

OH 332

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

JANET TOURTELLOTTE & EDITH WILLIAMS

on

April 18, 1972

by

Maclyn P. Burg

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library
Abilene, Kansas

Interlibrary Loan Service
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Abilene, Kansas 67410

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Mrs. Neal Tourtellotte
and
Mrs. Andrew Williams

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Dr. Maclyn P. Burg
Historian

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of
Janet P. Tourtellotte
and
Edith D. Williams
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Date: *June 22nd 1976*

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Date: *July 12, 1976*



This is an interview being taped on April 18, 1972, in the home of Mrs. Neal Tourtellotte, Seattle, Washington. The interviewer is Dr. Maclyn Burg from the Eisenhower Library. Present during the interview are Mrs. Tourtellotte and Mrs. Andrew Williams; so there will be three voices on this tape.

DR. BURG: We're talking about the 1952 campaign, and let us first identify your position, Mrs. Tourtellotte, and then let us have your position, Mrs. Williams. So, Mrs. Tourtellotte.

MRS. TOURTELLOTTE: In 1952 I was the national committee-woman for the state of Washington. And had been so since 1948.

DR. BURG: And, Mrs. Williams, your position then at that time?

MRS. WILLIAMS: I was a member of the state central committee. We have thirty-nine counties, and we have thirty-nine committeemen and thirty-nine committeewomen who sit on the state central committee of the Republican Party.

DR. BURG: And you were saying to me before Mrs. Williams got here, Mrs. Tourtellotte, that your co-worker from Spokane, a notoriously conservative area, rather surprised you. Could you repeat that story to me?

MRS. TOURTELLOTTE: I would say surprise was a mild way to put it because there had been a tradition for, oh, as long

back as anybody can remember, that the national committee members from this state remained neutral, previous to the convention, as to the presidential candidate. So Mr. [Harlan] Peyton and I had maintained this same attitude and were very careful about it. Well, one day Mr. Peyton called me, and said he was coming over to Seattle, and he wanted to talk to me about something. Well when he got here he said, "I've decided to come out for Eisenhower." Well, in the old saying, "You could have knocked me over with a feather," nothing could have been more surprising, particularly coming from Spokane, which was probably the strongest Taft county in the whole state.

BURG: And what was his first name? Was it Horace?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Harlan, H-a-r-l-a-n.

BURG: Did he give you the impression that he consulted with any of these people over there. You mentioned the fact that when he went back you thought he was going to be strung up by the thumbs.



TOURTELLOTTE: Yes. Well, I know that he went out to his country place and stayed there for two or three days. No, he didn't consult any of the politicians. There was one man in particular, Cliff Folger, who, since then and before then, has been on the national finance committee a great deal and was a great admirer of General Eisenhower's, and he was a great friend of Harlan's. And he had persuaded him that this was the thing to do--that we must turn our backs on the Old Guard and that the General was the man to do it. And he wanted to take Harlan to Europe to meet the General, but Harlan said that wasn't necessary. He was convinced.

BURG: You don't know, in any detail, what kinds of arguments Mr. Folger advanced other than the thought that the Old Guard had to be replaced? Did Mr. Peyton tell you of any kind of sales pitch that had been aimed at him?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, he may have; I don't remember too much. Probably the fact that he was electable was a great point.

BURG: And this was your feeling, too, at that time, or was it your feeling prior to the election?



TOURTELLOTTE: Well, of course, I was so busy being neutral on the outside that I almost made myself neutral on the inside. But I think before we got done I was counted in the Eisenhower camp, particularly because I voted for the Eisenhower delegates at the national committee meeting.

BURG: I see. Now you were involved in that, Mrs. Williams?

WILLIAMS: Up as far as the national convention. I did not go to that convention, but I was involved in the local state process of electing delegates to the national convention.

BURG: Let me ask this, can you give me the names of people that you viewed as being in one camp or another on the state-wide basis?

WILLIAMS: I was trying to think about that. Was Floyd Oles--?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: From Tacoma.

TOURTELLOTTE: Do you remember how he happened to get into the Eisenhower camp?

WILLIAMS: No, I don't.

TOURTELLOTTE: This may be one of those X-out ones. Well, he was in Europe, staying over there after the war was over, and he had married a woman in Belgium and had almost settled down there to live, I believe. Of course, he loved the General, and I guess he had met him, and he decided he would come home and be the Washington state chairman for Eisenhower. Well, there was some resistance to that, and so we got Owen Clark. But, Edith, I interrupted you.

WILLIAMS: No. Well, but he was in the picture to some extent here in King County. Who were the others? Was it Mr. B. Roy Anderson and Willard Wright?

TOURTELLOTTE: Willard Wright was a big one.

WILLIAMS: Willard Wright was a big one and--

BURG: Are these Taft people or--

WILLIAMS: No, these are Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: And Deke McDonald.

WILLIAMS: Mr. D. K. McDonald. Then on the Taft side, Judge Charles Paul, wasn't he the state chairman?

TOURTELLOTTE: I think so.

WILLIAMS: And Mr. Oles estranged son, Stewart Oles, who was a lawyer here in Seattle, was the floor leader at the King County convention and at the state convention for Taft.

BURG: Now I will be talking to these gentlemen, to Mr. Oles and to Mr. Paul, probably this afternoon; so I'm going to get other stories too. As Mrs. Tourtellotte knows, I'll hear various sides. By the way, it is not my habit to state anything about previous ones, I simply do the interview with the person I'm with; so I will hear that story, too. Now how much Eisenhower feeling do you think there was in this state, as things built up? Can you give me a picture of how you found things within the state of Washington vis a vis Eisenhower?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, Edith has just recalled to my mind a correspondence that I had with Dave [David S.] Ingalls, who was, I guess, of course pre-convention, Taft's manager, one of

his managers. Was that in the fall?

WILLIAMS: It was in the fall I'm sure; it was in October or even November.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, anyway he had written to me and asked me "how the hell" I thought things looked out here. And I said, "I saw no evidence of any activity for anyone but Taft."

BURG: Mrs. Tourtellotte, that's in 1951, the autumn of '51?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes .

BURG: And you saw no evidence at that point?

TOURTELLOTTE: That's right. I think it surged up in about February.

WILLIAMS: January, I think.

TOURTELLOTTE: Did it?

WILLIAMS: When did Cabot Lodge go over and talk to the General?

BURG: You have me there because I don't remember a specific date.

WILLIAMS: And he came out here and Mary [Pillsbury] Lord came out here, and I can't remember whether they came together or at separate times.

BURG: Well, we'll try to check that out.

TOURTELLOTTTE: I think they came together that first time.

WILLIAMS: But I myself was very definitely for General Eisenhower when we started the convention process of electing delegates. But we had a very interesting situation here. We elect, you see, delegates, but we start off with the precinct caucus and then you go next to the district caucus, then you go to the county convention--each time fewer people. And then to the state convention where you elect your national delegates. And I'd been one of several who was working in our legislative district, and we began realizing there were a great many new faces coming in who'd come to the precinct caucuses, young people who were interested in the General's candidacy. Then the organization was formed, the local and state organization

for both candidates, and word came from them that if we had the votes we must take every delegate, winner take all. And we here in the district, although we were very strongly in favor of the General, realized that we were going to have to work with these people after the national convention, and we didn't want to alienate the Taft people any more than we had to. So we had a real, a classic battle at our district caucus. One Eisenhower person literally spat at me and said, "You say you're for Ike, but you really aren't." That was very heated. But we ended up with, I think, four Taft delegates and perhaps sixteen--

TOURTELOTTE: No, there were--

WILLIAMS: --or eighteen Eisenhower delegates to the state convention.

BURG: You don't happen to remember the names of the four Taft people?

WILLIAMS: Hazel Baker was one.

TOURTELOTTE: Charley Paul must have been one.



WILLIAMS: Listen, I wasn't on the state central committee because Hazel Baker was.

TOURTELLOTTE: You were just a worker.

WILLIAMS: I was just a worker. I was just a co-leader in the legislative district. Stewart Oles was one.

TOURTELLOTTE: Charley Paul must have been one.

WILLIAMS: But I don't think he was in our district then. This is just from our district.

BURG: What was the district by the way? We should have that.

WILLIAMS: The 43rd legislative district.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, didn't Charley Paul live right across from you?



WILLIAMS: No.

TOURTELLOTTE: He didn't then.

WILLIAMS: No, he was in the Highlands. He was in the 44th district then, I think. Then we came to the county convention,

and we had an Eisenhower caucus ahead of time. I don't know whether the unit rule means anything to you.

BURG: It may not to some of the people who will be doing research.

WILLIAMS: But that is a procedure used in politics, in conventions, which I disapprove of highly because again it means the majority rules.

BURG: Just one over half and that's the way it all goes.

WILLIAMS: Just one over half and that's the way it all goes. Well there was talk there of invoking the unit rule when we got to Spokane to the state convention. King County is by far and away the largest county in the state and at that time, I don't remember how many legislative districts we had, but some of them definitely we knew had elected a preponderance of Taft delegates. But we did have enough votes; we had more than half in the county delegation. And, consequently, they voted to invoke the unit rule in Spokane. We didn't need it, and to my way of thinking it was a mistake that we paid for dearly in the years to come because there was intense bitterness

amongst the Taft people. And many of them were good workers and good Republicans, and it was a pity to alienate them because many of them refused to work for us after the national convention when General Eisenhower was the candidate.

BURG: Well, let's make sure that we understand that then. It's your feeling that you employed a strategy here that didn't have to be used at all; you had the votes.

WILLIAMS: We had the votes without it.

BURG: But to be sure, you went for the unit rule and, in effect, practiced a little overkill.

WILLIAMS: Yes, exactly.

BURG: And you paid a price for that later on then. Would you ladies say that you still are paying a price, twenty some years later that there is still bitterness back from those days that influences Republican Party politics here?

WILLIAMS: I think that all culminated in '64, don't you?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, I think we got a new battle with the Goldwater era.

BURG: I see. Same people lined up perhaps in a similar way, the more conservative Republicans and the more liberal Republicans?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: And fought again in '64?

WILLIAMS: This Stewart Oles, who we've mentioned before was very prominent in the Goldwater movement and campaign in 1964.

TOURTELLOTTE: You see we were for Rockefeller.

BURG: I see. Both of you were?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: So you would not have done it that way. Did all of the Taft people react that way? Can you think of people that come to your mind now because you were quite pleased, perhaps Taft



people who swung with you, who continued to work with you? We know now that some of the Taft people were quite bitter but do you remember any who still came your way. Who, well, firmed up the party ranks?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, maybe this would be an appropriate time to mention Mort Frayn who was the state chairman. He and his friends, say a dozen active Republicans, all of whom I believe, I know Mort was for Taft. But as soon as Mort became state chairman he became neutral, and as soon as Eisenhower was nominated he was for Eisenhower. Don't you think that's a fair statement, Edith?

WILLIAMS: Yes, I think that is.

BURG: He and his friends then linked up with you in this matter.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: Yes. Yes, he did. And actually Stewart Oles did. He came around although he later went back to the conservative side in the Goldwater thing. But we used him several times to

speaking during that '52 campaign because I think that he did feel that many of the Eisenhower people had tried to treat the Taft people fairly. And he was, I would say, fairly useful.

TOURTELLOTTE: There's that episode about Bill Howard. This I'm quite sure should be a Mr. X and X'd out. And I don't know as any of us know whether we know the whole story, at least I'm not sure that I do. But the way it seemed was, and I believe you said you were going to talk to Ray Moore?

BURG: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: He was the county chairman at that time, strong for Eisenhower.

BURG: Ray Moore was?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: And his best friend was Bill Howard. The story and the impression is, in many people's minds, that he said to his friend, Bill Howard, who is a kind of a--he puts on an



act of being a terrible rough neck, and in a way he is.

BURG: What is his work by the way, Mrs. Tourtellotte?

TOURTELLOTTE: He's a lawyer.

WILLIAMS: Astute.

TOURTELLOTTE: And amusing too. But anyway Ray Moore supposedly said to him, "Now you say you're for Taft, and then you go to the Taft meetings," which he did. And the morning of the state convention he appeared with an Eisenhower button, and the Taft people were furious.

BURG: Having sat in on their councils for this period of time.

WILLIAMS: I'd forgotten that. Yes, I remember it now.

TOURTELLOTTE: And I wouldn't be surprised if Charley Paul would talk about it. Now I'm sure I remember Don Donald Graham, oh, he was just furious.

BURG: The story then was quite current and, as far as you ladies know, this is what happened--he was planted.

TOURTELLOTTTE: I think so.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTTE: I couldn't prove it.

WILLIAMS: Now is the time to talk about George Kinnear.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, just what about George Kinnear?

WILLIAMS: Well, George Kinnear chaired the state convention in Spokane. He was an Eisenhower man.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Oh, yes.

WILLIAMS: He was our candidate for chairman, and we were able to elect him. He did a beautiful job, we felt, fair, and feeling was very high. It was very tense. And I remember after it was all over he came back, you remember, to our room?



TOURTELLOTTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: And he flung himself on the bed. He was just exhausted.

BURG: Now he used his parliamentary abilities at that convention, as far as you were concerned, in fine fashion.

WILLIAMS: Yes and properly. He's a lawyer.

TOURTELLOTTE: I don't think the Taft people appreciated him particularly.

WILLIAMS: Well, no, I don't think they did, but we were satisfied that he gave them a fair hearing, and that it was run properly.

TOURTELLOTTE: I think a forerunner of that was an interesting backlog. That was when Mort Frayn became state chairman; it was just about five weeks before the state convention. Wait a minute, Walter Williams had been state chairman.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: And when he became chairman of the National Friends, it wasn't Friends, Citizens for Eisenhower.

WILLIAMS: Citizens for Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes. And he thought that he could continue as state chairman, and he could be neutral as state chairman, which many people thought he could not do. So you might say he was

almost forced to resign as state chairman. Oh, goodness, I remember I was chairman of the nominating committee to get another state chairman, and Mort was in the legislature at that time. It never would have occurred to me, although he is a very good friend of ours. But somebody suggested him, and he said he'd be willing to do it. Well there was just five weeks to go and this terrible boiling situation. So he called a meeting of four Taft people and four Eisenhower people in the Roman [?] Hotel, I think it was eventually the Benjamin Franklin or something I can't remember, and the four Eisenhowers sat there, the four Tafts sat there, and Mort and I sat in the middle. He said, "Now, I just want to iron out as many things as we can before the state convention convenes or we'll be there for weeks." He said, "Couldn't we agree on who will be the parliamentarian or who is going to salute the flag and a few things like that rather than having to discuss and debate every single little procedural point." So this group of four and four met a number of times, and I think he was right that the state convention would have lasted a week if he hadn't done this preliminary work.

BURG: Now, do you happen to remember the names of the eight

people there?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I'm sure there was Charley Paul and Floyd Oles. And there must have been Owen Clark on the Eisenhower--he was the state chairman for Eisenhower. I don't think Walter Williams was.

WILLIAMS: Willard Wright?

TOURTELLOTTE: He might have been. They were the acknowledged leaders.

BURG: Of both camps?

TOURTELLOTTE: I mean both sides, I'm sure, were able to send whom they wished.

BURG: Now in the state traditionally there has been a more conservative atmosphere east of the mountains. Was that the general lineup in 1952, that a great deal of Taft strength was out there, on the other side of the Cascades?

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, yes.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: And generally on this side of the mountains, the west side, pretty much pro-Eisenhower or were there Taft enclaves that you remember?

WILLIAMS: There were Taft pockets, definitely.

TOURTELLOTEE: Oh, you mean geographically because in every county there were some Taft people.

BURG: I was thinking of in western Washington, were there any strong Taft areas?

TOURTELLOTTE: I would say Tacoma maybe.

WILLIAMS: And perhaps Snohomish County, Everett.

TOURTELLOTTE: But nothing that would compare with Spokane.

WILLIAMS: No.

BURG: Probably not. I'm trying to remember; I'm trying to hark back to me as a very young man in Longview, the Longview-Kelso area, but as I remember that area was pro-Eisenhower. Perhaps as I talk with people, I'll be corrected on that, but

it seems to me that we were. The Grays Harbor area, I think, tended to be pro-Eisenhower at that time.

WILLIAMS: I think, I don't know.

TOURTELLOTTE: I've got to spend more time trying to recollect too.

BURG: Yes. Well, I'm going to have to talk to people who were very active then. I was more or less an observer of things as a young man.

TOURTELLOTTE: You know if you really want the names of those men that Mort got together, I'm sure that it can be found.

BURG: As I talk to people I'll--

TOURTELLOTTE: Of course people like Charley Paul may not recall those meetings. I remember them very vividly because I thought they were so successful. Well of course the two sides just sat and glared at each other.

BURG: When they started out.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, they were still glaring. To be practical they realized that they had to come to an agreement on some

things, which really weren't terribly important to either side.

BURG: These Taft people, their reactions to all of this, you remember it as being very bitter I understand.

WILLIAMS: Very bitter.

BURG: And not over soon but rather continuing. Did this ease over into personal relationships that you people may have had with people who had been Taft supporters? Let me ask this, did your friendships break apart after the convention in '52? Either of you remember losing friends because of this?

TOURTELLOTTTE: I can't.

WILLIAMS: Well, we didn't particularly seek out those people; I was thinking of Hazel Baker for instance.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: Because this was the time where it brought to a head the differences in philosophy within the Republican Party.

BURG: You're saying, Mrs. Williams, they weren't friends to

begin with?

WILLIAMS: And so we didn't agree earlier than that.

BURG: I see. All right, now let me ask you this, you are both, by the standards of a man my age, youthful women, and you must have been pretty young types twenty years ago in 1952.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Did you say we were youthful women?

BURG: I consider you'd be youthful women.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, thank you. I'm not ninety yet anyway.

BURG: You're youthful people. I have to put this across because the researcher who reads this will tend to forget I'm afraid that this is twenty years in the past. And I'm edging to this: How old were these Taft people when you were in competition with them? Did they tend to run to an older age than your group did?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, Charley Paul is older even than I am. But the others I don't remember as being so old.

WILLIAMS: Stew Oles is younger than I am.

BURG: All right.

WILLIAMS: I was born in 1917.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, I'm seventy-two, almost seventy-three, so there aren't many older.

BURG: There are some. I've interviewed some. But that's an intriguing thing and one that I wanted to make sure we had on the record. You do not recall any distinct difference here in age?

TOURTELLOTTTE: They did talk an awful lot about the young people coming in and being for Eisenhower.

WILLIAMS: "The young Turks".

BURG: And you used the phrase a few minutes ago which is why I wanted to come back to it.

TOURTELLOTTTE: I think the new people that came in were young, but the Republican group before this came up was older. I don't think the young all went for Eisenhower and the older all went for Taft, do you?

WILLIAMS: Not really. But of course the young ones who came in who were for Eisenhower, their candidate won; so they stayed. I think of John Barnard, for instance, who was in

our district, younger man. And he eventually became chairman of our district for the Republican Party. And then he became county chairman.

BURG: His name is B-a-r-n-a-r-d.

WILLIAMS: n-a-r-d, pronounced Barnard.

BURG: What was his occupation?

WILLIAMS: He, at that time, worked for Boeing.

TOURTELLOTTE: He's an engineer, isn't he?

WILLIAMS: No, no. Well, I don't know what he is, but anyway he since has left Boeing, and he has his own company.

BURG: But he's still in the area?

WILLIAMS: He's still in the area.

BURG: Still interested in Republican politics?

WILLIAMS: Yes. He's been the campaign chairman for several people. For instance, he was campaign chairman for him when Mort Frayn ran for mayor.



BURG: And Frayn's name I should tell the transcriber is F-r-a-y-n. Now these people that came in, did they draw into the campaign on Eisenhower's side, the younger ones? Did you retain them in the party organization?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: Once in, they stayed in?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well of course not all.

BURG: No, but by and large this was not a temporary thing. You had their assistance in '56?

WILLIAMS: It was a wonderful resurgence in the Republican Party. We got a great deal of new blood that stayed with us.

BURG: Did both of you remember this as one of the outstanding features of '52 that, in effect, the General's candidacy rejuvenated the party? Maybe that's not the word, rejuvenated.

WILLIAMS: Well, it gave it a different image, a more progressive image than we had had in the past. And then, alas, we went back, right back in 1964, diverted the party to the old image.

BURG: You were all right you feel in '56 and all right in '60?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: But in '64 you lost ground.

WILLIAMS: That state, of course, went for Eisenhower in '52 and '56 and went for Nixon in '60. And then it went for Johnson in '64, didn't it?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: I believe you're right. Then let me ask you this, since we've come to this point; what happened in '64? You had triumphed in '52. The Eisenhower group still controlled things in '56. In '60 they were still all right, but in '64, did you lost control? Did you lose people?

WILLIAMS: Well, we lost the presidency in 1960. You remember at the national convention in 1960, he [Senator Barry Goldwater]



gave a message loud and clear to the convention. He said, "Now is the time when we must get in there and work right down to the precinct level and get this party back." And it was '64 Janet, we went for Johnson, and in '68 we went for Humphrey.

BURG: In the sense that the state went for it?

WILLIAMS: The state, yes.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, let's see, what did we do in '60? '60 we went for Kennedy.

WILLIAMS: '60, we went, no, we went for Nixon.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Oh, yes, we're talking about the state, that's right, yes, yes.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: Yes, the state went Nixon.

TOURTELLOTTTE: That's when Mort was the campaign manager for Nixon in the state.



BURG: Now was there a different group or can we say that the same group basically worked on the '56 campaign and carried things through to a successful conclusion that year here in the state of Washington? Or is there a change of personnel? Any key changes that you ladies think of between those who ran things here for the Republicans in '52 and those who ran things in '56?

TOURTELLOTTTE: I don't seem to remember anything about '56.

WILLIAMS: Janet, when did Harlan Peyton die?

TOURTELLOTTTE: In about '58. [?] [?]

WILLIAMS: Oh, no. The national committeeman. But Janet and Harlan Peyton were still on the national committee in '56 and in '60.

BURG: Still neutral, Mrs. Tourtellotte?

TOURTELLOTTTE: No, no.

WILLIAMS: No.



BURG: In '56?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well and actually in '64 I threw that all overboard and came out for [Nelson A.] Rockefeller.

BURG: Is the old tradition back now again in the state or--

TOURTELLOTTE: No, I don't think so.

WILLIAMS: No.

BURG: Now the committeewomen, committeemen do not hesitate to--

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, you see last time by the time we got anywhere near the convention, it was all sewed up for Nixon so there was no controversy. All the officers chose Nixon.

WILLIAMS: Well, let me talk about '64, because I have a very personal interest in that.

BURG: All right.

WILLIAMS: Janet decided that she was going to retire from the national committee, and so I threw my hat into the ring. This is when the Goldwater people were very strong. I refused in



the old tradition: I felt I could be much more effective if I did not say a preference for a candidate.

[Interruption while cassette is being changed]

TOURTELLOTTE: You pick up where you left off.

WILLIAMS: And so I maintained my neutrality and consequently was defeated by a candidate who stated publicly whenever she had a chance that she was for Goldwater.

BURG: My recollection is in '64, in this state, right at the, if we may use the hackneyed phrase, grass roots the Goldwater people were in there and came to meetings that frequently were not attended by regular Republicans. They seized upon opportunities; as we know in this state it goes from the bottom up. They got in at the bottom and captured the state.

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, there's no question about it.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: They had it from the ground up.

TOURTELLOTTE: And we were always wondering why they were successful with this kind of a program when we didn't seem to be, and we knew that they were doing this. We knew it before they even started; we knew that's what they were going to be doing. And we tried to interest people in doing the same type of thing for the other wing of the party, but there didn't seem to be whatever was needed to instill the enthusiasm.

WILLIAMS: Well, nobody said, "Eisenhower." We didn't have Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: And so they just took it away from us at the grass roots.

BURG: So, Mrs. Williams, your view is you lost a rallying point. There was criticism at that time, as we all remember, of the General that he had not come out more firmly. I guess ultimately he did, but when he did it was rather late. Would that be your impression here in the state of Washington? Did you wish for his support and fail to get it? How do you remember that?



WILLIAMS: Well, he would have had to support Goldwater. He didn't care for Goldwater.

BURG: Prior to the nomination?

TOURTELLOTTE: What year are we talking about?

BURG: '64.

WILLIAMS: '64.

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, oh! You mean that we would have liked Eisenhower to be more supportive of Goldwater?

BURG: No, no. Did you feel that--

WILLIAMS: Of another candidate.

BURG: Yes, right.

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh.

BURG: Since the alternative was going to be Goldwater or someone else, do you recollect what your feelings were about Eisenhower? Should he have come out more strongly for somebody else in '64? Or do you feel that he played his part as well as



it could have been played?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I don't really remember, but I imagine that we would have liked it very much if he had come out for our man.

BURG: Thank you for identifying that as speculation by the way; that's very good of you. Many people would have immediately leaped back and said, "That's the way it was in '64." Thank you, Mrs. Tourtellotte. We run into this and we try to ask about it just to see because clearly it's going to be an area of controversy. There are those who say that he should have done more. Let me ask this question, ladies, throughout the administration, did either one of you have any personal contact with the President?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I did.

BURG: Did you?

TOURTELLOTTE: I don't know quite how it happened, but I was fortunate enough that, I think every time, that there was a committee to wait upon the President and notify him of his



nomination or to ask his preference for national chairman. I was on that committee; so I guess that adds up to four times that we met with him as a committee. One time we flew down to Augusta, Georgia where he was. And the first time was at the Commodore Hotel in New York. And I suppose the other two times were at his office in the White House. That would be about the contacts that I had.

BURG: So you were usually there with other people on an official party mission of one sort or another?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Oh, yes. Well and then you know in a receiving line or that type of thing.

BURG: But no conversation between you concerning politics in the state of Washington?

TOURTELLOTTTE: I don't believe so.

BURG: And the same for you, Mrs. Williams?

WILLIAMS: No, I only had the personal experience when he and Mrs. Eisenhower came out here, and it had been arranged through Leonard Hall, who was then national chairman, that we would go




up to the Olympic and wait outside and shake hands. And that was a very exciting occasion because my husband and I and our two sons and our little girl were waiting, and then the presidential party came down the corridor and was it Stephens, the appointment secretary?

TOURTELLOTT: Tom Stephens?

WILLIAMS: Tom Stephens.

BURG: Yes.

WILLIAMS: Was the secretary, and so he introduced us. The President shook all our hands, and then he came back to my daughter, Sarah, who was about nine years old. And he turned to Mrs. Eisenhower; he said, "She must be about the same age as David." 

So he shook hands with her again, and she said afterwards, "Mother, the President shook hands with me twice, and I can never wash my right hand."

BURG: Yes, naturally. You had not had contact with him in '52?

WILLIAMS: No.

BURG: You were far enough down the party structure at that time so that you didn't.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: Now, let me ask this, during the administration years, do you happen to know what kinds of contacts the President had with people here in this state? Since we know that a state likes to receive a certain amount of return for investments it's made in electing a man, to what extent is Eisenhower linked with the state of Washington? Can either of you speak to that?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, you know, he served at Camp Lewis.

BURG: Right.

TOURTELLOTTE: And a great many people knew them then.

BURG: Well, I'm thinking in terms of--

TOURTELLOTTE: More the presidency?

BURG: During the presidency. Is there any occasion where he calls upon the state of Washington, upon Republican leadership



here and says, "Now I really need your support behind me for this or for that." Do you remember instances of this kind? He has a program he wants to put across, does he call upon you people to help put it across?

TOURTELLOTTE: I just don't think so. I think we were kind of way out in the hinterlands.

WILLIAMS: Janet, we don't know what his relationship was with Governor [Arthur B.] Langlie. Governor Langlie is since dead, but he led our delegation.

TOURTELLOTTE: He was very strong--

WILLIAMS: He was very strong for Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: --for Eisenhower. We kind of forgot about him.

WILLIAMS: And, yes, and do you remember Jack Thomas? No, no it wasn't Jack Thomas. It was Don Eastvold who led the fight for the Fair Play Amendment at the national convention in Chicago.

TOURTELLOTTE: Do you remember that episode?

BURG: I remember it very vaguely. In fact, Eastvold is one of the men that I wanted to see, but I've not been able to run him to ground. I'm not sure where he is.

WILLIAMS: Well, when I last heard, he was in Florida somewhere.

TOURTELLOTTE: That's an X. I was surprised at the effect of that speech of his. I didn't think it was that wonderful, but for instance I remember talking--

BURG: Let's have the story, by gosh on tape. Now tell me about Eastvold and what was done and how this came about.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, he was part of the Eisenhower committee here. He was a great friend of Ray Moore and Bill Howard. He was one of the delegates, and this was on the seating of the Texas delegation, wasn't it?

WILLIAMS: I think so.

TOURTELLOTTE: Which of course is a matter of record.

BURG: '52?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes. At the national convention. So he got up to talk on one side of the question, and he started by saying, "Beware of the young man with the book." Then he spoke on this amendment. Well, as I say, I never could quite see why it made such an impression, but it did.

Well, the man who was the head of the American Bar Association said to me, "Why if that young man came into my office, I'd give him a job tomorrow."

WILLIAMS: Yes, and my parents live on the east coast, and my father was so excited, he said, "Young Lochinvar has come out of the west."

BURG: Good Lord! That's beginning to come back a bit.

TOURTELLOTTE: Then he came home and ran for Attorney General. There was some scandal about how he had taken a bonus that he shouldn't have. I don't think it was ever disproved, but anyway, nobody cared, and he was elected. And Langlie was elected, well, was it Langlie who was re-elected, or maybe he wasn't even up. But anyway, Langlie was still governor because



the thing that broke them apart was that Eastvold began playing around with Langlie's secretary. And where Langlie had been a great supporter of Eastvold's, he just turned against him like a tiger, because Langlie was a very puritanical person. This all broke out during one of the legislative sessions. I remember I was making a trip around the state and calling at different cities and counties. It was just about two weeks after the legislature had closed, and I got this story every place I went. The legislators had come home and told this. Well then I think he deserted his wife and six children and went off and married somebody else, and, the last I heard, he lives down in California.

BURG: Not Florida?



TOURTELLOTTE: He didn't die, did he?

WILLIAMS: No, he didn't. I don't think so.

BURG: You think California?

TOURTELLOTTE: Did you ever hear of a singer called Ginny Simms?

BURG: Indeed, yes. She was connected with the Ocean Shores Development.

TOURTELLOTT: That's right, and he was in that

WILLIAMS: So he was.

BURG: He was in it?



TOURTELLOTT. Yes. And then I believe they're married now.

BURG: Now I think he was divorced her. I think that marriage has gone on the rocks. And I found it difficult to try and pin down where the man was. Harry Cain--

BURG: I hope at some time to talk with Harry Cain.

TOURTELLOTT: Now Harry Cain was a strong Taft man.

BURG: So I understand. Our notes show him as anti-Eisenhower, and it doesn't indicate pro-Taft. I assumed that he must be a Pro-Taft guy.

TOURTELLOTTE: I think he was. And he and Langlie didn't get along at all.

WILLIAMS: And he's in Florida.

BURG: Miami, I think.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: Or in that area, connected with television work.

TOURTELLOTTE: Or is he in a bank?

BURG: I heard television of course he--

TOURTELLOTTE: I thought that at one time he was doing a television program for this bank, but I'm not sure. .

BURG: So after '52 and '56, you don't recall instances where the President called upon any of your local people for any special kind of aid? Nothing out of the ordinary at any rate except it might have been to the governor, and that we do not know.

TOURTELLOTTE: Or Walter Williams. Because you know Walter was appointed to be Secretary of Commerce for Transportation.

And then I believe he left that office and went over to the White House and acted as sort of a liaison between the White House and the states or for the party organizations. Do you know more specifically then that? But he was right there in the Eisenhower group.

WILLIAMS: But, Janet, what about Harlan Peyton's son, David Peyton, who was in the White House in the Eisenhower years?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, but he didn't represent the state of Washington.

WILLIAMS: No, he didn't.

BURG: No, but he was there and his father very active in affairs here in the state. We would have him on our White House staff lists.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: And we are picking off some of those White House staffers as we can.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, Dave lives here now.

BURG: Now is he here in Seattle?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: All right, fine. That's good to know.

WILLIAMS: He's with HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development].

TOURTELLOTTE: He actually lives across the lake in Kirkland. That's his address for it.

BURG: There'll be a time when we'll be coming back here to pick up that interview too, about his experiences in the White House. Well, it's interesting to hear what you say about the resurgence in this state that had a rejuvenating effect. Let me ask you this, both of you are experienced in American politics, Republican politics. You both worked in this for a long time. How did it happen, if you can tell me, that this military man impressed you both? You both know our past history of military men in the White House, and yet here was a man who came along and he seems to have gotten to both of you. How do you explain that?



TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, the military wouldn't count against him in my opinion, because I don't think you can classify people like that. Some people say, "Oh, you don't want a Senator." or "You don't want a Governor", or "You don't want a military man." Well, I don't think people are enough alike to make those sweeping judgments.

BURG: You didn't fear a Ulysses Grant.

TOURTELLOTTTE: No, I really didn't. And I think you just can't get away from the fact of his personality. I remember the first time I went to one of these committees, and he sat at his desk, and I just looked at him and thought, "Well, you are a good man."

BURG: Good Lord! Just walked in and that was the kind of impression that you got?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Yes.

WILLIAMS: I think that was very general.

WILLIAMS: That awful, overused word "charisma".

BURG: I shunned it, and I'm in agreement with you. For you, you met him; you saw him in action, and you liked what you saw.

WILLIAMS: That was the most exciting year I think probably since 1912 which I wasn't around to see.

BURG: Just because of the kind of uplift you all felt--that you had a man here who was a winner in your estimation.

WILLIAMS: A crusade really.

TOURTELLOTTE: I really was not opposed to Taft.

BURG: You thought he would have been acceptable to you? Would have done the job?

TOURTELLOTTE: I think as a man he was perfectly acceptable..

BURG: Had you met the Senator by the way?

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, yes, a number of times. And of course the big opinion that many people, many people very friendly to him,

thought he couldn't win because he didn't have that obvious winner personality. But I always thought too, well, he did win in Ohio, a very uphill race.

BURG: But you edged the other way.

TOURTELLOTTTE: Oh, yes. Well, I think Eisenhower, just from the point of view of electability, seemed to me to have a much better chance to win. I wouldn't have agreed that Taft was a sure loser, but I think we had more margin with Eisenhower.

BURG: Well, would you agree, Mrs. Williams? Did you read it pretty much the same way?

WILLIAMS: Yes, yes, I do.

BURG: How did you feel about Senator Taft? Had you met him? Or was your acquaintance on a--

WILLIAMS: I'm not sure but his father was in my grandfather's cabinet, and succeeded my grandfather in the White House. I don't know that I've ever met Senator Taft, but I've met his sister, Mrs. [Helen Taft] Manning. And politically I think he

would have surprised his supporters. I don't think he was nearly as conservative in certain areas as they thought he was.

TOURTELLOTTTE: I'm sure he wasn't.

WILLIAMS: But I just feel that, to me, he wasn't the leader that General Eisenhower was.

BURG: It's intriguing to hear this.

WILLIAMS: I mean if they met in the middle of the street and one went one way and one the other, there'd be no question but what I'd follow General Eisenhower.

BURG: Yet, his views were presumably not widely known in 1952--

WILLIAMS: No.

BURG: It's a phenomenon that interests me very much obviously, and I'm spending this much time on it because I know you both to be experienced political hands. You were not green at it then; you are not green at it now, and yet that man sort of swept you along. And you both obviously, you, particularly

Mrs. Williams, worked very hard in '52.

WILLIAMS: Oh, so did Mrs. Tourtellotte.

TOURTELLOTTE: But I think from the point of view of our being politicians, we not only were attracted ourselves, but we could see that the voters were going to be attracted. And when you're looking for a candidate that's what you're looking for. And of course you also want somebody that's going to do the right thing when he gets there.

BURG: Right. And you felt that as far as you knew his philosophies, they were enough in accord with your own, with the party, that that was no problem to you.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I must say that I probably was somewhat influenced by a mutual friend, General Persons. Do you know--

BURG: This is Wilton--

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: Wilton Persons.

TOURTELLOTTE: Who was a great friend of my husband's and was best man at our wedding. And so he was writing to me off and

on, even when they were still over at NATO. So that was a factor.

BURG: Was General Persons perhaps the leading outside influence, in effect, upon you? In moving you that way?

TOURTELLOTE: Could have been, yes.

BURG: The things that he was telling you about his acquaintanceship with the General? Would either one of you care to comment on how you felt about the next four years? I'm asking here, are you both happy with the full eight years of the administration? Would you rate one-half, the first four years, over the second half? Was there any disenchantment, I'm saying?

WILLIAMS: Not for me.

TOURTELLOTE: Of course he got sick about the middle of the second term.

BURG: Yes.



WILLIAMS: Oh, no, it was before that because I remember Leonard Hall--

TOURTELLOTTTE: Oh, that's right.

WILLIAMS: --telling us that when he had his heart attack--

TOURTELLOTTTE: In the first term.

WILLIAMS: --and then, well I'm sure you've interviewed Leonard Hall.

BURG: I have not, but I think he has been.

WILLIAMS: He was going to make a speech at the Women's Republican Club in New York, and in the taxi he just heard that the President had had a heart attack, and he had to make up his mind then and there what he was going to say because he knew the press would greet him as he stopped at the Club. And he said, "Ike will run again. He's in the running. This has no bearing on his political--"

BURG: You are right, Mrs. Tourtellotte, there is illness in the second four years. But, yes, I remember now. That's



where he closes the book Mandate for Change. He closes with the decision as to whether he will run for the second term.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I was thinking that the heart attack came in the second term, but I was mistaken. I remember now.

BURG: There are other illnesses there. The ileitis and other things that crop up. Now you, Mrs. Williams, as far as you're concerned, that was fine. Eight years, and it was all fine. Do you feel the same way, Mrs. Tourtellotte?

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, I do.

BURG: Both of you do.

TOURTELLOTTE: One thing that I think has been very unjustly viewed was the part that Eisenhower took in the Nixon campaign. You heard, oh, dozens and dozens of people say that Nixon would have won if Eisenhower had been supported him more strongly.

BURG: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: And that he didn't support him at all and that kind of thing. Well, I'm positive that he did support him.



BURG: Did you see evidence of that out here?

TOURTELLOTTE: No, but I saw that from General Persons. I know that during that whole campaign period he had lunch with Nixon about twice a week.

WILLIAMS: And he gave a wonderful speech as I remember somewhere in Pennsylvania.

BURG: Persons did?

WILLIAMS: No, President Eisenhower.

BURG: The President on behalf of Nixon.

WILLIAMS: On behalf of Nixon because I was on the Nixon campaign trail, and I was down in Colorado, I think. It was broadcast, and it was a tremendous speech.

BURG: I seem to remember that because I think that the President speaks of that in the book too. I was going to ask you both something about '52 first of all. After the convention, after the General was picked, the two of you are both active then in carrying this state. Do either one of



remember any particular or special problems that you faced in that campaign of '52? People, personalities, areas within the state?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, I'm sure we had the constant problem of the disgruntled Taft element.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

BURG: You would probably count that as the greatest single obstacle in the campaign?

TOURTELLOTTTE: Because it cropped up every place. Every time we tried to do anything, we always had to consider that.

BURG: What form would it take, Mrs. Tourtellotte, do you recollect?

TOURTELLOTTTE: No.

BURG: Heckling in meetings?

TOURTELLOTTTE: No, no, oh, no.



WILLIAMS: No, no.

TOURTELLOTTE: Not that bad.

WILLIAMS: Sitting on their hands.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: I see.

TOURTELLOTTE: It was more negative.

BURG: I see. No help from those people to speak of.

TOURTELLOTTE: Not much.

WILLIAMS: No.

BURG: All right, now, any other problems that you recollect in '52 beyond that major problem of these people simply not helping? Did you find voters pretty much receptive as you think back on it for the candidacy of your man?

WILLIAMS: Oh, yes.



TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, you found some that didn't like him. They'd say, "Well, he didn't even know whether he was a Republican or not." And "Why the man's never even voted."

WILLIAMS: But those were the Taft supporters again.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, most of them were.

BURG: You think they were Taft people who were doing that.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: Maybe a few people brought up the military end of it but not many as I remember.

BURG: How about independent voters within the state. Was it your impression as you went into that campaign that you were pulling them?

TOURTELLOTTE: We thought we were anyway.

BURG: As far as you could tell.

WILLIAMS: Well we must have because we've had various polls



in the state, and there were more so called independents than there are actual Republicans or Democrats. There have been in the past.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes. And I think this state has a particularly high average of independents.

BURG: Yes, we might point out that in this state one does not--

WILLIAMS: Register, no.

BURG: --register.

WILLIAMS: By party, no.

BURG: So that makes a difference too. That makes it a little tougher to figure out who's who.

WILLIAMS: Completely open.

BURG: Now, among the major figures of this state, hark back now to '52, we're talking now about governors and senators and state representatives. I guess both our senators at the time are strong Democrats. [Cain was senator until '52 when he was defeated.]



TOURTELLOTTE: That's right.

BURG: The governor however was a strong Republican and a strong--

TOURTELLOTTE: Excuse me, Harry Cain was a Republican.

BURG: Oh, was Cain--

WILLIAMS: Was he in '52? I can't remember.

TOURTELLOTTE: No, that's when he was defeated.

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: He'd been in just before that.

BURG: But he was strong Republican.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: But probably pro-Taft.

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, very.

BURG: The governor pro-Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.



BURG: How about congressmen, do you recall how the congressmen and women lined up in '52? Were they assets to you?

TOURTELLOTTE: I think that the two congressmen east of the mountains were for Taft but--

WILLIAMS: Thor Tollefson was for Eisenhower.

TOURTELLOTTE: Thor was very strong for Eisenhower. He was from Tacoma.

WILLIAMS: Jack Westland got in on that, on Eisenhower's coattails.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, he did.

WILLIAMS: And he was up in the second district. He played golf with Eisenhower; I'm sure he was an Eisenhower supporter.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes, I know he was.

BURG: Now was Russell V. Mack--

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: --still congressman--



TOURTELLOTTE: He's dead.

BURG: He's dead now but was he still congressman for the area of Grays Harbor?

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: I think so.

BURG: I, for the life of me, cannot remember whether that man was pro-Eisenhower. I think he was, but I can't recollect.

TOURTELLOTTE: I can't either.

BURG: I remember his being ultra-conservative. He, as you knew, was a newspaper publisher of the Washingtonian.

WILLIAMS: And Horan, let's see Walt Horan--

TOURTELLOTTE: He must have been--

WILLIAMS: He must have been Taft.

TOURTELLOTTE: If he was he had to be--

WILLIAMS: Yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: --I mean even if he didn't want to be.



BURG: How is his last name spelled?

WILLIAMS: H-o-r-a-n.

BURG: Yes, now I remember the name.

WILLIAMS: And he was from the northeastern part of the state.

BURG: In the Pend Oreille?

WILLIAMS: Well, including Spokane. Spokane to Wenatchee.

BURG: So, as far as assistance was concerned, you got pretty much the kind of assistance that you expected to get. There were some people you identified as pro-Taft and you--

TOURTELLOTTTE: Well, I think after the nomination, those other office holders were busy with their own campaigns. And I don't think they're going to sabotage anybody else except now Langlie took the position that he wouldn't be on the platform with Harry Cain.

BURG: The antipathy was that strong.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.

BURG: Well, I hear a little bit about this from some of the people that I've talked to on the telephone.

TOURTELLOTTE: Don't you think I'm right on that?

WILLIAMS: Yes. Oh, yes.

BURG: He wouldn't be on the same platform with him. Our only regret that we weren't at this soon enough to get Governor Langlie and talk with him a bit about some of these things. Good Lord!

WILLIAMS: Before this tape closes I want to make one correction. If you called Mrs. Tourtellotte, Mrs. Neal Tourtellotte, and you called me by my name, I'm Mrs. Andrew Williams.



BURG: Yes, she mentioned before--

WILLIAMS: I'm not a woman's--

BURG: --lib--

WILLIAMS: --right.

BURG: Good, well, my transcriber--

WILLIAMS: It's Mrs. It's not Ms.

BURG: She'll pick off that, and we'll have it that way, thanks. I'll phrase this question, it's a little difficult to put it, but I would appreciate having from either one of you, your recommendations for young scholars as to lines of approach that you think might be fruitful in looking at politics, let's say, within the state of Washington.

Republican politics of the '52, '56 era. Does anything come to mind that you think are fascinating areas or areas that really need investigation as to how things were accomplished? We'd appreciate having little hints from you.

TOURTELLOTTE: When you said young people you mean students?

BURG: I'm thinking of the scholars who will be writing the history of this period and may be doing, in fact are already beginning to do it. Or do you think that things are pretty straight forward here? Clearly you both were very excited about that '52 campaign.



TOURTELLOTTE: I really am not just sure what you're trying to get from us.

BURG: Well, if it's possible, we try to have at our institution lists of potential areas of investigation that a young scholar could be pointed toward.

TOURTELLOTTE: Oh, I see what you mean.

BURG: And I'm wondering if anything comes to your minds that, here in this state, you think should be done. Are there political figures in this state, for example, whose careers ought to be traced? This kind of thing or how was it done? How were the campaigns won?

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, I think maybe the whole picture of '52 from January to, when was the convention that year, about June, covering all the facets of it would be a wonderful project.

BURG: A useful endeavor for somebody.

TOURTELLOTTE: Yes.



BURG: Well, we're called upon more than you might think for this precise kind of guidance. Professors who are eager to set their young scholars off in productive lines of examination and analysis. And what we try to do is do our part by asking the people who were there at the time that kind of question.

TOURTELLOTTE: I suppose lots has been written on the Texas state convention.

BURG: Yes, yes.

TOURTELLOTTE: Well, ours didn't have quite that much skullduggery but--

WILLIAMS: Well you know one thing I was just thinking that might be interesting would be to examine that period in '52 with our convention process as it was, and how it might have been different say if we had either a presidential preferential primary here or if there had been a national presidential preferential primary. We would have eliminated a great deal of the hard feeling, I'm sure, that existed and persisted. But, on the other hand, perhaps we wouldn't have attracted so many new workers.

BURG: That's conceivable. It still is an interesting thing. You obviously are concerned, both of you are concerned, about alientating these people and obviously that was not, as far as you people are concerned, a "Go-to-hell with the Taft people; run them over; crush them under."

WILLIAMS: In my particular view it wasn't, but as I think I said earlier we kept getting the message from the higher-ups--

