

WH: Not by me. I'm sure there were some members who would have liked to have been on it because it was something of a plum. It gave you publicity, and that's the life blood of the political process.

TK: One interesting manifestation of the political nature of the Legislative Council was its 1963 dispute with Governor Rosellini. It seems that the governor became concerned about the investigative activities of the Legislative Council. He apparently believed that Republicans and dissident Democrats would use the Council to embarrass him. So in 1963 he vetoed the appropriation bill for all the interim committees—including not only the Legislative Council, but also the Legislative Budget Committee. Could you tell me what you remember about that situation?

WH: We've mentioned Max Nicolai, and in 1963 he was the legal advisor to the governor and he essentially wrote the veto. Since he was a very close friend of mine, I was kept pretty well informed about it. To me, the whole thing was kind of humorous, because I had long been critical of the Legislative Council. It had become super-political and I just thought they got their just desserts.

TK: Was it true that people on the Legislative Council were out to get the governor?

WH: No, not in the sense of trying to feast off him in some way. What they were after was to create a commotion that they could enjoy some publicity from. Politicians have to get their names in the newspapers, and that was what it was all about.

TK: Were you concerned about the fact that the Budget Committee also got axed by the veto?

WH: I don't know why the governor did that and I can't remember Max ever talking about it. We were concentrated on the Council and I think it was just accidental that somehow the Budget Committee got included in the veto.

TK: Maybe we should talk about the regular legislative standing committees. What criteria were used in making committee assignments?

WH: In my own case it was always a matter of what committees I put on the list that I wanted to serve on. I didn't always get what I would write down, particularly in the House, but it was sort of a priority thing. You'd put down your first choice and your second choice and your third choice and your fourth choice, and leave it up to

the leadership to somehow make a determination on all these requests.

TK: Were most members usually fairly satisfied with the assignment that they ultimately got?

WH: The only one I can think of who complained loudly was August Mardesich when they made him chairman of the Agriculture Committee, which was totally out of this world to do anything like that.

TK: A good place for a fisherman, huh? Once a person would be assigned to a committee, would you usually stay on that committee?

WH: Certainly until the next session. Then, of course, you became more senior. So ordinarily you'd just continue on the committee, unless you asked for a change.

TK: Seniority seems to work differently in Olympia than it does in the United States Congress. There, once you're on a committee, you'd be foolhardy to leave it because you build up seniority on it and that gives you a certain power. But I'm a little less clear about how it works in Olympia. What role did seniority play there?

WH: It doesn't amount to much. For example, when I first went to the Senate in the 1957 session, I asked to serve on the Ways and Means Committee and wound up as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee. Well, that just happened to be an oddball bounce because I had the experience in the field of being a chairman of the Revenue Committee over in the House, and there weren't a lot of other people who were really qualified with a background in tax law. So I wound up on the Appropriations Subcommittee because there was somebody else who wanted the chairmanship of the Revenue Committee, which was also a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee. That was alright with me. I was kind of surprised to get the chairmanship. In fact, I didn't even ask for it.

We had a class of ten Democrats and one Republican that moved into a Senate of forty-six members then. All at once with the change in party control and everything, everything was up for grabs. So the new class of which I was a member got quite a lot of top spots based on their experience over in the House.

TK: Did you mention that the chairmen are generally chosen by the members of the committee?

WH: No. That was in connection with the interim committees.

TK: But in the standing committees, how was the chairman chosen?

WH: By the leadership, the Committee on Committees. So my being chairman of Appropriations meant, in effect, that Senator Greive and Senator Gissberg and the five member Committee on Committees picked me for that spot.

TK: Is there usually a fair amount of competition for that chairmanship?

WH: The chairmanship of Appropriations? Decidedly yes.

TK: How about the other committees?

WH: Well, it depends. The general record of every member is pretty well-known to the other members. The people who have taken, say, leadership in the education field, it winnows down pretty quickly to maybe two or three people in the Senate that might be prospective chairmen, just based on history. So they make a choice.

TK: Could you tell me about your appointment in 1955 as chairman of the Revenue and Taxation Committee? That was your first major chairmanship aside from the Horticulture Committee.

WH: I'd been taking the lead beginning in 1953 within the Revenue Committee for the Democrats. We were in the minority at that time, but I worked well with the Republicans and whatever we

wanted we had pretty fair treatment. I had no complaints.

Then in 1955 when we had a bare majority, there was a big battle between Julia Hansen and John O'Brien for the Speakership, and I was one of the big supporters of Julia. She was a friend and we politically thought very much alike. I was kind of surprised when John O'Brien appointed me to the chairmanship of the Revenue Committee. He treated all of us who were Julia's lieutenants in that fashion. We were leaders in the Democratic Party in particular committees and there wasn't any mistake about it, and he honored that status.

Being chairman of the Revenue Committee isn't all that great an honor. This means that you're in a position where you're taking the lead for your party in matters that are politically difficult. You put in a tax bill and people start associating your name with being—like they did with Rosellini: he became "Taxellini" because he advocated the need for more taxes to meet the bills. Of course being chairman of that committee had some political drawbacks. There aren't many committees like that. Most of them do things that are politically acceptable. The onus of tax legislation isn't like that.

TK: Based on your experience, what would you consider to be the qualities of a good chairman of one of the standing committees? What kind of skills do you need to do well in that job?

WH: Knowledge of the subject of the committee. Of course you might take somebody who was totally green on the subject and if they were half-bright they would soon catch on and start digging into it.

In my own case, it was simply a matter of exposure to the problems and asking questions and listening. There was a faction of people who were in the Legislature who were there as playboys. Maybe people thought that of me in my first session, too. I didn't have much to do so I played a lot of cards. But once they gave me something to do, beginning in 1953, I dug in and I made progress pretty rapidly, I thought. I did what I wanted to do anyway.

TK: Would you also say that political skills, in terms of maneuvering bills through the legislative thickets, is also really important to a chairman?

WH: It's like any job you get into. If you really show that you know the subject and you're willing to work hard and you can make a case for your position, whether you're in a bureaucracy or in private employment, this sort of approach is going to make you go up the scale. As a factory manager, if I saw some employee who had extraordinary talents and they were apparent to me, I was going to somehow try and bring them up the ladder where he'd be even more useful than where he was when he first caught my attention.

TK: What about the ability to forge compromises? One might think of legislation as a lot of give and take, and it seems that there needs to be a certain skill in sensing what is negotiable and what is not. Perhaps your poker playing comes into play here?

WH: Well, that's right.

TK: Maybe being a good poker or pinochle player should be on the effective legislator's job description?

WH: When you're balancing the forces between two factions, it has to be done in a way that each side understands that the other side is giving some, too. You have to take into account the personalities that are involved. Some people are more prideful than others, and some could care less about the glory factor that's involved in a personal struggle. It's kind of fun!

TK: I get the feeling that you really did enjoy it. Can you recall other committee chairmen who you considered really effective? For example, Ole Olsen from Pasco had a very good reputation.

WH: I knew Ole very well. I admired him. He stepped out in order to become the state printer as I remember it. Ole was up in years, but he was just a natural-born good handler of people. That's something you don't learn overnight. I'd say, in my case, my experience as a factory manager was

a great help to me. Particularly when I got into handling the Ways and Means committee which had thirty-nine of the forty-nine senators on it.

TK: Can you think of any other committee chairmen who you thought did a particularly good job?

WH: Andy Hess, who was chairman of the Education Committee, comes to mind. I think he did a marvelous job. That's a field with all kinds of contending interests and it's never easy to get people to work together. I'm referring to the days of Sputnik when all sorts of fresh thinking was being floated about. Andy and the Education Committee worked very hard to put things together in terms of what we should be doing.

TK: Does the absence of a seniority system in the State legislature inhibit the emergence of strong leaders among the committee chairman?

WH: The Rules Committee, of course, was composed of senior members, some of whom did not want to work all that hard. I was on it the last couple of terms I was there. That was the era of secret votes and there was some power attached to being a member of the committee.

Committee chairmen have different styles. Some have a knack for management and organization, and some do not. I remember one chairman in the House, who shall be nameless, who presided over a high-power session on a licensing bill. The committee was evenly divided on the bill and all the lobbyists were there. The chairman, in effect, said, "Well, we're a tied committee and I'm going to be out in the hall for a minute," and said, pointing to a certain lobbyist, "and we'll have a little private discussion." You could practically hear the cash register ringing. And when he came back in, the bill went a particular way and that was it. Things like that did happen, but fortunately, not very often.

TK: Today, quite a few legislators seem to be driven by ideology. Was that also true when you were in Olympia? Was it a problem in those days?

WH: Oh yes, it was. You had your labor faction, your farmer faction. We had a few people who were professional educators who thought they knew all of the answers, and that the rest of us should accept what they said at face value. Of course I didn't agree with that. I had my own ideas.

For a time in 1957 there was a group that was called the "Young Turks" in the House. I mentioned that to you when we were discussing John Goldmark. Although I was a senator, I was something of a father figure for them. Those people were going to set the world on fire, but they also had to maintain some degree of reality. And that was something of a problem for them.

I still keep up with some of the young folks like George Dowd who later became a member of Senator Jackson's staff. George was in his more radical phase in the 1950s. But later he became about as conservative as I am, maybe even more so. Norm Ackley and Bob Schaefer were also in the group.

TK: What did they want to do?

WH: Upset the status quo. They had a more radical approach, but I think we need these people. They had a minority point of view, and I thought it was wonderful that they were making the case for more extreme measures. Legislation is a compromise and there was plenty of radicalism over on the right side, so why not a little on the left side? That was really my feeling about it. A lot of the things they were trying to do I sympathized with.

TK: Can you recall any of the specific things were they trying to do?

WH: A lot of it was about the judiciary and about education. Of course they were all public power advocates. The general tenor of it was that they raised questions about corporate America. They had some pretty strong misgivings about the role of the corporations in American life—the kind of criticism that you might pick up in the academic or university world. I don't think that's wholly justified, but certainly we should be open-minded enough to hear challenges to the conventional views. We shouldn't readily accept what General Motors is telling us is good for America. There

was that sort of flavor to it.

TK: Can you recall anything specific that the group advocated?

WH: One of the things that came to me, and I informally took to the group, had to do with the establishment of what was called Fairhaven College at Western Washington University. David Sprague and Marshall Forrest, both friends of mine, were on the Board of Trustees at Western and they were very much interested in somehow getting some excitement into new programs in higher education. They wanted something that was really scholarly and their idea was to hand responsibility to students to work really hard in some area of study and to go beyond the boundaries that existed in those traditional fields. This was their creature and they wanted a million dollars for it. We got it for them.

TK: There was a whole generation of people coming out of colleges and universities in the 1930s and 1940s who had read people like Adolph Berle and his criticisms of American corporations.

WH: I certainly went through it. Berle, of course, was a product of the 1930s. I'm talking about a bunch of young fellows in 1957 who were in their thirties. They weren't really products of the Depression like I was. For real radicalism, one has to go back and look at the 1930s. These people in the 1950s were ready to accept a lot of the status quo. They just wanted things to move faster.

TK: Would you say that life in the committees is less partisan than life on the House or Senate floor?

WH: On the floor, interpersonal relationships sort of fade. In the committees, interpersonal relationships control. It's a different atmosphere entirely. A lot of this depends on the way the chairman, himself, behaves and how he operates and reaches out to different points of view within the committee.

I think the duty of the committee chairman is to try and sit almost in some ways as the judicial element of the committee, trying to bring about composition of the opposing views within the committee. I think it's very important. Trouble in a committee starts when the chairman starts to impose on some faction of the committee. It's got to be done with some degree of delicacy. The chairman is supposed to both lead and be kind of a father figure that takes into account everybody's right to participate in the process.

TK: Should he consider himself the first among equals?

WH: Yes. There should be that atmosphere about it. Of course, I took a lot of liberties with it myself in terms of determining what bills we were going to bring before the committee. If I thought something was a horror, frankly, I would put it in a pocket and they would never hear of it, a bill that would come in that was outrageous in some way in my estimation.

The nature of the Ways and Means Committee, with its huge membership, was that it was really run by a small clique of the Republicans and Democrats who were the most active.

TK: This is in the Senate?

WH: Yes. Out of the thirty-nine members I'd say that maybe ten of us really did all the work, but we all got along. I thought I had wonderful Republican members and I depended on them for a lot of the guidance. Some of these guys just simply knew more about certain things than I did.

TK: How often would the committee meet during the regular session?

WH: Ways and Means? Every day.

TK: Would that be true of both the House and the Senate?

WH: Revenue, in the House for example, probably met about three times a week, which is a little different category of action.

TK: Did all of the committees have a staff of people to help?

WH: Oh yes.
TK: Could we talk a little bit about staff?

WH: On the Ways and Means Committee I had two clerk-stenos, women. We depended a lot on them. I also had a legal advisor and I had Featherstone Reid as a kind of chief clerk. He went on to be the chief clerk of the Senate Appropriations Committee under Senator Magnuson back in Washington.

TK: What kind of duties would he undertake for the committee?

WH: Anything that came to the committee went through him before it got to me.

TK: Like what?

WH: Some of the things could be handled by others. He would categorize the stuff. He would categorize the appointments of people who wanted to talk to me and set up the schedule of appointments. You had to have somebody who was an office boss to do this sort of thing for you. You couldn't do it yourself. There were occasions when things became pretty difficult, especially towards the end of the session when everything was going into the Appropriations bill, for example.

To give you an idea, I remember one time when I had a Canadian friend, Randy Sandner, who had scheduled an appointment with me about a month or so before he had planned to be in Olympia. But, as it happened, the appointment was set for sometime in the middle of March or so, when things were really getting hectic. Feather knew he was coming and I'd alerted him to get hold of Randy and bring him in whatever the circumstances, whatever I was doing. Randy came in about five o'clock and there was a lineup that stretched from my desk out—there were at least one hundred people standing in that line waiting to see me about budget matters.

TK: Were these lobbyists?

WH: I wouldn't call them lobbyists. Most of them were state departmental people who wanted some smooth-out job in the appropriation. These things get into considerable detail, and with good reason. I was pretty much up on all this stuff, and I was dealing with them at a rate of about one every three minutes. Nobody should be treated like this, but I couldn't help it. It was the process.

TK: So these would be people from the various state agencies?

WH: Yes, we might have had the budget officer from Central Washington University standing in line.

TK: Would they be trying to make adjustment to their agency's appropriation?

WH: Often it would be to add something. That usually got pretty short shrift. They had to have some emergency to get consideration of that.

TK: And so these people were literally lined up at your door?

WH: I was writing the final terms of that damned appropriation bill and it went on for hundreds of pages.

TK: So you would be, if I could use the term, like a monarch holding court?

WH: That's not far off.

TK: And they would come to you and you would make the decision there and then?

WH: I damned well would. Somebody had to.

TK: That's fascinating.

WH: Anyway, my poor Canadian friend, who was a man with some political background, saw all this as he was moved to the head of the line—much to the dislike of some of the other people who were waiting there. By this time it was sometime between five and six o'clock and I had a five o'clock appointment with him. So I told Randy that he would have to sit over there for half an hour to an hour while I did what I could,

and that at a certain time I was going to chop it off and we'd be gone two hours and I'd come back. Randy was shaking his head and said, "If I hadn't seen it, I wouldn't have believed it." But that's the way we did it.

TK: While you were acting upon all those appeals and requests, were there other members of the committee in the room with you?

WH: No.

TK: Just yourself?

WH: Just myself. We didn't have time to horse around with a discussion. We had to decide then and there, and these people knew that's what was going on. It was mistreatment of the public in a way but it was also mistreatment of me. How could I really be observant and considerate and all that?

TK: Would you give them a yes or no answer at that particular point?

WH: I would make my own decision. But I'd tell them thanks for the information and I'd do what I could. That sort of thing.

TK: So they'd leave without knowing whether you had or had not approved their requests?

WH: That's right. The next day the bill would be on the floor and they would have their answer.

TK: Was there anyone on the staff of the committee who would do research for you? Supposing there was a problem with a given department and you were considering the appropriation for that department, would you have people who would get you the necessary information?

WH: I could have had that if I'd wanted. But actually, when I was chairman of Ways and Means I worked very, very closely with Warren Bishop. He was on the governor's staff in charge of the budget for the governor. I trusted Warren. I used him when I had questions that got into the field you're talking about. He had good staff people with him.

One of the troublesome areas was always at the University of Washington. They had good staff people down there and I trusted them. I'd go to them, and President Odegaard at the University of Washington; he was great to work with.

TK: What kind of difficulties are you referring to?

WH: The medical department was a bit of a problem. As part of the teaching aspect of the medical school, they proposed taking over Harborview Hospital. This kind of thing was quite expensive, but the university people were inclined to assume that their various proposals were going to be approved. I didn't feel that we were getting enough information from them as to why they needed these things, and I made quite a bit of trouble for them about the Harborview facility. It was a multi-million dollar appropriation and after about the third time I had deleted it, they got the point that I wanted a complete explanation of what it was all about. That was the kind of problem we had with them. I liked Odegaard's style, but when you asked him for cost data and so forth, he didn't have the information.

TK: Assuming that a legislative committee decides to hold hearings on a given matter, either in Olympia or elsewhere in the state, how would the public be notified so that people could appear and give testimony?

WH: If you have hearings, I think that it is politically necessary to have open hearings. The best way to alert people is to make some kind of a general announcement. Sometimes you'd have to have a hearing in a big hurry about some particular thing that had arisen, and then you would just notify the lobbyists and the local newspaper, maybe.

TK: Was there a place where the public could go to find out about this, or was it just by word of mouth?

WH: It was posted somewhere. There were

always crews of lobbyists around who were anxiously looking for anything like that. The word would get out. You had a duty to see that it was gotten out in a public sort of a way so that there was some possibility that the ordinary citizen might have a chance to know what was happening.

TK: I take it that hearings are an integral part of the work of standing committees?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: How much is really learned by legislators in hearings?

WH: If you have a chairman who believes in open process, they are very, very productive. Sometimes you get some damned interesting arguments. You're really getting down to the heart of legislation if you get into a properly conducted committee that is open in its process and encouraging in the discussion of the argumentative questions that are present in any legislation. There has to be a reason for the legislation that's proposed and it has to meet with approval. The discussion can be extremely productive.

TK: It's sometimes suggested, I suppose by people who might be called cynics, that the main purpose of public hearings is to serve as a safety valve, that is, to make people feel better by enabling them to believe that they are influencing public policy. Whereas, the real decisions are made behind closed doors in "smoke-filled rooms." Based on your experience, how would you respond to that suggestion?

WH: I guess I have the feeling that on many of the most controversial issues the cynical view is the most correct one. But often on less controversial things, it's not true. People really do serve the purpose of providing critical testimony on the information that's being fed to the committees.

TK: In reading newspaper accounts of the various legislative sessions that were held during your period of service, I was struck by the apparent failure of the media to even mention legislative hearings, let alone cover them. I wondered about that.

WH: You should. This is an area where I'm very critical of the media because largely the media simply doesn't understand what is going on within the thinking of the legislators in their discussions. They don't understand what the questions are, they don't understand what the answers are, and hence they don't write about it. They never get themselves heart and soul into it so that they can write sensibly about it. I am extremely critical of them.

TK: Yet there were reporters who had covered the state Legislature sometimes for years and hardly ever was an article written that might shed light on the committee system, which you suggest is the very heart of the legislative process.

WH: Take the Ways and Means Committee. The underlying struggle in the committee was always between points of view about how much financial support should be given to the different areas of government activity.

Education might be a case in point. How did legislators feel about the need to expand and support higher education throughout the state? Or what did legislators think about what might be needed to keep up with the great growth of population during the post-war years in the common schools? These were important and difficult issues that the committees wrestled with constantly. But I didn't see reporters getting into those kinds of things or trying to understand what the heart of the Legislature was pumping out. The real reality of legislative activity becomes apparent if you become deeply involved in it. Reporters should have done that, and they didn't.

TK: It's frustrating for a reader to know that things are going on that are very important, and yet which do not appear in print. I suppose that would be even more so for the legislators themselves?

WH: A lot of these media characters were perfectly willing to get in on the legislative scales

of balance and try and put their thumb on one side or the other. But as far as getting into actually understanding what the message is from the heart of the legislative process, they didn't do it.

TK: Newspaper accounts of legislation seem almost like accounts of a virgin birth! There's the bill, but what happened before it?

WH: There are no immaculate conceptions in the legislative process. These reporters would often stand back or sit in the front row in front of the Speaker or the president of the Senate, and listen to the debate on the floor. Things had long been decided by the time you got to that point, and the general framework of what the Legislature is going to do is pretty well set. It's not that the floor action doesn't have some effect. But the debate on the floor represents what the compromises might have been, and you're not getting back to the essential question that first existed.

It's like reporting on the decisions of the Supreme Court, for example. The decision is, of course, important. But my interest lies in the process that led the Supreme Court to its decision. I'd dearly love to have my tin ear up against the wall listening to what went on within the chambers.

TK: While we're on the subject of the media, could you tell me about your own experiences with various reporters while you were in the Legislature?

WH: My closest friend from the media world was Elmer Vogel who covered the Legislature for the Associated Press. He eventually left AP after the 1957 legislative session to go to Boeing and be an editor of the *Boeing News.* But Elmer and I were compadres. We saw many things alike and he loved to play cards. He got into the group that played pinochle back in my first session in 1949. He was pretty good. He was a far better poker player than I was, but I think I beat him at pinochle most of the time.

When I was in Seattle, I'd go down to the *P-I* building and meet all the guys in the newsroom while they were working, and then we'd go out afterwards and have a bite to eat and maybe a drink. I'd get invited to the newspapermen's poker parties and make my contribution. Boy! Those were a bunch of hard-boiled guys.

I had some background about this because my oldest brother, Harley, had been a Hearst paper man back on the *Rochester Evening Journal* after he got out of Cornell. So I'd met some of those types of people. Although Brother Harley was fourteen years older than I, he would bring some of these people home, and we even kept dogs for some of them so that they could go hunting back there.

TK: Would you say that journalists in that pre-television age had influence over the political process?

WH: Oh yes, definitely.

TK: Who among them? People like Ross Cunningham of the *Seattle Times*?

WH: Yes. Stub Nelson did, too. Leroy Hittle was very careful not to involve his ideas in anything. He was my ideal along with Elmer Vogel of somebody who was there for the facts and stood back from getting his finger in the goo.

TK: Which people do you feel did the better job, such as it was, of reporting what was going on in the Legislature?

WH: AP did. I don't think Stub Nelson did. He was a nice guy personally, but he got his prejudices into it. With Ross Cunningham, you always got the feeling that he had a big stick behind his back and when he was quizzing you he was looking for things he could use that big stick on when he wrote it up. Leroy Hittle, who wrote for the Associated Press, was the fairest of them all.

TK: Did not your old friend, Ashley Holden, also cover the Olympia scene?

WH: Ashley Holden could upset almost anybody because he would border on libel in many of the things he said. I know Nat Washington seriously considered suing the *Spokesman-Review* and

Ashley for libel for some of the nastiness that was perpetrated on him. Of course I was one of his targets because I was pro public power.

TK: Well, getting back to legislative committees, would it be correct to sum up the work of most committee staff as consisting of the scheduling appointments or stenographic or legal drafting work?

WH: That would be the ordinary way with most committees.

I had Max Nicolai officing in my quarters. He was a good friend and if I wanted any bills drafted, I'd ask Max to do it. He was within fifty feet of me all the time.

TK: Did you ever use interns in those days?

WH: Yes. In 1961 I asked my nephew, Bob, who was a political science student at the University of Washington to come down and spend the session, and he did. I don't know whether he learned enough in doing it, but he got pretty heavily involved in what was going on. I'd take him to some of the meetings, some of the private meetings, too. He stayed with political science and got a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

TK: Nowadays a lot of university students go to Olympia to serve as interns to work for committees as well for individual members. Most of it seems to be answering mail.

WH: That's right.

TK: Did the regular legislative committees continue to function at all between sessions?

WH: No. Not really. If they did, it might have been on an informal basis with the chairman calling up members of the committee or something like that.

TK: Would it take the committee very long to get up to operating speed then when the session began? It seemed like there was usually a relatively quiet period in every session at the beginning.

WH: When the bills are getting put in?

TK: Yes. Was that a time for the committees to get organized?

WH: Yes, and for the interpersonal relationships to be adjusted, sometimes with friction, mostly without. I really think this is a function that is determined by the chairman of each committee, how he approaches it. There's a lot of free hand in it.

TK: Did most of the standing committees make use of subcommittees?

WH: It would depend on the committee. I would say that a committee chairman would have the right to assign a particular topic to some of the members of the committee at any time. It would be just a matter of course. You'd take somebody that you thought was qualified to handle the question and say, "Will you take care of this for me? So and so and so can sit in with you."

TK: Did you do that very often?

WH: I'd say that the answer is: not very often. The situation would usually take care of itself. People in the Legislature are very busy and they go to the meetings that they're most interested in and bypass the rest of them. So when the committee considers an issue, you're going to have people there who are really up on that subject and the others don't come. So it works itself out.

In the case of the Ways and Means Committee, as an example, two-thirds of the time we operated with five members out of a committee of thirty-nine senators. The five would include two Republicans and three Democrats. We were the regulars who were really into the figures—either taxes or expenditures. Other people had other things to do. When we had to have a vote on a measure, notices would be posted and members were expected to come. And if they didn't come, I just took the bill and circulated it to them. I was actually empowered by that because I could choose who to approach and could leave the opposition out of it, if I wanted to.

TK: I found it interesting that in 1955 the Senate combined two formerly separate committees, the Appropriations Committee and the Revenue Committee into the Senate Ways and Means Committee. That was the situation when you arrived in the Senate in 1957. Can you recall the thinking that went into that move?

WH: I wasn't in the Senate in 1955. I don't really recall how they did it.

TK: Did you think it was a good idea?

WH: It's a political method of dealing with the necessary compromises between those two subjects, because you can't appropriate if you haven't got the dough and vice versa. What they are willing to do on the revenue side determines what happens on the spending side. The two subjects are obviously totally interrelated, so there's a reasoning behind it. In terms of the mechanics of it, it's fine as long as the two heads of the subcommittees are compatible and work together.

TK: What was your experience in that regard? And what degree of autonomy did the subcommittees have under your chairmanship?

WH: Well, as far as the House is concerned, my experience was that of being chairman of the Revenue Committee in 1955. We had nothing to do with the Appropriations Committee. That was the regimen I served under and it seemed to work all right—or at least as far as my committee was concerned. The main wars at that time were in the Appropriations Committee.

But in the Senate, when I began my service there in 1957, Senator Bargreen had become chairman of the overall Ways and Means Committee, which dealt with both revenues and expenditures. This was a case of having both camels under the same tent. Bargreen did everything and was active on both the revenue and appropriations fronts. But he was a secretive gentleman who didn't cut anyone else into the pie. And I don't think it worked very well.

When I became chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, I took the other tack and made it known that anyone who wanted to participate was going to get cut in. But the matter of being involved in every area simply does not work. You have to specialize. And so we had the core group of five people who were interested in both sides of the ledger. Senator Foley was chairman of the Appropriations Committee and Martin Durkan was chairman of the Revenue Committee. At that time, Durkan rarely showed up and so the five members did his work, too.

When it came to a tax question, I felt that I would have to assume overall responsibility and I certainly kept a hand in it. But it wasn't done in Bargreen's style. The five regulars were all involved and we tried to work things out by consensus. And when we finally got down to the partisan wrangling that went on toward the end of the session, we'd all be invited to the Republican caucus to explain our position. I'd put it to them rather coldly, saying in effect, "If you want to go home within the next two weeks, I need some votes from your side because I can't control all my own people. Right now I need four votes." They'd say, "Well, we'll talk about it." And, as I found out later from a Republican friend, they would go around the caucus table and name the people who they expected to vote for it. And we would go home.

You have to allow time for members of the Legislature to make a clatter about their point of view. But Ways and Means issues had to be decided, one way or another, before anyone could go home. Other issues could be sidetracked.

TK: When you think about the power of the purse, what do you consider first, the revenue or the expenditures? Which is the horse and which is the cart here?

WH: I think revenue is the cart. It's the willingness of the Appropriations Committee to appropriate, and the reasonableness they have on that topic sets the framework for what Revenue has to do. So I'd say that the first card has to be played by the Appropriations Committee. But then the Revenue Committee may play a trump and say, "We ain't gonna pass no taxes." Then it's back to the Appropriations people to try and carve

something out of what they did to begin with. That's a general statement of the practicalities of the problem.

TK: Is that where the leaders have to prove their mettle?

WH: Yes, that's right. That's why you have an overall chairman. Of course, as overall chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, you've got to take the lead and choose which way you're going to give priority to. The sensible thing is that you have a pretty clear idea of what the need for additional revenue is going to be.

The horror of the 1959 session was that we had to carry over a deficit of forty million and an impending deficit of another hundred million, and we had to do something about it. We could see that coming. In the interim period I sat on a special committee, the Tax Advisory Committee, appointed by Governor Rosellini, that included people like Harold Shefelman, who was the leading lawyer in downtown Seattle, and Mr. Eastman, the vice president of the Northern Pacific Railway, Ed Weston of the AFL-CIO, and Elmer Todd from the *Seattle Times*. He was their business manager. We were building a public information base for what we obviously had to do in raising taxes. We argued, of course, about an income tax even though we knew that it was not politically feasible. It took a constitutional amendment to initiate an income tax, so we recommended an increase in sales tax. I was on that committee because I was going to be the next chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

TK: What was your responsibility with respect to the Tax Advisory Committee's recommendations?

WH: It was my duty to take the proposals to the Legislature and try get them through so we could fund the necessary increases in the cost of running state government. It was a tough job.

TK: You mentioned Howard Shefelman. He chaired an advisory committee in the 1950s, made up of a broad array of citizens, and was charged with studying the government of the state and making recommendations about the structure of government agencies. It was sometimes referred to as the "Little Hoover Commission." Do you recall that?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: How well did that work?

WH: It didn't.

TK: What happened?

WH: The problem, as I recall it, was that these kind of broad recommendations can conflict with various legislative personalities and can upset too many political elements existing in the Legislature. People in the Legislature have their own territories, their privately owned arenas. You can try to change all that, but usually you can't get away with it. You've got to have the votes. That's the first consideration.

TK: Can you recall any such "blue ribbon" panel that actually produced results?

WH: Well, one panel that I served on was the Constitutional Review Committee and I thought it was well worthwhile. It was chaired by Dr. Clement French of WSU and we were all appointed by Governor Dan Evans. The idea of the group was to examine the state constitution to see whether there were any areas where we could make proposals for change. It was a ten-man group, with a preponderance of lawyers, including James Dolliver, who at that time was a chief assistant to Dan Evans.

A good deal of the attention of the group was focused upon the judicial article and we spent quite a bit of time going through it. When we got down to the bite, at the end of the examination, there was a proposal to change the means of selecting judges from the popular election system to what was then called the Missouri or Alaska system. Under that approach, a judge would be appointed for a ten-year period and then, if he wanted to continue, would face a "Russian" election where the people of the state could vote *da* or *nyet*.

Nine of the members supported the proposal, and I was the lone dissident who voted against it. The proposal was subsequently put on a statewide ballot and was defeated—so my position won. In fact, I wrote the opposition statement that appeared in the Voters Pamphlet.

TK: Why did you take that position?

WH: Oh, I just didn't believe in that sort of thing. I don't think that judges are superhuman and I believe they should be out there rooting for truffles like the rest of us.

TK: Well, one criticism you frequently hear about the popular election of judges is that the system of judicial ethics prevents the candidates from saying anything meaningful about controversial issues or about the other candidates. So, for the ordinary voter, it's like buying a pig in a poke.

WH: I don't know, but I think that what you're saying was true twenty years ago, much more so than now. But today, judicial elections have become a lot more contested. I remember many years ago that there was a Supreme Court judge who had borrowed money from the slot machine people. This fact came out in the course of his reelection campaign and he was subsequently defeated. If you had the system that the majority of the committee was proposing, that might not have happened.

TK: Would you say that committee hearings are popular occasions for interest groups to express their points of view?

WH: Oh, do they ever!

TK: How would you compare the effectiveness of that type of interest group activity with direct lobbying—personal interaction between lobbyist and legislator?

WH: Lobbying is very, very effective when you have a situation where the legislators lack information. The lobbyists serve a great purpose that's not appreciated as well as it should be in supplying that information. That isn't bad. I'm not denigrating it in any way. They need to be there. You've got to have an understanding of what the heart of the problem is, and these people often can tell you. If you go into it blind, you're going to make mistakes.

On the other hand, the open hearing process often becomes show business. Like floor action in the Senate or the House unfortunately often times becomes just more show business.

TK: Would you say that spokesmen for these groups often appear at hearings and give testimony in order to satisfy their own membership—to demonstrate that they're at work for the folks back home?

WH: Yes. That's right. Somebody is making a little political hay and serving a constituent group or support group of some kind.

TK: In interpersonal lobbying, what techniques are most effective do you think? If you were a lobbyist and had responsibility for presenting the position of your group, how might you go about it most effectively?

WH: I would try to get into a one-on-one situation where we could have a free flow discussion of the concerns of those affected by the measure we were discussing.

You might take a case of tax legislation involving the forestry problems. Currently, whenever anybody cuts a tree in the state, what amounts to a five percent royalty is paid to the state in lieu of property tax. The forestry people were lobbying to substitute a royalty—or if you want to call it a five percent business tax—for the old property tax on the standing timber. I thought they had a real case for it. I'd been near enough to the timber industry myself that I had some awareness of the difficulty of these people in paying huge taxes on high value stumpage after the timber had been harvested. When you've got bare ground, how do you get back to normal on your taxes? Of course, for Weyerhaeuser and companies like that, where they have an annual cut that they can average out over the years, it isn't so bad. But for the average small-time tree farmer, who cuts every thirty years or so, the tax

problem is pretty damned real for them.

Explaining that to a legislator would take some knowledge, and maybe even you'd have to take them out and show them and get them talking with some of the people who were affected by it. That happens to be an example in which I have enough personal knowledge.

TK: It's often said about lobbyists, in terms of effectiveness, that they're known by their good name and by their integrity.

WH: That's right. If anybody ever lied to me, his or her name was mud.

TK: You knew, of course, that you were getting information from a person who was representing a particular point of view?

WH: Why, sure. And you knew it was biased. So you went out to find out what the other side was.

TK: How might you react when you had concluded that some lobbyist was starting to give you a lot of baloney?

WH: That happened a number of times in connection with the business and occupation tax, for example. That tax was a real, nasty broadax tool, and a lot of genuinely correct criticism has arisen because it is in many ways an unfair tax.

Let's take, for example, Boeing. Because of the intricacies of the property tax, they started leasing a lot of things. Really, it was a tax dodge. It came to my notice, so we slipped in a little measure that put a tax on leaseholds. I felt that I had been misrepresented to by the Boeing people who were engaged in this little maneuver to get their company around a properly and justifiably due tax that everybody else paid. I felt that they were making an end run around the tax structure. Because I had advocated bringing them back into the fold, along with the rest of the taxpayers, they had my name on the shit list.

On the other hand, I thought they had a genuinely proper complaint about the way the sales tax applied to their airplanes when they were sold. Because of the Washington State sales tax, they were flying them down to Portland and then theoretically selling them down there. That was a bunch of stuff, so we adjusted the law so that they didn't have to do that. I thought I was being fair with them but I wanted to treat them just like everybody else. I didn't want any of that sort of monkey business where they dodged around the revenue gathering structure. This is just an example, and I don't mean to pillory Boeing particularly, but frankly they were one of the less cooperative groups. I didn't trust them. Weyerhaeuser, I did trust.

TK: Did it bother you that interest group representatives would frequently participate in the actual writing of bills in the Legislature?

WH: It didn't bother me.

TK: How would that work?

WH: If they were participating in it, the people who opposed or had an another interest in it all had a right to come in there and state their case. They were invited and they were sought out.

TK: You're speaking in terms of actually writing the bill?

WH: Why, sure. They would see the product; they would know what was going on, they would know that we had these interest groups sitting behind us advising us. I don't see anything worse about that than the League of Women Voters getting involved in redistricting. They have a right to do it.

TK: I'm wondering how the mechanics of that would work.

WH: If they wanted to propose a draft language for me, I'd look at it. Some people would interpret that as their writing it. Certainly they wrote a proposal, but that didn't mean I was going to put it in the bill just the way they presented it. I would take it to the legal eagles in the revenue department of the state and say, "How does this work out?"

TK: Would the other members of the committee

see these interest group proposals?

WH: I'd certainly bring some of the Republicans in my committee into it. Frankly, in the Ways and Means Committee, we had a core group of five to ten people, depending on the subject, who would look at something like that. In the case of a tax proposal involving, say, Boeing, it would be shown to John Ryder and Marshall Neill, who were the Republicans that really were active in the core group. They probably went right back to Boeing and said, "Here's the thing we're looking at and you people are doing thus and so. There's an urge on the part of the committee to tax you on what you're doing because they don't think it's fair." So Boeing would understand that the war was on if they wanted to fight about it.

TK: Would people be invited to write a proposed piece of legislation, or would they come forward on their own?

WH: It worked both ways.

TK: How do interest groups get themselves involved in the drafting of legislation?

WH: I think it's entirely up to the committee chairman to allow whatever he wants to allow. As far as I was concerned, if somebody wanted to bring in a proposed draft for me to look over, fine and dandy. Sometimes, I imagine, I'd asked them to prepare something so that I could look it over. Again, it wasn't anything that I would view as set in stone, or that I was going to bring before the committee as it was. And in the committee process, when these things come in, you debate them. I would be very careful to make sure that any opposition group, and the public generally, was aware that these things were before us and that they didn't necessarily have any stamp of approval in any way. They were going to be labeled with the people who proposed them.

TK: Looking back in retrospect, do you feel that the system gave undue advantage to those interests that were well-heeled enough to afford lobbyists with the knowledge and skills necessary to do the kinds of things you are describing here?

WH: I think there is a lot of truth in the idea that the people with money are represented very well, and that the people without money go without. But if an issue is important enough, and people are organized, and come in with amateur lobbyists to make a presentation, they probably get a better reception than the professionals do. The people who are hired by the big companies are there all the time and ordinarily their views are well weighed in terms of the politics of the situation by the legislators. But when you've got the boy from the service station down the street where you live, and he comes over with some of his pals, believe me, it's a different kind of context. Then all the scales are reversed and the political weight of the real folks from back home counterbalances the other situation very well.

But not many issues have the economics that will support that kind of presence in Olympia. So it works, but rather poorly. I've sometimes thought that there should be some kind of publicly funded advocacy organization that could bring those small issues before the legislative committees and enable people to make their points.

TK: A common public perception of lobbying is that it largely consists of various kinds of wining and dining. Is that aspect of lobbying important, or is it just fun?

WH: Yes, I think it's important.

TK: Could you elaborate upon that?

WH: It reminds me of a book I read by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, who was quite double-bleached clean in his views on this subject. He drew the line back in 1952, or whenever it was that he wrote the book, that he would allow a lobbyist to buy his lunch if it was less than two dollars and fifty cents. Then the lobbyist would have the opportunity to present whatever he wanted to present and he'd listen to it. But that was as far as he would go.

I'm not that picky clean myself. If somebody wanted to buy my dinner and explore their problems with me, I was perfectly willing to listen. I might even bring along, as I did one time, the governor and a half a dozen other people who I

thought were interested in what they had to say. That happened to be Gummy Johnson and it was Weyerhaeuser picking up the tab. We had quite a discussion and it was interesting. I don't see anything wrong with it. Weyerhaeuser probably paid a couple hundred dollars for that session and it was well worth it to them. On the other hand, we learned something. It didn't buy anybody's votes. It was a knowledge session. I defend it.

In between these extremes of Paul Douglas's position and the one that I just recited, all sorts of levels happen. I've even been known to take lobbyists out and pay for the dinner myself. I think this sort of theory might be a little novel, but I think you should flavor up the soup a little, too. So, that's the way the system works.

Sometimes I'd have people come from home and take me out to dinner, and it would be just local problems that they wanted to talk about. I appreciated all of this input. But I didn't think I should have to take my dinner hour all the time for pursuit of legislative matters. I often wanted a little freedom from the pressure.

The way the Legislature tried to develop an answer to that was through its own lunch rooms where the press was allowed in, but it was supposed to be nonpolitical and nonpartisan and non-everything. Lobbying was not to take place there. In those days the lobbyists were tapped to supply the lunchroom. But it was done as a mass thing and proponents of both sides contributed. I suppose you could consider it a sort of a welfare program for legislators.

I can think of at least one time, when the "wining and dining" type of lobbying activity had some unexpected results. A senator who sat next to me in the Rules Committee was Ernest Lennart of Whatcom County. Over the years he had prepared a number of excellent, well-prepared speeches about various historical characters, such as Benjamin Franklin and Abe Lincoln. He was in demand on the speakers' circuit, especially for Republican functions, such as Lincoln Day banquets.

Well, he was invited to address one of those affairs down in Vancouver, Washington. And as he and his wife were driving along I-5 while it was pouring rain, they had a flat tire. Ernie was then in his seventies, and sometimes walked with a cane, and was in no position to change a tire. So there they were, pulled off the road, with Ernie standing forlornly next to the car. Then along came a truck with three loggers in it and, seeing the car in trouble, they offered to help. So Ernie opened the trunk and they changed the tire for him. But he'd noticed that there was a box in the trunk that he didn't recognize and, when he opened it, found that it was a case of Chivas Regal scotch whiskey.

Now, Ernie was an absolute teetotaler and he did not drink anything but water and milk. He knew that he didn't want it, so, feeling grateful to the good Samaritans, asked them if they would like to have it. Needless to say, they were quite enthusiastic about the idea! So they loaded up their whiskey and went their happy way. But the whole thing was a puzzle to Ernie.

About a week later, he happened to be on the floor of the Senate when Victor Meyer walked into the chamber and went up to Ernie and said, "Senator, did you happen to find anything in your car recently?" Ernie looked at him and said that all of a sudden the light went on. The story was that Senator Lennart had a fancy Cadillac that he parked in the Senate garage. And Victor Meyers also had a fancy Cadillac that he also parked in the Senate garage. A lobbyist, seeking to get on the good side of Victor, had got the two cars mixed up and placed the whiskey in Senator Lennart's car by mistake. And the result was that a few good-hearted loggers got the benefit of that lobbyist's largesse!

TK: That strikes me as a wonderful case of good deeds being justly rewarded.

Would it be customary for you to be quite heavily lobbied by cities and counties?

WH: Oh yes. Unfortunately, they tended to overdo it. They were aware, in my case, that I'd been on the Oroville City Council and had been active in some of the programs put on by the Association of Washington Cities, which for all practical purposes was based at the University of Washington. They were nice guys but they overplayed their hand to the point that they expected me to agree with them on everything. I got a bit rebellious about that and there were some

unfortunate consequences in that I became critical of some of their lobbyists. I made some remarks about their activities that I regretted. But I felt that I had been hounded inappropriately.

TK: Was it just a hard sell?

WH: Yes. It's like a life insurance salesman who calls you up seven times a day. I did rebel against what I thought was an overdose. They were good people. I sincerely regret possibly having hurt these people some with their constituency. But, by golly, they brought it on themselves.

TK: Could it be that their energetic lobbying was a function of the fact so much of the activity of local and county governments has to be authorized by the Legislature?

WH: Oh, sure. We write the ticket for them.

TK: What about ordinary citizens—people or organizations who rent a bus and travel to Olympia for a day of lobbying? How effective is that?

WH: I think it's quite effective. Of course, it depends entirely on the issue.

I was thinking of one instance that involved Senator Wilson, who succeeded me as senator from this area. Bruce had quite a sense of humor and not everybody in the world does. One of his close friends down at Omak, an Omak businessman, would counsel with Bruce on political matters when he was at home. That was fine and dandy, but he got into the habit of dropping a daily card in the mail to Bruce, advising him how to vote on different measures that he didn't know anything about. He'd not heard the testimony and it was very doubtful that he'd read very much of the actual legislation. Bruce, with his ungovernable sense of humor, finally wrote back and said, "Dear Henry: Some damn fool is writing a lot of cards to me and signing your name to them. Do you know anything about this?" Unfortunately, the guy didn't really have the sense of humor to appreciate it and it hurt the relationship.

TK: In your days in the Legislature, would you often be bombarded with telephone calls from citizens out there?

WH: Oh yes, it happens. This business of the hot line is a pain in the gut to me.

TK: What I was referring to was grass roots communications that would really be inspired by interest groups.

WH: People can have a genuine interest in legislative matters. But on the other hand, they can be a long way away, and what they know is probably taken from the press reports, which are suspect in my book. When they call you up, they're probably four days behind the schedule of where the bill is. They present a point of view that could be miles away from what is really the center of the problem at the time. It serves as an outlet for the citizenry to think they're doing something, but its effectiveness is highly questionable.

Another little story. We always were subjected, particularly at the appropriations level, to pressure from the education forces, the PTA and the teachers' groups and so on. This had to do with the common school budget. We had a Superintendent of Public Instruction, Louis Bruno, originally from Pullman where he had been superintendent of schools, and a nice guy.

One of these campaigns got going, I think in the 1959 session, and in came, literally, these thousands of cards saying please support the superintendent's budget. The problem was that these communications had all been inspired by the groups, and a lot of the local people didn't know enough about what they were doing. I had a whole bunch of them that said: "Please support Superintendent Bluenose's budget." It shows how much they knew what they were talking about. I don't think I ever told Louis Bruno that story, but I think it was funny as hell.

TK: That's wonderful. Did you get a lot of mail? I'm speaking now of citizens, just the average, ordinary citizen.

WH: Yes. We had to have a sorting committee

that went through it. Stuff that was really personalized or carried some weight would be piled up on my desk. There might be maybe one hundred or two hundred of them, and it would take me an hour to go through these things the first thing in the morning.

TK: Did they have any effect?

WH: Not much. I didn't weigh my mail pro and con. That's hardly the democratic process in my book. We're supposed to be able to reason these things out.

One thing I always resented was the political gambit of attacking a legislator because of his voting or not voting on measures on the floor. That's a bunch of crap. I was chairman of a major committee and my time would be spent working in the committee. I'd try to come out for the floor votes but I'd be in a hurry to get there and to get back to the committee. Because I might not know what was happening on the floor, sometimes I'd ask Bob Bailey, "How should I vote on this thing?" My vote wasn't reasoned or anything, simply because I was too busy, and I was trying to keep up with that workload in the committee. I got criticized for not being on the floor for the floor votes. I did have a pretty poor voting record. But I'd look at the calendar and, for anything that was important, I would get out there. Most of the votes would be cut-and-dried and they would be going through with votes of forty-seven to nothing, bill after bill. So why in the heck should I bother to break up what I was doing and come out there? The problem was to explain that to the people at home. They read in the paper that I missed seventy-seven roll calls or something.

TK: That's a common practice, I think.

WH: Well, it's a false one.

TK: Among the interests represented before the Legislature, the administration—the executive branch itself—tends to be very important. People from the various executive agencies do a lot of lobbying, I presume?

WH: Oh yes. Some of them obnoxiously so. The proper role of an executive department is to come in when the committee chairman asks them, and to then supply their expertise on the problem. Of course, I worked it a little differently with Warren Bishop, simply because I knew the man and trusted him. The man's word was good and his analysis of problems was always fair.

TK: How did your relationship with Warren Bishop differ from that of other agency heads?

WH: When he told me something, I knew that it was accurate, to the best of his knowledge.

But some of the other agencies weren't completely open in what they would tell you. They would often try to lead you down alleys where it was not important to go, while you would want to pursue the main course of where the money went and what it was doing. We often met with a lot of circumlocution.

I had a problem with the judiciary. The way they lobbied was that they would simply lay out for you what they thought that they needed, and you were supposed to rubber-stamp it. When I started asking questions, it was like I had entered the queen's bedroom. I was pretty unpopular. But I resented the way the judiciary would take it upon itself to lobby the legislators. They thought they had full license to go out onto the floor of the House and Senate, interrupt what a legislator was doing, and nobody should question it. But if I were to go into their courtroom and make some noise about their proceedings, I'd have been thrown into jail.

I didn't think that they consented to the equality of the three branches of the government. They thought of themselves as "God-on-high."

TK: What was it that they usually wanted from the Legislature?

WH: Salaries were an important issue to them. And I was sympathetic with their claim that judicial salaries may have fallen behind other people in the legal field. But salaries were also of concern for lots of other people. For example, during my twenty years in the legislature, I was getting all of one hundred dollars a month, doing the deciding, and people working under me were

sometimes getting one hundred dollars an hour. But when I would try to combine into a single bill pay raises for both legislators and judges, they made it very clear that they did not want to be associated with us "political bums." That was the tone of it and I resented it.

TK: Did you find that lower-level personnel in the various agencies could be a source of information as to what was going on?

WH: There's an underground, and if you get on its frequency and are able to intercept the messages going on within it, if you are able to find the key people who are willing to cut you in within the department, you can find some very interesting questions to ask.

I know that while I was at Ecology, as director, there was a kind of underground that existed beneath me. One such situation that I missed entirely, and was only discovered by my successor, involved a group of middle managers who met in semi-secret sessions to consider some major issues involving applications by developers and so on. These were matters that were going to come before the department and were given a trial run before they were actually filed. It was almost as if a review board had been created without the knowledge of the head of the department. The group even included some federal agency people, meeting at lunch, and taking preliminary positions in regard to things that were pretty darned important. That sort of thing should not happen, but it can from time to time.

It's awfully difficult to keep an eye on what everybody is doing and it is possible that individuals with their own axe to grind can do some lobbying. One situation that came up while I was director of Ecology involved the acquisition by the state of Washington of a one-square-mile piece of territory on the Hanford Reservation for the deposit of state radioactive waste. This was something that had been approved by the Legislature. But state officials seemed to be having a very difficult time coming to agreement with the federal people back in Washington. They failed to get an agreement in 1975 and again in early 1977, just about the time I was coming on board, but was preoccupied with other things like a major drought in the state. It looked as though it was going to fall through again in 1979 when, while I was on vacation in the Caribbean, Dixy Lee Ray phoned and asked me to fly up to Washington and give some help to state officials who were back there to complete a radioactive waste agreement with the Feds. I did so. And I discovered that at the bottom of it was one person in my own department who was back there at state expense running his own trapline in opposition to the state's position. I don't want to name names, but I'm not kidding you. It shouldn't happen, but it does.

TK: For some years, during which you were in the Legislature, Pearl Wanamaker was the head of the education department, and was regarded as a very powerful spokesperson for public education. What do you remember about her?

WH: I liked her. She was a very strong personality. And of course, that was also one of Julia Hansen's problems. Julia and Pearl were very close friends, and in her race against John O'Brien for the Speakership, her relationship with Pearl had a great deal to do with her failure to make it. The feeling was that Pearl would have too much influence on her. It was a case of two people who just saw things very much in the same framework. Julia had been an educator before she became a roads expert and people just gave her the Pearl label and that had a few consequences.

Pearl was in the Legislature in the 1920s. She was part of that famous group of four Democrats in the 1927 session when they served as the balance wheel between pro- and anti-Governor Hartley forces. She made her way through the political thickets of the world by strength of opinion and character. She was an imposing person, and I wouldn't have wanted to get into a war with her. She was known for being a bit of a Sherman tank when she went through the Legislature. On the other hand, Julia was a lot smoother.

TK: As the head of the education department, did she appeal to the public over the head of the Legislature?

WH: Oh yes. Implied was the threat that she would bring the school forces down on you if you didn't go with her.

TK: Did she get most of what she wanted?

WH: Absolutely. She also got back-biting and lack of full cooperation. I don't think she was always right, but she certainly had the improvement of education at heart. She was a dedicated person, and rightfully deserves a lot of credit.

TK: Were there other heads of departments that were also, in your memory, particularly effective in presenting their programs?

WH: Dr. Odegaard, from the University of Washington was very effective. He had a scholarly touch that really got to me as well as other members of the committee. Dr. Heyns, the Director of the Institutions Department under Governor Rosellini was another extremely effective witness. He had the knack of making his points in such a way that he could convince people. I thought John Biggs in the Game Department was pretty effective in that. I told you a little bit about him.

TK: In attempting to understand why a given public policy assumes the character that it does, it is common to refer to an "iron triangle," made up of the interest groups that are concerned with the policy, the committee that would have jurisdiction in the area, and the agency that administers the policy. The idea is that the interaction among those three elements governs the policy process. Would you say that would be true in Olympia?

WH: The pattern exists. I think it's there. But I think it's more a flexible type of plastic, rather than iron. The weakest element in it is probably the legislative bastion.

TK: Do you mean the committee?

WH: Yes.

TK: Why would that be so?

WH: That's simply because the Legislature is always changing. There are new people and new ideas being introduced there. And the Legislature is the place where changes in public opinion have an effect upon the committees and the various personalities there. So if some new idea or interest comes along, the place to advance it would be in the Legislature.

TK: So would that mean that the changing make-up of the committees makes them more open to the winds of change?

WH: Why, sure. The center of gravity within the committee can always change.

TK: What would happen if the Legislature adopted a seniority system in determining committee membership and chairmanship?

WH: It would be a lot harder to change things if we had the same system as the Congress. I think that's a relic. It ought to be done away with.

TK: Well, Web, I'll have to change my way of thinking: it's plastic, not iron triangles that are at the root of the mischief. That's pretty good!

Moving into the actual drafting of legislation, could you tell me something about the process of actually putting a bill together? How is that done in Olympia?

WH: A system existed whereby all the proposed bills would be sent to the bill drafting section, downstairs in the Capitol. That section really had control over the introduction of bills. That's quite proper because it just has to be done that way to bring order into the process.

If I had a bill of importance, I would take it to Bill White, who was the head of the bill drafting committee, and tell him, "Here's the problems with this bill, the one I'm proposing, and who would be the best one to work on this?"

I remember that at one stage Glen Harmon, who became the lead attorney for the defense in the Goldmark trial, had also been an expert on tax matters and had worked in the bill drafting section in Olympia. I remember being sent to him

to have my drafting done. But I had completely forgotten about him when I was called upon for my pre-trial deposition. Here's this guy deposing me, and finally, at the end of it, he reminded me: don't you remember? Oh, for God's sake, the light dawns. I felt deeply embarrassed. Here was this guy all at once conducting the legal defense for a bunch of creeps, and I am sure I made my feeling about those people known in the deposition.

TK: Once the bill is put together, does the committee vote on that bill before sending it to the floor?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Do you go through it section by section? How would the committee handle it?

WH: It depended on the bill. Some bills were quite short and you would simply say, "Well, I suppose you've all read this bill, are you ready to vote on it?" If there wasn't any dissent, at that point you'd put it up for a vote. That would be a simple bill. If you had a ninety-page bill that's very detailed, you would go through the damned thing section by section. You'd flip a lot of sections and simply ask them, "Any questions about this?" and go on right through it. When you got done you'd probably harvest a crop of half a dozen amendments that were proposed and then you'd put the bill back. The next session of the committee, you'd bring it up again and say, "Well, we acted on all these amendments. Are you ready for the vote?" Sometimes somebody would pipe up and say, "No, I want some more time. I've got this additional amendment." Anything can happen. Sometimes you might have somebody lying in the weeds who would have a whole bunch of amendments that he knew the committee wouldn't accept, but he was going to go out there on the floor and give you a bad time. You could get into a trap. Your capability of reading people's minds gets a good test in this process.

TK: Assuming a bill does meet the approval of the committee, when you sent it to the floor would you attach any kind of a summary of what was in the bill, some sort of digest?

WH: The legislative staff does that. Usually, the Republican lawyer and the Democratic lawyer work together on the generality of bills. Of course there's the screening process of the Rules Committee, which used to be pretty damned vicious.

TK: Would you tell me about that?

WH: There's the old Rules Committee when it was a secret committee, and the new Rules Committee where everything is open and it's just a rehash.

TK: When were those changes made?

WH: It was still there when I was on the Rules Committee in the 1967 session, my last session. It was secret enough then.

TK: What did the committee do?

WH: It proposed the calendar for floor action. For a bill to appear on the calendar it had to have a vote of a majority of the people on it. Bob Bailey, as the Democratic caucus chairman, and John Cherberg, the lieutenant governor, worked together to propose a list. That didn't necessarily follow that they'd have a list of things that they thought needed action. Usually there was a wait until everybody had his or her pick of one bill. They'd simply go around and they'd say, "Senator Hallauer," and you'd have a list of all the bills that were in the Senate with committee action completed, and you could pick a bill and suggest it for Rules Committee approval. It would be voted on then and there.

The lieutenant governor officially presided, but the real power lay with Bob Bailey as the caucus chairman. Although Lieutenant Governor Cherberg liked to think that he was really running the committee, the committee could run itself, and the committee was going to do what Bob Bailey said.

TK: Could you tell me how he managed to exercise that power?

WH: All the time I served in the Senate the Democrats were in the majority. The bills of any consequence, in fact all of the bills that were going to be on the calendar, were before us in caucus session. Lieutenant Governor Cherberg was not there. The caucus chairman being Bob Bailey, he was the one who went through the routine of the bills and getting caucus agreement or disagreement on them. He was well prepared and we were prepared to accept his leadership in these matters. But for the purposes of formality, the lieutenant governor did preside over the Rules Committee in session. He was allowed to make a choice of a bill along with the rest of the members. Heavens knows, his position was more a decorative one than it was an actual one. To give him the right to choose one bill and to enter into some parts of the discussion was fine; but his real power in the Senate was his power to make rulings on the floor when parliamentary questions arose, or to break ties in the event of a tie among the senators. Really, the idea that some people have that the lieutenant governor's position is of great importance is vastly mistaken.

TK: As far as the Rules Committee is concerned, did the majority leader of the Senate, that is, either Bob Greive or Augie Mardesich, have any kind of influence over the Rules Committee at all?

WH: Greive, of course, was on the committee when I was on it, and he was also the majority leader. Sometimes he would enter into the debates, but more often he was just one of seventeen people. It's strange how in a committee of that kind you will start breaking things down so that you look to certain people in regard to certain issues. When it came to a matter of good sense on tight legal questions, we would look more to Marshall Neill, a Republican, than most anyone else. That's just an example of it. In fact, Greive, in the field of labor matters, industrial insurance, was a credible member of the discussion. But in a lot of things he was ignored. When we came to water and money issues, I was one of the people who expected to have people go along with me when I really was of a mind to try and influence them. We're specialists, all of us.

TK: I read that, on one occasion, Bob Greive had expanded the Rules Committee, and, at another time, Augie Mardesich reduced it. How much control did the majority leader have over the size of the Rules Committee?

WH: He was a member of a five-man Committee on Committees.

TK: Do you mean Bob Greive was?

WH: Yes. And Bob Bailey was the chairman of the Committee on Committees, and he should be as the caucus chairman. Nat Washington was also on the Committee on Committees. The way I got to be chairman of Ways and Means Committee was by a three to two vote, with Bailey, Washington and Gissberg supporting me. Greive and whoever the other one was supported Senator Bargreen. They changed horses and I was the horse they took.

TK: So the majority leader could have quite a bit of control, in so far as he was a member of the Committee on Committees?

WH: Oh yes. I think Bailey preferred to have some distance between himself and the floor leader, Bob Greive. He didn't want to be thought of as being in Greive's pocket, and he certainly wasn't. They did have differences of opinion, but Bob Bailey was a centrist in our group and Greive was not.

TK: Was Bob Bailey also caucus chairman while Mardesich was leader?

WH: Yes.

TK: Do you know anything about what the relationship with Mardesich was?

WH: I had quite a session with Bob Bailey back about the end of October of 1998 when I was in Olympia. It was the first time I'd seen him in twenty years, pretty close. We started about eight o'clock in the morning and broke up at ten-thirty and talked about a lot of things. He got on the subject of Augie Mardesich, and he was telling

me some of the things that went on. They got along, but Augie was a real bulldog. He got Greive in his sights and he wasn't going to let loose, and got Greive un-elected. Out of the Senate entirely.

TK: How did he manage to do that?

WH: He campaigned for the Republican.

TK: What year was that?

WH: It must have been about 1972, somewhere in there.

TK: He campaigned for the Republican opponent to Greive?

WH: I don't suppose it was too open, but I think he had a hand in picking a candidate and saw that the lobbyists supported that candidate. So Mr. Greive was out. He ran for King County Council after that.

TK: Were seats on the Rules Committee highly coveted?

WH: I guess, by some.

TK: I was thinking of you specifically. After all of those years of laboring on the Ways and Means Committees and other committees, might that not be considered a plum to be given as a reward for faithful service?

WH: Maybe to some extent. I remember in 1961, I had enjoyed really faithful support from Frank Foley as the vice-chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He had been a good soldier and helped me run the committee. I told Frank, "I've had my belly full of this stuff for about eight years now beginning over in the House, and I think I want to take it easier after this. Why don't you take the Ways and Means Committee and I'll go on the Rules Committee?" So I talked to Bailey about it and that was the way it was arranged.

TK: Was there competition among other senators to get on that committee, since it has such central importance in the process?

WH: I think there were quite a few dropouts about that time for one reason or another, and so there were vacancies.

TK: Do you mean that people were leaving the committee?

WH: Yes. I think that there had been fifteen on it and they increased it to seventeen. I don't really remember whether that was the particular time or not, but seventeen as far as I know was the maximum number on the committee.

I really didn't like the Rules Committee all that much, but it was an effective place to have a voice in how the pies were divvied up.

TK: Why would people leave the Rules Committee?

WH: I think it was largely a matter of age. The Rules Committee was generally composed of senior people who had been there quite a while, and they were reaching the end of their legislative careers.

TK: So they were leaving the Legislature altogether?

WH: Yes. Or, of course, they may have been defeated for re-election, though that was rather rare.

TK: Did the Rules Committee have a reputation for being a bill-killer?

WH: Well, sure. Really, there needs to be a device for that sort of thing because you can put a bill out on the floor that has a lot of plums on it and costs a lot of money and is bound to make a lot of people happy. But you know in reality that somewhere the reckoning has to be paid. How do you solve a problem like that? You've got to do it. If you do it head-on there's bound to be a lot of blood. If you do it in the darkness of night in the Rules Committee, it's simply a lot cleaner and it's over with.

TK: Would all bills coming to the Rules

Committee have had to first clear the various legislative committees?

WH: They'd cleared committee, but you have to realize that all these committees were chaired by people who have special interests. Like, if I was chairman of the Horticulture Committee, which I was in the House for a couple of terms, I'm going to bring out the bills that the horticultural industry wants. But it may not necessarily be in the best interests of the entire population of the state. So there needs to be another hurdle to be jumped over, and so they created the Rules Committee for it.

TK: I understand, for example, that people would often praise a bill on the floor and then run to the Rules Committee and ask that it be killed.

WH: Well, sure. People are a little bit ambivalent. I'd make a parallel out of Slade Gorton's recent vote on the Clinton impeachment. He kept a foot in both camps.

TK: In the U.S. Congress, it was not uncommon for the old chairmen of the House Rules Committee to put the fear of God into members by threatening to report out some of these lemons and to require a roll call vote if they didn't behave. Did that ever happen in the Rules Committee over there in Olympia?

WH: Oh yes. You betcha.

TK: Was it a way to bring members back into line?

WH: That's right. Of course, because of the secret vote they didn't know quite for sure who had voted for what, but they could count pretty close.

TK: In fact I wanted to ask you about the secrecy in the committee. There was an effort to open that up in your last session in 1967.

WH: Yes.

TK: What was the rationale behind the secrecy first of all? In fact, wasn't it a kind of a double secrecy—the committee would meet in secret and then there would be a secret ballot?

WH: We didn't really meet in secret.

TK: Would it be more accurate to say secret votes behind closed doors?

WH: Yes. In those days you didn't admit people into the conference committees because they were attempting to find compromises between versions of a bill. If you had it open to the public you might just as well have had it out in the middle of a church somewhere where all the congregation could crowd around. If time is any factor this is a pretty tough thing to do.

Some of these things happen in a situation where everybody wants to go home, and you're trying to cut across the clock so that that becomes possible, which means that you have to pass a budget bill and a tax bill or whatever in order to go home. So secrecy does have its advocates and I remain one of them.

TK: What was behind the move in 1967 to open up the voting in the Rules Committee to the public?

WH: Nat Washington had always believed in that and there's a rationale for it.

When you were listening to the Clinton impeachment proceedings recently, there was a move to open up the Senate discussions and put it out in front. The problem with it is like having television in a courtroom. That presence affects the way people react. Maybe it shouldn't, but it surely does. We always had some people who wanted to engage in a lot of histrionics and grandiloquence and whatnot, and advertise themselves a bit if they have some way of reaching the public. One way to squelch them was to make it private.

TK: Can you recall who it was, who was leading the effort to open up the committee?

WH: My recollection is that it was Nat Washington.

TK: You said a minute ago that you think that was a really unfortunate development. Can you tell me why?

WH: I'm ambivalent about it. I think there's a lot of advantages in having a secret process. A pure democracy where everything is out in the open is appealing in principle, but ideals sometimes don't work very well. If you've got a time factor going, believe me, you can get a lot more done in a private locked-door session than you ever will get done in a public session where everybody had their fifteen minutes, like the House Impeachment managers did.

TK: Aside from acting as a kind of screening mechanism in the Senate, what other functions did the Rules Committee serve?

WH: There were times when controversial issues would be reviewed by the Rules Committee and the content of bills discussed in detail—almost like a regular committee. The committee was a very effective crucible for a bill to go through because it was made up of members who knew their business. An informal agreement would be reached among the members of the group that certain amendments would have to be made if we were to let the bill out. So the bill would go on the calendar with the understanding among those seventeen members. In a Senate with only forty-nine members, that's a formidable bloc. When it had been made known to the other senators that there had been this discussion and agreement about the bill, they would usually always go along. Once in a while there would be some fireworks, but not often.

TK: There seems to be an interesting contrast here between the state Legislature and the U.S. Congress. In the U.S. House, the Rules Committee did indeed serve as a kind of traffic cop to keep the proceedings from degenerating into a kind of chaos. But the U.S. Senate has always been seen as a place where more leisurely debate may occur and where a committee making "rules" on how bills might be handled on the floor would be considered inappropriate. In your years in the state Senate, were you ever aware of a similar sentiment there?

WH: That kind of sentiment didn't reach as far, in terms of what a senator could get away with if he wanted to buck the trend. There was nothing like the filibuster that could interfere with the action of the Senate for weeks on end. In the state Senate there was a modest degree of independence that was allowed to senators when bills involving freedom of speech came up. That was a subject of deep interest to me and there was common consent that I could have my day in court in speaking out on those kinds of things. It was understood that I could have the whole day, if I wanted it, and no one was going to cut the clock on me. But giving me one day for that kind of activity was far different from the sort of thing that goes on in the U.S. Senate.

TK: Would you take a full day?

WH: Oh, every time. I had a day every session.

TK: And was it always a civil liberties issue?

WH: Yes. There was always some confounded, crazy thing that would be introduced. Senator Bob Greive always seemed to be introducing bills that I thought were violations of free speech and were anti-democratic. To him I was a radical who insisted on submerging juveniles in a lot of pornographic trash.

I remember one time when a friend of mine from Canada had given me a book, written by Simma Holt, about the Dukhobors. They were a religious group that had emigrated to Western Canada in the 1890s. They did a lot of political protesting, and among their tactics was to parade in the nude—large numbers of them including men, women and children. Well, that was pretty effective and caused a great commotion among some of the stiff-necked Canadians. Anyway, I was reading the book at my desk on the Senate floor when things were quiet and I had a little spare time. The book had a lot of pictures in it showing some of those parades. Senator Greive saw the book when he passed by on the way to his desk and he grabbed it. He then waved the book around and yelled, "This is the sort of thing that Senator Hallauer indulges in!" I thought that

was pretty funny.

TK: How would you regard the quality of debate and discussion on the floor that occurred in Olympia during your years?

WH: Sometimes it was fabulously good. But most of the bills weren't very controversial and you only got a good discussion when there was a philosophical difference of opinion that motivated people.

The ones that I always engaged in and enjoyed were the civil liberties questions. Bob Greive, our revered floor leader on the Democratic side, was always putting in censorship bills and other impedimenta of that kind. They were appealing because if you're going out and campaigning for pornography and that sort of thing, you're in kind of a handicapped position.

There weren't many people around foolish enough to take on the issues, and so they would get approved. Then the governor, in the same spirit of listless, no-contest sort of approach to it, would leave it to the courts. The courts, of course, would throw it out the window and we'd start over again with Mr. Greive trying a different rigmarole about how he was going to bring about some control over the movies or books or whatever.

As a person who had joined the ACLU in 1940 for the great sum of two dollars, and believed in it thoroughly as an ideal and as a way of protecting freedom of expression, I somehow wound up in the Legislature being the guy who, for a day, did battle with Mr. Greive on the floor of the Senate. It was kind of fun sometimes. But it was a little hard for me to account to my rather conservative constituency about it, and I had, as a result, handbills distributed associating me with pornography and other things that I don't really care much about, but they're part of what you have to defend.

TK: In that connection, I was interested in the fact that during your final session in the Legislature there was that controversy over the treatment by police of anti-Vietnam War demonstrators at the University of Washington. You took up the cause of the anti-war protesters. Do you remember that?

WH: I remember that. I've got a picture right here. After the thing was in the papers, I introduced a little resolution telling the Seattle City Council to loosen up and let young people be young people. They were interesting young people and were doing what I expect young people to do—be a little bit in rebellion about what the elder generation has left to them to abide by.

TK: You also once expressed concern, I think it was in 1967, about the potential threat to the right of privacy posed by computers. Your concerns got quite a bit of coverage in the *Seattle Times*, and it seemed to me that you were quite prescient, because I don't think many people were thinking about such problems thirty-two years ago—though they certainly are today.

WH: I remember it vaguely, and it still bothers me. I'm concerned that computer experts can find out rather more about me than I want them to ever know.

TK: Getting back to the debate in the Legislature, was there a difference in quality between the House of Representatives and the Senate?

WH: It depended. The senators were more apt to enter into debate than House members. It's a body half the size of the House, and a lot of the House members are new to politics, always are. The turnover rate is much higher. So you've got people who are comparative novices, but then we got some pretty good debates going.

I remember one of them having to do with capital punishment. It went on for about a day and one of the participants whose thinking really influenced me quite a lot was a fellow by the name of Paul Stocker, from Everett. He was a criminal defense lawyer and he had made a specialty of defending people who were in the position of possibly being hanged. Maybe it was electrocuted, I don't know, but he gave me a lot of sources to read and I got quite taken up with the anti-capital punishment movement for maybe ten years. I put in bills about it. Since then, age has caught up with me and I now probably accept what the general opinion is in the country without fighting about it anymore. In my present opinion, there

are people who are so much a bane to society that we would be better off simply to eliminate them. But you can justify the other opinion on the basis that society itself should not be committing what it is about to do to some criminal and be guilty of that same crime. It is a bit out of step.

TK: Would you say that the difference between the House and Senate is in part a function of the way bills are handled in the two chambers? That is, do those procedures affect the quality of the discussion?

WH: For me it's more of a problem in applied psychology. The House is simply a different place and has a different sort of psychological atmosphere about it where in the Senate that would never have worked, basically because of what I deemed to be psychological problems.

TK: Oftentimes when we consider bicameral legislatures, upper houses like the Senate are often looked upon as a place for more leisurely discussion or sometimes as a place to take a second look at proposals before they go into effect. Do you think that the Washington State Senate functions that way?

WH: Rather irregularly, but it does at times. I've always wondered about parliamentary countries because their second Houses, like the House of Lords in Britain, are a kind of a vestigial appendix and really have no great effect except to delay things a bit. I really think that the way our senates work is a lot better safety mechanism.

TK: Thomas Jefferson used to refer to the Senate as a saucer for a teacup. If the tea was too hot you would pour it into the saucer and it could cool off. How well, if at all, would you say that the state Senate operates in such a manner?

WH: The Senate operates quite differently from the House, and it's partly a matter of logistics based upon the larger membership in the House. This would be even more true of the U.S. Congress, where the House has four hundred and thirty-five members. You have to be well organized there and have limits placed on time. Otherwise nothing would ever get done.

The state Senate does have something of what Jefferson was talking about. The fact that the members have four years, instead of two, gives them a little more leeway to take different positions. I remember that in my years in the House, it was possible to create stampedes of the members. Somehow the emotional framework of the House is different from the Senate. It seemed like fewer people were independent operators, and there could be quite a bit of group-think. But over in the Senate there always seemed to be some dissident who may have thought things through a little more than the others, and would throw a spear through you if you tried any sort of trick.

TK: So, would you say that the state Senate did play a significant moderating role?

WH: Definitely. When I was more theoretical in my political views, I had the idea that what they had in Nebraska, with its unicameral Legislature, might be a pretty smart idea and that bicameralism might be something of a nuisance. But I've matured and I got over that. I've read about some unfortunate things that have happened there, and which would never have happened with a Senate like we have in Washington. The Senate does provide a little more time for outside forces to get before the Legislature and to say, "Slow down. Let's take another look at this."

TK: You mentioned in one of our earlier conversations that when you began your political career you were uncomfortable with public speaking. Do you remember the first speech that you made in the state Legislature? I guess we might call it your maiden speech.

WH: I remember that there was that first speech, and I think it had to do with making some motions in connection with the bills that came out of the Horticulture Committee. I was the chairman and that was my duty. I think I practiced whatever I was supposed to say about a week before I essayed it. It really was very simple, amounting to saying, "This is a good bill. Vote for it." And then I sat down.

TK: What a great speech—direct and to the point! Were you able to overcome that reticence over the course of the years?

WH: It affects me to this day. Like the occasion when we were down there at Yakima at the community college recently. It takes me about thirty seconds to get into harness and going. I really don't know what I'm saying for the first thirty seconds.

TK: To what degree would you say that knowledge of parliamentary procedure on the floor is really necessary to being a successful legislator?

WH: No, I don't think so.

It's helpful. Bill Gissberg used to sit in front of me and he was one of the best parliamentarians in the Senate, and once in awhile he and I would get at cross-purposes on some point of order or something of that kind. He'd always take my pants off in one of those debates, but I don't think it had any effect as far as the rest of them were concerned when we got down to the merits of the case. That's where the heart of it is. The rest of it is more the packaging.

TK: So people who really have a great grasp of parliamentary procedure don't necessarily have an advantage?

WH: They do in getting the proper motion before the body in the correct posture. Bill and I were really very good friends and a couple of times he saved my hide on my Ways and Means bills. When our revered floor leader, Bob Greive, was trying to knife me in the back on a tax measure, Bill Gissberg was my parliamentary support and helped me fend off this stuff so that we could get on with the business of the tax bill which was unpleasant business.

TK: By the same token, is the ability to engage in public speaking a real source of strength to a legislator? Is that something that you really have to be good at?

WH: It's helpful, but I don't think it is really critical. I don't claim to be any great public speaker, and I probably made as long-winded a speech as any senator ever did during my term. You get into these things when you get onto something like civil rights issues or simply explaining a budget. That's not a simple thing to do when you do it in detail, which you should. I don't believe in fluffing over the top of stuff that has a lot of difficult things in it to understand. I want to explain it.

TK: You don't remember any "Boy Orators of the Columbia" coming along and sweeping the members of the chamber off their feet?

WH: No, not really. John Goldmark was very good at public speaking and he also was very good at analysis. After all, he was a man of the law, and respected the law and had been brought up to revere the law. When he got talking on legal points he could do it in such a way that he would carry people with him. That was something that was out of my league. When it came to the nuts and bolts of the money issues and that sort of thing I could get along just fine, I thought.

TK: Would you say that most members of the Legislature would have a reasonably clear idea of the content of bills when it came time to vote? I ask this again because trying to read through even a small portion of those bills would seem to be exceedingly difficult.

WH: It's utterly impossible.

TK: Would people normally take their cue from the caucus leader as far as what's in the bill?

WH: If you hadn't been on the committee and didn't know anything about the bills, there was an opportunity to get a sense of what was in them and what the debatable points were in them when they came before the caucus at the time that they were to be on the calendar. The caucus attorneys would prepare a summary of the bill, and then the committee chairman, in the case of the Democrats, or the lead man in the committee for the Republicans, would be expected to help.

For example, Nat Washington was chairman

of the Highways Committee. On highways bills we would expect Nat to get up and go into some detail and answer questions about his legislation. Of course some of us libertarians would get into a quarrel with Nat over things like the state patrol bills that always came along with provisions allowing the patrol to stop a whole bunch of cars and make you show your licenses. They finally got the right to do it, but between Perry Woodall and me, we killed that bill every session that I was there.

TK: So, actually, in the caucus, the chairman, or the ranking committee member, would have quite a say in informing the members?

WH: Oh yes. And providing leadership.

TK: Was there such a thing as a party position on a given bill? And if there was, who would determine that position?

WH: I'd say that if there was a party position, theoretically the floor leader was supposed to determine it. But actually it was Bob Bailey. Labor bills, for example, were always a bit controversial and I would tend to follow Bailey, but I wouldn't follow Greive. There were other people in the same boat.

An example of the sort of problem you can get into as a committee chairman was that a lot of people got thinking that Nat, as chairman of the Transportation Committee, was too much a handmaiden for the department itself. But Augie Mardesich undertook to politicize the transportation budget by obligating the department to spend money on a bunch of road projects that he put together. It was a Christmas tree proposal, and there was something in it for everybody. We rewrote the transportation budget to suit our ideas in the Legislature instead of taking a hand-me-down from the department as to where they wanted to spend the money. It meant running over the top of the chairman of the committee.

I had some real conscience problems about it because I could see the thing forming. I knew Augie well enough to know that he would make enough deals to have his majority, and it would be solid. The conscience problem was whether I should stick with my friend Nat? So I went to Nat and told him, and he could smell it coming, too. He said, "No, you better go with Augie if you want to get the stuff you can get." So I did, sort of with Nat's back handed approval. He didn't like it but it was reality. I don't like that story but that's the way it was.

TK: You earlier mentioned that Greive was knowledgeable on labor issues. Why did you not follow him in that area?

WH: It seemed to me that the kind of labor issues that Senator Greive was interested in mainly had to do with things like industrial insurance. In fact, as I recall, his law practice in Seattle was centered on that type of activity. But I thought that the positions taken by legalists in the field of industrial insurance were not necessarily what was best for either the labor people themselves or for the people of the state. It was my belief that industrial insurance could be abused, and I was not interested in following Senator Greive's leadership on that.

For example, a bill was once introduced that would allow a worker, let us say a delivery man working for a company and using company equipment, who may have been injured at the delivery point, to both sue the company at that point, and at the same time to also collect industrial insurance. I considered that to be double dipping and an abuse of the system.

TK: In terms of understanding bills, is it an advantage in that respect to be a lawyer?

WH: I think it is an advantage. Provided you don't get too technical with it. You still have to have a basic understanding of what the particular measures are intended to do.

I think one of the most effective legislators always was Marshall Neill, and he was in the minority all the time I was there. People liked him. He was representing Washington State University and the other universities as well, and he was extremely effective. He always told it to you straight. He never gave you any funny business.

TK: What provoked the question is that I've wondered if being a lawyer can cause one to become preoccupied with the legal niceties and yet miss the substance of the issue. There are so many fine legislators—you, Bob Bailey, and many others—who were not lawyers. What's legal may not necessarily be what's right or wise.

WH: It's one of the things that troubles me about the national Congress because, what is it, sixty percent of them are lawyers? I'd like to get it down to about twenty. That's just a personal philosophy and maybe it wouldn't work as well that way. I think our percentage of lawyers in the Legislature was lower. They had a hard time filling the Judiciary Committee posts in the Senate. Mike Gallagher, and somebody else, who wasn't a lawyer, were on the Judiciary Committee. I think they would have enlivened the proceedings.

TK: There's an old axiom that knowledge is power. When a person knows what he's talking about, he can compel others to listen. In your years in Olympia, who stood out in that respect?

WH: I think Marshall Neill, who I just mentioned, would be one. John Ryder, another Republican, was another. He was the vice president of the Washington Mutual Bank. He had made a specialty out of property taxes. I suppose it might have stemmed from his interest in the bank, which was really a mortgage bank. He got into the basics of taxes and valuations and so on. He became an outstanding expert on it. He was not a lawyer, but he certainly understood banking law. If he said he wanted something we'd all laugh a bit and say, "We're paving the way to the bankers' hearts again," and go ahead and go along with him because he simply knew so much more about it than we did. We did pass a lot of banking legislation, and I could see his tracks.

When I got to the Senate I got interested in the subject of mortuaries and the regulation of graves and that sort of thing. There had been a Republican lawyer, named Clint Harley, who, back in the early forties, had rewritten all of the laws having to do with the profession of what we then called undertakers, mortuaries, cemeteries, all the rest of it. As a result of it, the state of Washington had been straight-jacketed in so much regulation which I'm sure was added onto the funeral bills for that sort of thing. I guess it was at the time that *The American Way of Death* became a best seller of this country that I got interested in it and started reading up on it. As a result I put in a bill, and one of the things that it did was to make it possible to have a cremation without burning up the casket with it. One of my friends who was a mortician, Eric Braun from Cashmere, came to me and said, "Jesus Christ, Web, what are you trying to do to me?" Well, the bill didn't go anywhere because if there is an effective bunch of lobbyists in the state of Washington, it's the morticians group. They're about as good as the chiropractors.

TK: With respect to the caucus, would you say that, by and large, those caucuses are characterized by collegial good feelings, or can you remember a lot of knock-down drag-out battles? What's the atmosphere ordinarily like in the caucus?

WH: Somehow in the House they were a lot nastier than they were in the Senate. We did have them in the Senate, usually on some issue that Bob Greive was going off into some special interest field about.

Some of those were power issues because he raised money for his in-group. I attempted to do something about that myself in 1963. I'd raised money in the interim from the other session and was really appointed by the rest of the senators to try and equalize the way the money was raised and presented. I raised, I think, about twenty-five thousand dollars and I spread it around evenly. The same amount went to every Senate Democrat candidate. The interesting thing was that I kept a list of where the money came from. I said, "If any of you people want to know where the money came from, come and see me. I'll show you the list." Nobody came to see me. I think that's interesting.

TK: Was that a case of "ignorance is bliss?"

WH: Yes. They didn't want to know, obviously.

TK: Bill scalping seems to be a fairly common technique used by legislators in Olympia. Is that something you also engaged in?

WH: Oh, I've done a lot of it.

TK: A lot of people who might read our oral history may not know about it. So could you explain it and give me some examples of where you think there's been successful scalping?

WH: To have successful scalping, you pretty much have to lay the groundwork in advance with the lieutenant governor because, as the presiding officer, he would normally be the person who assigns the bill to a committee. If you're going to effectively scalp a bill, you have to prepare this in the right committee.

TK: I think we should back up for just a second and explain what scalping is.

WH: It's finding a bill on the calendar and then having an amendment for it that amounts to a new bill. You strike all the matter in the existing bill and substitute the amendment for it. The general terms in the title of the bill have to be adhered to. If it's a bill to raise revenue, for example, that I wanted to scalp and substitute something else, this would be relatively simple usually. The RCW paragraphs that are cited in the title have to be the same ones that the amendment itself affects. So you can't just take any old bill and scalp it because there are certain requirements that the lieutenant governor has to adhere to himself in ruling on whether what you're trying to do is permissible or not.

I'd rather scalp it in committee and have the committee do it as a committee bill. Then of course they change the title and that sort of thing. Of course the same sort of disease is what you call title only bills. I would, at the end of the session, put in a half dozen of them relating to different facets of the tax code, so that I always had something to pull out in case I was compelled to do something in the last minute, I'd have a vehicle. It essentially would have an engine on it and wheels and I'd put the rest of the car on top of it.

TK: I've thought of scalping as a way of getting around a legislative committee that might be holding up a bill. As I understood it, for example, if a bill were tied up in a Senate committee and you were a member of the House, you could take a bill that had passed the Senate and attach your amendment to it and then require a vote on the amendment. Is that accurate?

WH: Yes. The trick to it is whether the amendment is germane or not. And you might have a difference in opinion in the House and the Senate as to what passes the test of germaneness.

TK: Does the lieutenant governor decide that?

WH: He'll make a ruling on it. Somebody has to get up and question whether it's germane or not, and then the lieutenant governor would have to rule. Karl Herrmann used to try to be kind of an artist with this sort of stuff. He'd come in with about a twenty-page bill that he'd take off everything except the title and attach something much more complex to what was a bare bones vehicle. I saw him get away with it once and that encouraged him. He kept trying, but I don't recall that he had much luck after that one time gathered quite a lot of heat.

TK: You've indicated that you think if you're going to scalp a bill, the best place to do it is in committee?

WH: I would rather do it there.

TK: How would that work?

WH: You've got to have the cooperation of the chairman of the committee. Whether you drag him in or whether he volunteers, it doesn't make much difference. If you come in with a committee amendment, it's in effect supposedly a consensus. Then if the committee chairman gets up and introduces it, it won't be nearly as controversial.

Some of the education measures that came out of the Education Committee at times became very involved in arguments over psychological testing and this sort of basic common school

problem. Boy! You could get a war going on something like that in a hurry. There were philosophies at stake. I remember attempts to scalp bills to do things like that. Day schooling and that sort of thing that they were trying to put in.

TK: Was scalping a common technique used in the legislative process?

WH: No. I wouldn't call it common. In fact, it's quite uncommon. I probably practiced it as much as anybody and very seldom on the floor of the Senate. I don't think I ever did in the House.

TK: You had probably many opportunities to serve on conference committees as well as free committees. What's the difference between the two?

WH: A conference committee has to have unanimity in order to come to a conclusion. A free conference committee only demands a majority.

TK: How is it decided whether a conference is going to be a regular conference committee or a free conference?

WH: If you're on a conference committee and you're not getting anywhere right away, you go back to the House or the Senate and say that the conferees are unable to agree, and request the powers of free conference. Then there's a vote, and you've got it. It's pretty much cut and dried. I always served on the conferences on the tax bills and on the budget bills.

TK: I would assume—correct me if I'm wrong—that most money bills which you would have been concerned with would have to go to a free conference.

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Did you ever get unanimous agreement on any money bill?

WH: I don't know whether I ever heard a conference committee report and say they'd agreed. It's almost automatic that you get free conference and then go at it. Getting all six is pretty tough.

TK: So, it's just a way of kind of clearing a logjam and getting the legislation to the governor's desk?

WH: Yes. You've got to get an agreement and you come back with a report, and the report itself might be a completely new budget bill, which can go on for fifty pages. Then what you vote on is adoption of the conference report. You don't go into the details of it.

TK: Were there occasions where the Senate or the House rejected the conference committee report?

WH: The Senate did in that famous case where Bargreen and I got into a bit of a scrap back in the 1957 session. That's the one that had to do with Josephine's lobbying effort.

We had a conference report and the bill that she was interested in was matching state money with federal money to start a test demonstration library. When Bargreen discovered that I had told Jo that her bill for state matching funds was not in the conference report, he came over and chewed the living bejesus out of me.

Some of my friends didn't think that was very well mannered even though what I had done wasn't right. As a result, when the conference bill came into the caucus they told him to go back and do it over again. It didn't really come out on the floor and it got sent back. Then when it came back again it had Jo's money in it, and a few other things.

TK: Moving on to the subject of leadership, I think there were two majority leaders, Bob Greive and Augie Mardesich, during your years in the Senate. How would you characterize Greive's leadership style?

WH: I don't like him, and I never did like him. Anything I'd say about him would be colored with that feeling. I'm sure he had his good points, but I felt that to him the game was the thing, not some

service to an ideal that he believed in. I don't think he really cared. He had some religious feelings, and I know that at seven o'clock every morning he was down at the church. But with my prejudices against him I don't think I could be fair to the man.

TK: Was he a popular leader?

WH: I don't think so.

TK: Did he have a lot of appeal to other people?

WH: He raised money for, basically, a bunch of private power oriented senators. Of course, candidates always need money, and he maintained his position by distributing campaign money.

At the time that I entered the Senate in 1957, when we took over from the Republicans with ten new Democratic senators coming in all together, Greive, who had been the minority floor leader, automatically became the majority leader. But in '59 Pat Sutherland ran against him and got beat by one vote. In '61—who was it who tried that year? In '63 Bob Gissberg tried. Every one of them lost by one vote.

TK: Did you challenge him?

WH: Not really. Gissberg was my candidate.

TK: Where did the money for Greive's fund come from?

WH: The lobbyists.

TK: Do you have any idea of which specific lobbyists?

WH: I'm convinced in my own mind that a great deal of it came from private power.

The labor unions gave to him. They also gave to me when I went around, but they didn't give me near as much as they gave him because I was a bit suspect with the labor unions. I never really got into a war with them directly and they supported me in my election campaigns, I think largely on the theory that if they didn't have me they'd have somebody worse.

TK: Did he distribute it just to Democrats, or did he distribute it to Republicans, too?

WH: I never heard that he contributed to the Republicans in any way with it. He contributed to the Democrats who would support him.

TK: Was that an accepted practice, having this so-called fund?

WH: People took the money. I never got any of it.

TK: Was he accountable in terms of where the money came from?

WH: No.

TK: So would you consider it as something of a private slush fund?

WH: Yes. I think that describes it pretty well.

TK: How would Augie Mardesich compare with Greive?

WH: I don't think that Mardesich had taken over until after I left the Senate. But he probably would have given Bob Bailey a little bit more of a difficult time in terms of running the party than Greive ever would, because Augie was just that way. He was pretty domineering.

TK: Was he combative?

WH: Oh yes. I wouldn't want to get crossways with him.

TK: You mentioned that Bob Bailey liked to steer clear or create some distance between himself and Greive.

WH: Oh yes. He would simply ignore Greive and do what he wanted to do. I'm sure that Mardesich would have been more of the same, except you could talk to Augie and, if you had a reasonable proposition, you'd be listened to. But Greive was just erratic.

TK: When you first arrived in the Senate in the 1950s, Senator Goodloe was the minority leader. Then he was defeated for re-election by your good friend Perry Woodall. I know that was the other party, but do you know anything about that situation?

WH: No, I don't.

TK: What was your opinion of Goodloe?

WH: I thought Goodloe was an old fart. I was amazed when he got elected to the Supreme Court.

TK: Would you say that the House was more partisan than the Senate?

WH: The Senate is more collegial. In fact I think there was more community between the mainstream Democrats and the Republicans than there was within the Democratic group with the Greive Democrats. The Greive Democrats were basically the Spokane group—Karl Herrmann, John Cooney, Dave Cowen and Jimmy Keefe. Those people were all private power people.

As far as talent was concerned, probably Karl Herrmann of that group had more than most. But he could be an awful windbag. He later became insurance commissioner and got into some problems or other with that that I don't really know much about. I think he tried to make a political name for himself by playing heroics with the insurance companies.

We also had Dewey Donohue from down in southeastern Washington who, while I wouldn't regard him as a public power advocate, was a good man. He was with the Democrats and believed in what they were doing.

Of course there were Hanna and Washington and McCormack and myself. We were the central Washington public power Democrats, and I think we were a pretty good bunch.

In southwestern Washington we had Bailey and Foley—good Democrats, both of them. Wonderful people. Al Henry was another public power Democrat from Skamania County, White Salmon.

TK: So public versus private power was really the kind of dividing line in state politics?

WH: Yes. The crux of it really was in the Puget Sound area where you had Puget Power and Seattle City Light side by side. Really, the City Light people weren't hell-roaring public power people like we felt we needed to be. Gradually they chiseled away seats from us in that area, so that by 1963 you could see the handwriting on the wall. We were down to about twenty-one out of the forty-nine senators. Once in awhile we could get a few votes out of some of the rest of them.

But we got into the hands of people like Martin Durkan, who was a Democrat with political ambitions and very much in the hands of the private power people. Martin was on retainer from the union that serves the private power people. Those retainer contracts for a legal firm were a pretty nice business. He affected a lot of the other people in the area because he had a following of his own, which was genuine enough. Martin had come up in the Legislature as legal counsel to John O'Brien over in the House. That's where he got started. He was a pretty good debater.

I think public power got to the point where it could see the handwriting on the wall after the 1963 session and they made their peace, and they bought their way out of their problems by in effect marrying the private power people. The private power people gained from contracting for power from the Columbia River dams that was available at a cheap price because of the tax free status of the financing by bonds that the public power entities enjoyed. So they got in under the financial umbrella and out of the rain by marrying, so they got something out of it. Public power got something out of it. They got out of being hassled all the time.

That issue died, and now central Washington is a Republican bastion and the public power issue is gone. It had brought a lot of Republican moderates who favored public power to the Democratic side.

TK: Aside from the more or less normal differences between Democrats and Republicans, it has seemed that, in the past, politics has also

divided along regional lines: Eastern versus Western Washington, or rural versus urban. But you're suggesting that running through all those other divisions has been the public versus private power issue?

WH: I think what I'm saying applies to Eastern Washington. But it has its degree of applicability in the situation that I talked about, City Light versus Puget Power. We kept losing in the metropolitan area where it was growing most rapidly, and in the suburban area around Seattle, of course served by Puget, and tending to be Republican because of its suburban nature.

Bellevue, Kirkland, that area, was solidly Republican. You got a little further south, Burien and Renton, these were more working class neighborhoods and a Democrat had a chance. The swing in this last election was in those areas that had been conquered temporarily by the Republicans, and now the Democrats got them back.

TK: The 1963 Legislature seemed to be kind of a turning point. I know that you were in the Senate, but that was the year that John O'Brien was ousted, so to speak, by Republican and Democratic backers of Bill Day.

WH: Yes.

TK: The newspapers reported that large numbers of senators went to the House to observe that little episode. It was Bill Day's Spokane Democrats associating with Dan Evans' new breed of Republicans to defeat O'Brien and the "regular" Democrats. Did you see that by any chance?

WH: Yes.

TK: Do you have any memories of it?

WH: Not very good ones. I was really feeling pretty badly about it.

TK: Then, during that session, the Legislature was completely tied up for quite awhile on the public versus private power issue. Was that something of a climax of that whole issue?

WH: Yes, it was. Of course, there was some real nasty stuff going on that you could never prove nowadays—the man who disappeared down in Central America and never surfaced again. According to rumor he was one of the bagmen for the private power people.

TK: When we first started our discussions, you recalled that wonderful Will Rogers quote, "I'm not a member of any organized party, I'm a Democrat." Would that be true of the Democrats throughout the state of Washington, as well as in the Legislature?

WH: I think it is. Everybody had their own guiding angel of some kind up there, and we all go in our own directions. Maybe it's a little broader than that. There's this about it: majorities always tend to split up. Minorities tend to adhere together. You haven't any choice.

TK: In 1959 you had introduced a tax bill for Governor Rosellini. At the time I think you introduced it in the Senate, Senator Greive indicated that he could not support it and he threatened to resign his seat.

WH: Everybody said, "Hooray!"

TK: Governor Rosellini also said, "I won't object to that at all." Would that be a good example of Will Rogers' maxim?

WH: The bill that you were talking about happened to be the product of a special committee that the governor had set up. It was called the Shefelman Committee, and I mentioned it earlier. We were the five people who were trying to come up with some answers to the financial woes of the state.

What we had to do was to raise the sales tax to a four percent level. Look at it now. Really, we were in a box. We were at a time when education expenditures had to be expanded tremendously to take care of the post-war population boom. The only ready source of money was the sales tax and the business and occupation tax. So the committee finally agreed to recommend that to the governor.

I had been put on it by Shefelman's request.

That's what we came in with, and I was the guy who had to do all the work in the Senate after the committee made the recommendation. The governor was on board with what we were going to do. But Greive tried to sink the bill.

TK: That was the State Tax Advisory Council?

WH: Yes. And I was the new chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, so I had the nasty chore that went with that, because we were running a deficit and we weren't supposed to under the Budget and Accounting Act—which, incidentally, I'd also had a hand in passing. That act had been a product of the Legislative Budget Committee.

TK: Throughout the various phases of the legislative process, the governor is always a significant presence. Specifically, would the possibility of a veto be an important consideration in the shaping of legislation?

WH: Sometimes people would have measures that they knew were possibly endangered by a veto, and they would go to the governor and try and cut a deal in advance.

A story that people may differ with me about has to do with legislative pensions. That's a politically touchy subject. I think it was in the '65 session that a senator from Tacoma, John McCutcheon, who had served for a long time, wanted to better the pension system for the legislators. He was quite elderly, and I think, was hurting a bit financially.

He came in with a bill that was really something I had to object to. For instance, in computing my own pension for twenty years of service, the bill would have trebled my length of service to sixty years. And it would also have trebled my salary of one hundred dollars a month. There were some other provisions in it of the same general caliber.

Of course, it would have been nice, but I opposed it. I think I got a little nasty on the Senate floor about the thing being too much of a grab. I did apologize to the senator later, but that bill got to be so controversial that when it got down to the governor, he vetoed it—even though he had earlier indicated that he would sign it. It should have been vetoed.

There was a peace assembly after that, and they came in with another bill that was pretty liberal, but it didn't have all those gimmicks in it like the other one. I was able to qualify for a pension and Senator McCutcheon got a decent retirement out of it too, I'm sure.

So, these things can be compromised, but you're talking about veto power and this is one where I think the governor finally came to the conclusion that it was too hot and he didn't dare let it get by in the form it was.

TK: During the time you served in Olympia, the governor's veto power extended to words in a bill—although that was later changed by constitutional amendment. That earlier veto power could essentially be used to rewrite a bill. Did you consider that an excessive power on the part of the executive branch?

WH: Yes. The governor should have his right to call a halt to legislation, but he shouldn't have the right to enact new law that's the opposite of what the Legislature's intent was. When my friend, Max Nicolai, was Governor Rosellini's legal counsel, he got into one bill that involved removing commas and things like that and changing the meaning of the bill.

TK: Was the changing of legislative intent by the governor a problem during your years there?

WH: Yes. There were a couple of instances that were that way. There was even a clause that had been used in some public power legislation at one stage. I think that also came from Max. It was a clause in a bill that said essentially this: that in the event any section of a bill fails, the entire bill shall fail. The Legislature was saying it didn't want its intent changed by the veto power of the governor.

TK: With respect to the interaction between the governor and the Legislature, how would you compare Governor Rosellini with Governor Evans?

WH: Governor Evans had much better press relations than Governor Rosellini, I thought. But Governor Rosellini outshone him frankly.

TK: Outshone him in what way?

WH: Evans was always quite straightforward about what he was saying. Rosellini would dog around an issue. He had a theory that if you didn't do something for a long time maybe half of the problems would go away. By golly, it worked sometimes. I still come up with the idea that in the long run in his two terms that Rosellini did a lot of good. He met the problems of the day.

Evans, as a progressive Republican, tried to meet the problems and he met some of them, but apparently it didn't meet with the approval of a lot of people in his party because look what's happened to the Republican Party. It's split badly between its two factions. The Evans faction, for my money, is pretty near dead in this state. The tail that wags the dog is the right wing of the Republicans and that wasn't Evans' wing.

TK: While you were in the Legislature, there was always some discussion about trying to have annual sessions. How did you feel about that?

WH: In a growing state we needed annual sessions, but my personal situation made me feel, well fine, wait until I'm gone and then do it.

TK: An interesting idea surfaced in 1967. Given the difficulty of trying to convince the public of the need for annual sessions, they came up with the idea of a continuous Legislature. The proposal was that all one hundred and forty-nine members of the Legislature would become members of the Legislative Council, and all the standing committees would become Legislative Council Committees. What did you think about that?

WH: I'd forgotten that one.

TK: The idea was that it would keep members better informed and would perhaps avoid the problem of some people using interim committees for grandstanding purposes, to better utilize research facilities, and things like that.

WH: I vaguely remember it. I kind of laughed about it because I always had a very poor opinion of the Legislative Council. If they were using the Legislative Council as a model on which to remold the entire Legislature, it wasn't going to find any cheering section with me. It really didn't get into the issues, although the staff did. The council would get together for the football games and you'd have a Friday afternoon session, supposedly for business where they rubber stamped what the staff had been doing, and then have a good party that night, and the next day go to the football game and go home on Sunday.

That was the Legislative Council in my book. I never viewed it as a really working committee dealing genuinely with legislation. Some of the other committees like the Legislative Budget Committee certainly did. That work is pretty damn boring and it's hard on the rear end and it's not much fun. Yet, if you're really going to get into the nitty-gritty, somebody has to do it.

I think my reaction at the time was that this is a joke. The Legislative Council has been a no-account waste of time all the time anyway, and Al Rosellini had something to be said for him when he vetoed the appropriation for the damn thing.

TK: Were you on the council right at the very end of your career?

WH: I was never on the council. I preferred the special committees like the Education Committee and the Legislative Budget Committee.

TK: That leads me to a question about blue ribbon panels. It's often been said, "Well, if you want to avoid a problem, establish a commission." Based on your experience on the Tax Advisory Council, how would you react to that sentiment?

WH: That was primarily a public relations device to kind of set the stage with the media and get some publicity out that something had to be done. It worked, but boy, that was a struggle. About one of the toughest I've been into.

I also served on the Advisory Commission

on Civil Rights. Talk about having a commission to do things, about all you can do with something like the civil rights questions is to get an agenda that's before the public so that the public really understands that you're calling on them to play fair.

TK: Could you tell me something about the Advisory Commission on Civil Rights? What was on it? What did you consider the important things for it to accomplish?

WH: The U.S. Civil Rights Commission had been created by Congress in the early 1960s. Subsequently an advisory commission was created in every state, and the person chosen to chair the commission here in Washington was Carl Maxey from Spokane. He was a black attorney who had been associated with liberal causes. I knew him from various Democratic Party functions, and he had been of considerable help to me in the past. At the time of his appointment I was on the State Board of the American Civil Liberties Union. When he asked me to serve on the advisory commission, I arranged for John Goldmark to take my place on the ACLU. He had, of course, been defeated in that 1962 election and so he had time to devote to the organization.

We undertook to have meetings about once a month in Seattle, and the group included a couple of good friends of mine: Ken MacDonald, a labor lawyer, and Fred Haley, of the Brown and Haley Candy Company. He was a liberal Democrat and had been active in many causes. I'd say it was a close-knit group and we'd meet on Saturday morning, have a working session before lunch. Then, after lunch we'd clean things up and go home.

As an example of what we did, some members of the black community in Tacoma brought a complaint against the City of Tacoma where no blacks were employed in the Fire Department of one hundred and eighty people. There was one Native American and no Asians. It was a lily-white group. We talked it over and decided that Maxey was to find a number of black college graduates and get them into the system as applicants for jobs. He did that, and when none passed the test, we put together a presentation for the political elite of Tacoma. We said. "Now, here's what happened and we all know something has to be wrong. Why don't you clean it up?" And they did.

TK: Did the Commission have any enforcement powers?

WH: The only power we had was the power of publicity.

TK: What was the volume of complaints?

WH: We'd have two or three, to a dozen of those things.

TK: Did you have a staff to research those matters or to keep records?

WH: No, we didn't. We were just a bunch of fellows who knew each other and were concerned about civil rights.

TK: Well, moving along, I wanted to ask you about the role of the chief clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate. How are these people chosen, and how important are they in creating a smooth operation in the Legislature?

WH: Yes, they are important. You've got to have a technician there who understands how the machinery runs, and who is prepared to help the actual Speaker or the president of the Senate, whoever is in that role of lieutenant governor or otherwise, in adhering to the rules.

I think I told you that famous story about Mort Frayn when he was the Republican Speaker in the House and we Democrats had a strategy committee on which I served. This is really when I got my feet wet in the work of the House. Julia Hansen put me on it, and she was chair of the committee. We'd stay up until one o'clock in the morning working up traps for the Republicans so that they would give us, in effect, equal time before the media and every other way and listen to us. We regularly had them wrapped up in parliamentary questions.

TK: What's the background of people who were

selected for that position?

WH: Bill Howard, the Republican chief clerk, had been active in Republican politics and was a well-known lawyer, and so was his wife. They were good people and they were just trying to get their version of the job done. But up until that moment, they were running over the top of us and we didn't like it. We had been doing what we could to bring them to account, and it finally worked. We had a pretty successful session as a result of it. It happened fairly early on.

Of course, our clerk in the Senate for a long time was Ward Bowden who ran a little newspaper up in Snohomish County at Sultan. Ward was a good parliamentarian. He'd served as the assistant clerk in the House, then graduated over to the Senate when the Democrats took control. Very unfortunately he died in 1969. Sid Snyder came to the Senate from the House when Ward Bowden died. He's now a power. He's the Democratic majority caucus leader.

CHAPTER 8

INTERIM COMMITTEE WORK AND WATER ISSUES

Thomas Kerr: During your legislative career, you devoted a great deal of energy to work on various legislative interim committees. And while our conversations have already touched upon this briefly, I would like focus a little more closely upon this subject. Specifically, I think we should look at the work of the Water Resources Interim Committee, which you chaired, as well as a couple of other such committees upon which you served.

Perhaps I could begin by asking what were the problems and concerns that led to the creation of the Water Resources committee in the first place?

Wilbur Hallauer: From an agricultural standpoint—that's really where I was coming from because I had done farming in the lower Yakima Valley beginning in 1940 or so. Of course as a resident of central Washington, where water problems are primary to our livelihood, it was natural that I would take an interest in it.

There had been a great many problems concerning security of water rights in relation to unregistered claims where water was put to use prior to the enactment of the surface water laws in 1917, and the groundwater laws in 1945. Along in the mid-sixties, some of the problems related to that were starting to surface. For example, quarrels over water for cattle on the ranges. There was a bit of a showing of the hand of the federal government as to claims for water in the headwaters where the national forests were. A debate began about whose water that was. There was no doubt but what the federal government owned the land. Did it also own the water? Of course, federal law outranks state law anytime the federal government wants to apply it and go through with it. For a long time there had been a peaceful understanding in this nation about states' rights in water in the West, with the federal government yielding to state governments as to such water rights.

In the 1960s there was the beginning of the smell of federal interference and insistence on its own rights on its own land. As a practical matter, with so much land owned by the federal government, that water was to be the federal government's water; it wasn't going to be allowed to go on downhill to where it was being put to use on private land under state permits. All of these things were evolving into more and more of a clash. More water being taken for urbanization and suburbanization. It just seemed a good time to try and clear up some of these things and set in concrete in state law, to the extent we could, in face of the fact that federal law could overrule us if they so chose.

This was a common problem in all of the western states. There was an organization called Western States Water Council. During my regime in Ecology, it was expanded to include Alaska and Hawaii. There were fifteen states in the group, and they acted as a unit in relation to the federal government.

TK: Was that an organization to represent the interests of the states?

WH: Yes. And to try and keep the federal government from attempting to expand its powers. The organization was quite a strong one and had a lot of muscle in relation to federal agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Forest Service and so on.

TK: What was it that was causing the federal government to begin flexing its muscle, or, as you say, starting to make a stink?

WH: I think within the federal agencies themselves there was a tendency to want to be able to proceed under their own rules, without having to go through what they thought of as

monkey business of deferring to the state's degree of authority for permitting and otherwise. The primary agencies dealing with water in the West at the federal level were the Forest Service, Department of Interior, and in particular, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Corps of Engineers. All of these had different degrees of participation.

The Corps of Engineers, for example, built things like Chief Joseph Dam on the Columbia and were active in a lot of the permitting that went on in relation to navigable rivers.

In those days the power of the states was effected through our representation in Congress. With fifteen states in the U.S. Senate, we pretty much did have a big lever about controlling the federal agencies.

During my time when we had the Interim Committee on Water Resources, 1965 to 1967, and in my later period as director of the Department of Ecology, the state was well in command of water resources. So with the work of the Water Resources Committee, which was put into legislation in 1967, we had a pretty clear field. Of course the problem is that thirty-two years later when this interview is going on, there's been all kinds of new players come on the scene and new federal legislation that obscure the state's powers. How we're going to work out the final rules of the game is yet on the table and in play.

The overwhelming support that the fish industry has with the Native American community and the environmental community has changed the scale of balance as far as political power is concerned. That's also true in regard to other matters where the environmental groups are concerned about interfering with nature by constructing dams to store water and/or to produce electric power.

We're at a very interesting stage in that people who use the natural resource of water in producing electricity or agricultural crops are at risk and don't quite know what their future is. Here in the Columbia Basin, any new permitting has been shot down. That's certainly a change from the old regime where we thought that we had an unending source of water.

The Columbia flows about one hundred million acre-feet a year, and what we use for crop purposes and municipal purposes, in actual use, is about five percent of that, about five million acre-feet. It's only five percent and we're unable to understand why taking five percent of it is such a huge problem to the federal agencies and the environmentalists. We think that the resource should be used. If you're storing floodwaters, that should be available for other purposes. We can maintain a flow in the stream that is adequate and then some for fish. But then, that's the argument.

TK: In his inaugural address, at the beginning of the 1965 session, Governor Evans had recommended the establishment of a Department of Water Resources. The Interim Committee on Water Resources was established at the end of that session. Was he the first governor to address this whole issue of water?

WH: The water issue was always one of those things that was present to some degree, and he added a bit of impetus to it, there's no doubt about that. In fact, during the 1965 session, I opposed making any changes in the existing ways that things were handled. My position was that the interim committee should first come up with some idea of what direction we should go.

TK: So had he wanted to try to create a new department prior to the Legislature having gone through its investigative groundwork?

WH: I think Ecology became a new department in 1969. Maybe it was even in 1970. I know there were some political problems within the various agencies having to do with water in particular that led me to oppose and stop it from being formed the first time around. People who had been politically active were afraid of losing their positions if a new department was created under the head of the political opposition. But it all worked out and the Department of Ecology did get formed and was given those powers, and it probably was a good thing to do.

The old Department of Conservation and Development was kind of a mess because different branches of it were headed in totally different conflicting directions.

TK: How did you come to be chairman of the Water Resources Committee?

WH: I just took the notion that it was something that needed doing and went around and talked to various powers that be, people like Bailey and Gissberg and people on the Republican side and said, "There's a need to redo a lot of the things here to tighten up the pollution bills as I see it. The industry people who were affected by the pollution control laws better get with it or something very drastic is going to happen to them. Forces are building up and they better accommodate or things are going to get much worse for them." The industry people understood that language and they went along with it. They thought they'd be better off in a court that was trying to get at the facts and move them as far as could reasonably be asked and thus avoid a tidal wave later. It did avoid things for a little while, but the tidal wave, when it came, was at the federal level and really overwhelmed us.

TK: Then you were actually the force behind the creation of the committee in the first place?

WH: Yes. I had a feeling that the time was right and that both sides were ready for compromise. I think our biggest problem in working out our compromises was probably from the cattlemen's group.

TK: In terms of the actual creation of the committee, did you find that most of the people you spoke to such as Senator Bailey were supportive of what you wanted to do?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Did you also have a say on who was appointed to the committee?

WH: Yes, I did. I went around and talked to different people, particularly in the Senate, and asked them if they would be interested in serving.

The Republicans at that time were in control in the House in 1965, so I talked to Representative Bledsoe, who had indicated considerable interest in water problems. He was from Kittitas County. I asked him, if we formed the committee, whether he'd be interested in being co-chairman with me or vice chairman, the way it worked out. He was agreeable to it; he and I always did get along. It was a matter of great interest to him in Kittitas and Grant counties, which he represented.

When the committee did get underway, I gave him one of the more difficult assignments, which was the one of working out the compromises with the industry people on the subject of pollution, water pollution. While I had my hand in the pie, the understanding was that we'd work it out as a committee and try to achieve consensus, which we did. When it was in as legislation, that bill would be something that he would introduce himself and shepherd through the House. I did that with every one of our ten bills. There were ten committee members and each one had a bill.

I got the big technical bill on redoing the whole water code. It was important. It just had to be updated and it showed up in a lot of different ways. The main thing that was kind of a hidden agenda in that one was to achieve a minimum flow situation where, in effect, we were giving the fisheries people a water right on the river for at least some water to keep the fish alive. That was something new. Before that you could dry up a stream if too many permits had been issued and you got a dry year. It's something people on the west side don't understand, but over in eastern Washington it's an issue.

TK: What about staff? Were you able to hire experts to help you?

WH: We depended to a large degree on the water users to come and have their input before the committee. We undertook to notify everybody who we thought had any interest, whether it was parochial or personal or industrial. We notified the Indian tribes of our hearings and all that sort of thing. We wanted all that testimony. We didn't want anything unexpected to break out when we got back into session and were trying to get the legislation through.

TK: Did you communicate with city councils or county commissioners, that type of thing?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: And then you selected certain obvious industries? How would you communicate, for example, with individual farmers? Through their trade associations?

WH: Yes. The irrigation districts and all of the people who had a right or any position whatsoever in water. Of course, committees had lists of people who had testified on various water bills before the Senate. The Association of Washington Cities, for example, would be notified and it was their duty to notify their members, which are all the cities in the state. Ditto, there was an association of irrigation districts and all of the timber industry and the pulp mills would be notified.

The pulp mills, of course, were a very sensitive area. I think we have seventeen of them in this state and there were a lot of problems between the pulp mills and the oyster farmers about the pollution of salt water. So, of course, we had the oyster farmers come and the people from the pulp mills and we toured pulp mills and tried to understand what the industry's problems were.

There's a horrible example down in Hoquiam with the Rayonier Company where they thought they had come up with a technology for a new way of handling pulp mill effluent. They spent fourteen million dollars on it and the darn thing didn't work. You're talking about doing things in a field where the best available way of doing things is really an unknown. It's in process of scientific study and experiment. You try and discover better ways. It's a minefield in which to start imposing regulation, because you may wind up telling them to do something that turns out to be a lemon, like that incident. We were pretty gingerly in our approach to that, and I'm glad to say that pulp mill chemistry has improved vastly in the thirty-odd years since.

Things happened that we would never have dreamed of. For instance, over in the pulp mill in Bellingham they have a salmon rearing thing, just more for PR than anything else, where the fish return to the pulp mill and use the effluent.

TK: That's interesting. I didn't know about that.

WH: So things have improved. They don't always work right. Once in awhile things have glitches.

TK: When you notified these people, did you do this by letter? Did you tell them what this committee was hoping to accomplish? How did you alert them?

WH: Each meeting would have a different agenda, some different part of our set of problems. To start things off I had hired John Andrist who worked as the associate editor of the *Omak Chronicle*, and was handy to me here. He was the one who saw to it that all of these notifications went out and the arrangements were made and we had reservations in, let's say, Bellingham, for example, where we held a hearing. And that all of the people in the area were notified, the press was notified. The agenda for this sort of thing is pretty well understood among a certain class of legislative assistants, so there was a how-to book to go by in doing such stuff.

TK: You mean as far as setting the mechanics of it?

WH: Yes, the mechanics of it.

TK: Do I understand correctly that you didn't hire any technical staff?

WH: A lot of it was legal, and Charlie Roe was our man. At that time he was employed by the attorney general's office. Charlie and I have been very closely associated over the years, and remain so today. I would doubt that there is anyone in the state of Washington who knows more about the issue of water and the environment than Charlie Roe. His knowledge and advice have been of incalculable value to me.

TK: How about experts, like hydrologists?

WH: No, but we expected those people to be brought in. They were and the state had some and we made use of them.

TK: These were civil servants that were on the state payroll?

WH: Yes. We had resources to draw on of our own, and we expected water users to have their staff of experts, both legal and technical.

One of the people who I got acquainted with in those days was Kris Kauffman. Even to this day I use Kris, who is a private consultant. He's one of the top people. When I came to the Department of Ecology, Kris was there and I put him in charge of the setting of minimum flows. He was a high-class engineer and he had a staff of ten people and we got a lot done. If they'd given me another four years we'd have had the state pretty well covered.

TK: Having created the committee and got it under way, how often did you go out into the field?

WH: Once a month. We'd have this all set up a month in advance where we would next be. I think it was sixteen different meetings we held around the state.

TK: Sixteen meetings over the course of two years?

WH: Yes. We would go to Yakima and we'd all arrive there Friday night and have a meeting after dinner. Everybody was on their own, but in the evening we'd get together and sort of talk about what the agenda for an all-day Saturday meeting was going to be. I made them stick with it.

We'd meet at nine o'clock on Saturday morning and we'd be at it sometimes until in the evening. Yakima was a pretty hot meeting as I remember it. We'd have an agenda put together primarily by Charlie Roe and simply go through whatever members of the public or the lobbying industry, if you want to call it that, had on their minds.

TK: Would it be mostly a matter of listening to people? Was that the purpose?

WH: Yes.

TK: What kind of an interchange was there?

WH: In Yakima, for example, we'd have an agenda covering sufficiency of water storage in the Valley, Indian claims, and all this sort of thing. We had a pretty good turnout from the Indians in Yakima. They insisted on the priority, and that was later one of the things that I really got involved in at the Department of Ecology.

The Yakima Valley water rights situation was a total mess because you had this trump card that the Indians held under their treaty rights. Everybody else was at risk according to when and how the Indians played their trump. That had to be brought into the fold and there was a means of doing it under what was called the McCarran Amendment. It provided that the state could adjudicate Indian water rights in its own judicial system. I set out to do that when I was at the Department of Ecology. We filed a suit that came to be known as the Acquavella case. It went on for years. We figured we'd be in adjudication for twelve years. It's been twenty-two years, and ninety-nine percent of it is done. Believe me, that decision was very meaningful to the future of the Yakima Valley because now everybody has their own priority. They know what it is and they can plan. Before that it was wild card.

TK: Would you have follow-up meetings if certain things were brought to your attention that perhaps you didn't know about or wanted to think over and talk further? If you just had one meeting, was there some way for you to get back to these people and carry on the dialogue?

WH: As I remember it, in December 1966, all of the legislators were coming into their respective caucuses and there was a get-together on some of the more debatable issues. For instance, a couple of minor things in the pollution control bill. Some of us on the committee simply got together in what amounted to a private meeting over in the Seattle area before the 1967 session and decided how the legislation should be drafted. When I got those drafts I took them around to the various members early in the session and said, "This is the one I would like to have you take." I gave an important small bill to my good friend, Alan Thompson, who was later the chief clerk of the House and said, "This will be your responsibility." I did not put the committee name on anything. Absolutely not. I had observed what happened when the

permanent interim committees like the Legislative Council and so on put in bills under the committee's name. There was always a bloodbath. Having bills so labeled as coming from the Council would inspire all kinds of political opposition. The batting average for getting a Legislative Council bill through was something like two percent, I think. On the other hand, by giving every legislator on my committee a vested interest because he was the lead sponsor of his particular bill, it worked. They pursued it with their personal influence as well as the committee influence and away we went. Every one of them went through, much to the surprise of Charlie Roe.

TK: I think it was a surprise to a great many people.

WH: I kept track of all ten of them and, if I thought anything was slowing down, I'd go around and see where I could poke that would help move them.

TK: In terms of the hearings and the information gathering phase during those years, you mentioned a couple of the interest groups or interests that you would have consulted: the oyster men, the pulp mills and so forth. Which of them were the most effective? Which people impressed you with by the quality of information they were able to give you?

WH: There were some of the people from the pulp industry who I'm sure influenced all of us because they took us into their facilities to show us how treatment of pulp mill effluent actually proceeds and the different methods of doing it. There was a lot of uncertainty in the technical thinking at that time. And that made it very tricky to try and come up with a regulation that wouldn't halt progress, or make the problems worse. You had to recognize that they had their problems over the amount of money they could get to do these things.

Of course the irrigators had their stories. Security of water right was probably the big thing with the irrigation people.

For the people in the building business, who were building homes in the suburban areas around Seattle and Tacoma and up in Snohomish County, domestic water rights was a big scenario. One of the things we looked at was why not require everybody to get a water permit. That hadn't been done.

People were putting in private wells. There are several hundred thousand wells in the state that are being used for domestic purposes, and the great majority of them don't have any permit. The system, then and now, was that every such well could withdraw up to five thousand gallons a day and didn't need a permit. The problem they have is that the neighbor puts in one and gets a permit, then they're second on the list because they haven't got a record.

The debate is still going today. One of the things that the present governor's proposal has got in it is a system of making everybody apply for a permit in order to take groundwater. I don't think whoever drew that up has any idea of the immensity of the problem. If you have two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand wells out there, how many people are you going to have to hire to police that? If the thing is to have any meaning, you're going to have to have people in the field to make sure the well is where it says it is, and that they're withdrawing the amount of water they're allowed and no more. You will need one thousand men to do this, and that's crazy.

TK: What would you recommend as the solution to the problem if you have all of these people drawing this water out and you want to control it in some degree?

WH: What was it, Patrick Moynihan had a phrase about "benign neglect." I think that's the best we can do unless you're ready to spend the kind of money that a true enforcement would bring about. I don't think the Legislature is ready to spend that kind of money and have the kind of misery that comes from law enforcement about things that really for the most part aren't important. It's only if they're overdrawing the water supply in the aquifer that the state should have much concern about.

There is the danger of somebody going out there and just taking a lot of water without a permit. You're going to have to rely on the

neighbors to become aware of it and complain about it. Then you can send the troops in.

TK: Since these hearings were in the 1965-1967 period, which may have been before the environmental movement really began to gather steam, did you get input from sportsmen or bird lovers or the many people who later came to make up a large part of the environmental movement?

WH: The environmental movement was pretty amorphous at that time as to anybody who would be labeled as to really representing the environment. There were public interest people who were particularly following my effort in regard to the minimum flows and the recognition of the right of fish life. Mainly these people were people in the Department of Game and the Department of Fisheries who thought this was a good idea and we needed to do it. Then later, when I was in Ecology, these people were active in providing technical information as to how much water they thought should be the proper measure for minimum flow. They're technical people in the fish business for the agencies anyway, and always were demanding about three times what we usually came up with because quite rightly they figured that the more water in the stream the more spawning could occur and have better environment for the fish.

There really wasn't anything that you could specify as an environmental movement at that time. There was "do-gooderism" out there. The League of Women Voters and some other organizations were interested, generally, in some of the things that are goals of the environmental movement today. But it really hadn't found voice as something out of the public background noise of discussion of public issues.

At that time, with the Interim Committee on Water Resources being in effect, we didn't have a voice from any organized group but we did have a voice from the state agencies, the fish and game departments, and their adherence in the way of sportsmen and commercial interests. So there was discussion. For example, the oyster growers were interested in a clean seawater environment and were in head-on conflict with the pulp mills that might have been in their area. That was one we had to deal with directly.

The oyster growers gave me a nice little trinket of affection after all this was over because we had put some limits on pulp mill effluent. In the Olympia/Shelton area the oyster growers had quite a few operations and they attended a lot of our meetings. So it went.

TK: Wasn't a dinner put on in your honor by some oystermen?

WH: I guess that's right. I've lost the trinket and I regret that.

TK: Did local government representatives, such as county commissioners, have an important presence in the hearings?

WH: We didn't see much of the county commissioners. We had, as I recall it, some occasional discussion with the Association of Counties which had a lobbyist at Olympia who kept them posted on what was going on at state government levels. The same was true of the Association of Washington Cities. It was rather seldom that we had direct discussion with any single municipal entity. We did have a tour of Ross Dam, for example, but that was a bit exceptional. We had one of our meetings up at the Seattle facility connected with the Skagit dams.

TK: Local governments have often been concerned about Indian treaty rights and sovereignty claims. Was that something that was brought to the attention of the committee?

WH: Everybody was concerned about them because Indian treaty rights and sovereignty claims are an unknown, even more so then than they are now. The tribes have priority in many matters over water that is being used by a non-Indian community. You have to look at the relative numbers of people who are involved. Then we were talking about thirty thousand Indians in the state and nineteen tribes. Today I think they've added on a tribe or two and they talk about seventy thousand Indians. Then we had three million non-Indians, and now we've got five million non-Indians.

The question of public importance has to do with what authority and what controls over the majority should be exercised by the minority, particularly when the relations are on a ninety-nine to one scale. These things are very troubling and you don't want to break legally existing treaty rights. But those treaties were entered into for the purposes of allowing white settlement and European style cultures to prevail and exist. Now to have the remnants of those treaties in many ways exercising priorities over the rest of us is hardly in keeping with democratic action. We have changed the status of Indians so they're citizens in common with us and yet they have their own rights separate from us under their sovereignty situation. I think it's something that cries out for a final settlement so that it won't go on for a thousand or ten thousand years.

You also have to take into consideration that these are property rights, and what is a fair settlement, and how do you get around the situation where Indians have a great claim on public sympathy? Yet things need to be done sometimes. Should the Indians' right to fish for salmon outrank the rights of the five million people in this state and many people in other states that have other rights that are in conflict with those rights? If it were a simple matter of law and it wasn't a treaty right, you'd simply condemn those rights and pay them. That's a public issue that will be around for awhile yet, but I would hope that within a hundred years some closure is made to the question.

Sorry for drifting off into philosophy.

TK: You've obviously thought a lot about these things.

Did you receive input from academic institutions, such as WSU or the University of Washington, in the gathering of data to support the bills that you would subsequently introduce?

WH: The people at WSU were involved and they had created an academic group that was following water resource matters and participated to some extent in our discussions, particularly in eastern Washington. When the committee came to an end, we had about ten thousand dollars in leftover money that we saw to it was given to WSU to continue those studies. I think the thing was sort of aborted because the professor who was doing that had died quite early, prematurely, and I think the thing just drifted off into nothing.

We did have some participation from fisheries people at the University of Washington and also people at the university who were connected with the Association of Washington Cities and infringed on politics a little bit at that point.

TK: Did these people make available the studies that they had done?

WH: The people at WSU did. I think we probably provided them a lot more information than they provided us, because they were just getting started, and we had the benefit of what the state had on hand when we started.

TK: Did you encounter any articulate opposition to your work? Were there some groups or individuals that stand out in your memory as being opposed to what you were doing?

WH: We had what we expected from the Indian community—insistence that they had priority under the treaty. We knew that was their claim and we were concerned about it. But we weren't about to try and take that on because they're wards of the federal government and they had the power of the federal government. As long as comity existed between the states and the federal government that was an issue to be ignored, which we did at that stage.

With the cattlemen, they had a very intelligent and dedicated leader from Kittitas County, Mary Burke, who held office in the Cattlemen's Association and was very well informed and had testified frequently before that and since then about the problems of cattlemen in relation to water rights. Much of what she said needed to be taken into consideration. The amount of water consumed by cattle isn't very great, really, in relation to the supply. But they did deserve protection, and that was what she was up to. Of course there's overlap there because in some situations wells have been put down near places that natural water, springs and so on, occur and are in use and under claim by cattlemen and these

things are adversely affected by the wells that have been put down nearby.

An example of the kinds of problems we faced can be seen in the Sinking Creek situation over in Lincoln County and probably down into Grant County. Deep wells have affected Sinking Creek but the information on flows is in conflict with itself. There's a big argument between irrigators and non-irrigators and the grazing people over the rights to Sinking Creek. The thing has been before the Supreme Court. I think this last time they came up with a holding that the Department of Ecology lacked any authority to issue permits in connection with it. This is a proper matter for the courts.

I was aware of the Sinking Creek controversy when I was Director of Ecology and I wanted to bring it to adjudication, but choices had to be made. Our staff was somewhat limited in the legal department. We had only six lawyers at the time. I don't know how many they've got now, but I'm sure it's a fairly high multiple.

Anyway, we chose to go with the Yakima adjudication, which was started in 1977 and is just now in the final one percent of closure on that one. It was a good thing to do and it would have been completed if we'd gotten into Sinking Creek at the same time and settled that issue. I don't know, for the life of me, why the department doesn't simply go into court and get an adjudication of that. The court wants to deal with it and says that Ecology can't. Let them have their fun. Let the courts do it. Maybe we'll get some better sense of direction how to handle these conflicts between right to water for cattle and right to water for irrigating. These are essentially a conflict between surface water rights and groundwater rights. The department obviously doesn't know what it wants to do. They're afraid to ask the court because the court might tell them something that would cause an unending sore. They're not dealing with it and they're not bringing it to resolution, and they should.

TK: In your deliberations as a committee, did you have any models of legislation from other states, or situations in other states, to look at in order to give you some idea about how to proceed?

WH: We were very interested in finding just what was going on in southern California. We viewed that as where we might be as a state some day, with the addition to our population, and multiplication of municipal problems versus agricultural water supply and that sort of thing. From what we could see and hear, it appeared that some way had to be found to make water rights flexible enough, so that as our society changed and we became more and more urban, some of the agricultural water supply could be converted to municipal use. The trend in southern California and the Phoenix area in Arizona, in particular, was to create a market for water rights where water could be bought and sold. That way, you weren't forever frozen in concrete as to the use of agricultural water, which is the big competing quantity user.

That was, I believe, a reflection of the thinking of the committee and that we eventually would have to deal with it. But we didn't really deal with it in any substantive fashion at that time. That's one of the crying needs at the moment in the state: to come up with something where if the environmentalists want to stop agricultural use of what they consider excess wastage of water, to simply buy it and put it back where they want to. It becomes a matter of public policy and it means using tax money for this, whether it's done by a municipality or it's done by an agency that is devoted to fish.

There's some thinking on that on the agenda in the Legislature at the present time. But I don't think it's really settled so that there's really a program. The governor has suggested something, but I understand from my legislative friends that they've already marked it dead on arrival.

TK: So you suggest actually buying the water?

WH: Yes. Buy up the water rights and return it to the stream to add to the minimum flows if they think the minimum flows are wrong. The people who are already using the water, may have been using it anywhere from 1976, when the minimum flow setting was made in the Okanogan. There haven't been any new water rights granted since then, except interruptible water rights. An old-fashioned groundwater right around here has become a valuable property. The governor's team

is talking about public money being used to purchase up in some situations.

TK: But that, you suggest, is dead on arrival?

WH: That's what I understand. I think they're trying to open the door wide. The interests in agricultural water are amenable to some opening of the door and starting a system and seeing how it works. I don't think they want to put the wholesale water rights on the table for somebody to bid on and then lose them.

TK: Getting back to the work of the interim committee during that '65-'67 period, could you tell me whether all of the information that you gathered, all the hearings that you conducted and so forth, changed your views on anything? And what specifically did you learn as a result of this exercise that you didn't already know as a result of a lifetime of being concerned with water and water problems?

WH: I think I learned more about water quality problems during the process than I did about agricultural and municipal water rights per se. One of the things that really made an impression on me was the testimony about the costs of clean water. That became apparent, in the course of our hearings, in terms of cleaning up the polluted water that is a product of our municipalities and the public and industrial use of water.

The example that was given to me by some of the people in the municipal sewage treatment business was that for X number of dollars they could clean up wastewater by ninety percent. The next step was secondary treatment of water sewage instead of primary. To effect secondary treatment that would clean up another nine percent of the original one hundred percent of the polluted water, would cost ten times as much as it cost to get the first ninety percent. So you've got a geometric aspect here at work in terms of cost. Then, if you were going to go to tertiary treatment to attack the problem of that last one percent, you could get ninety percent of that one percent by spending one hundred times what you spent for the first ninety percent. This is a set of mathematics that should be better understood by the public, because there is a limit to what you want to pay in taxpayer money to achieve perfection.

There are people out there who see the problem as a simple one: complete cleanup, complete perfection, absolute purity of the water. Mind you, the natural water that runs off of these hills is far from pure at any stage when you get down to counting impurities in terms of parts per billion. There are places where there's mineralization in these mountains and these mountains erode constantly. In geological terms you've always got some of that water carrying some of those mountains to the sea. Of course that's how the sea got to be what it is, a sink hole where all these impurities are either in solution or precipitated out into the silts of the sea floor. But that water is not pure at any stage. The only way you get pure water is to distill it. And then there's degrees of that, I understand. That's a public question that should be understood and debated and some resolution of it brought. If you have ninety-nine percent purity, I myself think that's a pretty good place to stop. I grew to appreciate that there's a tremendous problem here that simply has never really had adequate public discussion and understanding.

I'm dismayed by some of the things that Congress has done in terms of amending the clean water acts about every ten years by making them ever more stringent. As long as we have a healthy population that isn't being in any serious degree affected by bad water, I think we're doing a pretty good job. Once the scientific problem of keeping bacteria out of the water supply was recognized, the world made a great stride forward in terms of protecting the human population. All you have to do is read about the plagues that were water connected in this country one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago. It was a recurring summertime problem. In the more remote and poor parts of the world, it goes on today.

TK: So would you say that the real problem is to properly monitor the water quality, rather than trying to gain one hundred percent purity or something like that?

WH: My vision of it is that we're doing a pretty

good job, because we don't see very many people sick from waterborne diseases.

A lot more serious problem is contamination of meat in my estimation, but the public isn't ready to look at reality in that. If they really wanted to get down to cases, the way that you can cure problems in meat is by using radiation to kill the problem, but people get scared with the idea that somehow the radiation is going to affect them. The scientists say that isn't so, but the fear is there.

TK: At what particular point did you decide, as a committee, that you'd heard enough and were prepared to sit down to actually start drafting the legislation?

WH: Of course Charlie Roe was our staffer and he was handling the preparation of the legislation and there were drafts of the bills. As I recall it, in December, before the 1967 session, he had prepared a pretty complete set of drafts for our consideration. During that December, there were some gatherings of legislators going on over in Seattle with different members of the committee. Not all of them were there, but probably about three-quarters of them. We simply got together and flipped through these things pretty rapidly to see if the things we had talked about were in the draft bills, and agreed on going ahead with the introduction of the bills.

When I had the drafts of the bills early in the session, I simply took them to the individual members and asked them to carry the torch for a particular bill. Each one of the ten members had a bill that they were the prime sponsor of and it was their responsibility to get it through the one house that they were in and I would see to it that the other house picked up on it. I did the policing, really. I left the introduction and the committee appearances and that sort of thing pretty well to that individual.

TK: How was the decision made to proceed with ten bills? Why that number, rather than combining bills into two or three or four?

WH: We felt that there were really ten different issues that we wanted to address. It wasn't planned particularly; it was pure chance it came out that way.

I do know that there were ten bills and that I took the reworking of the water code as my own because it was a highly technical one. Stewart Bledsoe, the legislator from Kittitas and Grant Counties, who was with the Republican majority in the House and was interested in these issues, undertook the pollution bill. He probably had better connections with the industry lobbying groups than anybody else. He was able to effect a really good compromise.

The regulation of the pulp mills of the state had been the main issue, in terms of the activity and the discussion of the bill. Each one of seventeen mills in the state employed an average of around five hundred people, so they were an important industrial portion of the state economy. In conflict with them were people like the oyster growers, sportsmen and fish people, generally, who wanted greater regulation.

This was designed to be a compromise process to extract from the pulp mills the maximum of cleanup that we felt they could afford and that we could achieve by a compromise discussion of the issues regarding pollution. I think we did a pretty good job of it. Bledsoe got the bill through the House with some dissent because some of the pulp people were pretty reluctant to submit themselves to this additional degree of expenditure. Really, what was bothering them was a maintenance cost, in addition to the capital cost. But it was a compromise and went through the House as such.

Then, when it got over to the Senate, the pulp people had dreamed up some more problems that they hadn't thought of to begin with. So we had an all-day war on the floor of the Senate that got started about eleven o'clock in the morning with an amendment that Senator Gissberg put in at the request of the Scott Paper Company. They had a pulp mill located in Everett. I think there were about a thousand people who worked for Scott at that time in the Everett area. They were big timber holders, too. They rallied all the troops and got all the Republicans to go with them and they added an amendment that I was objecting to. We created such a stink, I think, with that scenario that that particular amendment has never been used by the pulp industry to dodge behind and

avoid some of the costs. It was kind of a Pyrrhic war.

TK: The newspapers at the time seemed to pick up on that debate. They indicated that the Gissberg amendment had something to do with the definition of a pollutant. The *Seattle Times* reported that the amendment was defeated and that the bill went on to be passed without a dissenting vote. Was that an accurate account?

WH: It's right in the final result. But they put that amendment on, and they kept lobbying for it.

TK: Was the amendment defeated?

WH: The amendment wasn't defeated.

TK: What happened?

WH: I remember I had a date to take a group of ladies out to the brewery. We'd recessed for lunch. And after lunch I was greeted by the state patrol as we came out of the brewery to take me back to the Senate.

They did get their majority. I think there was another amendment and that may have been what the newspaper had been talking about. We won that one. There was just this one, and I really think it was a bit of show business by the lobbyist for Scott Paper Company to show his ability to manipulate the Legislature and impress his employer. I think that was really the game because it was a false scent. The thing was never used.

TK: Apparently some of those ten bills had to do specifically with irrigation. Do you remember anything about those?

WH: No, I don't. That's too long ago and too insignificant. The major plays were really the setting of minimum flows and the giving of a water right to what was called in-stream uses for fish and environmental purposes, aesthetics, whatever you want to call it. That was important.

There had always been rumbles that the state water laws allowed people to dry up the streams. That really isn't quite the way it worked, because there's plenty of streams in eastern Washington that dry up, whether there's any irrigation drawn from them or not. Largely, in some of these streams it depends entirely upon the particular rainfall of that year whether they dry up or not. The Sinking Creek sort of situation isn't extraordinary at all. Some of them run one year and not the next, without reference to irrigation. This was fixed in the public mind, that there was a drying up of streams caused by irrigation—and I presume it did happen on occasion. There are dry years and so on. It was a good thing to deal with it and make sure that there was, after the date of the bill's passage, a water right on equal footing to protect the fish and the aesthetics.

TK: After you had put together the drafts of these pieces of legislation, did you show them to the interested parties that you had been consulting over the two-year period? I ask that question because it seems like you were able to neutralize a lot of opposition by bringing groups into the fold, so to speak.

WH: I think everybody was on notice. They knew what we would be doing and I know that the fisheries and game departments had copies of our drafts as we went through this. Of course they were interested in that minimum flow business.

There was argument with the fish people over who was going to be in charge of the process of establishing minimum flows. I remember insisting that the sole authority was going to be with the one agency at that time within the Department of Conservation and Development, and that was the water resources agency. I had the opinion then and have it now that if we'd allowed participation by the fisheries agencies, there would have been a big war within the group assigned to setting minimum flows, and nothing would have ever been done. That's still the situation. Ecology still has that power, and occasionally the other departments try to horn in on it, but they should never be allowed to have it because it will stifle any action whatever.

TK: These interested parties had been given the opportunity to have their say, and you attempted to reassure them that their interests had been considered well before you ever introduced the

bills, except for that Scott Paper situation?

WH: Yes. That was an aberration. They were totally informed about what we were doing. They had all the drafts. They were absolutely aware of it and sure, they probably had second thoughts off and on, but if that particular lobbyist hadn't gotten off the reservation we'd never have had any problem whatever. The bills would have sailed through the Senate with a little bit of bickering maybe about how much it's going to cost industry.

TK: Had you communicated during this entire period of bill preparation with the governor's office?

WH: I don't really remember talking with the governor's office about it. Bledsoe was vice chairman of the committee, and he was one of the group that was referred to as the Evans Republicans. He later became director of Agriculture in the Evans administration, and I figured that the Republicans had five members on the committee of ten. I didn't make any personal effort to go and talk to the governor; I just did my thing.

TK: Speaking of the division of five Democrats and five Republicans, did party differences ever emerge during the two-year period of the interim committee?

WH: Not as such, no. I would say that the Republican legislators as a group were more sympathetic with the pleas of the industry people than the five Democrats on the committee, but that's just the nature of the beast that's historically been true.

TK: Did you think that the whole thing had to hang together as a package to get it through?

WH: No. They weren't integrated. I just take it as a matter of personal pride that all ten of them got through because I thought my technique and approach to it was a little unusual. It worked, and that's my pride in it. I was able to get them all moving, sort of a do-good sort of proposition, and it was accidental that we got all ten of them. Boy! That doesn't happen very often. To bat one hundred percent when the Legislative Council, for example, with five times as many people on the council, has a batting average of less than ten percent.

TK: Would you attribute that to the strategy of not identifying the bills with the committee's name?

WH: That's right.

TK: And having ten different members as sponsors?

WH: That's right. Public interest bills with a prime sponsor who had a hand in creating it, and who had a duty to try and get it through to maintain his own standing as a public interest advocate.

TK: Was the leadership in the Senate aware of what was going on here, and did they support you in this particular strategy?

WH: I was afraid of one person and that was Bob Greive. Somewhere early in the process in 1967, Greive and I got into a conflict really having to do with the Water Resources Committee work. The compromise that we made was that Greive got involved in air pollution matters in the Puget Sound area. That included pollution of views—that is, if somebody builds a big building in front of your view so that you're cut off. That was a local problem in the metropolitan area. Our agreement really was that he'd leave me alone on my issues and I'd leave him alone. It was a kind of a standoff. Neither one of us was going to shoot off any hydrogen bombs if the other didn't. It stuck; he kept his word. He was always pretty good about keeping his word.

TK: Looking back at that rather unusual accomplishment of conceiving of those ten bills, and getting them all through the legislative thickets, do you think that you could do the same thing today, given what you know about the political environment today?

WH: You've got something else in the equation that I didn't have. You've got an environmental movement that's on the prod and constantly seeking total control. Their goal is really perfection, and I'm not a believer in perfection. It's that simple.

TK: What I was thinking of was that in 1967 the environmental movement was still in its infancy. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* had only recently been published and people were beginning to become conscious of environmental problems. But the great force of the environmental movement had not yet fully developed at that particular time.

WH: The word "ecology" was a new word to most of us legislators.

TK: That was probably true of most Americans. It had simply not occurred to most people to think in ecological terms. If they had been, would that have made a difference in terms of the work of your committee?

WH: If you were trying to do it now, the mammoth that has arrived on the scene in the form of the environmental movement would make what we did impossible. You couldn't do the equivalent of it today—and the problems have changed. Not only the physical problems, but the political problems. Look at the mess we're in about dams on the Columbia River and the Snake River. Attitudes have changed and people question the wisdom of having done what was done.

You asked me at lunch about the *Cadillac Desert*, a book that I consider an extremist attack on the Bureau of Reclamation and all its works. While it had some real justifications, all of these kinds of books are evidence of a new public mood. Things that we could have done, you can't do now. You can't even make sensible decisions about the tremendous amount of water in the Columbia River per capita. This state has probably fifty times the water of each citizen of California or Arizona, yet they're able to do things down there that we can't do up here, because of environmental constraints on the use of that water.

TK: And, over on the other side, you now have a very militant property rights movement that's grown up in response to environmental regulatory activity?

WH: I'm part of it.

TK: Doesn't it seem as though you've got two different movements here on opposite ends of the political spectrum which would make it much more difficult, if not impossible, to reach the kind of compromises and agreements that you were able to meet?

WH: Yes. I think the governor is reaching out and trying tentatively to do something in the way of public payment for property rights that will calm some of the fears of the property rights advocates. They're afraid of losing their rights piece by piece to environmental regulations. You may own the property but you can't do anything with it. It's happening all the time.

TK: There was a matter relating to all this that you've indicated you were not able to accomplish as much as you would have liked, and that has to do with Indian rights. You've often said that this has become a rather intractable issue, and I wonder if you might like to elaborate on it beyond what you've already said?

WH: How many tapes have you got in reserve?

TK: This is an important part of the history of this area, and it would be nice to hear your views.

WH: I think my views are pretty well founded. When I first came to Oroville, one of the things that was apparent was that this was a community with quite a substantial Native American population. In the course of managing the family-owned factory it developed that about one-half of my employees over the forty-one years I ran that factory, were Indians. Native Americans, Native Canadians, if you want to call them that, because we were in an area of an international tribe, the Okanogan. Their bailiwick was from the mouth of the Okanogan for two hundred miles north. They would come here seasonally to work

in the fruit orchards and so on. The Canadians came because the pay was better. Of course, when the harvest season was over we'd put on a night shift at the factory and employ them. I had occasion to become personally involved and acquainted with a lot of these people and admired them in many ways and understand some of their problems. Not completely, of course. Nobody does, because you can't really get inside of a man's mind or a woman's mind completely. I got to a state where I could talk to them about what their goals were for their children and things like that, which were highly personal. As individuals their goals were very much the same as the rest of the people—European based people—and they wanted to enjoy the benefits of our European style culture and make their way in it. And yet their home base was their reserves or reservations, whatever you want to call them. And their loyalty was to their own culture that they originated from.

That's happened with all the various strands of the European cultures that have come here. I guess mine is Swiss and West German and Alsatian French. My wife, her base is Huguenot French and English and so on. We each have a connection to a strand of the European fabric.

Here we are in a so-called democracy in which less than one percent of the people in the state of Washington are Native Americans, with their nineteen Indian reservations. They have their property rights through treaty and so on. There is a big tangle as to what degree of control a minority should have in a democracy. We have a moral duty to treat them properly, but how far does that go? Do we let them run the country? It's not entirely a joke when you talk about giving the country back to the Indians. I felt that Judge Boldt did that with his famous fifty-fifty decision about division of the fishery, because what the treaties really said was that they should be entitled to fish at their accustomed places. Whether that implies fishing in the customary manner or using modern technology is a question. But anyway, today you've got automated gear for catching fish and public sale of the fish by the Indians that catch them. The Canadians went through exactly the same thing up in Canada and came up with a different answer. Indians there are allowed to catch all the fish as they please for their own sustenance. But they can't sell them unless they get a license in common with the other part of the population. I happen to agree that the Canadian solution made more sense.

But then the Indian right has been extended from the right to take the fish to the right of the fish to reproduce and spawn. This, of course, comes in conflict with hydroelectric and the dams and irrigation use and so on. There is an effect and so you get into regulation under federal Indian law and Indian participation in any decision about land use in the state of Washington. There's merit in that argument, but, again, we get back to one-half of one percent of the population of the state having undue authority over the rest of the people.

In the normal course of events, if it weren't for sovereignty claims, you would simply condemn those rights and pay them for it. Whatever the court awarded. But we're faced with the situation where, if we don't cut across the treaty provisions, the situation will fester for a thousand years and more. I think it ought to be brought to a conclusion.

During the course of my career, one of the things that I take pride in doing was at least bringing to an end water claims by the Indians in the Yakima watershed, of total use of the river and everybody else being secondary. We did what I call putting a cap on the Indian claims. We were able to do that under federal law in a state court. More of that sort of thing needs to be done. Use should be made of the McCarran Amendment to end domination by the small minority who are Native Indians, Native Americans, of the other ninety-nine and one-half percent of our state society. The intent, of course, would be to pay for it, whatever the courts say, and achieve the equality that I think is needed.

It's pretty hard to go ahead and make use of our water resources in this state unless we deal with that problem and find a proper place to end it and pay it off. How long does this insistence on a separate Indian culture go on? You're creating what I call ethnological parks, called reservations, where Indians sell trinkets to the White man and non-taxed cigarettes and have their own casinos with special privileges for Indians. Perhaps this is justified retribution, but where does it stop? The implication of a true democracy is that we're

all equal regardless of race, color and creed. We're not doing that. This is a case of a racial minority having superior rights. And yet the big bane in American society has been that we've given inferior rights to other races, and we're ashamed of that. We're trying to correct that, but we allow this abnormality to exist in regard to Native Americans having more rights than the mass of others including white, black, brown, and yellow, in deference to red. I think it's wrong.

TK: Why do you think the public has abandoned what you would call the "democratic principle" in the case of Indians?

WH: We've done wrong to the Indians. We've lied to them, we've cheated them, and now they're lying to us and cheating us through their casinos and so on and their illicit cigarette sales. Two wrongs don't make a right. It's time to bring closure again to this sore spot.

TK: Do you see any prospects of that happening?

WH: Not in my lifetime. I haven't but a few years left at best. But somewhere down the line, nibble by nibble, something needs to be done.

I'd like to see someone bold enough to suggest a one hundred-year program to end all racial rights of any kind whatsoever that are distinct from the generality of rights. All these things, whether you call it affirmative action or treaty rights for Indians, should go by the board. We should be ashamed of any attempt to trade on race. That's what we're doing.

TK: You suggest that it be done over a long period?

WH: Yes. It's existed for a long time, and to bring it to a close suddenly, bang, that isn't right either. They need time to prepare a bit.

Indian reservations have been terminated, and I'm suggesting termination of all of them, as well as abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

TK: An important aspect of the Indian rights question has to do with the perennial problem of Indian jurisdiction. Would you care to comment on that?

WH: I'd be delighted to do so. The situation came up through congressional action by Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, who had placed an amendment on some federal legislation that would allow the states to take over undisputed sovereignty over Indian reservations. The amendment, which was signed by President Eisenhower in about 1955, granted the states a window of opportunity—I believe it extended for ten years—for the states to assume such jurisdiction and that the federal government would recognize such an act. There had been an extremely difficult problem created by the fact that the tribes said they were sovereign on their reservations. But most reservations had a lot of lands within them that weren't owned by tribal members or by the tribes. So you had a non-Indian population living on the reservation and engaging in economic activity. I was very familiar with the situation both on the Yakima Reservation and the Colville Reservation, the two largest reservations in the state.

We called this condition checkerboarding, because the pattern of ownership was like a checkerboard. So an officer of the law, in pursuit of some miscreant, would not know whether he was on property where he was legally entitled to make an arrest. If the miscreant had fled to the so-called sovereign lands of the Colville nation, then the law enforcement officer would have to go get an Indian officer to make the arrest.

There wasn't all that much cooperation between the two police agencies, so we had a pretty thoroughgoing mess. McCarran's legislation at the congressional level was an attempt to resolve this difficulty by handing the opportunity to the states to take jurisdiction in terms of policing the reservation, which is the reasonable thing to do.

There was a case that involved a capital offense by an Indian on the Colville Reservation that was tried before Judge Wicks here in Okanogan County. I think it was about 1950 or so, and the man was doing time in Walla Walla. Judge Wicks was, himself, an Indian and our superior court judge. To me he was an authority on matters of this kind.

But what happened was that the federal courts decided that the state did not have proper jurisdiction in that case. So the man who had been convicted in Judge Wicks' court was set free. So we all at once had a situation where a long-assumed jurisdiction over Indian criminals on Indian reservations was interrupted, and we no longer had the authority to do what we had been doing for a long time.

Judge Wicks got on my case about this and brought my attention to it. Something needed to be done to correct it. The obvious thing was to introduce legislation accepting the opportunity offered to us by Congress in the McCarran Amendment to take jurisdiction.

Perry Woodall, a Republican from Toppenish, who had been deeply involved in this sort of problem, and myself, and I think someone else, introduced legislation in the Senate in 1957 to allow the state to take jurisdiction, pursuant to the McCarran Amendment. It passed the Senate on a vote of about forty to four. But when it went over the House, it got into a big wrangle primarily between Dan Evans, who was then the Republican minority leader, and John Goldmark, who had just been elected, but who lived on the Colville Reservation.

John was a liberal and tried to get the bill through to resolve this problem. There was a Democratic majority in the House and I had not foreseen any problems. Dan Evans apparently had been indoctrinated with the thesis that the Indians had been robbed by the non-Indians. And he had great sympathy for them. That's a point of view that a lot of people hold, but we were confronted by a practical problem of how do you enforce the laws, some kind of laws on the reservations?

Dan managed to convince his rather sizeable Republican minority to oppose the bill. They were joined in opposition by some Democrats primarily from Spokane, where Bob Dellwo, an attorney who represented some Indian tribes, had political legs and had run for Congress. They got together a majority to kill the bill. And they damned well did it again in the 1959 session with the added help of newly elected Slade Gorton as part of the Republican leadership. It didn't make any sense to me, but that's the way it was.

Finally, in 1961, we did what we probably should have done earlier. We made an agreement with Gorton, who was not an intractable person. I guess John Goldmark worked it out with Slade to assign the jurisdictional question to the Legislative Council in an attempt to compromise it. Slade chaired a subcommittee of the Legislative Council. Actually, he came in with a pretty damned good bill and that's what we have today. He did it in consultation with the Indian groups, including the Yakimas and the Colvilles and the Spokanes. It dealt with things like the state payments to Indians under the welfare laws, marriage, education and a lot of issues. They're all subject to state jurisdiction under what we called partial jurisdiction, which was not authorized as such by the Congress. They used the general term of state jurisdiction. Here, all at once, we're only taking part of it. Slade, of course, put his bill in and it passed overwhelmingly as a compromise measure. It had had the input of the Indians.

But then, the first thing that happened was that the Indians took us into federal court claiming that it was unconstitutional on the grounds that the McCarran Amendment only permitted taking full sovereignty. It's true that there is nothing in the amendment about partial sovereignty. But the argument of the state was that since there wasn't any forbidding of partial jurisdiction, then the states had the right to choose.

They'd been part of the process. I thought that was a chicken-shit thing to do. It took us eighteen years to get through the courts and to get it resolved. It had to go to the U.S. District Court and then on through the Circuit Court of Appeals, and at every step along the way the state of Washington lost. It finally went to the U.S. Supreme Court, where Slade, himself, argued the case.

At that time I went back to Washington on some Department of Ecology business and Slade arranged to get seats at the Supreme Court for Jo and me. I also listened to Slade's preparation with his assistants. It was a kind of fun operation. The court duly ruled in favor the state, I think, on a six to three vote. So it became the law and that's the existing situation. The issue of Indian sovereignty has been an awful pain in the neck, and the main substance of the question is still out

there unresolved, and something ought to be done about it. I suppose a thousand years from now somebody may do something about it, but it doesn't look very good at the moment.

TK: Was Gorton the attorney general of the state at that time?

WH: Yes. We now have the curious instance where Slade is on the outs with his Indian friends. I really think they did him in. He tried his best to work out a decent compromise, and I think they cheated, frankly.

This was during the late seventies when it happened, but I also heard him argue the case for the state on the Indian cigarette sales, whether they could do this. The court said rather more than has ever appeared in discussion in the media. They came up with the idea that you could take a formula for Indian usage of cigarettes and allow them that amount tax-free. They could distribute these to the Indians so that we wouldn't be taxing on an Indian reservation Indian use of tobacco. The only problem is that they're not marked with the insignia of the state and non-Indians buy them. They bring them in by the truckload and they figure it costs the state sixty million dollars a year for this sort of nonsense. Nothing has ever been able to be done about it because of public sympathy with the Indians. And yet we attack the tobacco companies and get a huge indemnity from them and the Indians can poison us at will, including their own people, and nobody does anything about it. That's a horror.

TK: It's certainly not widely known that all that had happened.

WH: The Indians had even attempted to do it with booze, but legally that's a different entity because alcohol comes under the police powers. The federal government won't interfere with the police powers of the state, but they'll interfere with the civil powers of the state.

All these things were sort of interwoven, and, interestingly, the people who represented Indian tribes were known to make substantial donations to political campaigns. At that time of the fight over the jurisdiction problem, the Colville tribes used a man named Lyle Keith from Spokane. I became aware of some of the contributions that Mr. Keith made to legislators in a rather unfortunate way.

TK: How much money are you speaking of?

WH: The particular amount of money in the situation I'm thinking about was thirty thousand dollars. It was based on a head count of the tribal members of the treaty tribes in the state of Washington.

This is a little side-play, but there was an effort by Senator Greive at a meeting of the Democratic caucus following the 1962 election to create a new Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. In December of that year, the caucus had met at a restaurant in Leschi Park. And toward the close of the meeting, when people were getting ready to leave, Senator Greive all at once made a motion that the caucus see to it, advocate, and get approval by the Senate for that new committee. All at once some things clicked in my mind, rumbles that I had heard through an Indian source, that Senator Herrmann was going to be the chairman of a committee on Indian affairs. Senator Herrmann was one of those who had always been part of the Greive clique. These things all at once made sense to me when this motion came up. I yelled my head off at Bob Bailey who was chairing the meeting, "We have a problem! Keep people from getting out of here, we need them!" We voted the motion down by a one-vote margin. Some of our supporters had already gone and his supporters had stayed because this was a last minute horseplay to screw us, and they nearly made it work. But between Bailey and me, we got it stopped. This is a side issue to what I was on but it's a damned interesting one and it stunk.

TK: What do you think would have happened if such a committee had been established?

WH: Well, this was at a time when Slade Gorton had come in with his report which recommended the establishment of partial state jurisdiction. The Legislature subsequently passed a partial jurisdiction bill. But I don't think such a bill would have had a chance if Greive had his way and it

had been referred to a committee chaired by Senator Herrmann.

TK: Getting back to your work with the Interim Committee on Water Resources, have there been any other occasions where you've seen bills of that complexity that have managed to get through in such a manner?

WH: The one that strikes my mind is the Legislative Budget and Accounting Act of 1957. It was a product of the Legislative Budget Committee, just prior to my arrival in the Senate in January 1957. When the bill was introduced at that time, I was the one who took care of the floor action. Later, during that session, I was given the opportunity of serving on the Legislative Council. But, as I've mentioned, that had become a political thicket, and I didn't want anything to do with it. Of the workhorse committees that were actually getting something accomplished, I found the Legislative Budget Committee to be quite appealing and I went on that and on the Committee on Education, interim committees both.

TK: Could you describe the bill, in general terms?

WH: It was to make state finances more responsible in terms of meeting budgetary requirements. During the course of a two-year legislative period, the Legislature would be in session, say, ninety days. But during the interim period, things might change and problems would arise, while the expenditures would continue. If all at once tax revenue was drying up a bit and expenditures were expanding because, for example, of welfare payments, you'd have a deficit building with nobody doing anything about it. There were mechanical devices built into the Budget and Accounting Act so that the worst of this could be dealt with. The governor's office was required to do something by using the act to slow down the expenditure charade, as well as to do a number of other things under the terms of the act. It's been very effective. It was the first one in the country, really. It was just a statement by the Legislature compelling the financial apparatus of the state to be responsive to the changing problems of that interim period. It has had a very good influence in terms of making our state finances responsive to their problems. It set a pattern for a lot of other states, which have followed in our lead. The state of Washington has always had about top rating among all the states for its financial instruments, simply because we have policed ourselves. This was the act that did it.

TK: As a new senator, did you have any misgivings about handling such an important bill on the floor?

WH: I had been close to a lot of the people who had worked on the Legislative Budget Committee and respected them. People like Marshall Neill and Damon Canfield were on it. They were pretty effective and financially responsible people. They had come up with this creation and I respected their judgement and was willing to take the bill and run with it and see it through.

Paul Ellis, who was the executive secretary of the Legislative Budget Committee, had prepped me for its arrival and given me the arguments, and led me through the labyrinth of technology in it. So I was prepared for it.

TK: Did any kind of opposition develop?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: Where did that come from?

WH: Greive, of course, was disgruntled about it.

TK: What was his problem?

WH: He didn't think that we should be handing the executive of the state any authority to do things that the Legislature should be in charge of. In other words, if we had a deficit building, instead of doing something about it, we'd let it run and deal with it at the next session. I didn't think that was very responsible.

TK: Governor Rosellini had just been elected at that time. He had quite an interest in the budget issue, did he not?

WH: Yes, he did. Al was a good governor and he understood the finances of the state. His great problem was that he loved to equivocate on anything that came his way.

TK: Was he an important factor in the passage of the Legislative Budget and Accounting Act?

WH: He didn't oppose it. I think he wanted it. Of course he had very good people. He had Warren Bishop there at his right side, and Warren was fabulous as manager of his budgetary problems. Al relied on him implicitly.

TK: Did Warren Bishop work closely with you on budgetary matters when you were Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee?

WH: Yes. When I became chairman of Ways and Means, it was always a kind of a laugh to me because, with the pile of work we had to do, there was always an inner group that was getting things done. The more people you had, the harder it was to get any amount of work done. So we had an inner group that really amounted to Warren Bishop, the governor's man, Frank Foley, the vice chairman of the committee, and myself, and Marshall Neill, representing the Republicans, and Max Nicolai, the legal advisor to the Democrats in the Senate at that time. Then, of course, Featherstone Reid was my assistant. What have we got? Maybe six or seven people. When we really were trying to beat the clock and get a lot of things done, get the final package together and assemble the bits and pieces, we would also have Bill Schneider, from the Tax Commission.

This inner group on its own volition would go through these things. I was chairman and I made the final decision. There was Warren Bishop—I don't know what his pay was back in 1957, but it must have been at least one hundred dollars a day. Everybody was getting one hundred dollars a day except me. I was getting one hundred dollars a month, and I made the final decisions! It was a matter of some humor in the group.

TK: In fact, you seem to have become very involved on a couple of occasions in salary issues. One interesting time was when you recommended, I believe, that the governor's salary be raised. This was when Governor Rosellini was in office, and he seems to have become quite upset by your proposal.

WH: Yes. He was mad at me. He thought it was a politically bad move. I just felt this was irrational. He saw it as a political problem and, of course, all the legislators did, too. The media loved to tramp on us when we did anything like that. It wasn't fair play for them to do that because something was wrong when I was getting a hundred bucks a month for my chairing a committee that was handling a twelve billion dollar budget.

TK: But that's something that goes back to the beginning of the Republic. Whenever anybody talks about raising salaries, and particularly legislative salaries, there's no end to the opposition.

WH: What was the big deal?

TK: Way back in 1816, when a congressional pay raise was passed, it was universally seen as a raid upon the Treasury and two-thirds of the House was ousted in the next election. That seemed to create a rather enduring pattern.

WH: I'll be damned! Of course the Republicans loved to use that one in the campaigns. My response to it was: How many of you people would take this many days of your year and go over there to work for one hundred dollars a month? Of course it's really work.

TK: It most certainly is.

Throughout your years in the House and Senate, education was a major interest of yours, and you served on both standing as well as interim committees dealing with education. I might begin by asking you what specific areas of education have interested you the most during those years?

WH: I suppose that the higher education area was the one that intrigued me the most. My experience in trying to come up with fresh thinking about the common schools—primary and secondary

schools—had been such that I concluded that they had become institutionalized, almost like the army: the right way, the wrong way, and the army way. They seemed to me to have become so rigid that there was really very little potential for innovation and movement. But higher education seemed to have much more potential for change.

TK: Why do you think that there was such rigidity in the common schools?

WH: I don't know. But certainly they were so overwhelmed by constant money problems that the name of the game was that they always seemed to wind up at the door of the bank. So when you tried to talk educational theory and philosophy to them, you were wasting your time. There were so many things about common schools that I could criticize. I was disturbed by the lack of any tools for measuring teacher ability. As a factory manager, I could in very short order tell who my best employees were, who were most productive. But here you had institutionalized protection even for people who might have lacked what they should have had in the way of ability, training, or willingness.

I don't want to make it sound like I wrote off primary and secondary education, but I frankly felt that we couldn't make much headway against the social resistance to higher standards, and that you'd better put your money where there was more flexibility, more consideration of new things, more willingness to talk about new things. I felt that I could see some light in the situation in higher education, where I could not see it in the primary grades. I think that there may be a little movement in primary and secondary education today. But surely it isn't very much.

TK: You played a significant role in the creation of the community college system of Washington State. Could you talk about how that came about, and what kind of problems led up to the creation of that whole system?

WH: I was certainly impressed by my own experience at the private junior college in Yakima. There was an institution that had been put together by a woman, with a little bit of money of her own, to provide an opportunity for young people in the Yakima area to come and taste higher education. Beyond that, the subject of community colleges was continuously before the Legislature in terms of a money item for supplemental post secondary education. About a dozen different school districts around the state, such as Bellevue, Wenatchee and Spokane, had community colleges. So there had been some legislative consideration of the post secondary problem. It was partly a money problem, but it was also a philosophical problem, because our society was rapidly changing. There was a need for, and a demand for, a broadening of opportunities for additional education after regular high school. Of course, an important issue was the financial cost of it. People like Marshall Neill, a Republican senator from over in Whitman County, John Ryder, Republican from the north end of Seattle, Andy Hess from around Burien, were among those who were talking about this and asking, "What do we do about it?" We would meet our obligations to the school districts in the education appropriation by providing a formula for distributing the monies to them for this sort of thing.

But there was no recognized building program or any way of meeting their costs of construction. In most of the school districts that was being done through special levies that supplemented the money they received from the state for post secondary operations. Over the course of time, a tidal wave of kids began to hit the schools. After the boys had returned home from World War II, the birth rate had gone up tremendously, and you could see the problem that was headed our way. By about the mid-fifties those kids had started hitting the schools, starting in the lower grades—kindergarten and first grade—and you could see further on down the line that the thing would be progressing up through the educational system and the water level would be rising on us.

We had to do something. And it really got pretty serious about 1961, as I recall, and there was quite a lot of talk about it. That was the year that I had built my cottage up on Savary Island, in British Columbia, and in 1962 I began inviting some of my university friends to come up for what we called a Labor Day bash. There were ten of us, including John Goldmark and my old friend

Tiny Walrod, a Royal Commissioner of Education from up in B.C. and the General Manager of Sunrype Corporation. The group also included Ernie Conrad, the vice president for Finance at the UW. He volunteered to get together a bunch of the university people, including the Dean of the Law School and John Hogness who was head of the School of Medicine and later the president of the university. We just got together at the cottage to have a few drinks, play cards and talk—talk about anything you wanted to, but we got to the public policy stuff and that was intended. We played poker sometimes until four o'clock in the morning, and we'd spend the next day exchanging ideas, and the some of the guys could go fishing or clam digging. I made them breakfast and lunch, then we went up to the nearby hotel to dinner. Everybody participated and it was great. We did that every year until 1969, after I had left the Legislature.

TK: What kind of things did you discuss?

WH: Oh, I remember Hogness setting out his vision of the goals for medicine—what would it be like in the year 2040: that the average person could live to be a one hundred and twenty years, that medicine was on a fast track, that we would be able to control plagues and diseases generally, and that we would be able to replace degenerated parts of the physical system with man-created materials. And, of course, we talked about the budgets of the UW, WSU, and the other institutions of higher learning. What should be the relative position of these institutions? How could you stimulate some of these people into better and more forward activity?

We even had a few adventures there on Savary Island. I remember one of our earlier gatherings when it became obvious that the builder of the cottage had installed an inadequate septic tank and, of course, the damn thing plugged up. Well, we had an election and we elected Dr. Hogness as Chairman of the Health Committee, and he had the privilege of taking the top off the septic tank before we hauled off the contents for burial.

TK: Well, at least you had high-class help.

WH: So, it was fun. We enjoyed it.

TK: Did those gatherings begin to clarify for you some of the ideas that you could use in your legislative work?

WH: Oh yes. In situations like that, people can let their hair down and they can talk from the heart. So falsities go out the window.

TK: How were you able to use those insights back in the political world of Olympia?

WH: Well, it gave me a fresh insight on some of the things going on at the University of Washington, as well as in higher education throughout the state. I remember that John Goldmark and I had the governor's budget in front of us and we decided that the governor was being too kind to welfare. We knew about how much money was available and we were sure that we did not want to introduce any new tax bills. I'd done that both in 1959 and 1961. But the "Taxellini" label that had surfaced in those days had begun to bite. Anyway, John and I agreed that the governor was being too kind to welfare and was getting them more money that we thought was justified. So we simply took some of that money, about ten million dollars, and put it into higher education. We did not do the same for primary and secondary education because we both agreed that you could not get any movement out of those people. For example, I had struggled with those people over the simple issue of increasing the length of the school year from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety days—even giving them more pay and so on. Well, I finally had to compromise with them at one hundred and eighty-five days. I thought I had gained at least that amount of time for classroom teaching, but the next time we came back there we found that they had ruined the extra days by declaring them teacher conference days.

TK: When you say "they" are you referring to the school administrators, the teacher unions, or what?

WH: It was both. The "institution" went into

"fortress alert." It was the same old static thinking. They didn't want legislators telling them how to do their jobs and imposing rules on them, even though we were representing the taxpayers who were paying for all this. But I thought the elementary-secondary school system had become too institutionalized. And just as you don't change armies easily, you don't change common schools easily, either.

Anyway, I never had that feeling with higher education. I felt that the administrators, or at least the ones I knew, were not primed to be stationary. But they needed help in trying to move their forces ahead.

TK: Did you have any specific ideas about how that ten million dollars should be spent?

WH: We talked about this at our Savary Island gatherings. If they had that money, what would they do with it? The answer was that they would like to set up special programs, establish visiting professorships, and all sorts of things. I mentioned in our earlier discussions how much I felt I had gained from the classes of visiting professors when I was a student at the University of Washington.

Well, I'm trying to give you a picture how I viewed things back in 1961, '62, '63. We got down to serious business in 1963, when John Cherberg took it on himself. We'd talked about it before with John in group meetings where people, Marshall Neill, Bob Bailey, John Ryder, others and myself had been involved. And we had agreed, yes, here's a problem and we ought to do something about it. Well, Cherberg, out of the blue as far as I was concerned, said, "Okay, Web, I want you to come in and talk to me about this," and he said, "I want you to be chairman of a committee to come up with a plan relating to community colleges."

TK: Was this to be an Interim Committee?

WH: It was a special committee that would meet during the session to come up with a recommendation for what we should do about the community colleges and to propose something for the next budget, so that the next governor could put it in his budget and get this thing moving.

TK: And was the purpose of the committee to address the problems of community colleges only?

WH: Yes, it was strictly concerned with community colleges. Well, there were five of us on the committee, three Democrats and two Republicans: Marshall Neill, John Ryder, Fred Dore, Frank Foley, and myself. We met daily for maybe a week or ten days and we hammered out our ideas on it. We agreed that it was going to cost one hundred million dollars and that it was something that should be budgeted by the governor in the 1965 session. The idea of doing that was approved by the Senate as a whole, and I think that it went over to the House and had been likewise acted on over there. Anyway, that was the end of it until 1965, when we really got down to legislation to implement the proposals. I had taken it as a given that I was going to be the one who would devote the entire 1965 session to the issue.

That's when Mike McCormack came to me and expressed an interest in the subject and a desire to become involved. He had been an educator, and appeared to be willing to devote a lot of energy to it. And so, since I expected to be doing a great deal of work on water problems during that session, I offered to arrange for him to assume the chairmanship of the committee.

TK: And were there no objections from the other members of the committee to that arrangement?

WH: Oh no. They knew that it was going to be a hell of a lot of work. And it was—dealing with money, organization, building programs, establishing relationships with the K-12 schools, and so forth.

TK: Did you continue to serve as a member of the committee?

WH: No, I did not. I was very much involved with the problems of water in the state. There was going to be an Interim Committee on Water Resources and I wanted to get the preparatory

legislation for that under consideration. That committee, as we have discussed, turned out to be a great success. But it required a level of effort that made it impossible for me to also continue to serve in an active capacity on the committee dealing with community colleges.

TK: Did you manage to maintain contact with the committee that was now chaired by McCormack?

WH: Oh yes. Mike was really good about that. He would come to me and tell me what they were doing and ask me what I thought. There were a lot of toes that you could step on in pursuing that thing. Remember also that there was a Republican majority in the House at that time. But Mike worked together with Marjorie Lynch who was a Republican from Yakima County. They worked together very well, and when they had a problem, they would approach it jointly. There weren't any wars about it. Their main interest was how to get through the maze of conflicting personalities and jurisdictional ideas.

TK: Can you recall some of the major problems that the committee had to confront?

WH: One of the major ones was between the vocational and the liberal arts people. I never had much sympathy with the vocational people and I would have had trouble with that one. The vocation people had always wanted a separate barony.

TK: There is one small area of activity that I was curious about, and that was your active participation in the public discussion of the Vietnam War during the 1960s. Would you care to tell me something about that?

WH: Well, of course I'd been viewing what was going on in Vietnam with some degree of horror. My concerns were not so much rooted in philosophy as in my notions of what made military sense. Here we had a situation where we were committing major numbers of troops into a jungle atmosphere. One of the things that I had read a great deal about, long before Vietnam, was the Filipino insurrection following the Spanish American War. That was something that went on for a dozen years and I viewed with horror the tactics that the military used then to deal with a jungle guerrilla situation. On top of that, we were backed up into a situation where the ready re-supply for the guerrilla enemies was right there. They could get anything they wanted through China, and were also backed up by Russia. So we had put our military people in an impossible situation, the way I saw it. Although I never served a day of my life in the military, history said to me that we were putting our people up against a wall and that they were going to get badly hurt. That's the position I took about it, that we were putting our people up against a wall in a place where they were going to get hurt.

More and more people began to be hurt, and hurt very badly. The war began to escalate in 1966, and became even worse in 1967. So I sort of volunteered myself to the anti-war movement. In the spring of 1968 I went around to some of the colleges—Western, Central and WSU—and some other places, such as Spokane, and made speeches against the war. At Central Washington University, for example, there were some military types who came up and tried to argue with me after my presentation. I give them credit for giving me a fair hearing. They differed with me, which was their right, but I still think I was right and that was the proper thing to do.

TK: When you gave these speeches, were you doing it on the part of some group, or just as an individual?

WH: It had been arranged by people who were in the anti-war movement. I think some of the plans were arranged by the ACLU people. My first speech on the subject occurred in early December 1967 and it was at a time when I still hadn't made up my mind whether I was going to run against Senator McMillan in 1968. We had an invitation from the Stevens and Pend Oreille County Democrats to come to a meeting of the Democratic organization at Ione. They had an old building over there with lots of room in it. Senator McMillan and I were there, along with about one hundred Democrats, which was quite a turnout.

Anyway, the plan was that the subject of the day would be what was going on in Vietnam. I said that I disagreed totally with our policy there. And although we may have got into it with good intentions, we were not doing those folks over there any good. It was a civil war. I argued that President Johnson was pouring troops in there, but that the environment was such that the military situation was utterly impossible, that all the sacrifice was going to be in vain and that the best thing to do was to get out of there. Senator McMillan made a rousing John Birch speech, saying that these were a bunch of communists and that we had to stay the course.

TK: How did the audience react?

WH: I'd say that the audience broke into three factions. One faction hadn't made up its mind, one faction was with me and one faction was with McMillan. I remember two sets of parents came up and talked to Jo and me afterwards. They had sons who had been killed over there and, of course, that had converted them. They told me how much they appreciated my speaking out on the subject and that it needed to be debated.

CHAPTER 9

LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING

Thomas Kerr: A particularly vexing issue for the Legislature and one in which you were very deeply involved was that of legislative redistricting. Since there are several different aspects of this issue, perhaps it would be helpful to divide our discussion into a number of interrelated topics. The first would relate to the redistricting initiative sponsored by the League of Women Voters in 1956, Initiative 199. The second would be the attempt to amend the state constitution to place the redistricting function in the hands of an independent commission. And the third area of consideration would be the various redistricting struggles of the 1960s that resulted from the series of United States Supreme Court decisions on redistricting during the early 1960s. And, finally, we should discuss the impact of redistricting upon your own legislative career.

Let's begin with the 1956 Initiative 199. What was your position on that?

Wilbur Hallauer: I was aware that the League had in mind a redistricting measure by initiative, because for several years they had been trying to encourage the Legislature to do something about the malapportionment of legislative districts in the state. But they got brushed aside, so they put it on their agenda as something they would become actively involved in. I received an invitation, I think from Nancy Thomas who was active in the League, to come and attend one of their early meetings. This was before they started collecting signatures. And although I don't know just how Slade Gorton was approached by the League, he was also present at the first meeting, representing the Republicans. I was presumably representing the Democrats.

TK: That was in 1956?

WH: Yes, it was in early 1956. That was the year in which I was running for the first time for a position in the Senate, but it was something that they knew I was interested in. So I was glad to cooperate and make my suggestions and try to be as helpful as I could. I just thought that redistricting was way past due because the state of Washington had last been redistricted in 1930, by an initiative supported by the Washington State Grange. So here you were, twenty-six years later, and great population changes and increases had occurred. It was simply time that we got on with the constitutionally required duty to redistrict after each census.

The measure that they wrote was really produced during the early months of 1956 by a group that met at Mrs. Nancy Thomas' house and her next door neighbor, Mrs. Lois North. She was a Republican and Mrs. Thomas was a Democrat. We went through the entire population statistics for the state for the 1950 census and tried to make the best of it with about a ten percent variation permitted in different districts in terms of population. By the way, that's not anywhere near the exactness required by later court action but it was certainly a huge improvement over what then existed.

Anyway, the volunteers of the League took out the petitions and got a sufficient number of signatures to be placed on the November ballot. The voters did approve it quite substantially, but, of course, the result meant that a lot of the people in the Legislature were going to have their districts changed in a way that they didn't like. They were going to get lots of voters who they considered indigestible. So Senator Bob Greive subsequently undertook to put together a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Legislature to overturn the ladies of the League and the popular vote. When I first heard about it, I thought his plan was ridiculous, and I didn't think he could do it.

TK: Before we get into Senator Greive's activity,

I'd like to refer to the campaign that the League of Women Voters carried on to get this initiative approved. Do you recall whether the League sought to enlist the support of either of the political parties?

WH: If the League attempted to gain the support of the political parties, it must have been before taking the initiative route.

TK: What members of the Legislature other than yourself and Slade Gorton were consulted by the League? I'm curious to know whether the League touched a lot of bases or whether it came at the Legislature like some kind of zinger.

WH: I know there was contact between the League and Senator Greive and I think he refused to cooperate with them in any way. But prior to the election of 1956 he had no official leadership standing. Al Rosellini had been minority leader in the Senate. But I really don't think that there was a great deal of contact by the League with the legislators.

TK: In retrospect, do you think that was a mistake on the part of the League?

WH: No, because it was a hopeless pursuit.

TK: I was interested particularly in how people in your own district reacted to your support of the initiative. This is obviously a rural area and one that would probably not be helped by the initiative. Did you discuss this with any of the voters during your own Senate campaign that year?

WH: I remember discussing it at the political level within the Democratic Party.

TK: What was the result of that discussion?

WH: Well, they didn't do anything about it. It was more of an educational discussion, and I expressed my feeling that this was something that was overdue and, yes, it would change the balance somewhat in favor of the urban areas as opposed to the rural areas. But if you were going to believe in democratic government, you had to accept the fact that things were changing. That was really my theory and I don't think I got very much support out of it. But people recognized where I stood in relation to it.

The proposal for our district here, District One, was simply that Ferry County be added to Okanogan and Chelan counties. I think it was more a matter of one's vision about what needed to be done to bring about truly democratic representation within the state or the Legislature.

TK: I noticed that Initiative 199 passed statewide by about fifty-four percent, but in some of the eastern Washington counties, the ratio of votes against it was as much as eight to one. You mentioned a few minutes ago that the Grange had been instrumental in earlier redistricting efforts. Did the Grange or the Farm Bureau Federation take a position in 1956?

WH: The Farm Bureau was certainly against it. I think the Grange equivocated but it worried them.

TK: But, you don't think this affected your race for the Senate at the time or anything?

WH: No. It didn't become an issue. If it had, it probably wouldn't have done me any good.

TK: As you've mentioned, the 1956 state ballot was dominated by the Rosellini gubernatorial contest. But there was also a very emotional "right to work" initiative on the same ballot. Organized labor waged a vigorous campaign against it and that produced a very large voter turnout, especially in the western part of the state. Do you think that may have been instrumental in the passage of Initiative 199? Have you thought of that?

WH: No, I can't say I have; maybe I did at that time, but I don't recall it now. I do remember the issue of the "right to work" and that was a very simple one for me. I certainly thought that the proposal was designed to take away some of the rights of organized labor and that would have resulted in an imbalance of power. So I was very much opposed to the "right to work" initiative.

To me, the real mystery of it all the way

through was the inability of the Republican Party leadership in the state to see that their hope of real power lay in suburbia, where middle class America tended to migrate during and after the war. There were huge population increases in places like Bellevue and Redmond and areas north and south of Seattle. In comparison with the cities, the suburbs were terribly under-represented in the Legislature. An easy majority in most of these localities was going to be middle class or upper middle class and would tend to vote for and support the Republican Party. That the Republican leadership would oppose realization of that power in behalf of their own party was difficult to understand. They continued to maintain the belief in the rural control in the Legislature, because they felt that farmers were always going to be more sympathetic with the aims of the Republican Party. Well, that just wasn't so. The farmers are going to vote Democratic when they're poor, and they're going to vote Republican when they're not poor. That's the way it is. And all they had to do was handcuff the Legislature and then take all of central Washington, a very, very conservative area that was represented in the state Senate by Democrats, largely because of public power issues.

TK: When you came up to the Senate in January of 1957, had Bob Greive just been elected majority leader?

WH: He was elected at that point.

TK: So his long tenure as majority leader began at that time. Do you think that his desire to hold on to and develop that position as majority leader may have had something to do with the strong position that he took regarding the redistricting matter?

WH: Oh, I think Bob Greive's ambitions were always pretty well limited to being majority leader in the Senate. I never at any time saw any evidence of any higher ambition on his part. He wanted to be able to control the Democratic majority, and protecting the interests of the Democratic senators by undoing what Initiative 199 had done was a way for him to make friends and protect his flock. I think that's the way he felt about it.

TK: Ordinarily, an initiative could not be tampered with for a certain period after it had passed. But a constitutional amendment had been approved by the voters in 1952 that allowed the Legislature to amend an initiative to allow correction of errors or financial impracticalities. Was that the umbrella under which the Legislature emasculated the provisions of Initiative 199?

WH: That constitutional amendment sounds like something that had to do with welfare measures that had come close to bankrupting the state.

TK: Yes. In 1948 a welfare initiative had unleashed a sea of red ink, and that was the occasion for the constitutional amendment. As far as you know, was Initiative 199 the first occasion in which that new provision of the state constitution was brought into effect?

WH: I don't remember it ever being done otherwise.

TK: Well, getting back to the 1957 session, how did Senator Greive go about getting the necessary two-thirds vote in both houses?

WH: He had maps scattered from hell to breakfast in both the House and the Senate, with people being shown their districts under both the 199 plan as well as under the Greive plan. Each individual legislator was shown what his district would look like and was provided an analysis of past votes in the new area that was either added to or taken away from the district. All of the legislators were brought into the process in such a way that they would feel that they would come out of it in better shape than they would have under Initiative 199. And, of course, the legislators were interested in doing something about Initiative 199. A lot of legislators didn't feel that the League had any business interfering with something that they thought was a legislative prerogative. It was seen by some as an intrusion by the League into the domestic relationship of a legislator and his people.

That was the sort of message that was being

spread. And they were told that a greater justice could be realized by changing the plan that had been approved by the voice of the people.

One of the things they did was to increase the size of the Senate from forty-six members to forty-nine by creating three new legislative districts. Well, by creating three new Senate seats, they could appeal to the political savvy of some of the people who might run for those offices. So Greive put together his little deal.

TK: Senator Greive must have also received support for his efforts from the leadership of the House. Would that have been John O'Brien?

WH: Yes, it would have been O'Brien. And O'Brien's troubles really didn't come about until the 1963 session, when the split among the House Democrats cost him the speakership.

TK: So he was supportive of Greive, as far as you know? Was there anyone in the Legislature who strongly opposed what was being done to Initiative 199?

WH: Not really, and that was the problem. They had the votes and I knew it. That's why I struck a bargain with them. I could have got up and yelled my head off for a day and a half on the Senate floor about how they were overruling the people, and that it wasn't fair, and that the state constitution required an equitable system of apportionment. You could have made a lot of noise, but that wouldn't have changed the votes of the legislators at all because they could see something in it for them. That's the ultimate thing: to give a legislator greater certainty in his district.

TK: Well, what was the reaction of the League of Women Voters while all of this was going on? Were they communicating with the legislators?

WH: They were totally amazed and horrified and didn't think he would actually do it. But they really didn't understand the selfish motives that were underlying it, that the legislators saw that they could get a better deal from Greive's plan and that's where they were going to go.

TK: Did this maneuvering take place behind closed doors, or was it really well known to the media or to groups like the League of Women Voters? Were people aware of what the Legislature was up to?

WH: Yes, they were totally aware of it. I, for one, was telling them what was happening, and why.

TK: Well, how did they react to what you were telling them? Did they try to develop some kind of strategy to stop what the Legislature was doing?

WH: Not that I know of. Of course, they encouraged me and a few others who thought that this was a pretty anti-democratic thing to be doing.

TK: I was wondering if anyone thought of putting pressure on the governor to veto it. Governor Rosellini ultimately let it become law without his signature. But might that have been a viable strategy for an interest group such as the League?

WH: No, you can understand that Al Rosellini was a long-time legislator himself. He was perfectly aware of the motivations that brought about the overturn of the League's initiative and that he would make himself pretty unpopular by vetoing it. I think that at least three quarters of the legislators, and perhaps even ninety percent, had voted for it. I voted for it myself as part of a deal. I would keep quiet if the Legislature agreed to place Senate Joint Resolution 12 on the 1958 ballot. That resolution would establish a commission to redistrict. The commission was to be headed up by the Chief Justice or his nominee; it would be a commission of seven people.

TK: Did you initiate Senate Joint Resolution 12?

WH: Yes. There was interaction with the League about what should go in it. So they had a hand in developing that.

TK: At the time that Governor Rosellini allowed the Legislature's action to become law, he indicated that the State Supreme Court should be the appropriate body to decide whether or not it was constitutional. The Court eventually found

that the Legislature's action was indeed constitutional. Do you know whether the decision to go forward with Senate Joint Resolution 12 was made before or after the Supreme Court had decided the case?

WH: It was made before the decision. I suppose that League members figured that the Senate Joint Resolution 12 would pass in 1958 and that would have taken care of the whole ball of wax. And it certainly would have. You know, a commission would have been a much better tool for getting something done about redistricting in a non-political way.

TK: Did you have trouble getting the two-thirds majority necessary to send Senate Joint Resolution 12 to the people for a vote? I've wondered whether any legislators were a little bit conscience-stricken over what they had done to Initiative 199?

WH: A couple of them made snide remarks about my grandstanding with that thing, and of course it wasn't, as far as I was concerned. I just thought that this problem was going to haunt us forever if we didn't do something of the sort that this SJR 12 would have done. It would settle things automatically after every census.

TK: Did you work with the Republicans on the wording of SJR 12?

WH: Well, I know I kept Slade Gorton posted on what was going on.

TK: How did he feel about the idea of a redistricting commission?

WH: I think that he was perfectly content to keep the League happy and me happy by accepting it and helping us get the two-thirds majority that we needed to pass it. But the immediate thing that was motivating both Greive and Gorton was the short-term matter of representation in the coming legislative session. As far as they were concerned, they were willing to put off the evil day of redistricting forever. But they wanted to lower the decibel level of the debate over Initiative 199 and they thought SJR 12 was a "hush puppy" to throw to the hound dogs to keep them quiet.

TK: Did they have reasonable expectations that it would actually be approved by the voters, or as you suggest, did they think it was just a bone thrown their way?

WH: I don't think they tried to look that far ahead. And, of course, I thought that if the League were to get behind SJR 12 and give it a massive push, it could bring about the total solution to this problem. Of course, being up here in Okanogan County, I wasn't in a very good position to do very much of anything, except write a few letters and visit with people. And I thought that the media people like the editorial writers and columnists for the *Seattle Times* would support the measure.

Anyway, I was sitting over here fat and happy, knowing that SJR 12 would be on the ballot in 1958 and I thought it was foregone conclusion that it would pass. I wasn't very worried about it and the things I'd read about it in the press had been generally favorable. So I was pretty horrified when, about two or three weeks before the November 1958 election, the *Seattle Times* and Ross Cunningham, the columnist, came out with a very damaging attack. Cunningham was kind of a bigwig with the Republican leadership and, to me, it was suicidal for these people to say, in effect, to hell with all the suburban areas. That was the last thing that I expected them to do. They were so lacking in vision about where the future of the Republican Party lay. I still think I was right in my analysis of it. But they figured out what they wanted to do and then went ahead and cut their own throats. They succeeded in helping to bring about the defeat of SJR 12.

TK: While briefly referring to the commission that SJR 12 would have created, you mentioned that it would be headed by the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. Beyond that, who else would serve on it?

WH: Let's see, I think there was one member from each party in each House so that was four and then there were a couple of others, total of seven. I've really forgotten the details. We kicked it

around for a long time.

TK: I take it, then, that the League did not come out as enthusiastically for SJR 12 as you had hoped?

WH: They certainly supported it, but they didn't put on any big drive to get it approved.

TK: Did anyone from the League explain to you why they didn't do more? Or were they possibly burned out after the Initiative 199 debacle?

WH: When the war was over, I think I called up Mrs. Thomas and talked to her about the whole thing. She was as horrified as I was when the Ross Cunningham editorial came out in the *Seattle Times* but there really wasn't anything anyone could do about it. It was late in the campaign season and there wasn't much time to react. It would not have been easy for the League, with its own internal politics, to get something moving at that stage of the game. Things just don't happen that quickly.

TK: Aside from the *SeattleTimes*, what other newspapers opposed it?

WH: I rather expected that the *Spokesman-Review* would be against it and, as I remember, it was. And I don't think that the *Seattle P-I* did a damn thing to help it along. They should have supported it.

TK: Did any organized groups, other than the League, become involved?

WH: Labor people should have been out there, too. The League should have been working with them. But it just didn't happen, and I hadn't foresight enough to think that approval of SJR 12 would be much of a problem. So I share some guilt in it myself. I could have gone to union leaders like Ed Weston, Joe Davis and the AFL-CIO and tried to convince them that the measure was in labor's long-term interests. I felt pretty strongly that they would have an easier time of it with their legislation in Olympia if the state were properly districted.

TK: So would you attribute the defeat of SJR 12 to the fact that there really was no focused and committed leadership in support of it?

WH: In retrospect it was a lost war. You can Monday morning quarterback it all you want. But we just didn't anticipate opposition to SJR 12, and so we failed to do what was necessary to get it approved.

TK: Well, of course, the redistricting issue did not disappear. It returned with a vengeance, starting in 1962, when the U.S. Supreme Court began to make a whole series of rulings on the subject of legislative apportionment. Do you recall your reactions when these decisions started coming down?

WH: I remember debating personally with Bill Gissberg, who sat in front of me in the Senate. He was totally convinced that the Supreme Court would never touch the subject of apportionment because he felt it was intrinsically political and that the court would therefore not intrude there. My position was that misrepresentation because of malapportionment was so egregious that the court would sooner or later do something about it. And, of course, there were court cases that were already making their way through the federal court system and it was only a matter of time before decisions were made that they weren't going to like. So my view was that we really ought to get our own house in order in the state of Washington before the thing hit us. I couldn't convince him. I couldn't convince Greive either; he was a lost cause from the beginning. But Bill Gissberg was a pretty smart cookie, and he was very active in the Bar Association.

TK: Isn't it interesting that people with formidable legal talents and abilities, such as Senator Gissberg, would so readily dismiss the argument that malapportionment could be seen as a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which is what the Supreme Court would ultimately find? At least in retrospect, the argument seems quite obvious.

WH: Back in the late fifties there were articles in

the *New Republic* magazine and several other journals that analyzed the whole situation. As I remember, the articles from *New Republic* were the most on point, and I used those arguments in my debate with Gissberg. It seemed to me that it all added up to the fact that things had gotten badly skewed because many states had not done any redistricting since the turn of the century. So you had those crazy situations where one legislator would be representing a district with three thousand people in it, and another would be representing a district with three hundred thousand people in it. It just defied common sense that this would stand.

TK: Well, when decisions began to come down, for example the Washington case of *Thigpen v. Meyers*, did you sense that people in the Legislature had begun to grasp the fact that these decisions were pointing to a wholesale redistribution of political power?

WH: Oh yes. They got the point then.

TK: In 1962, the League of Women Voters tried to get another redistricting initiative on the ballot, but failed to secure the required number of signatures. Slade Gorton was a consultant for them on that attempt. Were you also involved?

WH: No. I'd been through the mill.

TK: You'd had enough?

WH: Yes.

TK: Let's move along to the 1963 legislative session. By then, the U.S. Supreme Court had mandated redistricting and so the Legislature had no choice but to meet the problem head on. What do you remember about the political lay of the land at that time?

WH: I'm having a hard time getting back to 1963.

TK: Well, that was the year that John O'Brien was ousted as Speaker by the coalition of "new breed" Republicans and dissident Democrats from Eastern Washington.

WH: That would be William Day and his group of private power Democrats.

TK: It was also the year in which Bob Greive was re-elected as the Senate majority leader, but very narrowly. In fact, he was almost defeated.

WH: That effort to defeat Greive began 1959. I was involved in it, but each time he beat us by one vote.

TK: Could you tell me about that?

WH: Well, let's see. Pat Sutherland was our candidate for majority leader in 1959 and, of course, Pat was a state senator from the Seattle area. The way Greive campaigned for the position was to collect money from his lobbyist support group and then spread that campaign cash around to people who he figured would support him. And then there were those of us, like myself, who raised our own campaign money and didn't want to be dependant on somebody on a *quid pro quo* basis. With Greive, it amounted to a situation where a person might say, in effect, "Okay, you hand me the cash and I'll give you my vote." In 1959 I think he defeated us seventeen to sixteen. We failed again in '61 and '63. Gissberg undertook to do it in '63. We thought we had it all wrapped because I had gone out and raised money, about $25,000 and handed it out equally to all of the senatorial candidates. It only amounted to about $1,000 a piece. It was kind of interesting because at our caucus I told people that I had a document that showed where all the money came from, and that if any of them wanted to look it over, I'd be available to show it to them after the caucus adjourned. I also told them I would not give them a copy, nor would I allow anyone to make a copy. You know, when we broke up there was not a single person who came to look at it.

TK: Why didn't you want them to make any copies of the list?

WH: They could look at the list, but I didn't want it to get in the newspapers or anything. But I still thought they should have the opportunity to know

where the money came from.

TK: Well, what did that tell you about their state of mind?

WH: I leave that one to you to judge! I thought a few of them would come, but none did. Greive, of course, did the same thing. He raised money and he told people where the money came from. But he only gave the money to the people who supported him. I gave it to everybody, friend and enemy. I figured that if we were all Democrats, that was the way we had to do it.

TK: I suppose that when it comes to money, some people would just as soon not know too much. It's like the old suggestion that there are two things that people may be better off not knowing how they're made: laws and sausages.

WH: Well, I know how sausages are made. I'm a farm boy!

TK: Well, getting back to the dynamics of the redistricting effort in that 1963 Legislature, was Slade Gorton providing the leadership on the Republican side?

WH: Oh yes. I thought he did a marvelous job. And, of course, he cooperated with McCormack and me and some of the other Democrats who weren't part of the group led by Greive. Since we were under the gun from the Federal courts to get on with the business of redistricting, he and a number of us were looking at what the alternatives were.

TK: Mike McCormack was an important actor in this issue. Can you tell me about his involvement?

WH: Mike's primary concern was his own legislative district. He had never been a supporter of Greive, and Greive was trying to figure out ways to undo him.

So when Mike had the alternative of cutting a deal with Slade, in terms of protecting his district, he was willing to do it. And of course, the whole thing finally got ironed out in the wash.

TK: At that time, Slade Gorton was a member of the House. Did he have someone in the Senate who might be attempting to advance his redistricting plan?

WH: Well, Mike would go directly over to the House and deal with Slade. And there were other people in the Senate who knew what the plan was. But Slade was the driving force in the House, just as Greive was in the Senate. House members would regularly come over to see Greive. They had a war room downstairs and there were 17,000 maps, all in conflict. Greive ran an outfit like that over on the Senate side, and Gorton had one over on the House side. I had attended both war rooms, but I can't tell you that I was particularly affected by it, or anything.

TK: The 1963 legislative session produced a deadlock on the redistricting problem and there was even some discussion of calling a special session to deal with it, although that never happened. Can you recall what efforts were made and by whom to break up the log-jam?

WH: I know that there were several different redistricting plans put before the Senate and they were voted down. The court finally relented and allowed more time.

TK: The redistricting issue spilled over into the 1965 legislative session, at which time it was at least partially resolved. Your own Senate district was very much affected by all that, and it would be most interesting to hear your own memories of that session.

WH: Well, in 1965 we knew we had the redistricting gun against our head. Essentially, we had only so much time to do it in, and nothing else was supposed to happen—although, of course, people talked about the other things anyway. The main activity was carried on by Representative Gorton and Senator Greive, and the war rooms were at full output, with maps by the billions it seemed. Everybody was taken in for personal interviews to try and line them up for the appropriate side. A legislator would go through the Gorton shop and be informed about

what was intended for him there and what could be done to him. He would then receive like treatment from Senator Greive in his shop. I didn't see much point in going through it more than once. I did it to see where they stood, but everybody was involved in this and the problem was to come up with a compromise that would be supported by a majority.

Here in central Washington there were five senatorial seats, all held by Democrats: Jerry Hanna, Nat Washington, Mike McCormack, Dan Jolly, and myself. The problem was that there simply was not enough population in the area to justify five seats. So, in order to meet the reapportionment norms established by the Federal Court, one of the districts would have to disappear. There would also have to be adjustments in Al Henry's district along the Columbia River in Klickitat, Skamania, and Clark counties. He was also a Democrat. So the upshot of it was that one of us had to go.

After this thing had been quarreled over for long time, McCormack, Hanna, Washington, and I essentially stood together on it. As we got near to the final resolution of it, I lined up with Representative Gorton and Senator McCormack and we pretty well maintained a common front on it. But we knew that somebody was going to get hurt. One of the proposals, for example, was to put Kittitas County in with Chelan County and Senator Hanna would have the primary shot there. Senator Washington's district would then have had to extend down into Franklin County in order to get his necessary quota of voters.

Anyway, none of the alternatives was very good. It was like playing roulette, Russian roulette, with your friends and nobody would enjoy a scenario of that kind. I finally decided that instead of all of the plotting and counter-plotting that was going in the Gorton and Greive camps, maybe the best thing for me to do would be to change my status, whereby I would step back and allow my District One, Okanogan and Douglas counties, to be changed so that Douglas County could be joined with Chelan County. That would leave Senator Washington with Kittitas and Grant counties. Those arrangements would stand the test of numbers pretty well. At the same time, Senator Henry's problem could be solved by moving him further westward into Clark County and Senator McCormack's Tri-Cities area could be adjusted in such a way that could be taken care of, too. My District One could be combined with District Two in such a way as to include Okanogan, Ferry, Stevens and Pend Oreille counties. District Two had been represented by Senator McMillan, an ally of Greive.

But if I were to do that, I wanted a fair shot to meet McMillan in a head-to-head election that would allow the voters to choose which of us they wanted to represent them. But the problem was that the senator from District One was elected in the presidential year, while the senator from District Two was elected in the off-year. I had just been reelected in 1964. So what I finally proposed to my own caucus in the state Senate was this: conduct an election in 1966 in District Two, which would include Okanogan County. I could run in it if I wanted to, or not if I wanted to. My four-year term would be honored, since I had just been elected to it. District One could be moved from eastern Washington to western Washington and, in 1968, there would be another election of a senator after a two-year term by whoever was elected in 1966.

I had studied the state constitution pretty closely about whether this could be done or not. It required that half the senators be elected in one state election year, and the other half elected in the alternative year. Well, it happened that twenty-five senators had been elected in 1964, as I recall, and we were simply proposing to change that, so that twenty-five would be elected in 1966, and twenty-four in the presidential year of 1968.

Well, when I proposed it in caucus I got an immediate response from Greive and he consulted right there in the caucus with a half dozen of his people, including Senator McMillan. They asked for a recess of fifteen or twenty minutes and said they would be back to discuss it further. They came back and said they would accept my proposal. So I really think that was where we broke the redistricting deadlock as far as the Senate was concerned. I think it was acceptable as far as Gorton was concerned, although I think he much preferred to have me representing the district than Mr. McMillan. But that was something else again.

TK: So, you would be representing District One, which is now is located in western Washington?

WH: Yes, and, as a matter of fact, late in that 1965 session, the good folks from up in Kenmore and Bothell came down and they had a helicopter and gave me a ride from Olympia up over the district. It took us only about ten minutes to cover the district, whereas, in the old District One, to cover it with a helicopter would have been quite an adventure! They were nice folks and I tried to represent them as well as I could. I'd been imposed upon them, and they knew it was part of a deal to bring representation to their area. I never seriously considered the idea of moving over there and becoming their senator. I'm an Eastern Washingtonian, I'm afraid.

TK: But you did represent them for the last two years?

WH: Well, I also represented Okanogan and Douglas counties for the same two years.

TK: Well, how did that work out for that two-year period, representing two such completely different areas as rural Okanogan and suburban Bothell?

WH: People came to me from both areas to talk about the issues and their respective problems. I didn't mind that at all. I'd always been active in things like municipal legislation. I think there were fourteen towns that qualified as municipalities in District One. The municipalities in western Washington were bigger and, of course, there were many more of them.

TK: And, of course, you had long had major business interests on the west side of the mountains anyway and felt quite comfortable there?

WH: Yes, that's true. I'd been involved in business over there for many years.

TK: But, in any event, you feel that your proposal broke the redistricting deadlock, or at least as far as the Senate is concerned?

WH: I feel that it did. Whether other people would view it the same way or not, I don't know. But I think it was important in changing the complexion of the problem because it took the pressure off McCormack, Hanna and Washington, and maybe even Henry to some extent.

TK: Do you recall whether there were deadlocks affecting other Senate districts?

WH: There were a number of very difficult problems and, as I remember, the redistricting measure received a bare majority for passage.

TK: But you feel that resolving the District One problem was a critical step in the redistricting process?

WH: I think that it was a key. It would be interesting to know about how Bob Greive thinks about it. In late February of 1999, I ran into him at the Old Timers dinner in Olympia. He was coming in when I was going out and we talked about his book. Have you read it?

TK: Yes. It's a good campaign guide.

WH: So anyway, we talked about his book mostly. I wouldn't mind sitting down with Bob. He's fairly easy to talk to. He never changes his mind about anything. Probably he would say the same thing for me.

TK: Well, in looking back on the redistricting issue, with the benefit of a quarter century of hindsight, do you feel that this is an activity that properly belongs to a legislative body?

WH: No, I don't. The analogy that was commonly expressed in caucus and off the floor was that of a doctor operating on his own hemorrhoids.

TK: An intriguing image!

As you know, efforts were made during the 1960s to try to create what some people called "little federal systems" in the states, whereby House districts would represent people and Senate districts would, in effect, represent territory. Such schemes were eventually found to be

unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. But was that ever seriously talked about in the Washington State Legislature?

WH: Some people felt that if such a scheme was legitimate at the federal level, it should also be legitimate at the state level. My friend, Bill Gissberg, was very, very high on the idea of a little federal parallel, but I never thought it was realistic. You'd have to change the U.S. Constitution to do it, and I don't think that would be politically feasible for that kind of purpose. I never subscribed to it and I had a hard time understanding my friends who did.

TK: Could you tell me about your decision to leave the Legislature?

WH: It was a difficult time for me. My brother Harley had died in July of 1966 and it became clear that I would have to take a much larger role within the family company. My brothers had been extremely considerate in allowing me to have a political career simultaneously with working right along with them in the company. But the time had come when I had to take over my brother Harley's duties entirely. Well, between July 1966 and the end of the 1967 session, I had decided that I would have to leave active politics and devote my time to the business. Things were not going very well there, and our business climate was changing. It didn't help, either, that I went through a divorce at that time. Also the move that I've described in the redistricting matter put me in a more flexible position about running or not running.

In the meantime, Jo and I had become good friends with the Bruce Wilsons from Omak. We had a pretty good idea of how the Wilsons felt about Vietnam. I admired them greatly, and I thought there was a possibility that, since his business was well established and his family had completed its education, he would consider a political career to cap his successful business career. He was liberal enough so that I felt at ease bringing up the subject with both him and his wife. I think it was in February of 1968 that Jo and I asked to meet with them to discuss this. They didn't turn it down out of hand; they considered it and eventually accepted the idea.

TK: Of running for the Senate?

WH: Yes. And I had had a hunch that some of the more influential Republicans who provided the money and the motive power for some of the local candidates would have liked to see a confrontation between McMillan, who was a Greive candidate, and myself.

Well, when the Wilsons finally accepted the burden of campaigning and going after the office, certainly with blessings from Jo and myself, I did what I could to help them. But there were some areas where a fresh face could make headway where I never could have, because people had made up their minds about me. The campaign had the benefit of clear cut decision between the right wingers within the Democratic Party, as represented by McMillan, and the moderates, like I fancied myself and Bruce Wilson to be.

Bruce had a wonderful sense of humor. He put a cast on things that I wouldn't have been able to carry off, because I get too serious about these things. He introduced the subjects by jokes, carried it off and still succeeded in making his point. He won by a slight margin.

TK: He won the Democratic Party primary?

WH: Yes. I think the thing was decided in the primary. I don't recall that the Republicans put up any candidates in either the primary or in the general election. Anyway, Bruce Wilson became the new state senator in 1968 and served in the '69 and '71 sessions, and he was a very, very good one.

He, too, suffered from redistricting because when the Legislature got around to doing it in 1972, it left Okanogan County occupied by Senator Twigg as we were made part of the Seventh District. Bruce got cut off and was out of the Legislature for two years. Then he ran successfully again in 1974 for that spot and was re-elected in 1978.

He was an excellent man and supported middle-of-the-road Democratic liberal types of things. The only thing I've ever disagreed with him about was the Public Disclosure Commission. I think of it as a travesty, and he thinks it's wonderful.

TK: Why is that?

WH: I think that the Public Disclosure Commission, as it operates, assumes guilt on the part of anyone who runs for public office. You have to declare in full detail all of the things that you own and your involvements of every kind. My feeling is that this assumes that somehow you're guilty and have to defend yourself. I don't like it, and I think it has a very definite negative impact upon people who are considering running for public office. They're subjected to this sort of assumption of guilt, and they have to put their whole life out in front of the public and allow people to make assumptions about who they are and what their life has been about.

TK: These days all the talk is about the "appearance" of impropriety.

WH: My own position is that truthful information about a person's personal, professional, or business life should be filed, but that it should also be sealed and not available to the public or press unless the person comes under some kind of accusation. This is the way I would do it and this would stop the business about an assumption of guilt on the part of the public.

TK: Well, as we conclude our discussion of your legislative career, I'd like to ask you this: What has given you the greatest sense of satisfaction or, to the contrary, what has frustrated you the most?

WH: I suppose I'd start with the last one first. What frustrated me most was the unreality of political debate. To me, during the post-war period when I served, it was a given that we had new responsibilities that grew out of the changes in society following the war. Very large numbers of people were being born. This meant, in part, that educational requirements had to develop as our society changed. These were legislative responsibilities. And yet there seemed to be people who assumed that all this could be done without taxing people and without raising money to pay the bills that went with meeting our responsibilities. And some people actually listened to this mush. It was just as plain as anything could be that, if we were going to do our duty by the next generation, we had to get with it. You had to answer these people who talked about "Taxellini" and the horror of raising the sales tax from 3.3 percent to 4 percent. To me this was totally unrealistic. I considered it an insult to my intelligence to tell me that we didn't have to do this if we were going to be responsible. And yet people would vote from their consciences as conservatives, and act as though all this could be done as if by some kind of magic. They would insist that we didn't have to raise taxes, or that the problems weren't real, or and that there was a bureaucratic conspiracy to increase salaries. I didn't notice any of these people reducing their pay scale, but they expected everybody else to do that, if they were working for the state.

But I also enjoyed my twenty years in the Legislature and I think I did accomplish more than the average legislator. I think I added a bit of spirit to it at times. And I just wish I'd been more effective on some of the things that I tried to do. I think I exhibited to you a bit of weariness in connection with my views of the common schools. I'm sorry about that, but I feel it even today—that they're not getting anywhere.

I think it's a crime that our school district administrators or school superintendents were nearly all football coaches. What the hell's going on in this world that we do that? Where's the incentive? Where's the light? Where's the torch? Who's to lead? You're not going to get leadership out of that class of people. Of course, there are good ones among them, I admit. But we have had them running the schools in this state forever and I think they're bogged down. They never have got going; they never will get going. I think we're going to have to have a new day and a revolution and I'd like to be around when it happens.

TK: If you were to advise a newly elected representative on the qualities or attributes that you feel would lead to success as a legislator, what would you tell that person?

WH: I would say that if someone wants to be successful, he needs to be willing to take on the tough jobs, to work hard, and to try to understand what motivates others.

CHAPTER 10

DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ECOLOGY

Thomas Kerr: We'll now turn to a discussion of your years as director of the Department of Ecology. But before we actually get into that, I wanted to ask you a few questions about Governor Dixy Lee Ray, and your relationship with her. Had you been a supporter of her before she became governor?

Wilbur Hallauer: Yes. I supported her in the Democratic primary. I had never met the lady, but I'd heard about her and knew of her being at the university and her connection with the Atomic Energy Commission. The knowledge that I had of her mostly came through Ernie Conrad, the vice president for finance of the University of Washington. He was a good friend of hers, and I remember a story that Ernie told me about her, which I think kind of illustrates her character. The university has an oceanography laboratory up at Friday Harbor on San Juan Island and that was the program that Dixy Lee Ray was involved in. The Legislature provided them funding for the buildings up there, and Ernie was in charge of letting the contracts and seeing to it that the buildings were properly done. That was really his field. He went up there on an inspection tour upon the completion of a building and found that there was a fireplace in Dixy's professorial quarters. That was not in the plans, so he did some inquiring and found out that she had instructed the contractor to put it in. So he sent her a bill for four thousand dollars and made her pay it.

TK: Did she pay?

WH: Yes, and they remained friends. So that sort of speaks to the situation.

TK: You mentioned the 1976 Democratic primary in which she was opposed by Wes Uhlman, the mayor of Seattle.

WH: Of course I knew Uhlman really well. He was one of the great equivocators of the Senate, and I didn't have much respect for him. So it was an easy choice for me. I discussed it with Conrad who said, "Why don't you give her a fair size chunk of money?" So I put five hundred bucks into the campaign, with knowledge aforethought, because I thought somewhere down the line I might like to get back into state government and at that time I had my eye on the Ecology Department.

TK: At the time Governor Ray entered Washington State politics, she was essentially an outsider. There are quite a few people who have believed that, were it not for the open primary nominating system, such as we have here, she might never have been nominated in the first place. Do you think there is any truth in that?

WH: I don't agree with that. The Democrats aren't so controlled by professional political attitudes as all that. I think it would come out the same way.

TK: She was described by some people who were quite close to her as a "true conservative." For example, Louis Guzzo, wrote in his biography of her that she was pledged to fight against big government, was opposed to government regulation, and committed to lower taxes. That sounds rather like a Republican. What was it about her that would have identified her as a Democrat?

WH: Well, first, Guzzo was with the *Seattle P-I*. That was one of the anomalies that cropped up later. Louis, of course, went to work for her in her administration as a direct aide to the governor. But the *P-I* got it into its head that Governor Ray was anti-environment, which I think was a false accusation. She just had a different picture. She was a Darwinian, and believed that species were

going to be lost and there wasn't much you could do about it.

Second, with respect to her ideas on the matter of taxes, I think she just didn't want to advocate higher taxes and thought we could get along with what was already provided. But she had guts enough that, if she needed taxes, she would have asked for them. She had a great deal of courage, even to the point of foolishness. Yet in politics you have to prepare the field before you plant. You need thorough preparatory education before launching anything new.

TK: As soon as Governor Ray lost the 1980 Democratic primary to Jim McDermott, she became the leader of the Democrats for Reagan. What might that say about her political orientation?

WH: Well, she was certainly very pro-labor, and that's one of the important differentials, in this state anyway, between Republicans and Democrats.

I think she resented what happened to her at the hands of the liberal Democrats, and there's no doubt that it was the liberals in the party that did her in. She was too conservative for them. Jim McDermott was a pretty good friend of mine and I remember that we had breakfast together about a week before that 1980 primary. And I told him that he might well win the primary, but he would end up losing the general election because he and his supporters were on the wrong side of the party battle. The people were not going to vote for him because he was too liberal.

TK: How did people in the Legislature, particularly the Democrats, react to her election?

WH: She was on trial with them. Her style of not cooperating with them and just running her own show and expecting them to follow did not sit very well with them. She wasn't too friendly with the legislators, which was one of her many mistakes.

TK: You think a governor really has a responsibility to work effectively with the legislative branch of the government?

WH: Oh sure. To a lot of us, Al Rosellini was a magician when it came to that sort of thing. He had been a legislative leader in the Senate for years, and had a solid base, even with his opposition in the Republican camp. They knew him and liked him personally . Even though you might differ with him on issues, you couldn't dislike the guy.

TK: Would you say that it was a disadvantage for Governor Ray to have entered office without a background in Washington State politics?

WH: I would agree with that totally. It would have helped her very much if she had been able to get off her bulldozer for a while and get out there and dig with a shovel, along side the rest of us.

TK: Do you know how your name came to her attention as a possible director of the Department of Ecology?

WH: Oh yes. Conrad talked to her about me and said that I was interested in the Ecology appointment. And of course, as all Governors-elect do, she set up a committee to sort the wheat from the chaff. They called me up and asked whether I would take Agriculture, and I told them not on your life. I had spent my life in agriculture and I knew better than to get into that swamp. I told them I was interested in the Ecology and nothing else. If I could not have that, I would prefer that they just forget me.

TK: Did you meet with this committee?

WH: No.

TK: When did you first meet with Governor Ray?

WH: I first met her at a dinner before I had been appointed that had been arranged by Ernie Conrad. Jo also attended and it was a very pleasant occasion. I'm sure that she was sizing me up for the Ecology position.

TK: When you were offered the position of director of Ecology, you accepted it conditionally. Would you care to comment on that?

WH: Oh yes. You see, we were in the process of selling the family company and, of course, the company had a number of water discharge permits. Also I personally had applications in for water rights. I needed some time to shed these conflicts of interest. So I told her when we first met that it would be three months before I could assume the position full-time. In the interim, what I wanted was to be in Olympia for a week, then home for a week. The seasonal drying business was winding down and, of course, it was necessary for me to be sure that the negotiations for the sale of the family company were properly concluded and carried through. I told the governor that if it turned out that I could not take the appointment and had to continue with the family company, then any work that I did in the interim would be free. But if I did go through with the appointment, I expected to be compensated for my time with credit for it. Well, I officially went on the payroll on July 1, 1977.

I mention all this because this later became a matter of contention. I had accumulated three months of service in Olympia before I had officially and formally assumed direction of the Department of Ecology. That had been a time when I had been doing work with the department and giving some original direction to a lot of things. But it did not occur to me to ask what that activity would do to my pension. Well, it turned out that when the Retirement Board figured all that out, I wound up with a rather obscene bonus. It was totally unforeseen, and nobody ever told me anything about it; I just got a slip saying that my pension had been bumped up by about two hundred dollars. At that point, the state auditor thought there was some form of chicanery that had gone on. He set his dogs on me and gave me a lot of free publicly about double dipping or whatever. But the court eventually ruled completely in my favor.

In the process of looking into this matter, the attorneys for the state auditor felt that they had to find out whether what I had told them about my arrangement with Dixy was supported by what she had to say about it. So they arranged for a deposition at her home on Fox Island, and this was after she was out of office. Max Nicolai was there, representing me. According to what Max told me later, when he and Mr. Pharris, the assistant attorney general got there, Dixy suggested that they go outside for the deposition. She explained that she had a little problem in the garden that needed to be taken care of. It was a nice day, and so they went out. But the two attorneys were a bit shocked when Dixy grabbed a gun on the way out! It seems she had some cherry trees and the starlings were making a feast of the fruit. Well, when one of the attorneys would ask her a question, she'd pick up the gun, take aim, and go BLAM at the starlings. Poor Max was terrified of guns, and that kind of thing went on for about the whole hour. Apparently Mr. Pharris' reactions were about the same.

TK: That surely must have been one of the strangest depositions that either of those two gentlemen ever imagined!

On the subject of your appointment, when you did speak to her initially after your appointment, did she discuss with you her views on the environment or other ecological matters? Was there an opportunity for an exchange of views at that particular point?

WH: No. It came on very gradually, one thing at a time. For example, in February of 1977 the Northern Tier Pipeline people were proposing an oil port on Puget Sound and the *Seattle P-I* in particular was giving it an awful lot of adverse publicity. Dixy did something that really wasn't politically wise by going up there and riding a tanker in from Port Angeles to where they were proposing to have the port, near Cherry Point.

TK: Some people might call it politically maladroit.

WH: She wanted me to ride up there with her and I did. I'd never been on an oil tanker before and it was kind of a fun thing to do. But it certainly attracted a lot of attention, especially in view of the fact that people were much concerned about the proposal of allowing supertankers into Puget Sound. Of course, Dixy had her own views about water quality in Puget Sound, but they weren't in keeping with the what the *Seattle P-I* thought that it ought to be. For example, she made it clear that

as an oceanographer and marine scientist, she viewed the Puget Sound as lacking in sufficient warmth and food to be a really good fishery. That is, if you wanted a lot of marine life, you had to have some way that the small forms of life grow, and to do that, they needed a certain amount of warmth. Puget Sound is a deep body of water and very cold down at the bottom. And while certain types of fish do fairly well in it, it's not the sort of environment that would support large numbers of fish. She believed that it takes a mixing of the waters—cold currents coming through warm waters—for all sorts of marine life to bloom, such as the tremendous fisheries off the coast of Peru and places like that. But because of its coldness, Puget Sound marine life would never be a big thing. She tried to make that argument, but she never got a hearing for it.

TK: So, was she saying that the concerns about the impact of those oil supertankers upon the marine life of Puget Sound were misplaced? Was that her position?

WH: Yes. She never got very excited about an oil spill that might kill a thousand birds, for example. She said the question was not these thousand birds; the question was the food supply that would allow the bird population to flourish and grow. An adequate food supply will serve to rather readily replace the thousand birds. She took the position that things tend to run to the carrying capacity of the food supply for all species. That was the scientific argument, and I'm sure it's the logical one, but it doesn't look nice to see that pile of dead birds. She refused to get excited about that pile of dead birds. But in the media, that was a big thing.

TK: From your interaction with her, do you think Governor Ray came to office with a set of policy preferences relating to the environment or ecology of the state?

WH: No, I don't think so. She simply approached things from the Darwinian perspective.

TK: At the time you were appointed to your position as director of the Ecology Department, you were widely reported in the press as advocating a policy of "benign neglect." Could you explain what you had in mind when you said that?

WH: I guess Senator Moynihan's use of that term, as applied to welfare, made some imprint on my mind and I borrowed it to explain how I felt about it to the Department of Ecology staff shortly after I became director. Looking back, I probably should have used other words to reflect my views. A better way to phrase and describe what I was trying to put across was "environmental gradualism." I feel that the shock treatment of trying to change the world overnight and commit some form of celestial change by command just isn't going to work. And, besides, it's an awful expensive way to go.

Maybe I can make the case this way. One of the things I found out as I got educated on the job at the Department of Ecology was that in handling the wastes of human society, in disposing by sewage treatment and so on, what really happens when you put in a municipal sewer project is that you can get ninety percent of the bad stuff out of the water pretty readily by primary treatment. That's fairly simple and straightforward to do. You would have solved ninety percent of the problem. If you want to go further than that, which people these days always do, it takes more money. It takes ten times as much money to go into secondary treatment and get the next nine percent as it cost for the primary system. Now you've got ninety-nine percent of it and you got X plus ten-X spent. Now, if you want to get that other one percent, it would take one hundred times as much money as that primary system. This is factual; this is the way it is. So the question is: how clean do you want to be? How clean can you afford to be?

TK: Would you say, then, that it's more of a political judgment than it is a scientific one?

WH: That's right. But, of course, political judgments tend to be swayed by what I think is overkill propaganda from environmentalists who believe in the holy grail of a clean environment. That's wonderful, but there other things at work here, too. The technical means of clean water

aren't all that clear, particularly when you get down to the ten thousandth millionth and billionth of things in there that you want out. These things get awfully expensive and the technology has not been developed yet to the point where it's clear what the best available treatment is. In the Ecology Department, they use the term "BAT," which means Best Available Treatment. It's required by law, but who knows what it is because tomorrow somebody might come up with a new process or a new treatment method or a new filter system? This is one of the things that always troubled the people in the paper business because they dealt with chemicals and an awful lot of water. They were under a requirement to engage in best available treatment, and they'd say, "Please tell us what the best available treatment is. You want us to spend one hundred million dollars, but by the time we get through building, there might be a better way of doing it. What's reasonable here?" They had a case.

TK: Well, that certainly is a problem. But would you say that is also at least partly a political problem, in the sense that that the people who are doing the polluting may have often underestimated the impact of their pollution? Do you think that it might cut both ways?

WH: Well, I went down to Hoquiam with a few of the fellows from Ecology, and the Rayonier Company was trying to demonstrate to us what the problem was for them. They had come up with a new theory of how to clean up the water at the plant down there and they had built a six story building to do it. It turned out that the system didn't work after they had built it and they were trying to make it work. They spent fourteen million dollars and had bought a dead horse. These things can happen. I was a working manager in the food industry and I know how brutal some of these mistakes can be because I've been involved in a few of them, myself. So I sympathized deeply with these people. We were presenting them with a dilemma. They wanted to help, but they didn't know what to do. It just wasn't that clear.

TK: Can you tell me something about your early feelings or impressions in taking over the management of such a large agency as the Department of Ecology?

WH: Well, when I went to Olympia, I took over the department from John Biggs, who was the former head of the Game Department for the state and a very able man. After reviewing the record of the department's first six years, I came to the conclusion that considering the vast powers and resources vested in it, the agency had not done an awful lot during the time that Biggs had been there. There had been quite a bit of public relations activity, but not much work on a lot of things that I thought needed to be done.

To give you an example, one problem area that had been totally overlooked—and was dropped again after I left the directorship—was the matter setting minimum flows in streams. There was a real problem with some of the streams throughout the state drying up because the water was all taken under permits. That was something that needed to be remedied as soon as possible because we were continually issuing more permits. We needed, really, a permit system that allocated water in the streams in such a way that there would always be water there and it couldn't be withdrawn to the point of the drying-up stage. So I put ten people to work in that program. They really worked on it, working overtime and everything during the period that I was there, and they accomplished a lot. I'm sorry that the program didn't go to its logical conclusion, but we took the toughest cases, and set minimum flows on the Wenatchee, Okanogan and Methow rivers as well as many rivers in western Washington.

This brought up the arguments between the environmental and the water user sides and I clearly took the side of those who had water rights established as users. Those were considered to be permanent permits. There were differences of opinion over what philosophical standard to apply in establishing minimum flow. The environment people, particularly the Fish and Wildlife people, wanted a standard set to *maximize* the fish production of a stream, while the other side, the water user side, wanted a standard that *maintained* the fish population. The difference here is a

considerable one because if you take the standard of maximizing fish production of a stream, it could be anywhere up to three times as much as the other standard. That's a considerable waste of water to put a standard on a stream below which you cannot take that stream for human use. In effect, your priority for the water in that stream is the fish. I think the goal should be the maintenance of fish. A flow that maximized fish production would mean that there'd be more available gravel for fish to spawn in and that sort of thing.

TK: When you say "the other side," are you referring to the Fish and Game Department, as well as the various interest groups?

WH: They were a very important player on that side.

TK: So, this is interagency politics that you're discussing?

WH: Yes, and we got into a clash over the fact that the fish people tried to get an amendment on some legislation which would have given them veto power over minimum flow. Well, setting the minimum flow was clearly the Ecology Department's responsibility and no one else had veto power. They also tried to expand their authority over hydraulic permits so that there was a perpetual one instead of a time-limited one. They properly had to approve a hydraulic permit for doing work in a stream, and I think the maximum duration of a permit is something like eighteen months. Anyway, I went up to the Legislature when they were holding the hearings and said that this isn't going to make sense. If you grant a split authority like this you might as well give the other people the whole ball, because they'll be able to create a state of warfare over this between the bureaucracies and nothing will ever get done. I didn't really have any trouble with them.

TK: What committee did you appear before on this?

WH: It was the Ecology Committee in the House. There was a fellow in the Legislature from Everett who was practically an employee of the Game Department and he was the one who put the bill in. I went up there to kill it, and got it done.

TK: Did the governor participate in, or take a position on, this interagency dispute?

WH: Well, if she did, I don't remember it. I certainly never asked her.

TK: I see. Well, that leads to a question that I wanted to ask about Governor Ray. Was she a hands-on administrator?

WH: She certainly wanted to know what was going on.

TK: Do you believe that she knew about this particular interagency dispute?

WH: I think I told her, but I really don't remember. She was very knowledgeable on fish things and anything to do with the subject of water.

It took us about six months to work out a system whereby I would ask her for one or two hours of time on her calendar. I would bring some staff with me down to her office and make a presentation of the problems confronting me and decisions on my desk that needed to be made. Charlie Roe also attended these meetings. My purpose was really to tell her what I was doing. I wasn't particularly asking her; I was bringing her on board. I had enough confidence in what I was doing, and I believed what I was doing was right. I was explaining myself to her so that she would know what was going on. She was always very, very good about this.

There were only a couple of times when that pattern varied. One was the Northern Tier Pipeline issue. About a year into her administration, I started to tell her what I was doing about the thing. I thought that was something she ought to know. But she stopped me, after I had got maybe one hundred words into my presentation, and said, "Web, don't tell me anymore. I don't want to know what you're doing. Keep it away from me and you handle it the way you think best. Do the best job you can in your department's presentation to EFSEC [Energy Facility Site Evaluation Council] on all the impacts and aspects of the proposal. I

just don't want to be involved until EFSEC makes a recommendation to me. I know that I'm going to be accused of having my fingers in it and the best way is that you tell me nothing and you do it the way you see best." Those may not have been the exact words, but that was certainly her meaning.

TK: So she didn't want to know anything about the pipeline? Was that a case of wanting to maintain "plausible deniability?"

WH: She certainly was interested in the subject, but she knew it was wrong for her to judge the decision before EFSEC made a recommendation. She was going to get attacked regardless of what the result was and she wanted to have a defense. I think it was an appropriate response. It was really quite a statement of trust.

TK: Was the siting committee the body that was going to ultimately make the decision on the pipeline?

WH: Yes, but really the keys to it were the department's presentation to EFSEC and the consultant reports that we had commissioned at Ecology.

TK: Were these reports coming from organizations like Battelle or Arthur Little or what?

WH: The problem in hiring consultants was the fact that many of them had all been doing work for the big oil companies. The consultants were always on the lookout for further business, and where would they find that business if their expertise is in the field of water pollution? Well, a lot of the business will come from the big oil companies. Consultants also get a lot of business from state and federal governments that need studies done on this or that.

I just felt that there was too much of a conflict of interest in this situation. So I asked Charlie Roe to hunt around for a firm that had a lot of expertise, and yet had never been involved in any contract with any oil company. It took quite a lot of doing, but we found one in Annapolis, Maryland. It was a kind of a start-up company, but it had good people who had background with other companies. It was the primary one that we hired and they were the ones that came in with the report that eventually was considered definitive.

TK: The subject of consultants and government is really quite interesting. It seems that agencies, at least in the federal area, use consultants so massively that we end up with almost a sub-government. These are people who are chosen by who-knows-who, and they're not politically responsible in the same sense that civil servants are to the Legislature.

WH: I was horrified by what we've done with ourselves. And I become particularly concerned when it gets into the tender mine field of what's basically a political decision.

TK: Yes. And even areas that are clearly concerned with science or engineering often have major political overtones.

WH: Yes. And of course Governor Evans had some experience, in a preliminary way, about the question of oil coming into the state of Washington waters. The issue had been raised before Dixy or I had come on the scene. What he favored, through the state's "management program," the federal Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, was an oil port at Port Angeles or west of there, thus keeping tankers out of Puget Sound. I think our ultimate answer to it was the best one.

TK: Getting back to the subject of Governor Ray's executive style, did she involve herself at all in the actual execution of public policy, or was she primarily interested in policy ideas and issues?

WH: No, she didn't try to get into the details of management. But there may have been one exception to that. When I took over as director of Ecology, John Biggs had left and the agency was being run by a fellow named Wes Hunter. He had been with Biggs in the Department of Game and, in fact, had been the chief legislative officer for

that agency. I knew him pretty well and had gone fishing with him and things like that. I liked him, but he had his own style and he was more interested in the public relations aspect of the department than anything else. He was a smoother-over sort of a person and good at it. I'm not critical of that, but I'm the kind of manager who wants a product coming out of the assembly line. That's why I was getting into such tender subjects as the setting of minimum flows in the streams. Those things were going to make people unhappy.

He didn't feel particularly comfortable with me and told me that he was going to leave the department. So I had the job of finding a new assistant. While there were some very, very good people in the department already, I didn't feel I was aware enough of inner things that had been going on long before I showed up, and I wanted somebody who was my man, instead of the product of prior administrations. So I called up my friend, Elmer Vogel, who I mentioned in an earlier interview. He had just resigned as a public relations executive at Boeing, and had earlier been the AP man in Olympia for ten years. So he was a newsman and he knew how to handle the media. So without consulting with Dixy or anything, I hired him. He and I had an enjoyable time together for four years and, in fact, he stayed on till my successor was appointed. But when Dixy heard about it, she said something like, "Web, with these well-paid jobs, it's customary that the staff up here at the governor's office be told about them, so that some of our political problems can be handled by letting us pay off some of our political debts." She put it pretty nicely and I hadn't even thought of asking her. That conversation occurred after Elmer was there, but when she discovered who he was, it turned out that they knew each other quite well. They had both been on the debate teams of their respective high schools in Tacoma and had traded swords a few times with each other. She forgave me because she knew that I had made a good choice and hired a smart guy. But she gave me the needle a little bit about it.

TK: Well, during the remainder of your term did you then clear your appointments through the governor's chief of staff, or someone like that?

WH: Hell no. I didn't think much of the first chief of staff, Mr. Guzzo.

TK: It's probably fair to say that Dixy Lee Ray had a fairly rocky relationship with the press during her whole time in office. Why do you think that was so?

WH: Her management style was aggressive, and it was not in any sense political. I think she expected to be the professor who stood up there and told the press how it was. She thought she could direct their thinking, but, of course, they got mileage as professional journalists by creating an atmosphere of conflict.

Her style was confrontational and it simply didn't come across very well with many of the regular reporters on the Olympia scene. Some of those people were also philosophically in total disagreement with her, and were looking for some way that they could attack her, and they did. Mike Layton, in many ways a pretty good friend of mine, was one of the leaders in the attack. I don't think he was always very fair about it, but that's the way the news business is.

TK: Did her problems with the media create problems for the Department of Ecology?

WH: Yes, at times.

TK: Could you give me any examples of that?

WH: Well, the Northern Tier Pipeline would be a case in point. The fact that she felt the need to keep her hands off the subject entirely was the result of her difficulties with the press. They drove her to that sort of thing. Normally, studies of the potential damage caused by oil spills would have been of profound interest to her.

TK: Did she ever assemble her cabinet together for any kind of joint meetings?

WH: Oh yes. She began a process of weekly meetings around that big long table in the State Reception Room. She would nominate some department head to make a presentation to the

assembled group which would include a description of what they were doing and why, and what the issues and problems were. I drew the short straw fairly early in my regime and had to explain the Department of Ecology to everybody and tried to answer questions about it. I didn't mind doing it, but I considered it somewhat ridiculous—what purpose did it serve? I considered some of the people in the other agencies, such as the Department of Game, as the enemy. And I suppose they felt the same way about us. Anyway, in about six months time, we had gone over to the system, that I mentioned before, of going to her office at an appointed time with an agenda all laid out. We would then go through it, one item at a time, discussing with her what we were doing and explaining why I had decided to take certain courses of action.

TK: So the practice of holding group meetings was abandoned?

WH: Yes, it was not effective. You're wasting a lot of people's time and she couldn't get much of a picture of what the individual things were. You do that on a one-to-one basis. I always did it with my own people at Ecology. The system that I inherited there was that people from the different sections of the agency—the air people, the water people, the land people, the legal people, and so forth—would all meet together weekly for an hour or so and have a general discussion. Well, there was some effectiveness in that because it was a more coherent group and all the people were charged with the responsibility for carrying out the mission of the department. But, even there, you could not get to the heart of particular problems. My style of running the department was to individually go—without notice—and catch hold of the head of a section, and sit down with him and ask him what the problems were. I had run the factory that way, and thought that it was a hell of a lot more effective way of running a department.

TK: Do you have any particular recollections of interaction with some of the people around Governor Ray? I was thinking of people like Paul Bender, her chief of staff.

WH: Oh, Paul was very effective. He was a good man.

TK: Do you remember how you may have worked with him?

WH: Paul was more concerned with the financial side and didn't get into the political issues that were such an important part of what we did in Ecology. We were followed by quite an audience of people who were interested in the political product that was a natural outcome of our decisions.

TK: How about Louis Guzzo?

WH: I didn't have much to do with Lou. His intentions were good and our relationship was not unfriendly. But the one thing that remains in my mind was a situation that came up in February of 1977. We received a message from our friends up in the British Columbia Department of the Environment. They wanted to come down for consultation with us about mutual problems. I relayed it up to the governor's office and it apparently landed on Guzzo's desk. This was an important matter, but the governor's office didn't do anything. So when the Canadians came, we put on a real good show for them at the Department of Ecology, notwithstanding the fact that the governor's office had never responded to our telling them that these important people were coming. Dixy read about the visit in the press and called me up and asked me, "What the hell was going on here? Who was running this place? Were we notified? What's the matter?" I went and checked and found that we had given her office written notice. I then called her back and told her about the notice and offered to send her a copy of it if she wanted. It was Guzzo who had not reacted when he got the notice and he stood up and said, "I'm guilty," and went on from there. But there was an opportunity for Dixy to have taken the ball, met with the Canadian environment minister, and made a good political play out of it. Guzzo should have known better, because he was a newsman.

TK: Did he explain what happened?
WH: He just forgot, I think.

TK: Did Governor Ray have what you might call a "kitchen cabinet," a group of informal advisors that she would consult with on a day-to-day basis?

WH: She depended on Charlie Hodde quite a bit for general advice.

TK: What position did he occupy at that point? Was he actually in the government at that time or was he just an informal advisor to her?

WH: He was the head of the Revenue Department. Of course, Charlie was a man of all trades and he should have been governor at some time. It took Dixy awhile to find out just how reliable and good his advice was. But he couldn't help her much with her problems with the press, because she was like a wild horse and you couldn't get her bridled to calm down and keep her mouth closed.

TK: Given her rocky relationship with the press, it would seem to be all the more important to have a few people to talk frankly and candidly with.

WH: Yes. And in my own case at Ecology, it developed that a man by the name of John Spencer, whom I knew nothing about when I arrived, soon came to my attention. He was a magnificent person to have in the department and he knew all the ins and the outs. So by having both John Spencer and Elmer Vogel there, the department ran pretty darn smoothly.

TK: I'd like to get back to your experience as director of Ecology. Having spent your life as an individual entrepreneur in all kinds of enterprises, what feelings did you have when you took on this job of running a rather large governmental bureaucracy? That had to be a real sea-change for you.

WH: It was a new life! Oh, the old life was over because the family company had been sold. So here I was, turning a new page and taking on a new career and in a field where I felt I could do some good. I'd been deeply involved in and interested in water matters, and at least casually in air pollution. Certainly, the land has always interested me and I thought that this might be opportunity to exercise what I hoped would be a moderating influence on the demands of what I might call "religious environmentalists," who took environmentalism essentially as a religion. I'd like to think I did so.

TK: When you refer to these "religious environmentalists," whom specifically were you thinking about?

WH: Well, one of the things I did early in my administration at the department was to drop by at the offices of the Washington Environmental Council, without notice, and met with the people there in a surprise visit. I wanted to learn something of their attitudes and what they expected the department to be doing. I wanted to assess how bridgeable the gap was between what they wanted and what I believed was possible. I found that it wasn't very bridgeable. What they seemed to want really was publicity by criticizing. The visit was an effort that brings some compromising influence. It was well worth doing but it just didn't pan out. There were quite a lot of people in the Washington Environmental Council who, in my view, were extremists. They probably thought I was an extremist in the industrial and user camp. I don't think I was.

I think I was an environmentalist before most of those people were, because I was out there on the battlefield, trying to get the standards raised for the pulp mills and that sort of thing. I worked hard at it for two years as chairman of the Interim Committee on Water Resources and got through legislation that made the state of Washington the number one in the whole country in the field of water clean-up. But that was 1967. By the time I went to the Department of Ecology in 1977, the whole country had been overrun by the evangelism of the environmental camp. And the federal government had taken over so much of the authority in the field that the states didn't have much wiggle room, simply because so much of the funding came from the federal side. They set the standards for what we were supposed to be

doing, and about all you could do would be to go with the flow on so many things. It was a big disappointment, because we didn't have the authority that I would have wanted.

We could speed up things like setting minimum flows, which is a big topic again today because of the impact of the Endangered Species Act. That was something that had been allowed to sit by Mr. Biggs, who should have known better. He'd been the director of the Game Department and he knew what the problems were, but didn't do anything with it. During Director Moos' regime, during the four years after I left, the minimum flow program was gradually allowed to die by attrition. It was down to about half when Governor Gardner came along and Mrs. Riniker, the director of Ecology, decapitated the program. She was a daughter of a dentist down in Okanogan so I knew her father very well, but I never met her until she was in office. I thought she made a mess of the department, frankly.

TK: As an administrator, did you spend a lot of time working with the various federal agencies and the Washington congressional delegation?

WH: Yes. Charlie Roe and I were on a trolley about every two or three months, going back to Washington and spending a week and then coming home and two months later going back again. We were regulars with Congressmen Tom Foley and Lloyd Meeds, for example, and they were of great help to us. Senator Jackson's office was also very helpful. Featherstone Reid, who had been my administrative aide when I was in the Legislature, had gone to work for Senator Magnuson and, by the time I was director of Ecology, had become the top staff honcho on Magnuson's Senate Appropriations Committee. That committee had a staff of about eighty people.

Anyway, when I'd call Feather to tell him we were going to be back, Maggie would loan us his Cadillac with its state of Washington license Number One. It was an old 1963 Caddy with leather upholstery in it and we'd do things like run up to Baltimore to Haussner's Restaurant. And, of course, we'd grab a lobbyist from somewhere and take Maggie and his wife, Jermaine, out to dinner. We had a great time, but we were there to go to the federal agencies and get things done. And I think we were successful at that.

TK: Were these members of Congress able to open doors for you? What specific kinds of things were they able to do for you?

WH: Well, there were always situations in which we wanted federal law or policy adjusted in such a way as to reflect our particular problems. I remember one time when they were marking up a bill in the House and, through Tom Foley, we got an appointment with the top person on the committee just at the critical time when an amendment could be introduced to the bill that would take care of our problem. We were there just ten minutes. We told him what we wanted, he grasped the situation, he put in our amendment; it was approved and we walked out. It was almost like magic the way that one worked.

It didn't always work that way. One of the problems I got into difficulty over was what they called Padilla Bay, near Anacortes. Back in 1957, when I was still in the Legislature, Elmer Vogel, who was still with AP at that time, came to me and he said he had a friend who wanted to talk to me about property that she had up in Skagit County on Padilla Bay. The lady turned out to be a schoolteacher, Edna Breazeale, who, with her husband, had saved their money and had a pretty good size piece of property that they wanted to donate to the state, which is kind of a nice thing to do. It was a small part of some marsh land of about ten thousand acres, about ninety-eight percent of which was owned by a big-money outfit called the Orion Corporation. The company's first goal was to develop the area into a super port. They were going to dredge the whole damn area. When that became politically infeasible, their next plan was to turn it into a large development, a "Venice of the North," in which they would still dredge the area, but build clusters of houses around various boat harbors.

Well, of course, the environmentalists got on their ear about it, I think in this case quite properly, but Orion owned ninety-eight percent of the land. But the state Game Department put up a sign saying that Edna Breazeale's land had been

donated to the state and that the intention was to create a refuge for wildlife. Well, we got into a quarrel with the Orion people who wanted permits from the state to do all this dredging and the state was pretty negative about it. So, by the time I was with the Ecology Department, twenty years later, the thing had got to the point where Orion was saying that if we would not let them do anything, then we should condemn it and buy them out. I tried to bridge over this public quarrel by getting money together to buy them out and, of course, you then get into what price. Well, they wanted thirty million dollars, which was far more than the eight hundred thousand dollars they had paid for it in the 1950s, when it was still wasteland. I figured out in my own way, considering how much money they had paid for it and that they were certainly entitled generous interest on it , and came up with a sales price of between a million and a half and two million dollars. I talked it over very completely with Dixy, because I thought this was something that would intrigue her, and it did. She authorized me to go ahead and negotiate. And I tried to raise the money from coastal management grant funds that were due to the state of Washington out of the federal handout system. My problem was that when I went back to Washington, the federal officials told me that my type of project was not qualified. Well, hell's bells, I could show them where they had done the same thing in South Carolina. It was a political problem. We put all the pressure we could on the coastal management people but I never could get them to come through with the money and we wound up in a lengthy court fight that went to the state Supreme Court three different times.

I think it cost the state of Washington, besides all the legal costs and dragging it out, somewhere around twelve million dollars. Of course, it's now in public ownership and dedicated for that purpose. But the Orion Corporation really had us because they had their property rights. They also raised some real issues over the appraisal methods. The state had taken the attitude that the regulations would not allow them to develop either their "Venice of the North," or their port. So, argued the state, what was left was a place where the only thing you could do was to raise clams and maybe a few oysters; but even that would be subject to pollution regulations and probably would not work either. So they came in with a ridiculous appraisal price for the land of about forty dollars an acre. Well, if I'd been in the Orion people's shoes, I'd have been mad about it, too. And I'd have fought them to the end, and that's exactly what happened. The state should have been more forthcoming, but Dixy didn't feel that she had a proposal that was sufficiently clear to go to the Legislature to ask for the money, explaining that she could not get it from the federal government. And even with Senator Magnuson on our side, we couldn't get them to change.

TK: So even Washington's powerful congressional delegation of those days was unable to overcome that?

WH: That's right.

TK: Well, perhaps we might get into some specific program areas, some of which we have referred to briefly already, that you walked into when you assumed the control of the Ecology Department. One extremely hot issue had to do with coastal zone management, specifically, oil supertankers in Puget Sound and the oil refinery at Cherry Point. Could we talk about that?

WH: Well, the tanker controversy did take up a lot of time in 1977. We finally got it shuffled off into study by consultants and it wasn't much trouble to me after that. It was a matter of style on Governor Ray's part to talk directly with the Arco people who were talking about bringing their big tankers into Puget Sound. When she actually got on one of those tankers and put on a show of steering it into port, I thought she had committed a public relations blunder of gigantic proportions. In my mind, that was sort of like going up to a dog with great big teeth and kicking it. That's about the way the media responded to it, and they gave her a lot of bad publicity for her trouble.

TK: What was your position on the presence of oil supertankers in Puget Sound?

WH: I thought it was essentially a political

problem. I thought we needed to avoid running into that buzz saw.

TK: But how did you see it from the point of view of Ecology?

WH: To me, it depended upon how it was done. There are tankers entering Puget Sound all the time, though not, of course, supertankers. But if enough safeguards were present, I don't think oil spills would be all that they have been blown up to be by environmentalists.

On one occasion when I was director of Ecology, I had planned a vacation to England and Dixy arranged for me to visit an oceanographic laboratory at Plymouth, England. There had been a big oil spill some time earlier, involving the *Amoco Cadiz,* that had affected areas along the English Channel and the Atlantic coast of France. The spill was supposed to have damaged the oysters and other marine life around there forever. So Dixy encouraged me to meet with the people at that lab and ask them what they had learned from their very extensive research on the effects of the spill. I went there and had lunch with them and they told me that the damage to the oyster growing industry was expected to clear up in two years, at the most. They also said that divers had been able to get into the hull and found that marine life was already reestablishing itself even within that immediate area. They found that various organisms tended to offset the effects of the oil.

Dixy had also been interested in sending some people down to Tierra del Fuego where there had been a situation similar to what could occur in Puget Sound. A Shell tanker spilled about half its load in the Straits of Magellan, where there are a lot of inlets such as you would find in the south end of Puget Sound. The immense tides there had washed the oil into the inlets again and again. We did not send anyone there, but I never heard that there was any serious, lasting damage.

I'm convinced, until I see other evidence, that this business of oil spills is overrated by a factor of maybe ninety-five percent. Sure, there's damage. There's no doubt about that. But, in general, I suppose my position developed out of what happened in World War II, when a hundred tankers were torpedoed by German submarines off the Atlantic coast. On one day there were five oil tankers sunk just off New York Harbor. And what were the lasting effects? We've not heard anything about that for fifty years.

TK: How would you respond to those who say that the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound is a more appropriate analogy to Puget Sound?

WH: What do we really know? That's up in Alaska. I just think that this is an issue that environmentalists take delight in raising because the public opinion is so fixed on it. Whether the long term problems are as substantive as they claim, I sincerely doubt.

TK: The controversy, as I understand it, centered on what was called the "Evans Amendment," a provision in the state's federally approved Coastal Zone Management Act "management program" that no supertankers would be allowed east of Port Angeles. Was it true that Governor Ray wanted the removal of that prohibition in the state's program?

WH: Well, she didn't think that it was as dangerous or risky to do so as Senator Magnuson had thought. Beyond that, Magnuson had a much better grasp of the political aspect of it. He had a clearer understanding of the feelings of the general public about it, and there was no doubt that public opinion was with him on the issue. Dixy made a mistake to ever get into a quarrel with the senator over something that she couldn't possibly win.

TK: In 1977, the Legislature had passed a bill banning supertankers east of Port Angeles and Governor Ray vetoed the bill. Did she communicate with you on that matter?

WH: She did not. But if she had, I would have advised her to allow it to become law without her signature. The reason for that is that I didn't feel there was much use in running head-on into a stone wall. She should have told the people who wanted the privilege of running their supertankers into Puget Sound waters that they were confronted with a political problem and that they needed to

go to the Legislature and fight their own battles.
TK: Well, the Canadians obviously also had an interest in what was going on here, too. And were they not talking about several alternatives for getting oil into North America from Alaska?

WH: I don't believe that the Canadians were particularly helpful at that time. They were busy running their own political traplines. But I was fairly close to the Canadian thing and, in fact, had seen a good many tankers coming into Vancouver through U.S. waters.

TK: Did not the Canadians strongly prefer that Alaska oil be brought into another port well north of Vancouver, at Kitimat, British Columbia? As I understand it, it could then be shipped by pipeline to Edmonton and then to the American mid-West.

WH: Oh, there's Howe Sound but I never thought that was realistic. There was a refinery in the Vancouver area and tankers were coming to that facility, bringing in Indonesian oil. Those tankers bound for the Canadian refinery were coming through there all the time, and I don't think that ever penetrated the media's attention. I actually had seen the tankers coming through there.

TK: But they were not supertankers, were they?

WH: Oh no. They were pretty small tankers.

TK: The main concern at the time was with supertankers, was it not?

WH: Yes, that's true, tankers over 125,000 dead weight tons. And, of course, with the Alaska oil being developed up there and the Alaska pipeline, the question was where was that oil going to go? There was enough of it so that it could totally satisfy the U.S. market on the West Coast and there was even going to be a surplus. Well, if the Northern Tier Pipeline went in, that would take care of the surplus and it would be piped off to the Dakotas and Minnesota and be used there. The way it actually turned out was that when the Northern Tier pipeline was delayed and didn't go through, they were taking the oil down to the Los Angeles area and putting it in the pipeline system there and sending it east to Texas and so on. Part of it also went down to Panama and was pipelined across the isthmus, reloaded, and sent on to various American destinations.

And there was another consideration at the time that didn't get much attention. The logical thing to have done with the oil would have been to put it into the Japanese market and ship it over there. It was a type of oil that carried an asphalt content in it and the Japanese were capable of processing it. Not all refineries were able to process the Alaskan oil—for example the Anacortes refinery of the Shell Company couldn't handle it, but Arco could. Also it was not all that long a tanker haul to Japan, as compared to Los Angeles or Panama. They could have got the world market price for it in Japan, but there was a congressional prohibition against selling Alaska oil outside the United States.

TK: To some people, it seemed that the Governor Ray's position on this was that the Pacific Northwest owed it to the rest of the country to help serve their needs for oil. And she seemed to suggest that Washingtonians not be so overly concerned about their own environment while the rest of the country needed this oil. Did she ever express such a sentiment to you?

WH: No, I didn't hear her express that view at all. I saw the matter simply as a political problem and that there was a lot of political show business going on, such as the prohibition of sending the oil out of the country. What difference did it make, as long as we got the oil we needed? And if an emergency arose, we could always cancel our foreign contracts to serve our own need. The contract could have said so. I didn't see it as anything except political posturing.

TK: During this particular controversy, there were public hearings chaired by a special hearings officer, a former state Supreme Court Chief Justice Mathew Hill, held in Bellingham, Seattle, and Port Angeles by a group that worked with the Ecology Department, namely, the Washington State Ecological Commission. Could you tell me a little bit about that organization?

WH: Yes, because I was the author of the forerunner of the damn commission, the Water Resources Advisory Committee, created in 1967 as a part of the Department of Water Resources. It was my idea while I was in the 1967 Legislature and Charlie Roe put the type of commission in the 1970 bill creating the Department of Ecology.

TK: They held a lot of hearings and I'm asking what impact, if any, did they have?

WH: That commission was designed as a heat-absorbing mechanism for the department, so that when they had a hot potato with political implications they could shove it off to the commission and let the hearing process absorb the political energies and come up with some sort of a resolution, if it was possible. Well, some unfortunate appointments were made to the commission. Some of the people were supposed to represent particular interest groups, and others were supposed to represent the public. That's the way it was set up. But the thing got out of hand and the commission started thinking that it was managing and directing the department. It was like a little legislature that thought it was in charge of the Ecology Department, and that certainly wasn't what I had in mind when I set the thing up.

TK: I suppose if the commission had worked effectively, it could have served to legitimize the work of the Ecology Department. Why do you think that did not happen?

WH: I think we got some of the environmental religionists on the commission.

TK: How are they appointed? Did you have a role in deciding who was going to be appointed to the commission?

WH: No. The governor appointed them. The problem was that they got too many people under the influence of the Washington Environmental Council on there. It was no longer a forum; it was an agency devoted to the environment causes.

TK: Did you expect, or were you surprised, that the environmentalists would try to affect policy via this vehicle?

WH: It was to be expected that they would try. But I think there was a failure to properly screen the membership to insure a balance of the public's interest.

TK: The commission did accumulate a very large record of testimony. And the hearings were well covered by the media. Did people in the Department of Ecology pay any attention to that material?

WH: I know Ecology personnel were involved in the hearing process because we had a person in the department who performed clerical duties for the commission. But the politics within the commission simply went astray, and I think they got out of the bounds of their mission.

TK: Did the testimony generated in the hearings affect the thinking or ideas of Ecology people who were actually running the various programs?

WH: I don't think so.

TK: What would you say to those who argue that, since industry is so well represented in the corridors of power, it is appropriate that less powerful groups seize upon opportunities to express their views and affect policy, such as the commission afforded?

WH: They went beyond the "forum" concept. They seemed to hold the opinion that they were there to "direct the director," not "advise" as the statute directed.

TK: The issue regarding supertankers east of Port Angeles was ultimately resolved rather precipitously by Senator Magnuson, was it not?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: He simply authored an amendment to the Marine Mammal Act that prohibited the vessels from entering Puget Sound.

WH: That was a case of the Magnuson magic: an overnight exercise of political power that only he

could have accomplished.

TK: How did your department react when that thunder bolt came from on high?

WH: I thought it was a pretty good idea because it took the heat off of us. It was no longer our ball game.

TK: That leads to an interesting question about the relationship between Governor Ray and Senator Magnuson, which seems to have not been terribly cordial.

WH: Dixy thought it was a bit of dictatorship, but she should have known that Magnuson had the power and the ability and the political skill to do that.

TK: Did she express any anger at this kind of bolt out of the blue?

WH: It was, indeed a bolt out of the blue. But she understood that being governor didn't give her any power to counter Magnuson's move. That's the federal system. We're suffering some more of the same sort of thing today, and I don't think with good results. With such legislation as the Endangered Species Act, the environmentalists have a great deal of control over the normal operation, as well as the politics and economics, of the state of Washington. We don't control our own destiny anymore. All manner of things are imposed on us by federal laws, administered by federal courts. I think it's got to the point where it's unreasonable, and it's going to cause a lot of terrible problems if it goes to the ultimate that some of these people seem to desire.

TK: While we're on the subject of Senator Magnuson, would you recall for us your interaction with him on the subject of the former naval air station at Sand Point, in Seattle?

WH: The idea was to take the old navy station at Lake Washington's Sand Point and make it into a National Oceanic and Atmosphere Administration (NOAA) facility where NOAA's ocean-going fleet would be stationed. This is something that Senator Magnuson, in his position as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, was perfectly able to get done in terms of securing the necessary funding and making necessary arrangements with the Navy. I think the senator viewed this as a kind of capstone or monument to himself. They didn't say so in so many words, but he very much wanted it.

The project also had to go through a state comment process. The Department of Ecology was given the responsibility of preparing a comment report on the project's pros and cons. It was appropriate that there be an explanation of how the state of Washington would benefit from it and whether there were any disadvantages to it. I read the report and the essence of it was something like the old political story about the man who was asked to take a position on something controversial, and he said, "Well, some of my friends are for it and some of my friends are against it, and I'm for my friends." Well, I laughed at it and sort of chuckled to myself, and let the department report go its way. I didn't substantially comment one way or the other.

But the report got back to the senator. When Charlie Roe and I were back in Washington, I knew there was something up because the underlings on Magnuson's staff wanted to talk about the issue. The state report was obviously bothering them. The senator set up a meeting and there was this row of administrative aides, I think six of them, sitting there like starlings on a telephone wire, listening to what obviously was going to be a public flogging of me administered by the senator. So he proceeded with it and his opening remark was something like, "What the 'ell are you trying to do to me, Web?" He really was on the peck about it. And I said, "Well, what's the trouble?" And he proceeded to excoriate the report that I had allowed to come from my department. Instead of praising the Lord for all the good things that cometh from Magnuson, I had allowed some possible negative aspects of the deal to appear in the report. Well, he carried on for about twenty minutes, and then we all shook the dust off, and within minutes Maggie was his usual good-natured self again. He'd put on a show for the underlings. I'd been punished and publicly rebuked, and then things went back to normal again. But Charlie Roe was much amused by all

this. He likes to kid me about being taken to the woodshed and spanked.

I don't think it did any permanent harm and I think the senator was enjoying putting on a little show for his people to let them know what happened to somebody who hadn't properly kow-towed to the almighty.

TK: Well, how was the issue finally resolved?

WH: Nothing happened, except things went their normal course. The derogatory comment got a little bit of notice in the paper, but it wasn't anything serious to begin with. Much ado about nothing. Incidentally, the proposed facility was never constructed.

TK: Another major issue that came before your department during your tenure was the Yakima River Basin Enhancement Project. Would you care to tell us about that?

WH: The year that I became director of Ecology—1977—was one of the most serious drought years on record in the whole Northwest. And, of course, eastern Washington was particularly hard-hit. The Yakima Valley storage dams did not fill that winter and it was projected, for example, that the Roza project of ninety thousand irrigated acres, a lot of it in fruit trees, would have only six percent of the normal water supply. This was calculated on the basis of snow measurement and an assumption of normal rainfall from February on, when these calculations were first made. Anyway, we took that very seriously and immediately went to work on approaches that might be able to take care of the sudden emergency. We authorized the granting of well permits to anybody who wanted to drill a well in the Roza area particularly and provided a four million dollar loan fund for use by people who drilled those wells. This was all aimed at the immediate problem in 1977.

The other thing was that this thing is going to happen again and again, and we needed a long-term program. So the Yakima Enhancement Program was developed to provide ways of storing more water and making it more available. That was done by the engineering and water right specialists in the Ecology Department. For example, as one approaches Yakima from the north, from Ellensburg, there is a series of gravel ponds along the river in there and we were going to make those into short term storages to even out the flow so that there are not the series of dips and rises in the flow. This has the potential, in an engineering sense, of saving a lot of water ultimately. We also had another storage site up on the Teanaway River. We were looking at other storages around and were encouraging the Indians to store water down in the Satus area during the winter for later disposal for the lower Yakima in the early watering season, with the late season taken care of upstream. It was quite a complex program.

TK: I'm familiar with the storage areas going into Yakima because I've seen the work in progress there. It's still going on more than twenty years later.

WH: Yes. There's quite a lot that could be done in the Yakima Basin to improve the mechanics and the coordination of the effort.

The other arm of the whole enhancement effort was to begin to address the problem of water rights. Water rights in the Yakima region had always been hanging under a Sword of Damocles consisting of the Indian claim, effective from 1855, to all the water. With their fishery interest, they tried to extrapolate their water rights to include total control of the whole river. Of course, the federal government is the trustee for the Indian tribes, but was on both sides of the question because the Bureau of Reclamation had provided both the non-Indians and some Indians with water. So here the federal government was saying, "Oh, we're the trustee for the Indians and they own all the water," and at the same time, through the Bureau of Reclamation, handing water over to non-Indians and Indians with water rights. So it was a very confusing situation and Congress had provided for it by adopting the McCarran Amendment back in 1953, giving the states the right to adjudicate water rights in state courts, not the federal courts.

So I undertook, primarily with the help of Sid Morrison, the state senator from the lower Yakima

area, to get legislative approval for going ahead with the general adjudication of water rights in the Yakima Basin. We did that and, technically, it still isn't finished and here it is twenty-two years later. We figured it'd take twelve or fourteen years. We've won practically everything, about ninety-nine-point-five percent of what we set out to settle. And we have finally put a cap on the Indian rights over water. It was like a poker game in which somebody's got all the jokers and the Indians had them all, they thought. We've now defined what they've got, and we've clarified what other people's rights are and we haven't got this uncertainty anymore. I think this is one of the best things I've ever done.

TK: Was the Indian claim to water rights settled by court decision?

WH: Oh yes.

TK: What case was that?

WH: That's the Acquavella case.

TK: Could you tell me more about that case?

WH: Supreme Court Judge Walter Staffaucher in Yakima was assigned the case, and what he did was to work with a referee as provided by the Water Code. The referee, who was funded and supported by the Department of Ecology, was responsible for conducting evidentiary hearings on all claims and submitting recommendations to Judge Staffaucher for further consideration and entry of final decisions on water rights claims. Now we have a water rights bible to guide the governance of the river. That's what Acquavella has done.

TK: How would the process of establishing a claim to water rights work? For example, suppose you owned a house by a creek that was part of the river system. How would you go about making a claim for water to maintain your lawn and garden?

WH: Everyone had to present to the referee all the oral and documentary evidence supporting the claim of right. The referee would put that into the context of all the other claims by everybody else including the Indians and come to a ruling on who had priority for what so that in times of shortage everyone understood who was entitled to water and who wasn't.

TK: That sounds like a judicial process. But did it become political as well? There must have been quite a bit of political flack because a lot of people—and there were thousands of people involved—would likely have been upset by the rulings of the referee.

WH: Well, it was political with the Indians, of course. They removed it out of state court to federal court and the federal court then, at our request, sent it back to state court. It was very clear that Congress intended that state courts be the preferred court for conducting general adjudication.

TK: And that was the McCarran Amendment?

WH: Yes.

TK: How long has it taken to complete this process?

WH: We filed it in September of 1977, and it still is before the court.

TK: The referee is still at work?

WH: Well, there's still a referee, but now it's just final touches.

TK: Suppose an individual presented evidence of a claim to the water, and someone else presented a superior claim. Was there an appellate process available to people who felt that they had not been treated fairly?

WH: The referee's decision was final if no exceptions were made to Judge Staffaucher. Thus, if you didn't like what the referee was doing, you could go to the Judge. That was done on a number of situations. He has continued to police this case after his retirement, due to a constitutional amendment allowing him to stay on, but the major

part of it has been completed.

TK: Do you have any idea how many people were affected by this?

WH: Yes, everybody in the Yakima River system. That's why it was so important; in a real sense two hundred and fifty thousand people that had a stake in it.

TK: So it would seem that you have good reason to say that this is one of the most important matters to come before your department during your tenure.

WH: Yes. I'm very proud of the part I had in bringing closure to the uncertainties as to who was entitled to what water of the Yakima River.

TK: Considering what a daunting task this was, what role did Governor Ray have in it?

WH: I certainly told her what I was going to do, and why I considered that it was necessary. Charlie Roe was with me as we went through the technical explanation of the issue. She didn't give us any problem with it. It was just one of those many informative sessions when we explained the policy, and informed her that we were cooperating with the legislators in the Yakima Valley, Senator Morrison in particular, because he and his brother had a major orchard operation in the Roza area. But there was also Senator Irv Newhouse, who was a good friend of mine. Their attitude was essentially that we were certainly opening a hornet's nest, but if we had the guts to do it, then they would be with us.

TK: Was there any major opposition to what you were doing by organized interest groups?

WH: Oh, the Cattlemen's Association was reluctant to go along because people were afraid that the process would go astray in some way and somehow they would lose some rights in the process. Well, I think it's done them a great favor in confirming in their favor what they might have lost to the Indians, for example.

TK: By way of concluding our conversation, I want to take advantage of your long experience with state government, and ask, first, what you consider to be the most serious problems facing the government of Washington, and, second, whether you think the state has the tools necessary to address those problems?

WH: That's a pretty tough question. Philosophically, of course, I'm committed to the idea that state government has a major role to play in how our society proceeds and does its thing. And I've been dismayed over the past twenty years at least to see the federal government shunting the states aside, buying them with matching funds, and co-opting them.

State governments should not be merely an edge for the national government. We in the various states should be able to have our own flavor: in Mississippi, in Washington, in Maine, and so forth. Some differentiation is good because it allows for experimentation and can suggest ways that the whole country might go. But we've been overwhelmed by the feds. A horrible example here in Washington is that state control over water resources has been seriously undermined. Federal interest in the area is justified because the Pacific Northwest is made up of four states, rather than just one. That's a situation that invites an interstate compact, where local participation would provide a considerable degree of control. But what's happened is that a legitimate federal interest has turned into federal dominance. The Environmental Species Act and the Federal Clean Water Act are two cases in point.

But how we're going to make the state governments more effective, I don't know. What I do know is that we've got a lot of local problems that cry out for solutions. The problems seem to be compounded today by the difficulty of controlling the initiative and referendum process. Some of those initiatives, such as I-695 in 1999, thwart the ability of the state to fund itself. The initiative process is being used to bring about the so-called democratic control of the purse strings of the state. But that also makes it impossible for elected representatives to do their work. It undercuts their flexibility in trying to address the problems of the state. We have a republican form

of government and that is being seriously eroded by the frivolous use of the initiative process.

TK: By the same token, would it not seem that the Legislature is increasingly prone to avoid some of the tough decisions by throwing issues back to the people in the form of referenda?

WH: To me, there is a fundamental difference between a referendum and an initiative. A referendum involves an issue that has been shaped by the Legislature. It may involve such a basic question that it is legitimate and appropriate that it be referred back to the people for an informed discussion of it. But the frame of reference for the discussion and debate is set by the Legislature. The several referendums relating to abortion would be an example. But initiatives are quite a different matter. They are written without regard to existing policies, programs, and laws. Some initiatives, such as I-695, have taken on the character of a stampede, organized by people with an agenda of their own. When any tax or fee change has to be approved by voters in an election, it becomes almost impossible to manage a government. So the problems of the region mount, along with various barriers to effective government.

TK: Is there any way out of this?

WH: Well, I think it calls for quite a public education effort by the political leadership of both parties, and others throughout the state. The whole idea of republican government requires that there be some restraints upon democratic action through initiative. I think initiatives should be extremely limited when it comes to money questions, where there is real potential for great damage. On the other hand, I suppose you could argue that American democracy requires that people have the opportunity to make great mistakes and pay for them. That's a pretty expensive way to go and I'm not sure it's any way to run a government, any more than it would be a way to run a business.

Appendix

PHOTOGRAPHS

The Senate Rules Committee, 1967. Members were (Starting at the head of the table and proceeding clockwise) Lieutenant Governor John Cherberg, Democratic Caucus Chair Robert Bailey, Senators Foley, Hanna, Woodall, Chytil, Freise, Secretary of the Senate Ward Bowden (standing) , Senators Keefe, Greive, Cooney, Talley, Knoblauch, Gissberg, Ryder, Hallauer, Lennart, Neill.

Wilbur Hallauer among members of the Legislative Interim Committee on Education during a hearing on the Washington State community college system.

Wilbur Hallauer standing directly behind Governor Dixy Lee Ray (seated) in Ray's office.

Wilbur Hallauer at his desk in the Olympia headquarters of the Department of Ecology. Hallauer served as director of Ecology from 1977 to 1980.

Working on water issues at the Walton Farm, No Name Creek on the Colville Indian Reservation (from left to right) Richard Price, Omak Attorney; Wilbur Hallauer, Director of Ecology; Charles Roe, Senior Assistant Attorney General; Professor Charles E. Corker, University Law School; Frank Trelease, Dean of University of Wyoming Law School; Professor Ralph W. Jahman, University of Washington Law School; George Krill, Department of Ecology.

Wilbur Hallauer and Charles Roe in 1995 at the Hallauer home at Dairy Point, Osoyoos Lake, Oroville.

Wilbur Hallauer and Charles Roe in front of the Intrigue Hotel in Washington D.C., the pair's "home away from home" when working with Senators Warren Magnuson and Henry Jackson.

Edna Breazeale on land she donated to the state for the creation of a wildlife refuge located near Padilla Bay in Skagit County. In 1957, Representative Wilbur Hallauer helped her with the process of donating the land. Twenty years later, as director of the Department of Ecology, Hallauer worked to aquire the ten thousand acres surrounding the donated property to create the Padilla Bay National Estuarine Research Reserve.

Wilbur Hallauer relaxing at his waterfront vacation home located on Savary Island in British Columbia, Canada.

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There are some issues that are meant to be compromised. Money matters, for example, are such that you have only a certain amount of money, which can go only so far. You have to make up your mind whether to accept limits on certain programs that you might support, or to go out and raise more money for the programs through taxes. But there are issues out there on which people stand on principle. Abortion rights would be an example. It's understandable that people feel strongly about such an issue. I stand on the principle of free speech. I consider that to be an important value in our society and I'm not very likely to compromise on it. It's something that you simply have to fight out, and see who's got the votes to do what you believe in.

— Wilbur G. Hallauer