ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

# GALE WILLIAMS MEMOIR VOLUME II

PREPARED FOR THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH UNIT
BY THE ORAL HISTORY OFFICE, LEGISLATIVE STUDIES CENTER OF SANGAMON STATE UNIVERSITY
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
1986

# Gale Williams Memoir Volume II

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# Gale Williams

SESSION 4, TAPE 8, SIDE 2

Q: Let's see, who was Governor Ogilvie's front man as it were?

A: Well he had two or three — he had a boy by the name of B. Oglesby too — it's spelled a little different than his was I think — and — oh, he had several. Most of them, you know, were all right but some of them some of the members had trouble getting through to him. Now I didn't find that problem like some of them did though. I had a good relationship with Governor Ogilvie's people. But now a lot of them did complain about some of his people. Of course some of them complained about some of Kerner's assistants too but I never heard them complain about Bill Chamberlain.

Q: I see.

A: Now Ogilvie had some young people around him and they were very ambitious young men you know. And a lot of them really complained about some of them. I think you'd find that about any administration though really.

Q: I've heard it said that staffs, as they developed and got larger, made it more difficult then.

A: Yes, yes I'm sure it did too. Yes.

Q: Where was the award made for the 1961 . . .

A: At a dinner in Springfield. They had a dinner there and the Illinois Mobile Home Association people were all there and of course a lot of their dealers came too. That's where it was made at.

Q: How long had you belonged to the association?

A: Oh, I had belonged to it . . . oh, for some time, I don't recall how long. But the thing of it was — of course they were very appreciative of it but I had so many complaints from people moving homes, trying to move homes . . . not getting the permit, it was the delays and all that was involved and they wouldn't even let you call them on the phone, you had to send them a telegram. The Highway Department was very much opposed to mobile homes at that time. They just had to be, to be so — to be so contrary about giving you a permit. Wouldn't even let you call them on the phone. You had to wire for it. And

care of all that with HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development]. That was long overdue too, really. They come in and they said that the homes had to — you know certain things they had to use in building them. I don't think they've changed the construction that much. But those are things that are aggravating but the government has to do it. But I think it was a big help. And the mobile home business has increased, I think that shows that people have accepted them a lot better too. Because they are well built today. My, they're built better than any stick-built house, they'd have to be. Moving them down the highway, they'd fall apart if they weren't. And . . .

Q: Closing down the highway . . .

A: Why yes. Like I tell people when they ask about their construction, I say, "Just stop and think, they've got to be built good. How many houses could you pull down the highway at forty miles per hour and it'd stay together? That tells you something, you know." But . . . no I think those are all good things, I really do. And I think the way the industry's growing proves it too.

Q: Let's see, in 1966 you opened the Carbondale Mobile Homes Park. Now is that just what it sounds like?

A: Well everybody . . . no, everybody thought I owned that but I didn't. I never did own it. Now my partner's brother owned that. And me and his brother had — we had the sales there. And all we actually had was the sales. But people yet today that live right in Carbondale always thought I owned that and I never did own that. Never owned no — only thing I ever owned was the — me and Volney Parrish who — Volney was a brother to Gordon who built the park. The reason Gordon built the park was because me and his brother was in the mobile home business, he had that ground. But me nor Volney neither one — even his own brother didn't own none of the park. We had nothing to do with the park at all.

One thing I think caused it we — we shared the sign together too. Had a nice big sign put there and it said, "Carbondale Mobile Home Park and Sales," and I think that might have helped confuse a lot of people. But it was — Gordon wanted to build the park, he wanted nothing to do with sales, so me and Volney leased the front part from him and put the sales there. That was the — but we never did own the park, neither one of us, him nor me either.

Q: Was that — did you have this area here . . .

A: No.

Q: . . . for sales at that time?

A: No I didn't have. I didn't get this area until 1975.

Q: Oh I see.

A: I moved here in August 1975.

Q: From there? From . . .

A: No I sold out see.

Q: Oh I see.

A: I sold out to Volney in 1970. And then he sold out to his brother Gordon who owned the park. And he got sick and he later died. So I was out of the mobile home sales part then, until 1975.

Q: This was mostly students then?

A: It was all students, yes, it was all students, yes. In fact all of our rentals over there is . . . even now some of them are married couples you know, some of our buildings, but it's all students, yes.

Q: Do you have any problems with students as tenants?

A: Not — oh, not — nothing to — not nothing great you know. You always get — the only problem you'll ever have is — you can get — as many as we got, you always get ahold of somebody that tries to get out of paying or something but we've had no big serious problem with anybody. It was bad there for a few years trying to keep everybody happy when all that turmoil was going about the Vietnam War and all that. But we've always got along with young people pretty good.

I got two girls that handles the rental office, and of course we got two or three servicemen but those girls had both been students and they've been with me now a long time. One of them's married and the other is going to soon be married. And they take care of the rentals and they've just done a tremendous job. And they know how to talk to them. And they will talk to them. If they have a problem you know, and just — they don't shun them or nothing, they talk to them you know. And they've been able to handle it. And they've done a good job. But of course young people's attitude is a lot better now than it was a few years ago. Young people's attitude has changed dramatically you know. So much easier to handle than they were then.

Q: Little bit for the better anyway.

A: Yes, yes it is, a lot better.

Q: Let's see now, another — one of your interests in the legislature was agriculture as I understand it.

A: Right.

Q: You served on the Agriculture Committee. What was your tenure on that committee? It was more than one session I know . . .

A: I think it was two — about — I think about maybe two years or four years. Yes I enjoyed the Agriculture Committee. There's nothing ever outstanding happen there. The main thing — they had some of the same problems then they got today — was the grain elevators. We were trying to get better control over them to protect the farmer. We kept improving it but apparently, the way some of them still goes broke and the farmers get caught you know, lose some money, apparently we didn't get it good enough. But I always — on agriculture I listened a lot to the Illinois Agriculture Association then. Because they had some people there that were really fine gentleman.

Q: Do you remember any of the individuals by name?

A: Yes one of them's name was Sears. I can't think of his first name. One was a Cox, and one was named Cross. And they were three fine gentlemen, really. Tom — let's see, I can't think of their first names and I know them, I know them here today too. One of them retired while I was in the legislature too. And this Sears and Cross was — now Cross I think — and he went to work for — he finally left the Illinois Department of Agriculture and went with the co-ops. Now he may be retired by now but he was a fine gentleman too. Everybody respected them. Nobody knew, I don't think even knew, what their politics were.

and stored it and got receipts for it. And now the government's trying to rule that — and the only reason they're doing it is to protect them banks, that's what they're doing it for. And to me the judges should quit worrying — if they'd stay out of it and quit protecting the lending institutions you wouldn't have these strangers coming in, and going into business, you know — unless they were really sound — because they'd check them out. Be like if I was going down to Missouri they wouldn't finance me unless I had the backing to rate the financing you know.

And these people that came here, they put in two or three of them. Montgomerys were their name and they had this one, they had one at Metropolis and one I think in Paducah somewhere. And they's brothers. And apparently had no backing. And the bank just loaned them — they didn't even own the property out there — just loaned them the money. And, boy, some of the guys they — the bank wound up getting hurt too in this deal. They didn't get the protection that they would hope for. But . . .

Q: So that type thing came up . . .

A: Oh, every session.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: Every session there'd be a bill in there — somebody else would go broke and the farmers would always lose and it just makes it bad. And we'd tighten it some more you know, trying to help everybody.

Q: What about marketing policies and that sort of thing. Did you get involved with that very much?

A: Yes, we did. We got in — I did. We got involved in — back in those days they had a lot of milk price wars. We had some — what got me involved was the Parrishes that I — the one that I was in the mobile home business with, his brother also owned New Era Dairy. And the Adams Milk Company at the time I was in came down here and started selling milk in this area below cost, to try and run them out of — I guess eventually would have probably tried to have bought them but they were trying to really hurt them. Peveley and a bunch of them — of course they competed with Adams but they weren't the ones pushing the milk war. Adams Milk Company was the main one, and of course what we done, we had the people in the milk business, dairy business, went to all these areas where Adams distributed milk and they got the prices of what they were getting from all those areas. And brought it in and we — and — of course we were trying to pass legislation that would prohibit them from selling below their cost, anybody. Nobody could sell below their cost. I don't remember where we finally got with the bill. I don't think we passed it. But I think we did get some — I think they did stop their activity.

We had a bill in that simply said nobody could go into an area and sell below their cost to put — what it amounted to — to try to put somebody out of business. What they were doing, they were making money in all the other areas and came in here and, oh, was advertising milk — it was unbelievable. Sounding good for the consumer. But all they was going to do is put somebody out and then raise it right back up you know. And that was their whole game.

I really got involved in that and I don't remember what we did finally get done on the bill. We had the support for it, I remember that, from just about all over Illinois too. And we may have passed it even, I just don't remember. But I think they had that a couple of sessions.

Q: How about marketing of grain and that sort of thing?

A: I don't recall one being brought up for this area.

Q: Did you feel that there might be a need or place for that, one . . .

A: Yes, but I don't think you could justify the expense for it, I just don't. The only thing that they're bringing up now is this convention center they're building now in Carbondale. I think something like that may be — I think that will be okay, I think, because I think that with the university there I think it can be supported. But no I don't think they could support one of those centers like that.

Q: Can you think of any other areas in connection with agriculture that came up while you were there?

A: No. There's always something but I don't recall anything that was that outstanding.

SESSION 5, TAPE 9, SIDE 1

Q: The next item I have here is industry and labor relations. How much did you get involved with that type of legislation up there, unemployment compensation and that sort of thing?

A: Well at one time I got involved real heavy with unemployment. In fact I sponsored a bill at that time and then later the Democrats talked me into letting them have the bill. They really liked it, it was a bill that was when unemployment reached a certain level — I don't remember what that level was now — but when unemployment reached a certain level then they automatically got an extra thirteen weeks of unemployment. Because during the time I was there, and in fact the first session or two, there was quite a bit of unemployment, and it was a real concern for everybody. At that time I believe they were only getting thirteen weeks unemployment. And this was going to automatically trigger them in an extra thirteen weeks if the unemployment stayed above a certain percentage point.

The Democrats, whenever I introduced the bill, me being a Republican, they said that was supposed to be a Democratic bill and of course Powell was Speaker, and they finally talked me into letting them have the bill. Of course then I helped, but the Democrats were the chief sponsors.

But I put the bill in to start with by myself, I didn't have any cosponsors. I was new and I'd talked to the unemployment people here at Murphysboro and I'd went over a lot of it with them, and what they thought about it, and they thought that it was something that would — might be necessary. So that's how it come to me to put it in.

That was one reason I wanted on that committee too. Thought maybe I might be helpful there because we had quite a bit of unemployment. But industry, as I recall now, I didn't sponsor any bills pertaining to it, but I think some of the things that they did sponsor was concerning safety regulations, you know, some of the big factories that I wasn't really familiar with.

Q: I see. Who was it on the Democratic side that wanted to take this over. Bob McCarthy for example was there then and . . .

A: Yes, let's see, it wasn't him I don't believe, it was some of the leadership on the Democratic side. It might have — I don't — it wasn't Choate in person but I think he was behind it because they definitely wanted the bill. And Hanahan I'm sure was one of them. Thomas Hanahan. Because he — he really handles most of the bills for labor in

A: Yes.

Q: Okay. How about fair labor standards, that came up toward the — actually in the early 1970's, 1971 or so. Was there any discussion on establishing fair labor standards during the 1960's?

A: Not — not that I recall. Not that I recall.

Q: Other than unemployment compensation, can you think of anything else that came up regarding labor?

A: Not so much on labor. Not so much on labor. One other bill that I did sponsor and got through, and it was the first time a bill was ever passed in Illinois to give senior citizens the homestead exemption on their homes. And I got it through — it was House Bill 240. That was back I believe in 1963. And I was the chief sponsor of that bill. The Legislative Council done a survey for me, and found that there was several thousand senior citizens in Illinois that did need some tax relief. And I wrote — or they wrote to Florida for me and got a copy of Florida . . .

Q: Oh yes you mentioned that before, yes.

A: And we got that through and Kerner vetoed it. But we got it through and I think it really got people to thinking in that direction, and then of course later there was one passed, you know.

Q: You mentioned Paul Powell as being Speaker there in 1961. What did you think of him as a Speaker, in his capacity as Speaker? Was he a good one?

A: Yes he was. I'd have to say I think he was.

Q: How did he go about being Speaker? Was there any . . .

A: Yes there was a big controversy over him being Speaker because the Republicans had a majority in the house of representatives. We had as I recall ninety-one votes, ninety-one members, and the Democrats would have had eighty-seven. And they got two or three from Chicago to — I think it was two they got — to support Powell for Speaker. And I think they finally learned that those that did support Powell was on the Chicago Water District payroll. And they had — anyway they got — I know they got two to support him, and that give him the eighty-nine votes that he needed.

Q: Was that part of the West Side Bloc?

A: Yes, it was part of the West Side Bloc. But as far as him being Speaker, I'd — he was a — I — I thought was a fair Speaker. You know, he was very fair with the members and if you had a bill, he'd call it. You know he wasn't one that would refuse to call your bills. I thought — I think he was respected by both sides really as far as being Speaker.

Q: I understand he wasn't too punctual with his conducting — for example I've heard that he would recess for dinner and then tell everybody be back at 7:30 and he'd show up at nine o'clock or something.

A: Yes, yes that — that was one of his weak points but — oh yes he would — he'd do that and . . . Powell was always late. Even of a morning if you was supposed to go in at nine it'd probably be ten, you know. But — and of course he'd make a lot of members upset over it. But he would — he had a way of getting back in good graces with everybody. I think because of his fairness about calling the bills and stuff was I think one reason. And you could go to him too and if it wasn't a bill that was what we call a political bill, where

Q: Can you think of an example of the manner in which he did that?

A: Yes. Yes the Kinkaid Lake bill I went to him the first thing and he knew I wanted it real bad. We had to do a feasibility study first thing. And it was a little bit late, it was in May, to get the bill through all the committees and get it through the house and get it over in the senate. He said, "You might run into trouble." He said, "I'll tell you what you do," he said, "you go back and see John Lewis." He was one of the leaders on the Republican side, "And you put my name on there under yours and you ask John Lewis if you can't put his name on there, and," he said, "you introduce the bill and you get up and ask for the floor and we'll move to bypass the committee." And I did and — he said, "I'll take care of the Democrats. I'll see that you don't get any objection there." And we did and we bypassed the committees and had it on the second reading the next day. I had it out of the house in three days' time, over to the senate.

But he was that kind of a guy. If you had something and it wasn't political at all, and just something I wanted for my own district — he said, "I'll see that the democrats don't object." He said, "You go back there and tell Lewis that you're putting my name on and I want his on there with you. And introduce your bill." And that's what I done.

Q: Now John Lewis followed Paul Powell as Speaker the next session. How would you compare the two, John Lewis and Paul Powell, as Speaker?

A: Well, not because Lewis was a Republican but I would have to say Lewis was probably a better Speaker than Powell was.

Q: In what way?

A: Lewis worked night and day too. But Lewis, he had — he was more professional I'd say with it, with the speakership, than Powell was, would be the best way I think I would describe that. John Lewis in my opinion was a tremendous Speaker. He had a tremendous personality. John never got mad at anybody. Or if he did I never saw it. Sometimes he should have gotten mad at some of us I guess the way we were trying to maneuver bills and the things we'd do to delay the session when he was in a hurry. But he was a very patient person. Powell would lose his patience, he'd put things in order in a hurry if he was wanting to stop something. But John Lewis I think — overall I think — I think even the news media people would say that he was a better Speaker than Powell was. They were both good. And they were both very fair to me and very good to me, but John Lewis I'd have to say, as far as Speaker, I liked him the best.

Q: How was his punctuality?

A: Oh, always on time.

Q: Oh?

A: Oh yes. John Lewis — if John Lewis said you's going in session at nine o'clock, you'd better be there at nine o'clock. Because he'd be there. You could rest assured that if he wasn't on the podium there at about five until nine you could just start watching because you'd see him coming through that door. Very very efficient, you know. And he just — everything had to — he had to be — he was an organized person, you know. Everything had to be on time. I really — I liked both of them and I really liked John Lewis, and I think he was a great Speaker. I really do.

Q: Did you get any help as Powell helped you with the Kinkaid bill?

A: Oh yes. Yes . . .

A: Is he sick you mean?

Q: Yes, yes.

A: Well I'd heard that, but I haven't . . .

Q: Yes . . .

A: I liked John Touhy. He was always a fine gentleman to me.

Q: Was he a punctual Speaker?

A: Yes. Yes he was. Yes he was.

Q: He teamed up with Thomas McGloon over in the senate and kind of ran things that time. Did you know Thomas McGloon very well?

A: Yes. Not real well but I know — I knew who he was.

Q: What did you think of Thomas McGloon?

A: He was — he was alright but I just wasn't close to him at all.

Q: Let's see, how about Ralph Smith as a Speaker?

A: He was what — he was one of the best.

Q: Oh?

A: Yes he was. He was. Of course he was a lawyer by profession, and he probably knew the rules of that house better than anybody. He didn't have to have — he had aides but he didn't need them as far as knowing the rules. He had a brilliant mind. And one of the fairest . . . when it comes to all-around Speaker, he was the best the whole time I was there. He was fair with everybody, he knew the rules, and he knew how to get legislation through. And he put things through for the governor and all of them, you know. But Ralph Smith was a fine person. Very fine person.

Q: Now he was from up around . . .

A: Alton.

Q: . . . Alton, yes.

A: But then he run for the United States Senate and of course got defeated. But he would have made a good senator too. But he had a brilliant mind. I talked to an old gentleman one day in the legislature, was there visiting, and he was some kind of a retired professor or something. I don't know where he was from but I got to visiting with him and he told me that he — he said, "That Speaker you've got in there has got one of the most brilliant minds of any man I've ever — I've ever heard." He said, "He really knows them rules, them Robert's Rules of Order, and . . ." and he just really complimented me, when I told him he was a good friend of mine. He said, "He's got a brilliant mind, that man has."

And he had a voice for it too. He had a coarse voice. You could hear him easy. He was the kind that would joke with you. He always kept a little — you know if some of those debates would get real heated he had a way of calling another bill and get a little — first thing you'd know he'd have everybody back laughing and then he'd go right ahead with business you know. He never went for the fussing and carrying-on. He had a way of handling us. He was a leader. He really — he was a good one.

it really interfered on the floor. And to me they needed to close it in. And I know the citizens have the right to see in and all that. So Bob — I think what Bob was thinking of was if they'd enclose it in glass the people in the hallways and up in the balcony could still see. And they was going to have speakers fixed so they could hear everything that was going on too, which I think they have that now. But, my, there's just so much interference from the gallery, when there's especially something — a bill that comes up that's real heated, take like Equal Rights Amendment. Or back when I first went up there was FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Commission]. That was a hot issue with the blacks you know. And, my, on days we's having those bills debated, they'd fill the galleries, the hallways, and everywhere else and it was hard to hear anybody. So — and Bob knew all that and that's what I think he was really trying to correct.

Q: In regard to election procedures there were a number of reform measures that were introduced during the 1960's generally. Were there any particular election changes that you thought ought to be made?

A: No I think the one they — the only ones I recall that they made that amounted to very much was the changing the primary date and some of those things. Now I don't think they helped it when they changed it and it probably was done while I was there too. They changed it to March and I think we should have left it April or maybe even May, a warmer time of the year. It's hard to get older people out to vote if the weather's bad. It's hard to get anybody out to vote when the weather's bad, especially in a primary when you got to call for a ballot. I think we probably made a mistake by changing it to that time of year. We should have left it April or May.

SESSION 5, TAPE 9, SIDE 2

Q: Well one time there it was changed to June.

A: Yes, and I think they should have left it there really. Now they, the rural people, thought that that was the crop time, and they maybe shouldn't. And I can see where that might be a hangup. Now back there for so many years they had it in April. And if you look at it from all aspects April would have probably been the most suitable month. Either April or even have it closer to the general election, have it in maybe the first Tuesday in August. That would be when farmers are — that's pretty well slack time for farmers, the first part of August. Because their corn and all those things are what we call laid by in July. And wheat harvest is over too the first part of August. It might even be better then. I think it's better to have it in warmer weather than cold weather. If they're really looking for a turnout. If they're wanting to have it a time of year that — well, it'll be a low turnout, and of course sometimes you wonder if that's not what they want in a primary, because then the organization can pretty well nominate whoever they want to. But March, in this particular area, March is not the best time of year to have it, to get a lot of our senior citizens and people like that out to vote. It's just a hard job to get them out if that happens to be a bad day.

Q: How about from the viewpoint of the candidates, the people that are running and having to conduct campaigns, when is the best . . .

A: Well, it goes right back that's what you really wonder about them setting it in March. A candidate running, if he's got the blessing of the organization, of course a small turnout, he's better off. And you're not going to have a big turnout in March in the primary, not likely too. But if you're running and don't have the blessing — say the organization endorses nobody but quietly preferring one over another, then if you had warmer weather, the guy that's not endorsed by the organization certainly would have a better chance, because the bigger vote he gets out the better chance he's got. And I think it would work strictly

against — it's in favor I think of the organizations, really, to have it in March, because you're going to have a small turnout.

There's no way we can get a big turnout in a primary election down here, not in March. Because it's just — historically it ain't going to be a — not no real good day. Even if it's sunny, it'd be cold. And probably windy and disagreeable. I know working in precincts, and I've worked in precincts most of my life, it's hard to get them out anymore. It's hard to get them out in good weather, let alone if it's a little bit bad. (chuckles)

Q: Yes sir. Some of the measures that were introduced were evidently aimed at Chicago, at the voting fraud that supposedly was going on up there and that sort of thing. One was a measure to eliminate voter assistance altogether. Do you recall that particular . . .

A: Yes. I do. I never got involved in it though, but I do recall it and . . . oh yes they had that one to eliminate that and then at one time they had it I think too to where that one person from each party could go in with them too. They had all kind of bills in aimed at Chicago about that voting. But the voter assistance, sure the Chicago people wanted to do away with that, you know. And thataway they could . . . or they might have been for it.

Q: They were for it.

A: Yes they were for it. Yes because they were wanting to assist them, just about everybody, you know. (laughter)

Q: Yes sir.

A: Oh yes, they had all kind of bills in pertaining to — but see what they'd do, they'd introduce those bills in such a way they only applied to counties with over — back when I first went up there — to counties with over one million population, then they finally raised it up to two million, because they got to catching a lot of — some other counties that had one million you know. In that a way, it actually only applied to Cook County. And they also would try to pick up support from downstate members by not involving their counties you know. And it did help them with their own party people you know. Like with me, if it didn't apply to my district and the Republican party, whatever their position was would be what I'd go along with, you know.

Q: Yes. Another one of those bills was to require a bipartisan election commission up there.

A: Yes.

Q: That didn't get very far.

A: No. (laughter) Nothing bipartisan up there I don't think.

Q: Did you get involved in any way of thinking out the ways to see if you could improve the Republican situation in Chicago?

A: No, I never. I heard them discuss it many many times, but I just wasn't that familiar with Chicago politics. But they did — oh, they were always discussing it, you know, trying to figure out some ways to — for the Republican candidates to appeal more to the Chicago voters. But the Chicago machine under Daley was tough, apparently, and it was just hard for them to get in. Richard Ogilvie got in for sheriff in that county one time. And that was, you know, an outstanding feature in itself, he'd get elected in that county. They've elected a few Republicans in that county but not too many. I think that may change but it's going to take some time I think.

and — we have to stop and think back when we were eighteen, the way I look at it. My judgement wasn't too good, it's — it's improved some.

Q: I see. (laughter)

A: But I just don't believe — I think young people at eighteen when they get a little older, like we are now, I think they would agree that probably the — what's best for them even, had better be left up to dad and mom and some older peoples' judgement. But I don't think that — they may never change it back to twenty-one but I wouldn't be surprised if there's not a bill in there some of these days to raise it back to twenty-one. I didn't think they'd change the drinking back to twenty-one once they lowered it but they did. And it went through with a pretty good majority too. So I wouldn't be surprised one of these days to see a bill go back in there to change this thing back to — back to twenty-one.

Q: Of course that might depend upon the situation . . .

A: Right.

Q: . . . apparently it doesn't have too much affect right now.

A: No. No it don't.

Q: One of the things that there was great concern for at that time, and Charles Clabaugh put in a bill or two to control it, was the large population of students like over here at Southern Illinois University.

A: Right, yes. Yes and that's one reason — that's one thing that makes it bad. Take like in Carbondale, where the SIU is, the young people there are just here to go to school, and they can pass — they could pass — now they haven't done that, but they could pass — if those people out there took a notion and stirred them kids all up, like they done in the 1960's about the Vietnam War, and stirred them young people all up, they could pass about anything they wanted to pass in Carbondale Township. In the way of bond issues or electing anybody they wanted to elect. And it wouldn't be for the best interest of the community, or even the university. That's another reason that I would think that they might look at changing that voting age back to twenty-one one of these days.

You take in towns where there's universities it's extremely bad if they ever start voting as a group. To me they should change the law, or even change the law to where those that are in school has to vote at their home where they came from. Now that would solve some of it. But a lot of those young people — now the first year they had a right to vote they really voted, a large number of them. But since then they haven't. I think those young people should vote at their home where they come from. Because there's where their roots are and their concerns are there and they're only here on temporary situation.

Q: Unless they happen to live here.

A: Unless — well then of course if they get married and live here then they should — naturally should vote here, because this would be their home then. But I think they definitely should have to rent more than just a room in a dormitory to be considered here you know, and register here and, you know, and once they start — if they get married of course and live here and get a job here then they would be part of the community.

But I think that's the fear that a lot of people have, especially in this area, was about — bond issues is a big thing to especially older people. Getting a lot of tax voted on them. And they could vote any tax on them they wanted to.

it bad and it cost us a good sheriff too. And there's I'm sure been a lot of cases like that, where we had good sheriffs and they couldn't succeed themselves so they had to step aside. Same way with the treasurer too. We've had some good treasurers in our county. Now they can succeed themselves and if you get a good one you can keep him. Without any problem.

Q: So you had no problem in supporting that?

A: No, none at all.

Q: Sir in regard to education, first of all the common school end of it. Let's see, in 1961 the fundamental factor stood at $252 and the Illinois Education Association was trying to get it raised to $344 in that year. Do you remember anything about their . . .

A: Yes I do.

Q: . . . position that year?

A: And I supported the raise too. I don't remember whether — what they finally got it raised to.

Q: Well it didn't raise that year, went to $297 the following year.

A: Right, that's when it . . .

Q: And Kerner vetoed it though.

A: Yes, yes I supported that, yes. Yes we tried to raise it that first year and then that's right it didn't go through. But we did eventually get it raised and then he vetoed it and I don't know what it is today.

Q: Well it's up $1600 or something like that today. It's . . .

A: Oh it is!

Q: Oh yes sir, yes sir.

A: My!

Q: Yes it gradually went up — by 1969 it was up to $520, in 1969 you see.

A: I forgot what it even went up to while I was there.

Q: There was — generally it appears that the controlling factor was what was available, the money that was available for it.

A: Yes I think that's the reason Kerner vetoed it to start with. I don't think he was opposed to it as much as the money wasn't there and to sign it he was going to have to ask for a tax increase. And that's what he did — he was already I think asking for tax increase as I recall. And most of it I think went to educ — on sales tax.

Q: Well he wanted it . . .

A: Yes.

Q: . . . to do that but it didn't pass.

Q: Now on the property tax rate lid as it were, the top allowable, that was $1.60 in 1961 and it went up to $3.00 in 1969, it was $2.00 in 1965 was authorized. I understand that that rate was used to manipulate somewhat the input from property taxes into the school system, in that most school boards would always levy to the county clerk each year the maximum amount that they were permitted to. Do you feel that's a true statement?

A: Yes I think they probably — I think that's probably correct. Historically these county boards and stuff would generally levy about all they can levy. And that's — really makes it bad, it causes property tax to go up and up and up. I don't know now — Representative McCormick had a bill that I supported to put a ceiling on property taxes and he had it again this year I understand from the newspapers. And I think that should have been passed for a few years and let the school put the brakes on as far as raising taxes, and just everybody sit still for a few years and see what could be worked out. Every year it's more money, more money, more money. But McCormick's never got through. He come within about two votes I think one year of getting it through and I helped him a lot on it. And I still think it was a good bill.

Now this year I don't know how close he come but I know he had it in. But Chicago always fights it for one. I thought maybe this time he might get it through since the thinking in the country is more conservative than what it used to be. But he come close one year, I forgot what year it was, of getting that bill through, and I thought that would have been an awful good bill. I think it would just have been good, even we might have had to change it the very next year, but I think it would have been good to let everybody stop for a moment and see what could be done without just continually to raise real estate taxes.

Q: Get a breather in there.

A: Right. Get a year or two breather and see what could be worked out. But they never did get it passed.

Q: Within the school aid formula, what was the function of the flat grant part of that, do you recall? Were you involved enough in it to . . .

A: Well yes, the flat grant was — see there was some districts as I recall now, some districts didn't really — they had enough assessed evaluation and all they didn't qualify to get money from the state, and they set up a flat grant for those types of districts as I recall where they got a minimum of so much. I think basically done it to get support from those legislators from those areas.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Because that's where they really were strongly opposed to it you know. But they set up — as I recall and I may be wrong, but I think they set that up for districts that normally wouldn't get much money from the state for schools, they had enough assessed evaluation and all without it. So they set up what they called the flat grant deal for them.

Q: So that they would have some . . .

A: So they would have some money and I think that was the purpose of that.

Q: In 1963 Representative Armstrong put in a bill which would grant $50 for each disadvantaged child. Do you recall that particular bill? Wiktorski put it in again in 1965. It failed in both instances?

A: No. I remember Representative Armstrong real well. I don't recall that particular bill.

Q: Another bill which Representative Armstrong put in had to do with stating that school district boundaries could not be drawn so as to cause segregation.

Q: Yes.

A: He had about all the bills pertaining to education that first term I was there. (laughter)

Q: Yes. Well 1969 Vadalabene had gotten into the act and he put in a bill which would have regional service centers replacing the county superintendents.

A: Yes.

Q: What was your opinion of that action?

A: I don't — I don't recall how I voted but I doubt if I would have been for that.

Q: Oh?

A: What they were trying to do was — of course they've done it now. Maybe we done it then I don't recall, where the counties they have to be so much population? Or the counties have to more or less consolidate. Just like our county, we have — our county's in with Perry County in order to have enough population to have a — we've got one superintendent. The superintendent of schools, the whole thing, everybody knows it should have been done away with, because there's not much function for them. But it was hard to do. You take like with me I had ten counties and had ten superintendent of schools, I'd have had them awfully upset at me if I would have even hinted I wanted to vote to do away with it. (laughter) So I think that was what they're — I think that's what will probably eventually happen too. They'll — and I think that's probably what he was getting at was to do away with — we got some little bitty counties with a superintendent of schools and there ain't nothing for them to do. Every school's got a superintendent. And then you have one in the county, there's not much function for him anymore. I know they were wanting to do away with a lot of them, I'm sure of that. And that's where they come in with this population, they'll keep araising that. They'll consolidate — they'll consolidate a few more.

Q: Finally get up and have the one at the state level one of these days.

A: Right. That'll be about it.

Q: I see.

A: Yes.

Q: Let's see the School Problems Commission in 1968 made a study on impaction and came up with a bill which would give impaction aid to locations like for example Carbondale with SIU next to it or up by Scott Field I guess for example, might be an example. Were you involved in that . . .

A: Yes some degree and I was for that. See we done — we done that in schools and they done it in — they done it in another area too. Like for state's attorneys. In counties where you had a — I don't remember what percentage we used, where you had a certain number of students enrolled and going to school in a particular county the state would pay so much to hire another state's attorney and things like that so — more or less related to the impacted areas, where it was brought on by a state institution. Which was a big help to our county. And yes, I supported that legislation.

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don't think we have that big a need for training our kids to speak two languages. We'd probably do well to get them to speak one real good.

Q: Yes. (laughter) The rate we're going there.

A: Right. I don't — if I was in the legislature I'd doubt if I'd support it. I just doubt if I would.

Q: How about legislation for assisting the gifted, those that are not in need of anything but just happen to be smart and moving them a little faster?

A: Oh I think that we had some legislation in like that I think. And I think I supported it. I don't know how good a judgement that is but — it's true you wouldn't want to hold somebody back that's gifted if he's capable of going on. All those programs are good but the — so much cost involved. Sometimes it's not worth what it costs, the additional good it's going to do. It might just pay to let those that are gifted take it a little easier and go along with the majority of them, you know. They had so many programs and they were good programs, a lot of them, but, my, you'd have to draw the line somewhere of what you can afford. Being more conservative, a lot of that I would have to know what the cost was going to be, you know, before I thought it was worth the money or not.

Q: How about vocational training? Do you think that is a good thing to do?

A: Yes, I think it's a good thing. And I supported it. I don't know when we got the bill through but we had a bill up one time to set up a school for — I believe it was handicapped or vocational over at Marion. It was going to set up a school there. We didn't get it passed I don't believe but they have passed it since that. I think Senator Johns passed it, or sponsored it. And I think they finally got it through. I supported it but the cost is tremendous. It's unfortunate, a lot of those children I doubt if they can really be educated, their physical condition is just — you see them on TV at some of these — I call them talkathon things to raise money for cerebral palsy and all those things and some of those children it's just — it makes you sick to think that — looks like something could be done but a lot of them there's just nothing you can do. And those programs, if there's any way to help them, sure, anybody would be for it but a lot of those children it's just tremendous expense involved there, and doubtful if they could ever use it. But I supported it and hopefully it would help, you know, some disadvantaged young person.

Q: To some degree. In 1965 statewide regional libraries were established in the state of Illinois. Were you involved in that?

A: No I wasn't there in 1965 session.

Q: Oh that's right.

A: I know about that and . . . I think Senator Gilbert was one of the main ones of that.

Q: Yes. He sponsored that . . .

A: Yes. I know about it and all.

Q: What do you think about the regional library system?

A: I think it was a good thing. I think that was a good program. In fact I was glad to see that they got that all through.

Q: In 1963 there was a Kerner bill introduced which would increase the school age from sixteen to seventeen. And that failed and then it failed again in 1965 when they tried to get it from sixteen to eighteen. Do you recall that particular — either of those?

had about every Catholic priest in the state hounding him over that. I think I would have to agree today that I don't think I — there's any way I would support it today. Because I don't think the state can afford to support two or three systems. And that's what you would be doing. And I just don't think they can afford to support but the one public school system. It's — if I had children and wanted to send them to private school I'd just have to pay the tab that's all. I know a lot of people are sending their kids to private schools. They think they're getting a better education there, and better discipline and everything. And that's probably true. But . . .

Q: What about the church-state . . .

A: Well that's it. I don't think legally we could. I think the Constitution would prohibit it and I think if we'd pass it I think they'd throw it out. But I don't think we ought to pass something that's unconstitutional in the first place. Now, we did a lot of times. A lot of things were thrown out that we passed. (chuckles) But . . .

Q: It's hard to tell until the court makes up it's mind on it.

A: That's right. Who knows what the court's going to do anymore. But I think that's one area the court would be very very strong about. I don't think it would have been constitutional at all.

Q: How about the subsidy of the Chicago Transit Authority student transportation that was passed in 1965. Did you approve of that? Well of course you weren't there . . .

A: I wasn't there, I don't know what my position would have been. I probably would have supported it, if — I know a lot of people, a lot of members, maybe wouldn't. But I think I probably would support that, based on what I know about it.

Q: School lunches, mainly a federal program I understand, but in 1969 a bill was passed to augment for cities, apparently this was aimed at Chicago. Do you recall any discussion on that?

A: Yes I think I — I think I supported that.

Q: How about teacher's rights? In 1963 collective bargaining was presented and it failed. What's your position on allowing collective bargaining for teachers?

A: I think I supported it. I was a strong supporter of the teachers just about the whole time I was in the Illinois General Assembly. Today I'm not as strong for them as I once was. I'm for them but I think maybe they're going too far with the strike business. And I think they — I think they can obtain decent raises without striking, truthfully. And they are public employees and they're paid by the taxpayers of the state and I think they've got to where they're not considering anybody but themselves.

Our teachers here at Carbondale this year got a — a year ago they was out of money and all of a sudden they've got money and they got a 15 percent increase, more than I know of anybody getting. And they've also got it built in to where they get 15 percent next year. Well inflation, the odds are the inflation's not going to be near 15, and I think they've really got selfish, and I'm not too sure that they should have the right to strike and that's what they really want. And they're actually striking illegal right now.

I support education and support the teachers on many things but I don't think they should strike without that being last resort. I don't think they should strike period. I just think that's the wrong approach. They know what the salary is when they take the job and if they don't want it then, like I or anybody else, they should go to some other profession, if that's not serving their purpose. But they go and take the job and they no more than

I agreed to amend it on second reading and put it back to thirty-five years if they would just pass it out for me and they did. Then it went right on through without any . . .

Q: What was the reaction of the teachers' group to that?

A: Well they were delighted that it passed.

Q: The thirty-five was alright with them . . .

A: Yes. Well they didn't — it wasn't alright but it was a big step forward to get that age limit down, you know, to get — because some teachers started teaching real young. Some of them maybe wouldn't have the thirty-five years in at fifty-five but they would maybe at fifty-seven or fifty-eight you know, where they got a job teaching right out of college and continued to teach. In fact I had several come to me and thank me personally, you know, and wrote me letters and everything else that I had just fixed it so they could retire. Now some of them were like fifty-six or fifty-seven years old, a little bit over fifty-five but they couldn't retire, and that let them retire, you know. And, my, they were — and — and it helped lead the way for some younger teachers to get jobs too. For there's such a surplus of teachers there for so long, and I think it helped a lot of young teachers, people who got out of school, get jobs too.

Q: On the funding level of the teacher's pension fund, evidently some people thought that it was not funded sufficiently, money kept in it.

A: Right. So what we done, as I recall — I don't know what we raised it but we had a — the actuarial they call them. I forgot his name, but he told us what it had to be increased to take care of this which that was all put in too and that was agreed on. The part that's not funded is the state's part, that's the sad part about it. The teachers, the amount that the law requires for them to put in is put in, but the state comes along and don't put in their part. And that's the reason it's underfunded yet today. My, it's probably $1 billion in the red today, or maybe more.

Q: Is that a particular problem?

A: Well I always thought it would be sometime and I still think it will but they always appropriated enough to take care of the pensions year by year. But I think that's a wrong way to do it. Now it's such a sad shape I don't know what they'll ever do about it. To me we should not have passed it if they weren't going to fund it like they should have. But I was there under Democrat and Republican administrations both and none of them faced up to the facts. I wanted them to agree to put so much a year in, more than what it took for the current year, until the thing would eventually correct itself. Nobody wanted to listen to that. Nobody. Nobody wanted to listen to that at all. Even the Illinois Education Association, they come in with those kind of ideas too but — and I don't know what they've done since I went out but nobody wanted to listen to it then.

They didn't have the money, that was the whole thing. The state just — and the administration that's in power don't want to — just don't want to do it. They want to use the money somewhere else. They put in just what they have to each year for pensions, is what they do. Some of these days they'll have to put in some more but that'll be down the road.

Q: Sir, in regard to higher education, there was considerable expansion of course through the years. Now, in your first year there I guess the final appropriations for the Chicago campus of the University of Illinois was made in that year, was it not?

A: Yes.

Q: So actually most of that development was done prior to the time you arrived?

Q: Memorial I think . . .

A: Memorial yes.

Q: . . . is the one they're connected with.

A: I think that played a big role, because they've got the facilities and apparently are very good.

Q: By 1969 there — it was being said that SIU at Edwardsville, and the Chicago campus were sufficiently along that they ought to be autonomous. What was your position regarding autonomy?

A: I wouldn't be for that.

Q: Oh? Why not?

A: Well I just think that — now that was when John Rendleman was still living and was wanting to get it separated. Of course John was a big pusher, he come up under Delyte Morris, and he was wanting to set that up so he'd be president of that university up there and I think — I think it would have hurt SIU. Because thisaway you go in and get your appropriation you know and all that and — everybody down here I think, just about everybody at least, was opposed to that. Because I think they was afraid it was going to hurt SIU, the first thing — what they were afraid of is that we'd be second and they'd be first you know. And after they'd carried the ball all these years. No I wouldn't want to see that happen. I think it would hurt southern Illinois. I know everybody considers that southern Illinois too but to us down here, this is southern Illinois. And that really would be a little farther north. (chuckles)

Q: I see, yes sir. Also in 1969 there was a bit of a to-do over Delyte Morris spending $1 million on his residence. What had happened there, do you recall?

A: Oh yes, they — he — this $1 million on the residence, of course there was so much stink about it and stirred up that finally a gentleman by the name of Clement Stone in Chicago, who owns an insurance company, donated him $1 million. Which tried to — but there still was some controversy about it I know. All of a sudden they come up with the bright idea that — and they kept it a secret until they had things going pretty good as I recall — him going to build a $1 million house. The community even, the people — and they had backed him pretty strongly up until — and I think that was beginning of him being out too. The average person just couldn't see him living in a $1 million house. And finally this Clement Stone — and the newspaper got after him about it too, got after him pretty hard — and then finally Clement Stone just publicly told him he'd give him $1 million to get the thing turned around and shut up, but that didn't stop it really.

It was good that he done it, for the university, but it still was a lot of embarrassment to — the newspaper is the one that really got causing his big problem with it, the news media. My, they just harped and harped and harped on it. Even after Clement Stone agreed to give the university the million dollars.

And it wasn't that bad a thing. In fact I was — whenever Stone give them the money I was mighty glad they got it. Because he was going to use it for guests, some — it was built big enough for some guests to stay there and I think visiting dignitaries that would come through to visit the university and it probably could have been used to a good advantage, to promote the university. Delyte Morris was a tremendous promoter for that university, tremendous person. And I think it would have been — I think the way he would have used it — of course they looked at it as though he was playing big shot and all, which he would have been, but I think it would have helped the university, that's the thing. I think

him, and I believe it was Loren Bobbitt, about the things that should be done. So I told him what I wanted to do, and he said, "Well let me go through it and check the statutes." And so then I went — he told me when to come back — I went back and saw him later, I don't know whether it was that day or maybe the next day or two. And he started telling me about all the companion bills we'd have to have with it. Now I think we had a total of either five or six bills, in order to make sure that — he said, "If you definitely want to stop them, you're going to have to amend these other acts, or," he said, "they're going to come in some way." Said, "They'll figure out some way to come in and go ahead and build them." And so I said, "Well, we'll just amend the other acts too." And that's what we done.

Q: That's a pretty good example of the value of the Reference Bureau.

A: Oh the Reference Bureau, my, I think that — I think that the General Assembly would be one sad thing if it wasn't for that Reference Bureau. They're so helpful. Every — and they're so helpful to the members. You can go to them you know and — just like I did then, had a problem in our area and everybody was calling me and wanting to know what could be done and, "Are we going to let them build a motel with taxpayer's money?" Oh they were just screaming. So I went and sat down and talked to him and — he was very easy to get in to see too. Always very — made himself available. Went in and visited with him and told him what the problem was and he said, "Let me — let me put" — so he put somebody on it. He said, "Well, we'll research it." He said, "You come back." He said, "Won't take long." And I went back and — so then they prepared the bills for me.

And I got a bunch of cosigners on it too with me, from both sides of the aisle. But had a little trouble to start with, they was — boy, the universities reared right up and they were going to fight you know. But I just bulldogged it out with them.

Q: Were there other universities came into the hearings?

A: Oh yes they were all in favor of the universities — they're in favor of them building anything.

Q: Oh?

A: I'm strong for the universities but, my goodness, they just take taxpayer's money and — why they'd — they'd — they were even wanting to put in stores and stuff like that and they — I think they have got stores now. To some degree. And Ralph Smith I know when he was Speaker we had a bill in to keep them — they was going to put in a big — oh I think — they got a copy of a blueprint that Edwardsville — John Rendleman had done for Edwardsville. They was going to put in about a fifty thousand square foot space building for stores, all kind of stores.

Q: Oh. Shopping center type . . .

A: Oh yes. That's right, just — it was unbelievable what they had — how they dreamed of doing all this with taxpayer's money. And, oh man, whenever we found out about the motels, and we got that through, then that — that really got a lot of people to pushing to stop them from doing some of these other things. Well they just — they were going to do — right over here at SIU they would have done it too. If they'd got the motel, they'd ahad stores and everything else out there. Completely away from education, my goodness, you know. They've got their book stores and stuff anyway and nobody is objecting to that.

But they got a copy of a blueprint of the building through somebody — somebody swiped a copy of it. And I know Ralph Smith had it at one time because I saw it. And see Edwardsville was up in his territory, or close nearby. And I know he showed that to me and it was unbelievable. They had a blueprint ready to go. And, my, and — of course

was come in and tell those people that whether they liked it or not they were going to have to. Him and Charlie Clabaugh both were strong for it. I think it lost that year by I think about two votes and mine was one of them and, man, he was extremely upset.

I'm not against — I'm for the junior colleges and I think they serve a good purpose, but I'm not in favor of making people set up one if they don't want it. And his bill was going to compel every county to belong to a junior college district somewhere. It may have passed later I'm not sure.

Q: I think it did.

A: Yes, I kind of think it did. But, boy, they were — him and Charlie — John Gilbert and Charlie Clabaugh was — anything — had education attached to it they were for it. Regardless of the cost it seemed like or anything and it got to where everybody, when their bills come in, everybody looked at them pretty close.

Q: Oh?

A: Because the junior college act, which is alright if people — it was set up to where people could vote in a junior college district if they wanted to. And if a program's good you ought to be able to sell it. And that was what I told John Gilbert one time, I said, "John, if this program is so good, it shouldn't be any problem to sell these people on it." And he — well of course he was just strong for it and I just — I just don't like to tell people, "You got to put a tax on, whether you like it or not." But I think it got — it may have finally passed even then. I don't really believe it did the first time, I think it got defeated, but I think it come back later and passed.

Q: Were you involved in any way in the establishment of the junior college here in this area, John A. Logan is it?

A: I supported it, you know, when they brought it up for referendum. I think it just — well I think, as I remember, it carried big. Because it is a good thing, it's a good program. I think any county that don't belong to a junior college district are probably depriving their young people of some education that — and it's a cheap way to get some education. Because it's inexpensive really to go to a junior college and the tax is really not that great. I know the junior college here, John A. Logan, a lot of older people have went over and took some — I for one have — some courses that've been very helpful. Like real estate. There's been some young people go over and take welding and just a lot of trades that they took. I think they're really good.

Q: How about the two senior colleges that were set up, Sangamon State University and Governors State? In 1967 they were authorized.

A: Yes, I think I supported those. I don't remember too much about them though.

Q: Did you think there was a need for a senior college there at . . .

A: Well I think I went on the — I think I went on the education people's recommendation is what I think I done then. Because — and to battle them it just — but they were tough anyway. (laughs)

Q: I see.

A: And they would really — Charlie Clabaugh would always take — anytime you disagreed with Charlie or John Gilbert, they'd generally take you over the coals.

Q: Oh is that right?

who all was running you know, until I'd get there. So I'd find out who the contestants were and — no I had no idea what some of those kids, even what their parents' politics were.

Q: Let's see, on the state Board of Higher Education, in 1961 Paul Randolph put in a bill to establish that and it failed at that time. Do you recall the efforts at establishing the state Board of Higher Education?

A: No, I recall it but I don't recall any of the details about it. I remember him having that too I think that year. But I don't remember what the — I know there was a lot of opposition to it to start with, and then later it passed and I'm not sure it's a good thing yet. I don't know . . .

Q: Oh is that right?

A: . . . but you know, depends on who you're talking to there. (chuckles)

Q: Why do you say that?

A: Well I don't really know, you've got the legislature — you've got them going over the budget, then you've got the legislature going over it and they hardly ever agree. And the legislature is the one that has to answer to the people. And I think — it's alright for them to look at it but I'm wondering if it's not another case of a waste of money. Because the legislature is the ones — it's just like writing a check, you've got to come up with the money in the bank. And whatever they vote to give these schools they're going to have to — if the revenue is not there they have to raise taxes. And that board setting up there can recommend about anything, and they don't have to answer to too many. So I'm not sure, they may be serving a good purpose I don't know but — I don't really know.

Q: I guess part of the idea there was to — because there are so many different agencies. There's the State University and College Board, and the Board of Regents and . . .

A: Yes, it may be — it may be a good thing. I'm sure that's one of the reasons for it is because of all these other — and they all bring their bills in and the budgets and they go over it and then the legislature gets it and . . . but I don't — the legislature's going to have to go over it anyway regardless of who looks at it, because they're going to have to vote on it. And they sure — they don't want to make no mistakes. (chuckles) They make enough at best.

Q: In 1969 Charles Clabaugh, successfully at that time, fought to keep student members off of the state board. Do you remember that particular situation?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: What was your opinion of that?

A: I supported that.

Q: That they should not be on . . .

A: Right.

Q: . . . the board? What was your rationale?

A: Well, I don't think that — I just don't really believe that they could serve a useful purpose by being there. They're going to be biased. You're talking about students being on it?

and other places, they're either coal mining or farming backgrounds. And I think they felt that the people wouldn't tolerate it.

And at Carbondale, I know I was there the night that they brought the state police in and broke it up. My wife and I'd went over earlier, not knowing that the state police was even being called in, and we had started to drive down Illinois Avenue and they had it blocked off. And, my, they was students up on the power poles and up on the buildings and everything else. This was on University Avenue where the police come in. We pulled over to the edge and parked, we saw we couldn't get through so we just thought well we'd set there. There's some more cars done the same thing.

And about that time I looked around and here come — it looked like about fifty state troopers, they'd come off of a side-street from somewhere, marching down University Avenue. And, boy — and a police car had just went along with a bullhorn on it telling them to get off the streets or they'd be arrested. And they throwed rocks at the police car. And about that time here come the state police and city police and some deputy sheriffs. I would say at least fifty of them. And I don't know where they come from so quick. But I mean they come down through there afoot, very — walking just like a group of soldiers. And I mean they cleared the street. Then they had a bunch of police cars following and they arrested and throwed them in them cars and I mean throwed them in there.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: They took in a whole bunch of them. But an hour's time, those streets was clear. And that was pretty much the end. Now they had some minor things after that but not much. When they saw the state police come in that pretty well — I mean the state police roughed them up too. They grabbed them — they grabbed them boys — and come to find out some of them was ex-Korean veterans and all that stuff in there. And they grabbed them guys that didn't get off the street. I seen them throw one boy right in the back of the police car. I mean just literally picked him up and throwed him in there. And I mean they didn't mess with them, and they soon got the message. And them guys were carrying nightsticks you know. And those kids, they left them — when they saw them police meant business I mean they left that street like rabbits. In an hour's time we drove right back down the same street that was blocked and back up Illinois Avenue right through and there wasn't anybody. They just — everybody had left the streets.

But it was really bad there for a while. It was bad until they called in the state police. The university didn't want them to do it for a long time. And it got so bad and they got to destroying so much property something had to be done. They even got across the tracks over a block or so over from the main drag and broke a lot of windows out of the New Era Dairy building and a bunch of buildings like that. Some were — care less — buildings and stuff you know, just — they didn't care whose building it was, they just, they — and when they marched downtown, they went — it was all planned. It had to be organized by some organizers because they had rocks and all with them. They didn't have to find the rocks, they took them with them. And, man, they started throwing rocks at the police car and — and at the buildings, they throwed rocks at the buildings, busted out the windows. Went in and looted, done a lot of looting and everything.

Q: How close did they get to you and your wife?

A: Well, they were real close to us. They was with — oh, I'd say two hundred foot of us at one time. We just pulled over to the edge and sat there in our car. There was another couple with us. And there was several other cars that done the same thing over to one side. But the fortunate thing for us was we didn't know the street was blocked until we got down there. And so then — but we wasn't there fifteen minutes, sitting in our car, but here come the police. And when they came I mean that ended it. And I mean the

and all, but you also had a lot of people that was opposed to it. And I don't recall what really happened to that. But I know one thing, I was strongly in favor of giving them whatever authority they needed to keep order. I think they should have went back — a few years ago they would expel students from school for conducting themselves like that, and I think they should go back to that even yet today. I think if a student's going to school, that univ — it cost the people of Illinois a lot of money to furnish these young people a place to get an education. And if they're going to be destructive and try to destroy it then I don't think they should be there. And I think the university should have the authority to I mean rule that school. And if students don't behave I think, once it's determined that they're not going to behave, then they should be sent back home.

Q: Dr. Morris refused registration to about sixty-one people that were involved with that on campus. Do you recall that particular . . .

A: Yes. I didn't remember the number but I know he refused some. And I think the community was strongly behind him in that action. I know I was and I think — I would say probably 90 percent of the people were. The only people that would be opposed to it were some of those English professors out at that university. They were the biggest agitators that that university had.

Q: English professors.

A: Most of them I think were English professors, in that department out there. They just — I know they got after some of them over it but most of them got away with it. They didn't do it but they'd encourage the students. Like this one that was supposed to be — stood on the sidewalk clapping his hands whenever they's throwing the rocks and all those things you know, encouraging them young people to go ahead and do it. But you couldn't prove it. But some of them saw him. But . . . no I think some of those professors out there was really a lot to blame for it.

Q: Was there a legislative commission involved or set up to investigate . . .

A: I think there was. I wasn't on it though.

Q: I see, yes.

A: In fact I felt like I shouldn't be on it. And I think there was one set up as I recall.

Q: Why shouldn't you have been on . . .

A: Well, me living here I would — because I had strong feelings. In fact I favored Dr. Morris and him trying to control it. Probably I would have had a biased opinion before I even got started.

Q: I see.

A: Because I went over there two or three different evenings. One evening they had Illinois Avenue blocked off clear up at the intersection of Illinois and Main. And to me that is just terrible. That a group of young people would go out there — they were setting in the middle of the street. I would say, oh, five hundred to one thousand of them. Just went out and took the law in their own hands. And blaming people that had nothing to do — the people in that area had nothing to do with the Vietnam War. And they were taking whatever frustrations they had out on people that were innocent of what was going on. So the next night I think it was, whenever they done the same thing on University, that's when they called the police in. But my they broke windows that night and just carried on. Those kids should have been all expelled from school that was in that. They had no business being

were carrying on. Webber Borchers is a man that's got considerable amount of money of his own. Of course he's got a lot of grandchildren and he told me many times about his grandchildren and how he had things fixed for them and all and I think it — I think he was determined to try to leave a better place for them. And he was a very sincere person as I found him. He was quick to tell you that he just simply didn't think it ought to be tolerated, the way they were carrying on. I think he would have voted or done about anything to try to stop it, and get at those that was causing it.

Q: Understand he was quite an outspoken individual.

A: Very much outspoken. Yes, he was a man of good morals and all those things, but they — he was very outspoken. You had no problem of knowing where he stood. On any issue. And he didn't hesitate to get up and talk about it either on the floor. Now a lot of members was hesitant always to get up and talk. Because you generally know whether a bill's going to pass or not when it's called. Just by visiting with other members you'll soon learn what bill's got a pretty good chance to go and the ones that hasn't. But a guy like Webber would get up and talk on just about — on most any bill. He liked to talk. And he'd do it.

But he was a sincere guy, I believe that. And he just didn't back off from nothing, you know. He didn't mind a little ruckus with somebody you know. He was determined. (chuckles) And they got after him but they wouldn't change his mind. They got after him the way he done it I think up there.

He used his expense money is what he done, to pay a guy to go in there and do this investigating for him. And of course nobody knew who he was. Old Webber was smart enough to — nobody knew it until it was over and then they got on to him. The way he used his expense money it was illegal, and they tried to send him to jail for it but he beat them, he come clear. But I think the judge recognized what a lot of others did, that he was sincere. And as far as him defrauding anybody, I don't believe he would ever — I don't believe you could hire him to do it under any conditions, because I think he's honest.

Q: He didn't really have a reason to, I guess . . .

A: No. No, he didn't need to.

Q: Who were some of the other talkers in your experience there in the legislature?

A: Oh my, there's lots of talkers in the legislature. Always lots of them. But some of the ones that I remember, that used to talk a lot seems to me, was Bill Horsley when he was in the house of representatives in Springfield. Bill Horsley was a big talker. All the lawyers were. If they were lawyers, they just automatically liked to talk. They just — especially if the TV cameras was on that morning or the news — of course the news media was always there. Of course the leadership always talked a lot too. But we had guys in there just constantly would get up and talk you know and wear everybody out. And that made a lot of people that would have had something good to say wouldn't get up and say it, they wouldn't take the time. Because the others would take so much time talking about nothing, you know. Didn't change anybody's vote, they just wanted to get up and talk. Because everybody knows when a bill's called how they're going to vote anyway. They've heard it in committee or they've talked to other members about it and if you hear a bill in committee you know right then, that's where you find out what the bill's really got in it. Those that sits on the committee. And that's the reason a lot of members will take the committee's recommendation.

(taping stopped for business, then resumed)

like R-33 insulation in the ceiling. And just all the insulation you could put in them anymore. Even in the single-wides. Whatever room there is in them walls and the ceiling they fill it with insulation. And they put vents in so you won't be bothered with dampness you know and moisture from it, from over-insulation because a lot of people don't understand you could over-insulate. But you have to have vents in there you know. And as much as they're putting in today they really have to put the vents to them.

But the homes are well-built today. Like HUD — back a few years ago HUD passed some rules that manufacturers had to go by and it was really a good thing too. That's when I think it really started — a lot of people really started going to the factory-built homes, you know. The mobile homes and the sectional homes. We sell a lot of sectional homes too you know.

Q: How about experience with the Mobile Home Association. Have there been particular issues that have come up within the association through the years?

A: Well the main thing the association does is represents the dealers and the park owners in the General Assembly, you know, when they're in session. I mean that's one of their functions. Now of course they hold — constantly hold meetings around over the state too to keep people briefed on it — even people, individuals, that own homes can belong. They have a membership for them too. I don't know what the charge is for it. But for so many years there's so much legislation going in, just like we talked about earlier about the tax on mobile homes. I think mobile home owners should pay a tax but you don't want to overburden them either, and put restrictions on that they can't meet.

But there's a place for the Mobile Home Association, it's something that's needed badly. And they've got regular hired people that represent us in the General Assembly and they'll constantly send out — during a legislative session, they're always sending out a flyer and giving you a number of a bill and to write your representative and your senator either for it or against it, whatever their posi — if they're opposed to it they'll tell you what's in the bill that they thinks going to be harmful to the mobile home industry. And a lot of times that if you want a copy of the bill you can get ahold of them and they'll get you a copy. It's real helpful. They're constantly sending out something during the session in regards to some bill that's been introduced that — and a lot of times a bill will be introduced and they'll get ahold of the sponsor and explain the mobile home owners' and dealers' position and get it amended to where they can live with it.

Q: Can you think of an example of where they've done that sort of thing?

A: Oh yes. About a year ago I believe it was when they passed the — the law forcing people to tie their homes down. Well to start with I don't recall what it had in there for them to do, but it was really going to be bad and — and — most people want their home tied down anyway. But you want to do it as reasonable as you can. So they got a — the Mobil Home Association got ahold of the sponsors of the bill and they worked it out to where, it's a pretty good law — probably one of the best in the country I would, I would think. I'm not sure what some of the others had got, but our law required it not only to be anchored down to keep it from blowing over, but they — you hook them under there to the frame to keep the wind from twisting them on this foundation too. I would imagine that Illinois has probably got one of the best tie-down laws there is right now.

Q: Who are some of the representatives of the association that work up there? Has it been the same person for very long?

A: Yes he has and I can't even think of his name and I get stuff from him all the time. (chuckles) One of the gentlemen that worked with him is Joe Bandy from Mt. Vernon. Joe is involved in FHA [Federal Housing Administration] and VA [Veterans Administration] financing but he has been a tremendous worker in the Illinois Mobile Home

people back home on weekends start calling their members of the legislature and saying, "Hey, what are you trying to do to me. There's a bill in up there, number so-and-so, and it's going to do this or that to me." And that gets their attention. In a lot of cases a lot of the members hadn't even heard of the bill until you bring it to their attention you know. And they get back to Springfield, they'll go get a copy and start looking at it and see who's sponsoring it and what's behind it you know.

But they were constantly — a movement used to be on — I don't think that's the case today as much though. The one thing that I think you'll see happen in the future and I think the Mobile Home Association will play a big part — now the state of Michigan last year, the Supreme Court ruled in Michigan that, like the zoning laws and all that they have in these cities, that they couldn't keep people from — couldn't zone out people with mobile homes — place to live — just because it was a mobile home. I think that will happen in Illinois one of these days too. Because some of these communities have just went overboard in trying to tell people they can't live in a city limits. Take in Carbondale right now, you can't put a mobile home in the city limits of Carbondale.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: They just, unless they've changed it recently, they just put a moratorium on it and said no more comes in. And some of those older parts of town a lot of those people own lots, and especially over in the black community, they've bought lots and fixed them up nice and now they can't put a mobile home on it. And, my, in some of those areas mobile homes would look a lot better than some of them old houses you know. I think some of that'll be changed in the next year or two, I really do. I think — now the Michigan Supreme Court ruled on it last year and they ruled against them zoning out residents just because they were mobile homes. And I look for that to come up in Illinois.

Q: While you were in the legislature did you do any research on what the other state's were doing concerning mobile homes?

A: I think — I didn't do much. I think at one time I had the Legislative Council maybe to do some for me. I didn't do any myself, if I did it would have been through them. Because they would have — they can get the information so much easier and quicker than the average member could get it.

Q: Let's see, you got the award in 1961. Did you get any awards subsequent to that from the association?

A: No. No that was the only one.

Q: That was the big year.

A: Yes that was the big year and Ed Corbett, a gentleman by the name of Ed Corbett, from Chicago, was the head of that association and he got to where he thought I was the grandest person there, because he didn't know me prior to that at all. And I helped them he thought tremendously, and he just absolutely couldn't get them to do enough to thank me you know. And they had this big dinner and all down there and he's the one that was behind all that. He was a head of their association then. And they just couldn't thank me enough, you know.

Q: You mentioned the travels to Europe. Is that in connection with the business?

A: Yes, yes. On my travels to Europe of course I've been all — I've been a lot of places in the last few years, since I went back in the mobile home business I've won trips to South America and to — we've been to Brazil, Rio de Janeiro. We've been to Hawaii two times on trips that we won. Of course we've been to London, on a trip we won to London. And

I took their picture then they just swarmed around me and him both, and was asking him what our connection was and — and . . .

Q: Were they inquisitive about you being in the legislature?

A: Oh yes. Yes they asked all kind of questions. They wanted to know what I done. And he told them and — and about my mobile home business and why I was there, I had won the trip to their country and . . . but those kids were just delighted and they would have — they would have talked all day I think if we'd astayed there and talked. I couldn't understand them but they would talk to him and then he would tell me what they were saying.

Q: What was his name?

A: Claude Dealemado. And I begged him to come to our country and he promised me every year he's going to come, but he hasn't been here yet. He was here one time a long time ago, but he hasn't been here since. And he's promised me — this was in 1976 when we were down there and he's been promising me every year he's going to come. So hopefully maybe next year we'll get him up here. He talked like last year he could come this year. And now he told my wife in the last letter he wrote that he was going to surprise me one of these days so — I don't think he'll come, not this late because it's going to soon start getting cool, and he would want to come when it's warm I'm sure.

Q: How long was the trip?

A: The trip was eight days. We flew from Atlanta, Georgia, to Rio de Jan — right direct to — well we stopped at Caracas, Venezuela, for refueling way in the night and then went on to Rio de Janeiro.

Q: Where did you stay in Rio?

A: At the Sheraton Hotel.

Q: Oh is that right.

A: Right on the ocean, edge of the ocean. It's a beautiful place too.

Q: Let's see, you say you went that year to Brazil. Was it the next year you went to Hawaii then?

A: Let's see. (pause) I think we went one time to Hawaii — yes I believe it would have been the next year. We went twice on trips we won, we've went a total of four times to Hawaii since I've been back in the mobile home business. I've won two trips, then we went with the Shriners a couple trips, a time or two. And it would have been I believe in 1970 — we might have went in February. We went one time in February. That would have been 1977 though I believe, when I went to Hawaii. Now I went the first time in 1972 but when I — the trips I won was in 1977 and 1978 I believe. I won two years in a row, trip to Hawaii. And in fact I was winning trips there for a while, and still am, really I didn't have the time to take all them trips, you know. And this one I've won now is from the air-conditioning people. They had a contest this year, if you bought so many air-conditioners, why, you got one ticket and if you bought so many more you get two and I got two tickets, back a good bit ago. But then we won the trip to Austria. We won the trip to London, I guess would have been in . . . oh, let's see this is 1981, it'd abeen about 1979 when we went to London, 1978 or 1979 we went to London. Then I got them real close together for a while. We enjoyed that trip too.

Q: You didn't know anyone in England?

wouldn't. But we asked him if he'd rather we'd come back later and he thanked us and said yes.

Q: Now, had you also traveled in Germany?

A: No, I haven't. My wife has but I haven't actually been in Germany. Austria and we was in France some, very little. One day's all we spent in France. And then we was in London. That's one thing I'd like to go back to. I would like to go to France just to get a lot better look at it.

Q: Where did you go in France?

A: I can't think of the name of the town. We crossed the English Channel in a boat while we were in London. We took off one day, four of us, and caught a train down to the coast at 5:30 in the morning. And went across on a boat that they — service they had there. And spent all day over in — some, some town I can't think of it. And I couldn't understand them either. That was terrible trying to order food and stuff in the restaurant. Finally he fixed us a hot dog. (laughter) And that's what we had. But we enjoyed it, it was — and they, the women, done some shopping there, some of the towns. On the boat — it was a fairly good-sized boat, they had a little exchange on there, you could get French money before you got off. And we done that. At least we spent some money over there. (laughter)

Q: You say you had not gone to Switzerland?

A: No I hadn't.

Q: And your wife I guess her main function in Germany was hunting up family names?

A: Well, of course she was on a tour deal but she naturally was interested in trying to find out information about her family. She's done more finding out by writing than — she'll write to a place and then they'll refer her to somebody else and that's how it goes, just a chain reaction. And most of it is churches that you have to write to in order to get information, because the churches kept pretty good records. And she's wrote to some like courthouses and a lot of times though they'll refer her to a Lutheran church somewhere. She's wrote to a lot of them.

Q: And what's the latest one now you have ready to go on?

A: October, of this year.

Q: To where?

A: France. And that's to Valde Lorne, France. I may be pronouncing it wrong but that's the way I pronounce it.

Q: I see.

A: And that's for eight days.

Q: Where is that, in southern France?

A: It's about one hundred mile from Paris. I think it would be more in the southern part. We looked it up on a map. In fact my wife wrote to the chamber of commerce over there in — somewhere in France, I believe Paris, and they sent us a map of it, a French map. And we looked it up on it, on the map, where it's located. It's supposed to be in a very aristocratic place in France, where a lot of the government people have stayed through

of getting that corrected too. I know I've had guys to quit me and go right down and start drawing unemployment.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Had one two years ago. Kept him on all winter and it got good weather in the spring and he said, "Well," he said, "I'm going to leave you." And I said, "What are you going to do?" And he said, "Well I'm going to fish and drink beerthis summer and — and rock." And that's what he done. And wasn't a thing I could do. And he's just one of guys that when it got good weather he wanted to fish.

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Q: Well evidently there are some pilot programs going now on this — if you're on welfare, they're finding jobs for them. Did that come up in the legislature, was that being proposed?

A: I know it was talked about but I don't think anything was ever done very serious about it back then. It wasn't that big an issue then. You take now, the difference then and now, the state budget is, oh, quadripled since I was — maybe not since I went out in 1972, I don't recall what it was then, but it's got so big now that I think they realize that there's got to be a stopping point.

Now it was talked about back then, when I was there, about making people take jobs and those things but at that time you couldn't have got it through. There was too much sentiment in their favor. Now the people today are thinking more conservative. I think you could get something like that through today, but back then you just couldn't. The liberal thinking was there, it was everywhere. And to get something through like that — you'd just been wasting your time.

Q: One of the major times that that was considered was in the Ogilvie program that was developed in 1970. Do you recall Ogilvie's concern with the expenditures of that period?

A: Yes, he was. Yes he was concerned with them, and I don't recall what some of their legislation was. I wasn't on the committee that had those things. I don't recall what their proposal was, but there was a lot of talk about it back then, and a lot of concern about it.

And Ogilvie I think was probably the smartest — one of the smartest governors this state ever had. I mean he was more business. He wanted to run the state like it should be run. He was not a real politician in a sense. He wasn't a big glad-hander, but he wanted to get things done. His road program and everything proved it. And just like his public aid programs and all. He wanted to take care of those that needed help, but he wanted to curb the fraud and stuff in it. And I think him being from probably Cook County, he was more aware of a lot of it than a lot of us were from downstate too. So I think in those kind of cases most of us from down here would go on whatever the administration recommended, you know. Because whatever our problem here, would be multiplied I'm sure many times up there, in the way of fraud in public aid and all those things, you know.

One thing I learned about public aid is why there's such an increase, continually increase. Now I don't know whether it's that a way yet today but it was back then because a bunch of us was talking to the director one time and kept asking him about why there was a continuous increase. And we learned that a lot of your local counties, their offices, if they decreased the number of people, if they refused them and decreased them, and then the numbers fell off then they would have to fire some employees. It was based on case load, the number of employees they had. And if it started getting down, the case load,

go after that too — after them with putting — like putting a lien against their property, and all those things. And that went on for a good long time. If you got aid, as I remember, if you owned property, and some of them did, why, they'd put a lien against the property. For the amount of whatever the state furnished them. But they got so lenient, so liberal, that they just practically was nothing done with the guy.

Q: There was some question in regard to that lien — that was not only for fathers, there were — any welfare recipient.

A: Right, yes.

Q: What was your position in regard to the placing of liens on the property . . .

A: Well at the time I thought it was a good thing. And today I would — I — at the time I had some reservations about it. I just wasn't sure whether it was the right thing to do, but definitely it was and it would be yet today too I think. I know I had some people to come to me several times, families, and they thought it was awful that — like their parents had gotten aid and all, then when they died, they went to settle the estate, why, the state had to be paid back the money that they paid. But you know, when you get right down to it, there's nothing wrong with that. Why shouldn't the state be paid back? If they had property and all. And I had several people, different cases, to come to me and they thought that was terrible.

And a lot of cases too back then the state would settle with them on a lesser amount too. I know of a few cases where that was done. They would go in if it was a large amount and they would settle for so much you know. But the state got something in those cases and I think probably still — maybe they are still doing it, if they're not they should be. Because there's no reason for — if a family's financial able — for them not to pay for their keep. There was a lot of them objected to it but I think it was a good thing.

Q: In the mid-1960's there was quite a to-do over whether birth control information and materials were to be distributed by the state. What was your position concerning that?

A: I was for that. I favored that. I thought that — of course you couldn't do what I really thought. I thought for a long time that, when women go in and was getting public aid for children and had no husband, that they should have to be fixed so they couldn't have children. If they're expecting — going to expect the people to pay for it, raising those children. But that you couldn't get done because the churches would object and everybody would object and that would be too radical, I'm sure of that.

But it was aggravating for us to have those — every session we'd have a big increase in aid to dependent children and all these things and a lot of it was just going on. I thought it was a good thing, and — and I'm not opposed to people having children. I think that's one of the most wonderful things there is, but I thought they should have the information. They could plan their family and — and — and maybe — and another thing I thought of was that it might save a lot of young girls getting out and — if they got pregnant, used to, then they would do some drastic things maybe — and where if they had the information available it might just prevent a lot of hardship for a lot of young girls too.

Q: Webber Borchers at one time proposed a sterilization program. Did you ever discuss that with him?

A: No. I wouldn't support it though. I mean we talked a lot sometimes when we wouldn't really carry through with it. It gets so aggravating. But no I — it maybe should be but I wouldn't support that. But I think as far as giving them their birth control information and stuff like that I think that — I think it's probably a good thing.

on, some of the black legislators when we'd be just in discussion a lot of times. Some of them would move to Chicago — Illinois had a lot more liberal public aid law than what Mississippi and Alabama and some of those states had. And if they had relatives down there they'd immediately write to them and tell them what they could do up here and I think a lot of them just simply decided to move to Illinois.

Because you know they changed the law there. At one time you had to have — they had a residency requirement. Had to live in Illinois I think two years. Well then they took that away. Maybe the court done that, I don't recall now whether the legislature took it away or the court knocked it out. And after that I think they really had a bunch to come in. And you know they were talking about it'd be cheaper to pay their train fare back and send them back down there, a lot of them. (laughter) But when they took that residency requirement off that made it wide open for them to come in and that's when the cost of public aid really went up too. I mean it really went up. And that was a concern to everybody, everybody was furious about that.

Q: Were there any areas around here, like East St. Louis or Cairo, that were affected by . . .

A: I think they might have been affected some but not by no large number. I think a lot of them did go to Chicago though from what members of the legislature would say in discussion up there. And they just made it so easy. And people that lived in other states that didn't have very much of a public aid law, they'd come to Illinois. It's one of the big northern industrial states and it was liberal. New York and Illinois and — I think there was about four states they claimed at the time that had real liberal public aid laws and I mean they really was flogging in there. Because they could go then, just go down on demand almost and get help, after they done away with the residency requirement.

Now that was one thing that most downstaters was for was the residency requirement, to leave that in there. In other words they'd have to at least come here and be a citizen a while before they could start getting help from the taxpayers. But back then — now I think you could probably pass something like that today — but back then they won out, they done away with it.

Q: What was the public aid situation in your district? Were there a lot of people on public aid?

A: No. We had quite a few but I don't think — in Jackson County we had some, but see I had some counties didn't have hardly any. Randolph and Monroe County — Monroe County at one time had just, oh, very few. And Randolph County didn't have a big large number of them either. Jackson had a few. And Union had very few, Union County. And Alexander, which would be Cairo, they had quite a few but not real large numbers of them. Probably Alexander and Pulaski and Jackson County would be three that had the most of any of them.

Q: You mean there was sufficient work available for . . .

A: Yes I think there was pretty — work was pretty plentiful back then.

Q: So unemployment was down then.

A: Yes, I think it was.

Q: Let's see, in regard to child abuse, in 1965, again the odd year here . . .

A: Yes.

A: Yes there was, and he changed his policy there and made it — he was real lenient, really, and he caused the members of the legislature in this area untold amount of — me for one — he would let people leave the premises and they'd wander off and we had somebody wander off and die, and it was several days before they found him and the parents of course, and the children, would just you know be hysterical. He just caused us a lot of problems that was unnecessary.

One case that I had by some people here in Murphysboro was he wandered off at — they'd let them just go at will — and wandered off and of course died and several days before they found him. And the hospital was — didn't show the family any courtesy at all. They'd go down there and of course some of the children were just hysterical, they couldn't find their — I believe it was the man, the father. And so finally they — well they went to all of us, me and Senator Gilbert and everybody, I'm sure. And we finally got — we had a group of people in Carbondale that rode horses. And we got a group of them — I got them to go down and see if we couldn't comb the area and find him and did, and did. And of course the family was just terribly upset at Dr. Steck over that, and made it bad for all of us too.

And another occasion we had, where he let one — they'd let — they were still letting them go just about wherever they wanted to. Had a fine gentleman in Carbondale that owned a farm down there close to the institution, and he was down there working in his garden and he took his shotgun along, went down there in his pick-up truck to shoot some ground-hogs, and he left it set by his truck. And he come out of a garden and one of these inmates had his shotgun and shot him and killed him. And, my, that just — and he was a very well-liked person in Carbondale, man by the name of Lawrence Robinson. And he was a fine gentleman and — everybody knew him, everybody liked him. And that really caused us some problems you know.

But Dr. Steck was a man that — if I'd been running the state I would have fired him. Because he just didn't show the concern. And I don't doubt he was a good administrator, and was probably a fine person. But he just caused the members of the legislature untold problems. And he didn't want to listen to anybody. And I think they should have let him go long before they did, just for those reasons. His public relations just got terrible. And if he would have had his staff just to be courteous to these people and a little bit sympathic, would have made it a lot easier for us. He was a guy that it was hard to help him — hard to help him because of his attitude and all the way he handled the public. And he done a lot of good for the hospital and done a lot of good for the area, all through the years, but he got to where it was really hard to — to help him because of the attitude they had. And, my, when somebody's father or mother's laying out there in the weeds somewhere dead . . .

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

SESSION 6, TAPE 12, SIDE 2

Q: During the 1960's the Department of Agriculture responsibility for meat inspection was turned over to the Department of Health? Do you remember that situation?

A: I remember when that was done. Yes they had some bills in and they switched it over to the Department of Public Health I believe it was. And they, and of course the inspectors they had though, that the other department had, they — I think they kept all of them and switched them over to there. And I don't remember exactly what the purpose was in changing them. I know they came in and wanted it changed and everybody went along with it. I'm sure they thought it was going to — they was going to be able to give better service than what they were giving, that's probably the only thing that I think it was behind it.

Q: Wasn't Senator Crisenberry a Christian Scientist?

A: Yes he was.

Q: I believe he had a goiter or something . . .

A: Yes, he did.

Q: . . . of some measure, he wouldn't . . .

A: Wouldn't go — yes — wouldn't go to the doctor, wouldn't let them do nothing. No he was very — he was very strong in his belief and he had a goiter that, back in the earlier part of his life, could have probably been corrected if he would of let them. Of course he lived to be quite old. I don't recall how old he was when he died but I would say he had to be up in his late seventies and maybe even eighty. But he was Christian Science and I was always told he wouldn't let the doctors do anything to him. I know one time he had a car wreck, either going to or from Springfield, and the Christian Science people met him at the hospital and very little medical attention he allowed them to do. I don't know what would have happened if he had bones broke or something but they just — that was their belief.

Q: Let's see, thinking in terms of public safety, there were several moves through the years to increase the state police force. What was your position regarding . . .

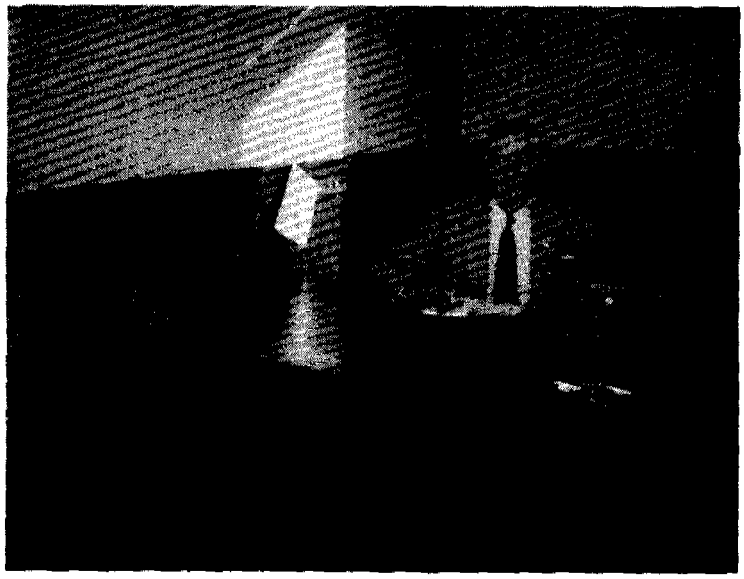
A: I supported that. Yes I did. Yes I supported that because at the time when they first started increasing it I forget the number they had but it wasn't near enough to properly police this state, a state of this size. It seems to me like that the last time that they had a bill in they was raising it up like to about sixteen or eighteen hundred, I've forgotten now just how many but it was a quite a number. I thought maybe they were getting plenty at that time but I did support it.

I know another thing that I supported was their pay increase, back a few years ago their pay was so terrible. And now they've got it up to where a policeman's paid a good — pretty good salary. But back when I first went to Springfield, I don't recall but it was — I know it was bad, you know. A man'd go out there and risk his life every day you know — should be paid something. At least you should be able to make a living. But now that's pretty much been corrected.

Ralph Smith was Speaker back when we had one bill in to raise their pay and he was a strong supporter of the state police too. And we passed it. I forget what we raised it to that year, the minimum that a state trooper would get paid, but the state police was extremely happy, I know that, and — and got it up to where they could get good policemen too, and a lot of young people would apply to get on the state police force. My, back a few years ago it was hard to get good people. Everybody wanted to be a policeman but a lot of them wasn't qualified. But you take even today they can get qualified people, young men that are educated, go to the police academy, come out and be a good police officer. And back a few years ago it was pretty hard to get good qualified people.

Q: I guess it was during the Stevenson administration when it went on the merit system with the state police.

A: Yes it was during the — it was during the Stevenson administration. That's when they tried to make it 50-50. Hire as many Democrats as they would Republicans. Which I think — the merit system for the police department I think's a good thing too. I really do.



AT HIS DESK AFTER ELECTION TO THE JACKSON COUNTY CORONER'S OFFICE IN 1956.

*"On my investigator's job, I'd seen a lot of accidents and stuff and some of my friends said, 'why don't you run for coroner, that's a good job to start out on.'"*

WILLIAMS (L) RECEIVING THE "MAN OF THE YEAR" AWARD FROM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR EDWARD J. CORBETT OF THE ILLINOIS MOBILE HOME ASSOCIATION AT THE ASSOCIATION'S CONVENTION HELD IN THE LELAND HOTEL, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, 1961.

*"I got this bill through that would force them to give us an annual permit for the movement of mobile homes."*

(L TO R) MEL TILLIS, DOROTHY OGILVIE, WILLIAMS AND SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN LEWIS PAUSE FOR THE CAMERA DURING THE 1972 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN.

*"Lewis was a lot like Paul Powell in a way, you could go to him and he'd give you an honest answer."*

A: Well what they done they got around — the county chairman was for Gilbert. And at that particular time I think at first the majority of those committeemen were probably for me. Well of course he got around and put the pressure on, because a lot of them did have political jobs, and persuaded them to agree to support whoever the committee would endorse. Well then the only thing he campaigned with was the committee, and that's where I went to sleep. And when they had their committee meeting, why, they — their committee meeting lasted to about midnight and they finally endorsed him by a majority of two votes. But they had all agreed to support whoever the committee endorsed. And that county pretty well held the deciding vote in that primary election. Because it's a strong Republican county. Well that was one of my mistakes in politics. I should have never got involved in that primary.

Q: What happened between you and the Southern Illinoisan? I read some of the editorials and they really lambasted you?

A: Oh yes. Well that was when it all started. They were very much opposed to me running against John Gilbert.

Q: Any particular reason?

A: No. To my knowledge, there's none. They — oh they wrote awful things about me ever since that. Up until that, they were you know lukewarm but when I run against John Gilbert, that was their fair-haired boy. Oh yes and they they just wrote all kind of articles, just implied that I'm everything but what I should be. Oh I've kept all those editorials. I've got all of them. In fact I sued them one time, filed a lawsuit against them. And of course the judge threw it out because the — you know judges, especially in an area like this, are not going to go against the news media, or it don't seem like they will. But they took a discovery deposition from him about some of the arg — went over some of those editorials line for line and asked him where he got that information. And he said, "I didn't get it from anybody." Said, "I was out to beat him and I just wrote it." That was his reply.

Q: This was Senator Gilbert?

A: The editor. No, this was the editor of the Southern Illinoisan.

Q: Let's see, who was that?

A: John Gardner.

Q: John Gardner.

A: Yes. Yes he said, "I wasn't" — he said . . .

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

Q: So he didn't say where he got the information?

A: No, he said he didn't get it from anybody. I never will forget it. That really hurt me. I couldn't believe that a man of that — supposed to be a leading citizen in the community and he told that to his attorney and my attorney, and I was sitting there. That he didn't get the information from anywhere. He said, "I was out to beat him and I just wrote it."

Q: I'll be darned.

A: And that was his reply.

A: Buzbee. And then — that's when they changed the district — and after — before that though, they's against me every time I ran. I used to take their — they'd always write their editorial to come out on Sunday before the election on Tuesday. So I used to buy thirty minutes time on Harrisburg TV station for Monday night. And I'd take their editorial and go on TV and I'd read it to everybody and point out to them and — I'd point out to them who wrote it. You know. And I'd ask the public — you know. I'd always tell them that, "I don't know whether this editor drinks or not. It's just — I just don't know. But I — you would think so when you read an editorial like this," you know. Oh man, he used to just twist and squirm every time I'd go on TV. Some friends of mine down at the paper where he's at said he was — said, "We always knew on Tuesday he was going to be extremely out of humor, after you give him the going-over on Monday." He can't take it. He can't take criticism, no. And when I'd go on TV on Monday night — and I'd run ads in his paper telling everybody I was going to be on.

Q: Oh I see.

A: And I was going to be on TV you know for thirty minutes and I'd advertise it everywhere that I was going to be on. And then I'd take that editorial and I'd go over ahead of time and have it fixed up on a chart you know. And we'd have a camera set on it to where everybody could read it. And oh man he squirmed. And the only time he beat me was those two times.

Q: So — and you did this in the other elections . . .

A: Oh I done it every election.

Q: I see.

A: Because I knew ahead of time he was going to do it, you know. And I used to kid him, I'd tell him if he'd wrote one more editorial I'd agot another five thousand votes, is what I used to tell him. I used to make fun of him every time I'd see him. I'd see him at the restaurants at noontime you know. And one time I was at a chamber of commerce dinner and they had me to say a few words and he was on the front seat and I said, "Well, maybe I can get John here to write another editorial." I said, "I think I'm about five thousand votes shy right now of winning, and maybe I can get him to write another editorial."

And of course the local business people, on an average, don't care for him at all, you know, because he's just so biased against everything, and . . . Well just like last year, whenever he endorsed Simon you know, he wrote a whole page and he was telling the people in his editorial, that's on that Sunday before the election, the easiest endorsement he had to make was the one endorsing Paul Simon. And he run against a guy that had no money, and wasn't known, and still only won by I think nineteen hundred and some votes. So it tells you the press is not as proper as they think they are.

And if I was ever running for office again I would simply ignore him. I would ignore that paper completely. I would run my campaign and I'd be nice and fair and honest and — but there'd be no point in going and talking to him. They always want to interview you before the election. And I refused to go the last time, then finally I did go. It didn't do any good. When he called he wanted to know what was the matter I wouldn't let their people interview me, I said, "It ain't going to do any good, you've got your mind made up." I said, "Regardless of what I'm for or what I would say," I said, "you'll still write your same editorials." "Well," he said, "that's not true." And I said, "Well it's been true every time I run." So finally I went down but — he interviewed me himself but it came out the same way.

Q: Yes.

is the only one that ever was against me. I don't know of any other newspaper that really was against me in the area. But they've got the big circulation. But we used to take television and you can offset all that.

They were strong against President Reagan, you know, in this area but he still carried this county. So they're not — but he done his with television. Then the people can make up their own mind. If you're setting there in your living room and you see it and you hear the man for yourself it makes a different story out of it, than trying to read something that some editors wrote that don't like you. No I would — if I was a candidate today I would do mine with radio and television, every bit of it.

Q: Gets kind of expensive though doesn't it?

A: Yes it does. It sure does. But it's really effective. It's a lot more effective. Because when you do it yourself you know what your saying. And I always say if you can't sell yourself you can't expect somebody else to. And if you let like a news reporter write it, my goodness, you're just at his mercy. You know. He can just write anything he wants to write then — and then all you can do is make a rebuttal. Where if you don't talk to him, just let him guess on his own, and then go on television and do your own thing — take in an area like this you've only got one leading daily newspaper. And you know that the Southern Illinoisan there is very few Republicans they'll ever be for. Now they was for Gilbert. And they're always for a few, they'll pick out one here and one there, but basically they're strong Democrat.

And the news reporter they had here in Murphysboro, he just retired, Tony Stevens, oh, he was with them I guess thirty years. And, oh my, he's just radical Democrat. He used to go up to the Democrat headquarters and help take the election returns on election night and all that and, my, when you've got that, you know. Like I always told the newspaper, "Why don't you send me to the Democrat meetings to write for you guys," you know, "and just see how it comes out." But that's what they done, that's how biased they are.

No way they're going to ever endorse anybody that's not a liberal, not John Gardner. He's just not going to. You're going to have to be awful close to a liberal to get his endorsment, because he's for Adlai Stevenson and he'll be for Paul Simon and I don't know what he'll do between Thompson and Stevenson. But I would say he'll be for Stevenson probably. And . . .

Q: You think Stevenson is going to run against Thompson?

A: Yes. Yes I do. I believe he will. They're going to put the pressure on him I think. No I think he will, but they'll — and they'll probably be for him. Because he's a ultraliberal. They've always been for Chuck Percy, he's a big liberal. And just — they're going to endorse liberals if they've got the opportunity, that's just all there are to it. But they don't have that much effect, not in this particular area.

Q: How about the St. Louis Post-Dispatch? Is it very effective in this area at all?

A: No it's not. The Globe would be more effective than it. See the Globe has a lot bigger circulation down here.

Q: Oh is that right.

A: Yes the Globe basically, in most cases, will endorse Republicans. And the Post, even though it's owned by the same people — that's their historical tradition and they still do it that way. Then they have — the Post will endorse Democrats. They're Democrat and the Globe's Republican. But the Globe has a lot more circulation in southern Illinois than

Q: That's Cape Girardeau?

A: Yes. Cape Girardeau TV. And I was on their's, I was on there and I was on Harrisburg both.

Q: What was election night like in 1964 for example?

A: Very hectic. (laughter) Yes. We had the headquarters at our home that night. Of course you never knew. Then they — a lot of the counties didn't have voting machines and it takes almost all night before you even know, you know. I think it was about two or three o'clock in the morning before I really — really thought it was over you know. But elections are always hectic because your friends come in and everybody's calling. The telephones are ringing off the — we always have extra, two or three, phones put in. And . . . oh my, it's just, you know, everybody's calling from all over the district, you know. I've always said every person ought to have to go through running for at least one district office just to see how it is. No we always set up extra — put in extra phones. We didn't always have it at our home, we did the first two or three times then after that we had it over at our rental office at Carbondale. And of course we had three or four extra phones put in there too. Then after the election was over we'd take them back out.

Q: Did you organize throughout the district for a flow of information?

A: Oh yes. Oh yes. Through the county clerks, most of it. And the Republican headquarters too. And then your workers in each county, you'd organize with them to be in — all of the election returns eventually go to county clerk's office in these small counties. And you'd have your — of course have your supporters there and the minute the information come in they'd get it, if it was only for one precinct, and then they'd pick up the phone and call you. And then — of course at our headquarters I'd have girls there. We'd make charts ahead of time for each county. Somebody'd called in and said they were from we'll say Williamson County or from Monroe County, they'd automatically grab the county map for that county and, "What precinct are you from?" and then they'd record the votes in that block for that precinct you know. We kept a — we kept a complete chart on all of them.

Q: That must have been a busy place then.

A: It was very busy.

Q: Where'd you have it, in your dining room at home?

A: No we had a little den there that we had the girls in taking the returns. Now the other was out in the other part of the house but you had to get them girls in there, where nobody could bother them, to take them returns. Over at our rental office when we started having it there of course we had a lot more room. And we'd just set up desks you know and the minute anybody'd call — we'd give — all of our workers in these other counties we'd give them all the phone numbers so they — it'd be easy for them to call in, you know. And when they'd call in we had charts made for every county, and every precinct for that county. And when they'd call in they'd just read it off like the county clerk had it. Regardless of what — where I was at on the read off, you know they'd say — you know they'd read it — they'd just read it off and — like for representative there was always four running even in a general election. They'd just read them off you know and, "Williams so many," and, "Holloway so many," and right on down you know. And then the girls would keep a running total on it with the adding machine. We had adding machines there too. So the minute we'd get the last precincts in or get a way down the list then you'd know whether you had enough to assure you was going to carry that county. Because you didn't have to wait until you had them all, you know. You'd know if you was away ahead and there's only two or three precincts out, why, you's going to do alright.

A: Carbondale Township's normally Republican. But not that year. They just — it went — well John Gilbert told me after the election he said, "Well," he said, "if I'd been running, Gale, I'd agot the same medicine." He said, "There's no way that anybody was going — no Republican was going to get the vote of them students out there, the way they worked that." He told me more than once — well it wiped out — it wiped out our state's attorney. Everybody here in the county got beat. They just beat everybody.

SESSION 7, TAPE 13, SIDE 2

A: Yes I was talking to John a few days after that election, he said, "Well there ain't no use to feel bad." He said — he said, "It wouldn't have made no difference who was on the ticket." Well they didn't even know us. They just got them guys lined up and they voted Democrat ticket. And guys like Buzbee then rode right in. Just two years before that, just two years before that I beat Buzbee something awful for state representative, over ten thousand votes in this district, and beat him I forget how many in this county. But two years later they got them students riled up and got them registered and they turned right around and done the same thing to us as we done to them.

Q: Did the students at subsequent elections then continue to vote or . . .

A: No. They've never voted that many before or since.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: Take right now, the elections now, the — a lot of them have commented about — everybody thought that this, they ought to be allowed to vote at eighteen and now they ain't hardly any of them vote. It's hard to get them out to vote. They've — I guess a few voted last fall but I think most of them votes at home anymore. Very few — very small — percentagewise it's a small amount that vote. I doubt if there's — I just doubt if — in these local elections I doubt if there's 20 percent of them students votes in the city of Carbondale.

Q: They're about like the older voter then . . .

A: Right. Right. Right. But boy, they — the only time they've ever done a job was in 1972. And they done one that year. And even the Democrats laughed about it. You know, they knew it was a fluke. But it was in their favor. It's just like if it had been in our favor you know. They wiped — we had a young state's attorney here that done a terrific job, they wiped him out. He went to school out there and everything else but they just wiped him — they wiped them all out.

Q: Who was that?

A: Ron Briggs. They just wiped them guys all out. That's all there was to it. Oh we lost — we lost our county, everything. We didn't — I don't think we elected a man in Jackson County that year. That's just how bad it was. Like somebody said, "How could you — what could you do with that kind of a deal," you know. There wasn't nothing you could do, it was just — it was just a fluke thing that was going to happen. They organized them, they went around — a lot of them professors' wives went around to them dorms — see those professors are all liberals, most of them. And their wives went to them dorms and organized them and set up this bus thing. And they hauled them in to vote and they didn't — them students had no idea who they was voting for or against.

Q: I'll be darned. Yes because they were — weren't really local . . .

A: I think they — that year I think they increased it on cigarettes and alcohol and all of those things, which I supported. Because I felt like that's the things that people do that they don't have to do and if you're going to tax something if you can get it there, why, that was probably the fairest place to get it. Without — everybody always is afraid they're going to hurt the poor. Of course the poor smokes about as much as anybody and drinks about as much as anybody. (chuckles) But as I recall I probably supported those too. I feel sure I did.

Q: What about the corporate franchise tax? That seemed to be a party issue pretty much.

A: Well the — on that — on that I always went along with the Republican organization. And they normally were basically opposed to it. I know they — when the income tax passed I know they taxed corporations more than they do individuals and the Republican party endorsed that, but they didn't endorse as much of a difference as the Democrats wanted. The Democrats wanted a lot wider spread, as I recall, than what the Republicans did and we finally got it pretty well the way the Republicans wanted it.

I don't think the Democrats wanted it as bad as they wanted to make an issue. Because without the corporations I don't know who'd employ all the people. Because all your big manufacturers and all that employ a lot of people are in — most of them are corporations. And I never could understand their position when they say they're for the working people and yet they want to tax the people so heavy that's going to be the ones that hire them, you know. I never could figure that one out but it was a good political issue for them.

They always — of course they always thought of — when they mention like taxing the big factories and all and they always referred to General Motors and all them you know. Well the thing that they would never refer to, 80 percent of the people that's employed is by small-business people. It's not the large ones. They — the large ones employ a lot of people, but about 80 percent of the working people are employed by small-business people. And when that — and most of them are corporations, even your small business-people. Most of them — I'm not a corporation but most of them are. And you're really hurting those people when you put that tax on. But I went along with the Republican party on those issues because I felt like they were in better position to know what was best than I was.

Q: How about the hotel and motel tax that was instituted in 1961, a five-cent tax at that time. Do you recall being . . .

A: I re — I remember it but I don't know how I voted.

Q: I don't have the . . .

A: I don't remember. I . . . I would think that would be one that we — probably a lot of the Republicans would support, because you wouldn't get the heat from that that you would some of the other tax increases that you put in. But now I don't know, I probably went along — I'm sure I went along with the Republican organization, whatever their position was, I'm satisfied. And I don't remember what their position was.

Q: I — I don't know either. I know that it was a Kerner measure . . .

A: Yes.

Q: . . . actually but . . .

A: They had to raise revenue, the schools were in bad shape and their — new money for education and . . . the Republicans of course was trying to give him a hard time — as

A: Well had a lot of people wrote me for it. Of course we had quite a few people that wrote me at opposition to it too. It was more or less a church issue. A lot of — not a lot but several church people did write me opposed to it and — but there was by far a greater majority for it. It kind of boiled down to some of the Baptist churches and some of those Protestant churches like Pentecost, I think basically a lot of them were opposed but now your Catholic churches and some of your other Protestant churches were pretty much for it. But I supported it. And I thought it was — I didn't see that much wrong with it. My . . . sit down and play a little bingo. Somebody wanted to play bingo . . . (chuckles)

Q: In regard to the sales tax there was always a move to remove sales tax from food and drugs. What was your position there?

A: Well I don't think it ever came to a vote while I was there. And I would have supported it but I don't think it's that much of — that important. It's — like last year they took it off of some of them. And I read an article where like it only amounted like about ten dollars a year to the average person, which was practically nothing. And I'm afraid if they start — just like they've done in Illinois — they start cutting off here and cutting off there then the first thing you know the governor has to run the state — they're going to have to put — they're going to have to get the revenue somewhere else. Everybody, everybody wants good roads and good schools but they want to protect this group and that group.

I'm not really — now I would have supported it back then, I feel sure I would, but today I wouldn't. I just don't think that that's the way to do it. They're going to have — it takes so much revenue to run the state and these services that people want. And if you take it off one place then you got to raise it somewhere else, or else you're going to have to cut the budget, and cut some spending and then they will holler. You go to talking about cutting the schools and they'll holler. Or cutting road service, fixing — doing repair work on the highways and they'll holler.

But I wouldn't be as strong for cutting today as I would have back a few years ago. A few years ago I thought probably it was a good thing. But as you go along and you get a little older you look at the thing in the overall perspectus a little bit. And you know it takes so much money to run the government. And when you take it off, I don't care where you take it off at, you got to raise it somewhere else. Just like they done away with personal property tax and they turned right around, they've raised real estate tax I think every year since. And now they've given the counties back some more income tax in place of it. And they collect — they collected a lot more from that than they ever did from the personal property tax. So the public as a whole didn't get anything give to them.

They actually got — they got an increase because they've raised the real estate tax and then they raised the income tax to offset that and give it back to the counties and now we find out they're getting more money than they got before. So it's all coming from the taxpayers. So it was just a little bit of a fooler. It sounded good, to do away with personal property tax, but then they turned around and raised real estate tax. The schools ain't going to cut back. And then they asked for more money and then they got to — then they got to get it from real estate or income tax one. And I think we've had a raise in both now, over it you know. So, some of those things didn't work out as good as they thought it would, you know. It was a little bit shortsighted.

Q: Was — do you recall any individuals that may have been serious about reinstituting the state property tax?

A: No. There was talk of it though, I remember that. I don't remember — this was during Kerner's time too I think. There was a lot of talk about they might have to because they claimed they'd done that back under Henry Horner or somebody.

a big editorial against what they done. So it shows you they weren't reporting the facts as it — you just don't find that kind of money. Somebody had to know it was going to be there. And I think these districts are all guilty of that, they're holding back and they're asking for a lot more money and the teachers and them they get the board and they get a big increase. They've got increases at — all — I think all over southern Illinois this year. But Carbondale got the biggest. My goodness, 15 percent is more than inflation is. And most of — a lot of them are overpaid anyway. And . . .

Q: In that regard Charles Clabaugh indicated that one of the major problems in the Chicago school system was the fact that the controlling agencies let them talk them into pay increases which they really couldn't afford. Do you think that situation is being reached down here also?

A: Yes I do. I sure do. I think these teachers are really good salesmen. And they've got this teacher's organization behind them, and they're selling these — a lot of these boards — they're talking these boards into raises that they just can't afford. And the only way they can afford it is by raising taxes and that's one reason we're getting the tax increases we're getting. And they've got — now they've laid off — they've laid off a few teachers now, because they've just — they had more teachers than they needed.

The school people are just not conservative, they're just so extravagant in so many ways. And they want every kind of program there is — programs that don't mean nothing to a kid as far as getting him a job when he gets out of school you know. They've went plumb wild in athletic programs and everything else and — they're all good but you've got to be able to afford them is the thing. And that's the reason that I think that our taxes and stuff have been — they've had to raise taxes like they have.

And they've talked these boards into these — like Carbondale just a year ago, they were broke to hear them tell it. And even the newspaper — I couldn't believe the newspaper took after them for it but they did. And here all of a sudden, they talked the board in to giving them a 15 percent increase this year and they get 15 percent next year, it's already settled. Well, my goodness, where's all that money coming from. And this year our real estate taxes in Carbondale on our — I don't think we had a building that the taxes wasn't five hundred to twelve hundred dollars more than they were last year, on our apartment buildings. And we don't — they're not big apartment buildings either, like twenty-some apartments in a building. And I was telling somebody, "Why, you can see why the taxes went up now. That tells you the story. Because about 70 percent of it goes to schools."

Q: Did you feel at any time while you were in the legislature that your constituency was close to a tax revolt?

A: Well, I — when it come to real estate taxes I think they are. I still think they are. And I think that — I think it's going to happen in this state and probably this country, just like they done in California on Proposition 13. That's what will bring about some drastic steps is whenever the public just gets fed up and if — if we get into a recession here, where money's really tight, I mean we — they talk about recession now, but if we get into really a recession where money's really tight, I think then you'll see people really do something to stop it. And we may see Proposition 13 or something like it in a lot of these states.

Because the public I don't think's going to put up with all this extravagance that's been going on with public officials. Voting themselves raises and pensions and the schools are doing the same thing — every part of government's doing it. Even the Congress has done it, you know. And I think the — here — you read about some of these people getting $35,000 and $40,000 and $50,000 a year salary and — and here's somebody out here working for $15,000, and having a heck of a time getting by. And I think it will happen. I really do. It just don't — all it's going to take is somebody to come along and organize it that's got a — some outfit that's got a good reputation. And they'll get lots of takers I think.

Q: Well now Clyde Choate came in early in 1969.

A: Maybe it was then.

Q: As a matter of fact I'd like to ask about that because it's rather peculiar that the Democrats would come in when it was pretty well known that Ogilvie was going to have to do something about the income tax. Why would Clyde Choate put in an income tax bill?

A: I don't think anybody ever figured that one out. He came in with that — I didn't know it ahead of time. Why, I knew it just before he introduced it but not any length of time before it was. I was talking to him one day and he said he was going to introduce one. And I don't remember what all his bill called for. It didn't — I don't think it passed.

Q: Oh no, no.

A: It didn't pass. But I think the — I think he had quite a bit of support for it.

Q: Well it would seem that the Republicans would swing in behind that because that would have been a Democratic bill that would establish . . .

A: Yes, I think some of — I think several of us did vote for that as I recall.

Q: Well evidently for some reason or another — I think the Democrats — I know Senator McGloon was — being a leader at that time, he and John Touhy — he said that as soon as they heard about Choate's bill they took Choate off in the corner and talked to him so . . .

A: Yes I think they did.

Q: . . . I don't know maybe that's why it was withdrawn.

A: Yes, I think it was. Because I think the Republicans could have passed it for him.

Q: You would think so but . . .

A: Yes. I don't remember what all did happen after he put it in. I remember when he put it in though. I think he would have had a lot of sup — I think he would have passed it if he'd wanted to bad — if he'd really wanted to. But I think they did. I think Touhy and a bunch of them talked to him and I think got him to pull back.

Q: And then work the Republican bill, the administration bill.

A: Right, right. Right.

Q: Now the administration bill started off at a flat 4 percent. And then it went down to 3 percent and then of course in June there was a tremendous play between Ogilvie and Daley and all the leadership. Did you get involved in any of that?

A: Not to amount to anything I never, no — I supported Ogilvie's position.

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Q: You say Daley came down to Springfield on that?

Q: What was the reaction of your constituency to the passage of the income tax?

A: Well, I thought — I was really worried. I thought that would be — I thought it would really be bad but it wasn't. I think the public was sold on that. And I believe they are yet today. I think they're sold that that's the fairest tax that there is, I really do. And I think that — I think the public if they were going to vote on it they would — I think they would be more for that than they would raising real estate taxes and a lot of other things, you know. I got very little repercussion from it in the district.

Q: I noticed in the media at that time in this area there was considerable discussion that an individual like — I think — I'm not sure whether you made the statement, I can't remember who, but — Senator Gilbert for example and James Holloway and so on — that they would be all for the income tax if the property tax could be reduced . . .

A: Right.

Q: . . . or other taxes.

A: Right. That's — yes that's what a lot of people wanted. That's the reason I think that they could — I think they could get it passed to increase the income tax if they'd take off the property tax. I think yet today they could. Because the people in our area I think would rather see more income tax voted on and reduce the real estate tax. And I think that would be a — if it could be done . . . now Mr. Scott with the Taxpayers Federation he always left me with the idea that it was going to be so complicated to try to do it. He told me it could be done but it was going to be complicated working it out to where everybody would get their fair share some way. But no I think that would be popular, even yet today.

Q: What did you think of Maurice Scott as a lobbyist?

A: I thought he was one of the finest gentleman I ever met in Springfield. I really did and I think if there's ever one man up there that I never heard a bad word said about it was him. He was one fine gentleman. Everybody went to him. I don't even know what his politics were or nothing. And it didn't make him any difference. He was a very kind man and he always had time to stop and talk. And if you wanted a question answered about taxes he was the one man to go to. Because he would — if he didn't have the answer, he'd get it for you. He just would. And he had some young fellows, some young men, around there helping. I don't remember what they're names were and I'd know them if I'd see them too. But they were very sharp young men. And they were just as nice as he was. You could go to them and if they didn't have the answer, they'd get it for you. But when it come to taxes I'd say he was the smartest man in the state on taxes and what it would do if you passed it and what it would do if you didn't pass it.

Q: So this was another really good special interest group?

A: Yes they were very good. They would tell you what was going to happen, and then you had to decide whether you thought you're people in your district would back you in it or not back you, you know. Of course they were opposed to raising taxes basically. But you know — and they was always fighting to keep taxes down as much as they could because they represented taxpayers. But they were very fair about it. Very fair. They never got upset, they never got upset at you if you didn't vote with them. And they were just I thought a tremendous group of people, you know, and he was the leader of it. Of course I guess he's probably not with them now but he may — probably retired I imagine. But they'll miss him when he's gone I'll guarantee you.

Q: Now we've touched on the fact that you were instrumental in getting the homestead exemption for those over age sixty-five in. We touched on it in the sense of your using the

A: And that was the reason a lot of your senior citizens are moving to some of these states that have a tax break too, you know. Plus the climate, you know, good for older people and — and they didn't pay no personal property tax down there in Florida at all at that time. And they got a five thousand dollar exemption on their real estate, so that was a big help to people on a limited income. But he vetoed it, he would not sign it. I tried to tell them to let him sign it and let the court throw it out, "Then," I said, "then you'll — then he'll look good."

Q: Yes, I see.

A: And he wouldn't do it. (chuckles)

Q: You've indicated there that perhaps there was some politics involved in that. Did you ever have a bill that you wanted to get through that you decided it'd be better for a Democrat to be in charge of it, be the primary sponsor on?

A: Oh yes, you do, but what I tried to do with — that's one reason I got this bill through too. I don't remember who they were now, but I think I had several Democrats on there with me. And naturally if you do all the work and all you want is the credit, and — of course you always go, on any bill you sponsored, you go to members of the opposite party and try to get them to cosponsor with you. Which will make it a lot more favorable to getting it through. But Kerner just wouldn't go for any of it. He just wouldn't go.

Q: Was the — let's see now the one thousand dollars on personal property exemption was that at the same — in the same bill . . .

A: Yes. Same bill, yes, same bill.

Q: Let's see now, when the income tax was passed they made an exemption from personal property of furniture owned and of one automobile.

A: Yes.

Q: I'm not sure — I think that was tested for constitutionality wasn't it and found it wasn't constitutional . . .

A: I think it was. I think they threw it out.

Q: What do you remember about that personal property situation?

A: I don't remember that too — too well. I remember about it and I think they threw it out but I don't remember how they had the bill. I don't even remember who sponsored that bill.

Q: I don't recall. It may have been an Ogilvie administration bill . . .

A: It may have been. It may have been.

Q: A thing which occurred in 1969, Ogilvie decided, in working up the Bureau of the Budget type of organization, to not provide information to the Budgetary Commission which kind of left it high and dry in that year. What do you recall of that situation?

A: Well they were wanting to do away with that Budgetary Commission. Because it got to where that that was — and I don't blame Ogilvie. What any governor needs is his own budget people. Because then they will sit down there and they'll take into account how much revenue there's going to be and then they'll try to budget it out to where the state will come out, and at least wouldn't be in the red.

you a resume on the governor's bills too you know. So you'd have information there on them. But I didn't find the budget people hard to talk to.

That Budgetary Commission I just — that was — to a new guy that was kind of bad. You didn't have much chance before them older guys of getting something — if you had a project like a lake or something you wanted to get through, you'd of had to — you'd have a hard time getting through to them, I'll tell you. (chuckles) Because they just — where the budget — the Budget Commission a lot of those I feel — I had good luck with those guys, getting along with them.

Q: Department of the Budget you mean?

A: Right. Yes I didn't find no problem. And they'd answer your questions if you had questions. I didn't find any problem at all in getting along with them.

Q: There seems always the tendency to appropriate more than the money you have available.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you see any way of approving a balanced budget sort of thing?

A: Well yes defini — definitely I would be for a balanced budget. And I know the legislature sets there and will pass more bills than there are money to do, but some of that is through ignorance too, really. The legislators don't have, a lot of times, the facts on how much they anticipate the revenue to be. And you'd really have to have some kind of a system to where everybody's going to know, and then you'd have to also know what all these other bills is got in them. And there's no way — not really not any way you, any single member — now the leadership could know, their staff could get all that information, but the average member couldn't have it.

So a lot of times they vote for it knowing that the governor's going to have to cut some out. They're going to pass more — I know I voted for some bills, they were good bills but — and we knew at the time that there may not be money for them. So you'd go ahead a lot of times knowing that the governor may have to cut — some of them may have to be vetoed or cut out, at least cut out a lot of it. Because you don't have at your fingertips just how many dollars there's going to be coming in. And you don't know how many appropriation bills — what the total appropriation bills are that's been passed either. And you'd have to know all that to be able to give an honest answer.

Q: You think the leadership was able to keep up with that . . .

A: Oh I think they could yes. I think they could because they have a tremendous staff you know. And they got — and they had — they had about the best minds they could get to work for them too, which they would need them you know. And I'm sure they could keep — they could do a lot better than an average member could because he doesn't have any staff.

Q: Of course a lot of that is statistical-type information being gathered and disbursed.

A: Right.

Q: After the — let's see shortly after the Department of Finance was formed, I believe in 1959, 1957 or 1959, along in there, they were given a computer-type operation which evidently served the legislature as well as other agencies there in the complex.

A: Yes.

Q: Were you involved in any way in the — in the computerization of the finance agency there?

every black precinct in Carbondale. But I always tried to leave it open to where they could talk to me and I could talk to them and I had a very good relationship with the black community. And I kept it right on through the legislature too.

Q: What do you recall of the Cairo disturbances. I know Corneal Davis was down here . . .

A: Yes Cor — Corneal — of course Corneal, you know he tried to calm things down, and I really liked him for that. The biggest problem that we had then was Paul Simon. He would go down and — about the time they would get them all calmed down — and hold another hearing and every time he'd go down there the people down there would tell me then they'd have a lot of problems for a while

He'd go down and all he would talk was giving them more and more and more and what they were actually wanting was jobs, you know. The black people actually they wanted jobs just like white people had. And of course you got them sure that want handouts too but you got a lot of whites that want handouts too. And Simon would go down there and hold a public meeting and he'd belittle everybody down there and then the next thing you'd know they'd have another — they'd start having disturbances again. And the white people down there especially were just furious at him every time he'd come down there. 'Cause just about the time they'd get everything settled down and — and then they had that Pyramids down there, housing project, they had all kind of problems in it. He'd go down and hold another hearing and it'd all start over again.

Q: When Corneal Davis would go down what did the white population think of that?

A: I think they respected him. I never heard — I never heard too much said against him, you know, bad comment about him. The white legislators too from the area always praised Corneal Davis too you know. I mean he's talked strong for his people, that's the way he got elected, but he was a man you could talk to. And I don't think he held any meetings to try to stir people up. I think his was more to try to calm things down and get people working together again, which is what should be done.

Q: Let's see, Harold Washington was involved in the — once FEPC was passed then there were moves to improve it. And Harold Washington in 1969 held a filibuster to try to get it broadened and — at that time. Do you recall?

A: I remember him — I recall him doing it but I don't recall what I done on it. I just — I don't remember what he was trying to do to it. And . . .

Q: At one time — still at that time — you know it started out, the company had to have one hundred employees before it would apply to them . . .

A: Right. They were trying to reduce the number, yes. I think down to twenty-five or something.

Q: It finally got down to twenty-five yes.

A: Yes. And — but I just don't remember . . . I think I supported it but I'm not sure. I'm just not sure.

Q: What was Harold Washington like? Did you get to know him?

A: Well, I knew Harold and I liked him. He was always very good to me but Harold wasn't respected like — he wanted to be a Corneal Davis in the legislature. But Harold wasn't respected like Corneal and some of the others. Harold was more of the radical — I would say more the radical type. Always getting up, talk, talk, talk and a lot of the members just wouldn't — just would not support a bill sponsored by Harold Washington, you

A: Committee.

Q: License and Miscellany and there it would die.

A: (laughter) That was the — they referred to that as "The Graveyard."

Q: I see.

A: Yes. And in the house we passed a lot of bills concerning open housing and those things that when it got to the senate that was the end. They'd put it in Ozinga's committee and there's just no way for it to survive that.

Q: Why do you think the senate would be so much more severe than the house on that type of bill.

A: I really don't know. But they were. And I think maybe — I always thought maybe that some of those suburban senators and all was in areas where it was so white that they couldn't support it and survive, and be reelected. The only thing I could ever figure out because we'd send bills over there that weren't that bad a bill and it might have helped in the race problem in the state at that time, but, boy, they'd — that was as far as they was going. That would be it, when they got there.

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Q: Yes I've heard that one of the problems in the suburban area was backlash. Every once in a while the populace would really get concerned about that sort of . . .

A: Yes they did, and I think that's the reason that they got killed in the senate, too, is a lot of those guys that were chairmen of those committees and things were from areas that I don't think they could have supported it and been reelected. I think that was the reason that the — they done away with them over there.

Q: What was the feeling in your constituency here?

A: I think they were — oh, I think they — they were like most people, they'd rather not — maybe not have seen nothing but I didn't get any backlash from it at all. If I did, I didn't know it. Not at all. I think the public was wanting something done that would — where people would get along instead of having riots and all, disturbance that was going on. I think everybody was willing to try about anything to keep things calmed down. Take like Cairo, the agitators going down there you know. The black community down there, those people were good people. And a lot of those agitators went down there was the whole thing.

Q: Governor Kerner blamed the Republicans for not passing open housing and said that that was a prime reason why the riots occurred on the west side of Chicago in — it's either 1967 or 1968, right along in there. Do you recall that particular . . .

A: Yes he claimed that. I don't know whether that caused the riots or not though, but the Republicans — no doubt the Republicans killed it over in the senate I'm sure of that. Because they were in control then. Senator Arrington I think was head of the senate then. They'd put it — when they'd send those kind of bills they wanted killed, they'd send them to Ozinga's committee, that was where they — that's where they sent them. (chuckles) And if Ozinga wasn't for them, and Arrington, why, that was just — there was no way you was going to get it passed out of there. You'd have to vote to take it away from the committee.

Q: At one time Senator Fawell was able to get a couple of those bills out and on the floor after they'd gotten in committee. Do you recall anything . . .

Q: You don't recall the . . .

A: No I remember them talking about it but I don't recall what my position was.

Q: In 1963 it was — that sort of thing was licensed and regulated and it hadn't been prior to that time.

A: I think I supported the licensing of it. But I don't remember that much about it.

Q: How about the 1965 attempt to get a stop and frisk authorized, get a bill through to authorize that.

A: Yes I think I supported that. Yes that was to give the state police the right to stop and frisk them, yes. And the state police came in and testified there, they were very strong for that. I don't remember what all their reasoning was for it even, only that it let them — the main thing I know what they had been concerned about was they'd let them frisk a guy to see if he's carrying a firearm and all those things, to protect themselves I think, one thing that was behind it. Yes, but I'm sure — I think the Republican party supported that too as I remember, I'm not sure.

Q: Do you recall anything at all about that veto in 1965?

A: No, I don't — I remember it was vetoed but I don't recall why.

Q: And they passed it in 1968.

A: Right. Right.

Q: How about implied consent. That raise any dickens down here?

A: No, I supported that. Yes. I don't know that — and that passed too I think.

Q: Yes, in 1969 it passed.

A: Yes, yes.

Q: Also in 1969 there was a limited use of wiretapping that was authorized. Do you recall your position regarding wiretapping?

A: I'd be for it. I don't know just — I don't know now — but today I'd certainly be for it. I know a lot of people think that's infringing on everybody's individual rights but I think, if we expect the government to protect us and enforce the law, I think we're going to have to give them some tools that we never give them before. And I think it would be — I always — my position is that if a person's not doing anything wrong, then they got nothing to fear. The only guy that's got anything to fear from wiretapping is those that are involved in unlawful acts. And I think it would be one of the best tools the government could have today. They're doing a lot of illegal wiretapping, but they can't use the information is the problem. (laughter) They may get around some way to use it but, my, that's how — that's how they catch a lot of these — if a guy thought his line was tapped he's not going to be hooked up in a dope ring and all — he may be hooked up but he ain't going to be doing it using that telephone.

Q: I see.

A: I think that would be one way to curb a lot of things.

Q: How about the situation for women. In 1967 for example a bill was put in — I think Randolph, Paul Randolph, and Frances Dawson were involved with it. They wanted to

A: No I don't remember her. There's Frances, and Giddy Dyer, and Esther Saperstein, and that Chapman woman, Eugenia Chapman.

Q: What did you think of Eugenia Chapman?

A: She's a fine lady. She was always up talking. (laughs)

Q: Oh is that right.

A: Yes I mean I liked her, she's a fine lady. Let's see, seemed like there might have been another one or two but I don't remember who they are. Frances and Giddy Dyer. And Esther and Eugenia Chapman. That may have been all of them that time, that'd be four.

Q: Do you think that was enough women in the legislature?

A: Well, I don't know. They could — it's just strictly up to the individual district. The women they had in there were I think highly qualified and I think were very capable legislators. I think women are probably in some ways maybe a little more sincere than men are about some things. I don't believe — I don't believe women would connive like men will. Now they might — if they had more of them in there they might be worse than men I don't know. But those women, when they made up there mind it was pretty well made up, as I saw them, on both sides. The ladies that were in the house of representatives when I was there, when they got their minds made up, even the governor — if they didn't agree with the governor it was hard to get them — it was hard to get them in line sometimes. (chuckles) They had a mind of their own and you had to respect them for that, you know. Where I think men would be more flexible in — maybe in giving in to — like going along with the administration or something you know. But they were highly qualified, all of them, on both sides, I thought. And they were all good talkers too. Them women could talk too. (laughter) They'd get up and talk too.

Q: In 1969 there was a bill put in for equal pay for equal work and of course I think that had been in several times and it failed again in that year.

A: Yes. I supported it though.

Q: You did.

A: Yes. I don't think you — I don't think you need the Equal Rights Amendment if — I think that's one thing that's brought that on is because I — when you say equal work, equal pay I'd be strong for that if — I don't care who they are, if they're out here doing same work that — that you or I is doing then they should get the same pay. You know if everything else is equal. I was strong for that.

Q: I noticed that for some reason or another you weren't there in 1972 when ERA came up, but you said that you would have voted no if you had been there?

A: Yes. That's right — I don't know what happened that day. It might have been . . . I don't recall where I was even, but I did tell them that I would vote for it. Now today I don't know whether I would or not. I've just seen so much out of it and — and the supporters of ERA misrepresented it to a lot of members of the legislature at the time and they would — you'd try to ask them questions and they'd give you — like about concerning the draft and all. And they'd tell you that women wasn't going to be drafted and all that which is just not correct. If you pass it like they've got it today they definitely would be. If there is ever a draft. Because it just simply says everybody's equal. And if you've got eighteen-year-olds, or whatever the draft age was, you'd be drafted, I don't care who you are, you — I don't know how you'd be exempt. And . . . but at that time I did agree to support it, but today I doubt if I would.

A: Well they would buttonhole every legislator there before they'd leave town that was for sure. They'd call you out and I'd just go out and talk to them you know and I'd tell them I was still considering it. That was the best thing to tell them because you're going to get in a big argument if you didn't. Best thing was just to — I'd listen to their pitch and that's what most of them were doing too. And told them that I'd just — oh, they seemed to me like a very radical group too. They'd just call you out right in the midst of when you were really busy on the floor and want you to come right out and talk to them. And it was the same old story every time you talked you know, equal pay for equal work, that was their main holler back then, I don't know what it is now. I know I said, "I've got no quarrel with that, you know. If that's all there is to it I don't think you'd have any problem but I — unless there's other things involved." But that was their main pitch to you, you know. But there were other things involved I'm sure.

Q: What about the question of discrimination in schools, you know desegregation of schools. How much of a problem is that in this part of the state here?

A: I don't think it's much of a problem. I really don't.

Q: Is it being solved or has it been solved?

A: I think so. I think so. Yes I do.

Q: Was there any legislation that came up in that regard, that you can . . .

A: Not that I recall. No, not that I recall.

Q: What about moving on to ethics and conflict of interest sort of thing. Shortly after you arrived there, Paul Simon and Anthony Scariano brought the charges of bribery on — I think they cited some seventy instances of bribery. Some of which had been talked about in Paul Simon's article in the — that he wrote for what? Saturday Evening Post I believe . . .

A: I believe so, yes.

Q: Then Illinois Crime Investigating Commission took that up in 1964 and 1965. What do you remember about that situation?

A: Not too much. I remember him doing it and I know a lot of his own party people even were very upset at him over it I think. As I recall. But I don't think anybody paid that much attention to him and Scariano really. They were real liberal and they were always getting news. Tony Scariano, the newspapers even yet today, the least little thing he'll do, they'll have an article about him. He sponsored that open meetings law. The news media was strong for that. My, he just — and of course Simon's for all that too — and of course they could do no wrong. If you do something for the news media, why, you're in with them.

Q: I see.

A: I recall that but I don't know — I don't even remember whatever happened to it. I don't think really much of anything.

Q: You mean the charges . . .

A: Yes.

Q: The findings of the commission, the Illinois Crime Commission, Crime Investigating Commission, finally narrowed it down to — well one situation, which was the Hodge

place Paul Powell didn't care for him. And — or always left — he left everybody with that opinion, that he didn't. And it's hard for them to get a bill through.

Q: What did you think of Paul Simon as the lieutenant governor, under Ogilvie I guess it was, wasn't it?

A: Yes, that's where I didn't — I didn't — I thought he had done a very poor job. That's where he caused all the problems too. That's when he was going around to all the areas of the state and meeting with black groups and all and — not that the black groups shouldn't be met with but, my, take like Cairo every time he'd go down there then they'd have problems with those people. Instead of trying to do something productive, he was doing something negative. He'd go down there and try to lay all the wrongs onto the whites and he'd get it a race thing right off the bat. Instead of working to try to get better housing for the black people and all that, he was stirring up the — stirring them up and had them all fussing amongst themselves and you don't — and you wind up, nobody got anything you know. And they built that Pyramid housing and they practically tore it up. I think they may have done away with it now and built new I'm not sure. And . . .

Q: Do you recall Senator Arrington hanging on to the office — of the lieutenant governor and . . .

A: Yes.

Q: . . . and not letting Paul Simon move . . .

A: Yes I don't know how that finally came out but he did hang on to it for a while, and didn't let him have it. I think Simon may have finally got it, I don't know. But I know they was all kind of — which it was a joke around the Capitol Building you know about Arrington and Simon. Because Arrington I don't think had much use for Paul Simon, you know, 'cause Arrington's about as conservative as Simon was liberal. And no way they would have saw eye to eye on very many things. Yes he kept it for a while but I think he finally give it up as I remember.

SESSION 8, TAPE 15, SIDE 1

Q: Let's see, we were discussing ethics and conflict of interest, we talked a bit about Paul Simon and Anthony Scariano's charges you know. I have a few more questions regarding that ethics sort of thing. One, in 1972 the entire legislature voted for the cement truck weight limitation to be raised you know. Some of the people evidently got paid for that and were indicted I guess about 1974, some place along in there. Do you remember anything about that situation?

A: No I don't. I know at the time — of course I was new — and at the time everybody thought that their — that the truck organization just — they never done nothing to me, I never knew them but they were down there and everybody thought that the leadership, on both sides, had certainly been helped by the truckers association but now that's things that you can't prove. Because they were strong for it and they had the truck — what they done, they had all the truckers, like in my district and I'm sure they did everybody else, contacting us individually for it, to support that bill. Everybody thought there was something strange going on, you know. But it's something you just couldn't prove. And of course the leadership come out in support of it. Then they had everybody calling us. Just you wouldn't believe the truckers here at home that called me. And that's what made everybody think there was something going on too. They sicked everybody onto us, to support it you know. So I mean we actually thought that — whatever there was good going around we thought they were getting it, you know. But I think just about everybody voted

A: Yes, that come out — the only think I know about it is what I read in the paper. Yes I remember that, they had it in some of the Chicago papers about it and . . .

Q: Transcribed the tape I guess . . .

A: Oh yes, yes. Well they had I think quotes from the tape in the newspaper. And I had that. Oh yes they tried to involve I think Dwight Friedrich and John Gilbert I think even was mentioned in it. Some of them. No I never — I never was involved in none of that. And I don't — I don't think John Gilbert was only maybe somebody talked to him but you can't keep people from talking to you. But I always made it — I tried to make it a point — of course that — I think that was done over in the hotel and probably of a night and to me that was — you — that's the times you had to be careful if you're going to be careful at all in who you talk to. You don't know who's trying to frame you either in that business. But they never bothered me.

Q: What about the matter of financial disclosure. What was your opinion on that?

A: I supported that.

Q: Oh that's right you — you made the statement that you had put it in the paper, full disclosure.

A: Yes, yes. Yes the paper, that was the one time they wrote a good editorial about me was — well I still feel like that, you know the people I think should have a right to know. If you announce you're running for an office I think they have a right to know what you're doing and what you've been doing, if they want to know and a lot of them do want to know. And just where your income's coming from, you know. And I never hesitated at all, I published mine — well the last several times I run. A lot of the candidates wouldn't. But I just — I done it because I felt like it was something ought to be done.

Q: In 1970 of course was the constitutional change, there was a requirement for disclosure but it wasn't very extensive.

A: No.

Q: Do you think it should be more extensive?

A: Yes. Yes I do. It either should be full disclosure or else none at all actually. Because the way the bill they had — now I went far beyond what the law required, I just give a full disclosure. And to me that's what should be done or else you shouldn't give any. Now if you're going to have it to where you can cover up a lot of things there's not much point in having it. But it's hard to get it passed. There's too many conflicts of interests in there. (chuckles)

Q: There was a problem with secret land trust. The Cahokia Downs for example, I think John Lewis was involved in that. Do you remember that situation?

A: Yes, I do. I voted to fix it to where they would have to let it be known who owned those land trusts. And like I told some of them in the legislature I was in some land trusts myself. But it was just my brother and I. And we still have one or two. But we weren't in them to keep anybody from knowing we owned them. We were in them because the finance company made us set up the land trust to — before the — to loan us the money for these apartment buildings. And their idea was — that's the first experience I had with land trusts and their purpose was that if we would have went broke in our other business that the creditors couldn't have come in and have touched that property. And that's the reason they wanted — they required this. Community Federal in St. Louis was one of the big ones that we had a big loan from at that time, wouldn't be a big loan today. But they

find a way to get around it I'm sure. So I think it would probably be a waste of time but still it would — it'd probably be good to have it on record.

Q: Do you think there's anything to the notion that it ought to paid out of the public treasury?

A: No, I'd hate to see that. I think when you start paying for it with taxpayers money, especially these primaries, it'd probably be unlimited how many candidates would be running, just to get the publicity. You take — somebody that's not known and wants to get known, and then he can go in business or do a lot of things, once he gets — everybody knows who he is. And I'm really fearful of that.

That's like last year, the last few years they've paid so much for the president you know. And my, they all run in the primaries and they get so much money from the taxpayers and — and — take like John Anderson last year, 1980, my goodness, he — and I like him as a person, but my, he didn't have a prayer of being elected. And for the taxpayers to spend that kind of money I just think it's a bad thing — it's a bad thing to have. Of course I'm a conservative and I guess I'm looking at it from that point of view. (chuckles)

Q: After we quit taping last night you talked about your knowing Russell Arrington. What was your relationship with senators like Russell Arrington?

A: Well Senator Arrington — of course I was never very close to him. I've talked to him of course on a lot of occasions just — like be in committee hearings or meet him in the hallway and stop him and visit with him for a minute about some bill I had coming over.

He was, I thought, a brilliant man. I think he had a — I think he was an extremely smart man. But he was always in such a hurry that house members — I don't think — I don't think very many house members felt like they could talk to him. He just left you with a cold — like they used to say that — they used to refer to him as Mr. Iceberg and — you know. He was so cold you know, and maybe that's what it took but it made it hard to work with a guy like that. I know if he had some — a lot of times his bills would come over from the senate and he would just get through killing maybe a bunch of house members' bills over there just seemed like for no reason, and a lot of times it was hard to pass one of his bills in the house.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Oh yes. Because they really resented him. But I felt like — I felt like he was a great leader for the senate and — and all but he was just one man that I never could get personally acquainted with. Just wasn't no way.

Q: Were there particular senators that you did work with and . . .

A: Oh yes I got along good with all of them, even him, but you take Senator Friedrich was over there then, of course Senator Gilbert and — and, oh, just about all of them, Donnewald and, you know, and — and even some of the Chicago Democrat senators I had a good relationship with them. Senator Smith, one of the black senators over there, was a very good friend of mine. And Senator McCarthy was there from Decatur. And just all of them, I had a good relationship with them. But Senator Arrington was the hardest one in the world for me to get acquainted with. He was just not — he wasn't a man that was easy to get acquainted with. Or not for me he wasn't.

Q: One of his major interest was the insurance business.

A: Yes.

A: No he was — he had moved to the senate I believe before I left. But he was in the house most of the time I was up there.

Q: Well I mean, he became president of the senate, I believe in 1970 was it, or was it 1972?

A: In 1970 I believe.

Q: Was he easy to work with?

A: Oh yes. Yes. Of course I knew him. And when he was over in the house, he and I were good friends. And he was very easy to talk to. And you could stop him out in the lobby or anywhere and talk to him, you know. Especially us house members that you know had been with him.

Q: Worked with him.

A: Yes. He was easy to work with.

Q: One thing on insurance, there was a considerable problem in the — I don't know how much it was down here — but in Chicago there was considerable differentiation in rates, between the black areas predominately and other areas, the white areas around suburbs and that sort of thing. Do you recall that discussion?

A: Yes I do. I don't remember what we done about it but I know we had some heated discussion on the floor from especially the black legislators about those insurance rates. And I don't know whether we passed a bill to affect that or not but they had some legislation in I remember that. And I mean they really give those insurance companies a going over. And I think maybe they got some of it corrected then without legislation, because I know they, in the hearings and all, they really took them insurance company people over the coals. Apparently they had really raised the rates something awful. And of course those blacks, especially the poor blacks, couldn't afford it, and they were driving without insurance a lot of them too. Yes I think Harold Washington and some of them were involved in that too, about the insurance being so high.

Q: How about Otis Collins. Do you remember him?

A: Oh yes. Yes, I liked him. He was I thought a very good legislator. He would . . . Otis was the type that he worked good with both sides of the aisle too. You could go to him — now, when it come to open housing and — and FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Commission] and all that kind of legislation you knew right off where Otis was going to be. But he was also the type guy you could go to and, like on bills that pertained to my district, and he'd give you a vote too. You know he was a very likable guy, or was for me.

He and I stayed at the Governor Hotel for a long time. And there was a lot of legislators stayed there. And I had lunch with him a lot of times. We'd be sitting there of an evening drinking coffee and — and all. And I really — I liked him. I got along good with him and he told me a lot about Chicago politics.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Yes. He was always telling me a lot about Chicago politics and why their positions was like it was you know. But I liked him as a person too.

Q: He kind of got at odds with the Daley machine after a while and they — I guess that's the reason he left the legislature.

A: Yes, he did. In fact I think they beat him in a primary.

cities pass it and if the people is to stop them it's got to vote to stop them, you know. And they can always have — they can have a little damage done by the time you get them stopped even, you know. Where I'd like to see them — I'd just like to see the people have the power to say no right off the bat. And maybe the people would pass it but I don't believe they would.

Q: There was a State Board of Elections set up by the Constitution. Do you think that was a good thing?

A: Yes I believe it is. I never worked that much with them but I think maybe it is. I think there's a lot of politics in it. Just like last year for example they were investigating Senator Johns from over here at Marion about him not filing his reports correct and all that and then they come to find out — it came out in our paper that one of the guys on the board up there donated two hundred dollars to him during the campaign and the boy was from Murphysboro that made the donation, his last name was Borgsmiller. Come to find out he'd wrote him a check for two hundred dollar donation. Which to me is just bad, you know. It's alright for him to have been a supporter of his but how's he going to judge fairly if he's contributed to the man's campaign, that tells you he was pretty strong for him. And that part's bad, but I think probably it's a good thing.

Q: What did you think of the amendatory and reduction veto that was put in by the Constitution?

A: I think that's a good — probably a good thing. Because so many bills, the members of the legislature will get in there, they'll start putting amendments on and they'll increase the appropriation in it and all that and a lot of times it's something the governor can't live with. Where the way it used to be he'd have to veto the whole bill. Where thisaway he can veto the part he don't like and then the legislature's got a chance to go along or not go along. I think — I kind of — I really believe that's a good thing.

Q: Of course the annual sessions I guess make it so that you can veto . . .

A: Right.

Q: . . . much easier than you could before. I should say override a veto.

A: Oh yes.

Q: It's required now that the governor and lieutenant governor be from the same party. Do you think that's a . . .

A: Yes I do. I think that's a good move.

Q: We don't have any more Paul Simon situations.

A: Right. That was bad. That was a bad situation.

Q: In regard to banks, savings and loans, you were on the committee in 1963. How did you come to be on the committee just that one session, do you recall?

A: Well I asked to be on it because some of the banks in my district thought branch banking was going to come up and it did. And of course they were strongly opposed to it and I supported their view. I wasn't no banker, and I felt they knew better than I did what was best for the people in our area. And then I really didn't like that — I didn't really have that much against that committee but, I didn't really care for it that much so I didn't ask to be on it after that. I got on some other committees that I liked better, I think Conservation. I was on Agriculture and some of those that were more fitting for my district.

Q: How much did you get involved with the personnel code?

A: Not really any. No that was set up long before I went there. And the personnel code is really — it's a good thing for a lot of th — especially for those institutions I think. Because if you get a good employee, if you didn't have it and the administration changed, you — they'd be hiring all new people again. Because they'd be firing them and getting their own people in there. By setting up the personnel code that's one way they upgraded too they're getting employees.

Now they'd have to go take the test. They could come to guys like me if they wanted to, which they all would if they's wanting a job up there. But we were out of it until they first qualified, they'd have to be qualified before you could help them. Then if they were hiring, why, you could put a word in for somebody and maybe they would — not every time they'd do it but a lot — sometimes they would too. But the first thing they had to do was go pass that test. They was on their own there. Which was really good. It was good for us too.

Q: That meant they had the minimum qualifications.

A: That's right, that's right. They'd have — well they'd have to not only pass it, they'd have to be in the A group. They couldn't be like in a B — if they was in a B group, if there was somebody in the A group, they had to hire out of that A group. Now when I was in — now somebody told me I think maybe they've changed it, I think they can hire anybody now out of the A group. When I was in it had to be out of the top three. You couldn't be even way down the list and have a chance of getting on. You had to be in the top — one of the top three. Which I think was a good thing too. Real good.

Q: Do you think we've lost anything at all by the reduction in patronage?

A: Yes we have. Now there's a lot of things that I think probably — everybody wants to keep a strong two-party system. I think if you'd go out on the street and ask them they'd say yes. Now the news media don't. Because if you put everything under the personnel code and civil service then the news media is going to control the elections. Because there's no way you can get people out to work. And it's hard to get people to work right now. Because you can't do nothing for them. There's so many people that always got a little favor they want, you know. They want help on something and a lot of times it's something they could do themselves, but they think if you write a letter for them that that's going to help. And the way everything's under the personnel code and civil service it's hard to — it's hard to get people to work in these elections. And that's hurt I think the two-party system. Hurt it bad.

There's so many — now like prison guards definitely should be civil service, state police should be. But you've got a lot of jobs like out on the highway, the maintenance people, when all it is is cutting grass or picking up cans and all those things. Same way in our state parks, a lot of — now the head guy could be under a merit system of some kind if they wanted him to but a lot of those jobs take very little training. And it would be a big incentive to get people to go out here and work in the elections and get people out to vote. And we've lost all that.

It's hard to get people — you don't haul anybody to vote anymore. I used to work in every election. I've hauled a many a person to vote, but you can't get anybody to let you haul them anymore. You can go around on election day and knock on their door and remind them that it's the election and offer to haul them, but you won't haul five people all day.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Not in a area like I'm in. Where used to you could really take them to vote. They'd let you haul them because they wanted you to know they voted. But today it's not that

two Democrats got a way more votes than either one of us you know. No that wasn't the student vote that year.

Q: I see. Had you given any thought then after that to trying again?

A: No, not really. They've been several trying to encourage me to run this coming — next year and — oh yes some of the county chairman come to me wanting me to run for Congress and then they wanted me to run for the senate if Buzbee — it looks like Buzbee's going to run for lieutenant governor. But I'm not really planning on running. Running for Congress I think Paul Simon could be defeated but it's about twenty-two counties and I'd have to readjust my business completely. I'd have to sell part of it. I don't think it's worth it. I'd just have to change a lot of my business activity to do a good job and I wouldn't want to — I wouldn't — if I got it I'd want to do a good job.

I just don't have any plans to run. They've even had a survey in one county — now this was strictly amongst Republicans — of who they preferred to run and I got 73 percent of their vote. This was Williamson County. And they sent that to me even. It was very encouraging you know, naturally I appreciated it. Like I told the chairman and some of the committeemen — I went to one of their meetings, they called me — and I appreciated that. But I just don't — I'd have to do a complete turnaround as far as business right now to get involved in another election. And I just don't think it would be the best for me to do.

Q: How about support for others. Now I believe you were kind of leading in the Ogilvie campaign. Was that 1972 or . . .

A: Yes it was.

Q: Would have been 1972.

A: Yes. Let's see he first was elected in 1968, right?

Q: Yes.

A: Yes, 1968 and 1972.

Q: What types of things did you do?

A: Went around to the counties that — districts where I had served and where I had a lot of friends and made speeches for him and of course called a lot of people, sent a lot of cards. I had a lot of people calling for him. Here in my own county, I got a bunch of young people to — who had worked for me — we set up phones and we started in you know like — we generally started those things about a week before the election, calling people in the phone book, telling them about Ogilvie running and we'd appreciate if they would give him some consideration and things like that.

Q: But his not allowing people to burn leaves in 1972 kind of defeated him.

A: (chuckles) Yes.

Q: How about Governor Thompson? Have you been active in support of him?

A: Yes, I supported him, but Governor Thompson is . . . and I'm for him, I think he's doing a fine job but I haven't helped him because for some reason his people have . . . I don't know who they contact down here. I've never had a one of them to contact me about a thing and I haven't contacted them about nothing. I'm for him and done some talking but

never saw a candidate come in and talk to them you know, some of the guys that had been in for years. They used to, oh, really comment to me about me coming in and I'd go — you know I went in barbershops, beauty shops, grocery stores, didn't make any difference, I'd just start down the street and stop and see all of them. And I didn't care whether they was black or white. The — they — oh man, you — you'd get teased something awful you know.

Q: Is that right?

A: They used to kid me about coming around election time and I'd always tell them, "Well, that's the only time I want something, you know." But it paid off good for me. So many little towns that candidates just seemed to ignore, you know. And you go and see them, it pays off. Some of those areas I really got a good vote too.

Q: How about preparation or training, or whatever it might be, now that they are full-time legislators? Does that make a difference in the . . .

A: It would. There's very few people that's trained to run for office though. Unless they grew — unless their father or somebody was in politics ahead of them. Like I say, a new person, you just make about every mistake there is in the book the first time you run you know. When the press interviews you you'll say the wrong thing and after they take you to task a few times then you'll get a little more polished. But you try to answer everything and be honest, and when they get done twisting it around, they'll have a lot of people upset at you if you ain't careful. It would be better if there was some kind of a training they could take but I don't know of anybody that's run that was really trained for it, you know.

Q: Well that's one aspect of training. Of course the other would be just to have the experience or the knowledge to function as a legislator.

A: Right.

Q: Do you think maybe they ought to raise the age at which you can become a legislator so that you'll . . .

A: That might be a good thing. It would — least if they had to be say thirty years old to run, you certainly would elect people with more maturity than some of the cases we've had. We've had some that got elected real young and of course their judgement's just not mature yet, in a lot of cases. The first thing they think of is voting to give everything away. And it's kind of like writing a check you know, it's good to write a check if you got the money in the bank to back it up.

Everybody in Springfield wanted — so many years up there they wanted to vote to give everybody something but then they'd vote against raising taxes. Well you can't do it you know. It's like writing a check and then don't make a deposit. And if you're going to vote to spend, you've got to vote to raise the money. And that was always confusing to me how a guy could sit there and vote — and we had it on — even on school issues. They'd vote to give the schools all this money and then when it come to — the sales tax come up to increase it to pay the bill a lot of them just, oh man, thought it was awful to vote for it. I said, "Well you're going to have to be honest, either vote against giving it in the first place or you're going to have to vote to raise the taxes." But a lot of them would vote to spend it but they wouldn't vote to raise the money.

Q: (pause) Well we've covered an awful lot of ground, is there anything we missed here that you think ought to be in a record such as this?

A: Not that I can think of. (pause) I don't know what it would be.

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