



INTERVIEW WITH

Ray Moore

by

Maclyn P. Burg
Oral Historian

on

April 18, 1972

for

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Gift of Personal Statement

Ray Moore

to the

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

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This interview is being taped in the office of Mr. Ray Moore in Seattle, Washington, on April 18, 1972. The interviewer is Dr. Maclyn Burg, Historian at the Eisenhower Library.

DR. BURG: Mr. Moore, can you tell us what your position was in 1952 with regard to the Republican Party here in the state of Washington?

MR. MOORE: I was King County Republican Central Committee Chairman.

DR. BURG: So all of your interests at that time concentrated on the '52 campaign as it was fought here in King County?

MR. MOORE: Yes, and I had been committed in 1950 to Eisenhower in case he should run. The bulk of the organization was Taft oriented.

DR. BURG: That is the State party here in Washington?



MR. MOORE: State and County also. In spite of the fact that I had been county chairman for three and a half years at the time Eisenhower was nominated, I still had been unable to gain enough strength so that I could dictate which way they would go. So we took some rather unique steps to see that Eisenhower carried the State.

BURG: I want to talk to you about the unique steps too. Let me ask you first, you had service in World War II.

MOORE: No.

BURG: So you were here?

MOORE: I was here working at Boeing during the period from '42 till '45, three and a half years. And I had made a big switch. I had come from an extremely conservative right-wing background.

BURG: In this State, Mr. Moore?



MOORE: Yes. My father was the Director of the Public Utilities Commission here forty-two years ago. And I followed this political background closely. I was opposed to Social Security, and I was opposed to all subsidies of any kind. I was really extremely reactionary, and I went to work at Boeing and had my eyes opened there. I saw that unless you have high money velocity and unless the working class of people has enough money to spend, you know there'll be a perpetual depression in a capitalistic society. And so I made a tremendous switch. There was barely room enough for me

in the party, although [Wendell] Willkie is the one that really opened my eyes to what I think was, or thought at that time, was the future.

BURG: Open in the sense, Mr. Moore, that you heard him speak or that you had read his material during the campaign?

MOORE: I met him and read his material during the campaign, and I was elected a precinct committeeman in 1940 just on the basis of "I'm going to support Wendell Willkie." Then when [Franklin D.] Roosevelt gave him the opportunity to tour the world, and he wrote ONE WORLD, I really became enamored of him. I followed him very closely, and I guess the last time I cried was the day I picked up the paper on the front porch and saw that he was dead. I was really touched.



BURG: So the man had made a tremendous impact on you.

MOORE: Oh, yes, indeed. When I was county chairman, everything that I did, everything that I said, everything that I wrote, every interview I gave was very carefully weighed as to whether Abraham Lincoln and Wendell Willkie would have gone this route or not.

BURG: Now that is fascinating.

MOORE: I never had one single bad moment.

BURG: By bad moment you mean--

MOORE: I was never put on a spot by having said something that I couldn't defend. You know their positions were so good, basically, if you translated them into modern times. You know you could keep out of a lot of trouble in all sorts of things.

BURG: That's an intriguing thing, an interesting thing to hear. Had you had a great interest in history as a young lad that would cause you to think that way?

MOORE: No. But I always had kind of an underlying feeling that there were a lot of evils in the world that need not be--you know, mostly man's inhumanity to man. And Lincoln impressed me as Eisenhower's Farewell Address also impressed me when he said that one thing this country had to avoid was keeping the military and the business complexes from getting together. And so I gradually found that I was leaning toward Lincoln, and then Wilkie came along as a kind of embodiment of the poor background--rising to the great heights, showing me that you didn't have to



play the total political game in order to succeed. It gave me a lot of heart. And so I did what I could, and I kept out of a lot of problems by following what I thought they might have said.

BURG: So you are led pretty much into the Republican Party around 1940, and you remained in it.



MOORE: From the time I got out of school, the first election I voted in was '36. And I voted for Landon and the straight Republican ticket; and then, as I say, when I went to Boeing and saw that if people worked for fifty cents an hour, everybody would be starving. And even the well-to-do wouldn't be able to prosper. And so I began to realize that there was a place for unions, social security was necessary, unemployment benefits are necessary, and I just gradually began to move more in this direction.

BURG: As you did that, Mr. Moore, are you aware of any of your colleagues at Boeing who also were coming awake to, let us say, the realities of a capitalist society in the twentieth century?

MOORE: Yes. That's when it happened, and I think it happened all over the country. There were a lot of people like me that

were middle class white collar workers who either couldn't get in the service or didn't want to and sought some relief from going to war. I think that they began to have an awakening by seeing how it is in real life where you do not have a great deal of prestige and it's necessary to have enough wherewithal so that you can have a weekend once in a while, you know, and just do a little living.

BURG: Now with your changing attitudes, after the war how soon was it that you began to look with interest at Eisenhower as a potential candidate? Do you recollect when that came to you?

MOORE: Well, after the shock of the '48 election, when I and everyone else took for granted that Dewey would be elected and, we suddenly came to the realization that there was no such thing as a cinch, I was elected the next month after that county chairman here. I had come out of no place. I was not even a precinct committeeman. I had never been a district leader, and I was making bad noises about the party in general. I didn't like the reactionary, backward thrust of the Republican Party generally, nationally and locally.



BURG: Who are the people who are dragging their feet locally at this time?

MOORE: Oh, the then county chairman who was a troglodyte attorney here in town.

BURG: Can you give me these names?

MOORE: Yes. Tyre Hollander.

BURG: Tyre Hollander?

MOORE: Tyre Hollander, T-y-r-e H-o-l-l-a-n-d-e-r.

BURG: And he was county chairman at the time of the 1948 election?

MOORE: Yes. And he and others were splitting up the governorship of Alaska, and under-Secretary of Treasury, and Collector of Customs and U.S. Marshal during the summer when they should have been making friends with middle of the road and liberal elements in the community, which went by default to [Harry S.] Truman. So they really blew the election.

BURG: So the party had sort of lapsed into some kind of semi-comatose state by '48?

MOORE: Indeed.

BURG: Pat, happy, complacent here in this region?

MOORE: Well, they hadn't really been complacent about where they were.

BURG: Yes. They had not won anything for years.

MOORE: They'd elected one person since 1930, and that was Arthur Langlie, governor in '40. Then he was re-elected in '48 in a very close election. And he called George Powell who was Mrs. [Neal (Janet)] Tourtellotte's brother who is I think now president of the Board of Regents and Bob Yoemans, who was a delegate to the '52 convention. He died recently.

BURG: He spells his name, Y-o-o-m-a-n-s, is it?



MOORE: Yes. He later became Secretary of the Washington Water Power Company. Joe Pearson who was killed a year or two later. George Kinnear who is Chairman of the Tax Commission now. Jack Thomas who represented some distilleries here. I think that was about it. The governor, Langlie, asked all of us one day, to come meet together, and he said, "Now one of you is going to be county chairman."

George Kinnear said, "Well, I can't because I have to look after the family affairs."

Joe Pearson said, "My law partners won't let me." Each one had an excuse.

It, finally, got around to me, and I remember I said, "Well, you know, I would love to do it, but I don't have the qualifications--I can't speak and I'm not a very outgoing personality. I'm not terribly friendly, and I am just not the person although I would like to do it."

So a couple of days later the governor's manager, Clarence LaFramboise, called me and said, "Now I want to talk to you." So he and Langlie had talked and so by default I was the selected one, and there was a great deal of opposition to me. But I did, in fact, win that county convention about three to two.

BURG: Can you give me the names of any of those who opposed you at that time, leaders in the opposition?



MOORE: William V. Smith, he and I are on good terms now, was very bitter. He was the organization's choice. The organization did not like Langlie because he was much too liberal, much too independent, and appointed Democrats and Independents to positions of influence.

BURG: By organization you mean the majority within the Republican party?

MOORE: Yes. The majority Republican group in control of the party machinery.

BURG: At least those who control, whether they were a majority or not, those who control.

MOORE: Those who controlled, that's right.

BURG: Anyone else besides Smith?

MOORE: Ford Q. Elvidge, who later became Governor of Guam.

BURG: How is that name spelled?



MOORE: Ford as in automobile and Elvidge, E-l-v-i-d-g-e. Ford Q. Elvidge. A number of nice old-lady types that, you know, would have all the precinct caucuses and district meetings, most of whom are now dead. They were rather ancient then.

BURG: Would you say, Mr. Moore, that the opposition was largely of older people than in '48 to your election?

MOORE: Yes. Well, I had the sheriff, who was the greatest

vote-getter we ever had in King County, Harlan Callahan. I had him behind me, and I had Langlie behind me. And I had a scattering of all of the malcontents in the party. I was very good at getting them; they considered me their last best hope--so what few Jews there were, what few Italians there were. See the party was made up mostly of DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution] types, super-patriots who would do anything to keep from getting killed themselves but wanted everybody else to march off. They were always trying to keep these people out of the party, but there were a few of them that by history or by deep economic beliefs or social beliefs felt they were Republicans. They stayed in the party as minority groups, and so probably fifteen percent of my vote came from, maybe twenty-five percent of my vote came from these people, a handful of them in each of the districts. I actually lost ten of the twelve districts in that first election that I was elected. I carried two districts a hundred percent, and it was very close in the other twelve, maybe they beat me by five votes or ten. But I swept one district by a hundred and thirty to nothing.



BURG: So when the total count was in, you had what it took.

MOORE: Yes. About three to two. In the next election I didn't get any more popular; I always won three to two.

BURG: But never lost ground over a period of time.

MOORE: No. The Central Committee used to have twenty-four members, and I found that it was too undiplomatic to kick out a lot of these district chairmen and co-chairmen. So I didn't do that. I merely expanded the Central Committee using Parkinson's law to segregate. I had all the county office holders. I had all the legislators. I had the president of the Young Men's Republican Club. I had the officers of the Associated Republican Women. I had the publisher of the Republican newspaper. Anybody that I could find an excuse to make a member of the Central Committee, I did. Then I created an executive committee of about seven or eight people who were all mine, naturally.

BURG: The odds, of course, now in your favor.



MOORE: Yes. Exactly. I had the odds. I was probably outnumbered eighteen to six originally. Well, it ended up that I

probably had forty-five out of seventy in the final analysis, if I needed a vote, though we mostly decided everything in the executive committee. Things ran I think about average; I was not a super-chairman by any means.

BURG: How do you mean that?

MOORE: Well, I was never very good at getting the recalcitrant Republicans that didn't like me together. I couldn't seem to do it. Either they were too difficult or I was too inept, and I think really it was the latter. I think I was poor at getting people together that didn't basically like my philosophy.

BURG: How old a man were you in '48, Mr. Moore?



MOORE: Thirty-six. And I was reasonably vigorous. I was in doubt about my own abilities, but I wasn't in doubt about any issues. I had researched very solidly. When I made up my mind about something nothing changed. And I had, in the party, heroes of mine. The people that I looked to for leadership had been [Governor Thomas E.] Tom Dewey, Henry Cabot Lodge, Leverett Saltonstall, Earl Warren, certainly.

BURG: Men that you viewed as young and vigorous and modern.

MOORE: Or old and vigorous.

BURG: Or old and vigorous, but modern Republican in their outlook.

MOORE: Wayne Morse was a big hero of mine in those days. And I still think very well of him. But, anyway, I pulled in the direction of a more liberal world with more direct diplomacy internationally, more business exchange, easier quotas for immigration, and this just touched off all of the reactionaries that view every one from abroad as evil. So I had trouble always with these people. It did sharpen me. I became very skillful at working them and anticipating them, but I could have done a lot better if I had somehow extended more olive branches.

BURG: I've asked you who it was that put up opposition to you. During this period from '48 up to 1952, who are your staunchest allies, by name, within the county. Callahan you've mentioned.

MOORE: Harlan Callahan--



BURG: Langlie, of course.

MOORE: Arthur Langlie. He was something else. I mean he's

different; we'll leave him in a category by himself. He doesn't fit in with these other people nor they with him in the way things have to be done. There was Harlan Callahan. There was George Powell. There was Willard Wright, Bob Yoemans, Jack Thomas, Bill Howard--one of the all time great backroom politicians.

BURG: Almost all of these men were considered with you for that chairmanship?

MOORE: Yes.

BURG: Howard was not, as I remember, one of those that Governor--



MOORE: In the original group, that's right. There was Jay Adams--

BURG: Is this Brock Adams' father?

MOORE: No.

BURG: No relation?

MOORE: This is a fellow that's a contemporary of mine, and he owns a book and magazine distributing company here called, Riches

Adams. He and I have grown together politically. Although we don't see each other maybe for two or three years, we find that we have written a scorching letter to Hugh Scott, for example, on some issue within two days of each other.

BURG: Isn't that odd?

MOORE: It really is funny.

BURG: Taking pretty much the same stand?

MOORE: Yes. It's really very amusing.



BURG: So he too then is one of the staunch people in this new organization that you're getting together.

MOORE: Yes. And I brought him in. There was a thing called the Young Men's Republican Club, and the president of it in 1952, I think, was a guy in the class of 1900 from Harvard. Now even in those days I don't think anybody graduated from Harvard at under twenty-two, from Harvard Law School, do you?

BURG: Probably not.

MOORE: So the guy had to be born in 1878. Well, in '48 you know the guy is getting along in years, and four years later

he was elected president of the YMRC. That's the type that we had in the party, and yet you called it the Young Men's Republican Club. They had started out when they were very young, you see, and they kind of rotated the chairmanship and the presidency and that.

BURG: How large a body was it, Mr. Moore? Do you remember, at that time?

MOORE: They probably had two hundred members, and they probably turned out thirty for lunch. So I organized another thing, or helped organize another thing, to counteract it and give the party a better image in the press and generally around the county called the Young Republicans of King County. And among those now are a couple of Supreme Court Justices, a federal judge, four or five of the most prestigious attorneys in town, and they really made this thing move. They would get out five hundred people for any kind of a project. I didn't enter into this organization, but I helped organize it, and then they were on their own. But I would suggest that maybe we needed five hundred people to do something, and they could turn out five hundred people in four or five days time. They were young men and women who were twenty to thirty-five. It was a really good organization. And then I spent a great deal of time working with the unions, especially the

Teamsters and the AFL-CIO Council.

BURG: Contact with Dave Beck?

MOORE: Not much. His mind was made up.

BURG: Against the Republican Party, you mean?



MOORE: Yes, although he had been a Republican all of his life. It was hard to break in there, but there were a number of business agents and secretaries that we were able to get contributions from. And we were able to get the loan of some personnel periodically to deliver things for us, and they made some contributions.

I always went out of my way to play fair with the Democrats. I never accused them once of anything bad, unless I found them really doing something totally evil. And this was quite a change because every Republican had attacked them as all Communists, all left-pinkos. You know, the usual chatter. So this was a revelation to them to have a county chairman that behaved like that, and so I became kind of their darling, really. They thought that I was a marvelous thing to have in politics, and perhaps I did in a sense give politics a good name in this area.

BURG: The outsider to Washington state politics really has to be reminded that this was named the Soviet of Washington just prior to your tenure.

MOORE: That's right.

BURG: And therefore a Republican who did not sling mud was a rather odd creature indeed. Now let me ask, Mr. Moore, all of these things that have a tendency to put a new face on the party here in Washington, how much of the impetus for that would you say came from outside the State? That is, to what extent is the National Republican Party helping in all of this or would you say that it is basically a local thing?

MOORE: At that time?



BURG: Yes. '48 up to the maneuvering in '52? Say '48 through '51.

MOORE: This state from 1930 till 1950 was probably in the top fifteen percent of all states in liberal thought. I'm not speaking now of Republicans or Democrats, but the general populace, I think, was more liberal. So I think that basically we were dissatisfied with the Taft types as potential presidents.

They didn't want that kind of person. Dewey was barely acceptable to them. People here were looking for something that was liberal, something that was strong and prestigious all at the same time, I think. If I had to assess it, I would think that eighty percent of the desire to move toward, in the final analysis, Eisenhower. But that basic drive was internal. Probably twenty percent of it was inspired outside by Dewey, Saltonstall, and Lodge perhaps, and Earl Warren. They might have had each five percent to do with it or at least that general type of person.



BURG: What I want to do is to find out if the national organization put you on this trail through Arthur Langlie.

MOORE: No. In 1950, right about now, a group of us met at Rosellini's Restaurant. Most of them were members of the Young Republicans of King County and then my own strong armed executive committee. There were probably fifteen of us. We had a very strong and long meeting that day. We were all pretty much together, but we decided that we needed to make a decision as to what we were going to do. So it was decided that I should make a trip to Boston; the Young Republicans were having their national convention in Boston that year. I was a member, but I

was too old by that time to really be a member, but they made me a delegate to the convention. And I put up half the money, and the rest of them all put up five or ten dollars apiece. And I made the trip; I went back on the train, and I stopped in Albany to see Governor Dewey and Jim [James C.] Hagerty. And then I went on to Boston and talked with both John [Davis] Lodge who was then I think Governor of Connecticut.

BURG: This was 1951?

MOORE: No, this was '50.

BURG: In '50, all right.



MOORE: June, right at the end of June or early July of '50. And there is a test fight going on at that convention between the Taft people and the Eisenhower people. We had a candidate by the name of Warburg from Delaware and we prevailed by about the same margin that Eisenhower prevailed two years later. The Eisenhower candidate won the presidency in a very, very close and bitter election. So then I stopped and talked to Hugh Scott on the way back in Philadelphia, and I went to Washington where I saw the one liberal Congressman at that time from the state that I liked, Thor Tollefson, who is now Director of Fisheries

for the state. So after I'd talked to all these people, I came back and reported that it looked to me as if Eisenhower was the candidate and that we should not deviate in anyway from that moment on.

BURG: How did you handle those who must have asked you, has Eisenhower agreed to run?

MOORE: I said that I had every confidence that this man who never turned down anything that ever came his way was going to turn this down.



BURG: Well, that's a good point because that was his attitude.

MOORE: Yes. You know he was about as qualified perhaps to be president of a university as, you know, perhaps you and I could do it as well. But somebody thought that he was good enough, and so he said "Of course." He was not egotistical, but he was perfectly willing to accept anything that came his way, and he wasn't going to turn down the Presidency of the United States. So that was in July, about the middle of July of '50; so we went on through the balance of '50 and through '51. Well, I'm talking a great deal. What would you like to ask?

BURG: No, you're doing precisely what I need to know. There's two things that I want to ask right now. First of all, the conversation with Tom Dewey. What did he say to you about the convention that you were attending, about the fact that there might be a Taft-Eisenhower controversy there? Did he predict that? Did he realize that?

MOORE: Yes, yes. He urged "Good luck and God speed."

BURG: Cited no favorite of his own?

MOORE: Yes, sure. He was for Warburg.

BURG: I see. He at that time was hoping that he could swing--

MOORE: Certainly.

BURG: Speak about his own aspirations to you?



MOORE: No. We talked about that. I told him that he had been my hero, and that I was terribly sorry, because it was apparent that he was never going to be President. I always speak very straight forwardly to a subject.

[Interruption]

BURG: He was about as warm as ever?

MOORE: Warm as he ever was. Very cool, dignified. You know, he looks at you and you realize he is a very cool fellow, and I grew to really like him better in the next twelve months because I saw him do some things that I thought fit him the way I had pictured the guy.

Anyway in the fall of '51 there was a big move here for Taft. I was a little apprehensive because a poll had been taken showing that, as of November of '51, Taft would end up with twenty delegates out of the state; Eisenhower would end up with four. I'd been very, very circumspect and very quiet up to this point. I was not offending anybody for once in my life; I was just rocking along week by week. (The Central Committee secretary was perfect for the job--always made me look better than I was. Her name was Jean Latourette). And my friends were getting more antsy and nervous about what was going to happen in the spring.

BURG: These are the friends of which we spoke just a few minutes ago.

MOORE: Right. So the Taft people were really riding high and they invited Bob Taft out to speak at the Lincoln Day Banquet. So I shuddered because he did accept. I had met him, just was



introduced to him, at lunch in the Senate dining room, by Harry Cain, who was then our Senator.

BURG: And pro-Taft, was he not, Mr. Moore?

MOORE: Yes, yes. And so I thought when I met Taft--this man is very, very cold and doesn't come across very well, although I had always been for everything that he had ever done, Taft-Hartley and then on back. I thought he was a great guy.

BURG: Of two cool men, Dewey and Taft, which man impressed you most, Dewey, do you think?

MOORE: Yes.

BURG: As a personality?



MOORE: I think, possibly, even more depth. It's hard to say but I don't know.

BURG: In a general sense, Mr. Moore, a man a little more conversant with the world.

MOORE: Yes.

BURG: Dewey had that; Taft lacked it.

MOORE: I think so. Although I never knew Taft, you know, just very slightly. Well, he arrived in town, and I had formulated a plan. I decided to take some drastic measures because it was impossible for the Eisenhower people to cope. So the day after Taft spoke, and he did one of his best speeches; he had a packed house and they were very friendly. And he came here after [Senator Everett McKinley] Dirksen was here, as I recall. Dirksen, you know, would tell maybe a hundred jokes in the course of the evening. Everybody thought he was wonderful, and he never said anything. Taft, on the other hand, couldn't pull a joke off if his life depended on it, and he started in giving facts and was very good, and people liked it. So the next day I called Mrs. Tourtellote; Mrs. Baker, who was state committeewoman from King County; Mrs. Gehrman, who was county vice-chairman.

BURG: How does she spell her last name?



MOORE: G-e-h-r-m-a-n. And [R.] Mort Frayn who was state chairman. And of course Mrs. Tourtellote was national committee-woman. So the five of us sat down. Basically, at that moment in history, all four of them were for Taft. Now they say

differently or they don't talk about it, but they were pretty solidly for Taft. It is conceivable that, at that moment, Janet might have been having some doubts, but, basically, you had to consider the four of them were for Taft. So I said that Taft really was magnificent yesterday, and unknown to you, I have had a poll taken. This poll shows that Taft can, in fact, carry King County. And if he can carry King County, he can certainly carry the rest of the state. They all agreed on that. And I said, "What we want to do, I believe, in order to insure his carrying the state and eventually carrying the country, is to broaden the base of the party, as much as possible. Instead of having precinct caucuses held almost in secret with only the precinct committeeman and his wife and another friend there and electing a delegate which is one of the three of them and an alternate which is one of the three of them, I would like to suggest this, and I have already arrangements for the money. I would like to run full page ads in both newspapers listing all the precinct caucus locations and invite everybody in the county to come to this precinct caucus. It will scoop the Democrats. It will show them we're the party of the people, and we want everybody to think that. We will also, among other things,

advertise that if anybody would like an issue to vote on to write in, and if there is any interest in that issue at all there will be a straw ballot and people can indicate whether they want to get out of Korea--what they want to do." Well, we did, in fact. They thought this was super, but there is one question which I was ready for.

They said, "But you know may be that the public will come in and the precinct committeeman who has done all this work" (of course the precinct committeeman hadn't done any work at all) "won't even get to go to the county convention or the district caucus."

I said, "I would propose under this plan that the precinct committeeman is an automatic delegate to the county convention." Well, they all looked very happy because the Taft people had three out of four delegates--three out of four committeemen were for Taft. So they decided to do this. Then we had an executive committee meeting after that and agreed we could do something for the party. Tourtellotte and Frayn both thought this was a good idea, and they both spoke at the meeting and said they thought so. We took it to the central committee, and they thought it was great. So I had an angel who bought the ads.



BURG: These would appear in the Seattle Times and the PI
[Seattle Post-Intelligencer]?

MOORE: Yes. And they did in fact. And thousands and thousands
of people turned out; it was just a tremendous thing.

BURG: February or March of '51?



MOORE: March, I think. It was a month or six weeks, maybe it
was as late as April. Might have been about now. Sometimes
there would be two hundred people at a caucus, and there'd
never been more than ten at a caucus in history before. The
outcome was--Eisenhower, among the elected delegates, carried
four out of five. So we got to the party convention; it was
close. They had us beaten four to three; we had them beaten
five to four; so we beat them. We might not have beaten them,
but, as you remember, the county chairman has the power to
appoint committeemen. So I appointed committeemen to vacancies
and by doing that Eisenhower carried the district caucuses where
the delegates to the county convention are elected. The district
delegates went to the county convention, and I think twenty-two
hundred delegates came, and it was a wild melee. It was really

amateur night. We had to have signs made; people didn't know how to vote. All this parliamentary maneuvering was too much, especially for the Eisenhower people who were all more McGovern types that are carried away and want to participate in the great American scene but don't know what to do. So we had signs made, great huge signs on big sticks. Maybe on one side it says, "Ike says 'yes.'" On the other side it says, "Ike says 'no.'" And we'd have these signs up in front, and we'd hold them up when we'd want them to vote a certain way.

BURG: Where was this meeting held?

MOORE: It was the Eagles auditorium, just two blocks from here.

BURG: Here in Seattle?

MOORE: Yes. We beat them, and then I had a test run in the thirty-third district.

Bill Howard, whom I mentioned a little while ago said, "I will guarantee you that we will invoke the unit rule in our district. I'm strong enough to do it." And so his vote out there was maybe, I don't remember the number of delegates, but he probably carried it two to one. And then he bound the rest



of them all to vote in the same fashion. So he came into the convention you see with a solid block.

BURG: All committed to Eisenhower?

MOORE: Right. He really wanted Taft, Howard did; but, out of loyalty to me and our long time relationship, he had agreed that he would go for Eisenhower. The first district to vote was the thirtieth, and Taft won that district, oh, very close, like maybe thirty-five to thirty. The thirty-first district came in, and that was a giant Eisenhower district, and they passed. And the thirty-second district, Taft won it by three or four votes. The thirty-third district came in, and Howard rose to his feet and said that he was casting all of their votes for Eisenhower. And the screaming was terrific. There was about four hours of parliamentary fighting and maneuvering, and we had to recess several times and try and get everybody going in the same direction.

BURG: Who was your parliamentarian, Mr. Moore? Somebody was having a difficult job there.

MOORE: We brought in, I think Mrs. Utter, who was kind of a professional parliamentarian.



BURG: Patsy Utter?

MOORE: No. Mrs. Utter would now be, probably, eighty-five. Anyway, I had brought her in because she was noncontroversial. And yet we had checked her out to be sure that she understood and that she was going to make the right rulings on certain things. Because if she hadn't, we could have been in a lot of trouble. Yet she didn't violate any of her ethics because she would have done it anyway. But being very practical, I wanted to be sure that we were not going to be upset by a ruling of hers. After long bickering, we finally made it stick, and they threatened to take us to court. Well, you know you can't do that--the political parties settle their own differences.

BURG: They were particularly angry about Howard's use of the unit rule?

MOORE: That really just upset them terribly, and of course they knew that was the end. So then we went through the roll call and picked up the rest of the districts. The thirty-first, after it was all over, the biggest district in the state, was controlled by Jack Thomas. He came in with like two hundred to



nothing. And so Eisenhower had the thing locked up. But then we invoked the unit rule over the whole county so that when we went to the state, where a thousand delegates, at least, showed up, with our unit ruled three hundred and fifty for Eisenhower, although the vote was only about a hundred and eighty to a hundred and sixty-five.

BURG: Was it not done that way any place else, Mr. Moore?

MOORE: No, no.

BURG: Only King County organized in that way and pushed it through that way?

MOORE: Right. And Taft would have carried the state twenty to four if we hadn't because we took delegates out of every district in the state as a result of these three hundred and fifty votes that I controlled that day. I just voted the three fifty. All we needed out of a thousand was another hundred and fifty. Plus the fact that, you know, we start the convention reasonably early, at nine in Spokane. It's a hot day. Purposely I encouraged them to have it in a hot auditorium. They got it in the armory. It is beastly. And I insisted that the windows not be opened



and the doors not be opened. And we just wore out the older Taft people. They were leaving by two and three in the afternoon. They were going back to their hotels, and so they lost a lot of delegates. See, they needed each of their delegates because they were individuals. All I had to do was vote my three hundred and fifty. I kept in good shape all day, and so I kept voting the three hundred and fifty on every issue.

BURG: Was George Kinnear the chairman at the convention?

MOORE: I believe he was, yes. I think he was. Either George [C.] Kinnear or George Powell was temporary chairman or permanent chairman of our county convention. State convention, I believe that it was Kinnear and Woodall, but I'm not sure.

BURG: Do you remember Woodall's first name?



MOORE: Perry Woodall. He's a State Senator from Yakima now.

But anyway that is, actually, how Eisenhower carried this county, this state. And when we got to the national convention, to show you how important every vote was, we were sitting there Sunday night before the convention opened and there was Tom Dewey, Jacoby who was Speaker of the House in New York, Langlie, Jack Thomas, Bill Howard, Don Eastvold, two or three others and I. And Dewey

said to Jacoby, "How do things look for tomorrow, Jake?"

And he said, "It's ninety-two to four."

And Dewey said, "Let's see, there's the young man that is a relative of Taft's I believe. We could never ask him to change. There's Taft's classmate from Long Island." (This is as I recall it.) "We couldn't ask him to change. But," he said, "Those other two. What do they want, Jake?"

Jake said, "They would like to be judge surrogates, Governor."

And Dewey said, "Well, you mean we haven't taken care of that?" And the next day they did, in fact, vote ninety-four to two, and they both became judges in New York. But that's how close, how important every vote was. So when we switched from twenty to four for Taft to nineteen to five for Eisenhower, you know, that made a whale of a difference.

BURG: Were you told that when you were back there at the national convention?

MOORE: No.



BURG: Anything said to you about the kind of job that had been done here?

MOORE: No. Langlie was a great guy for taking all the credit, and he distrusted everybody. Everybody was a crook but Arthur Langlie. He mistrusted everybody, and he took all the glory. He used to have his secretary call me daily and ask me, "How are things going? Are we going to be able to carry it?"

Even when I was in doubt I kept reassuring him, "Yes, we're going to carry it. Don't worry."

But then his secretary would say, "But don't get the governor mixed up in this." You know, like you do all the dirty work. You be the bad guy. As a matter of fact, when we elected a chairman of our delegation there were twenty-four delegates. The five Taft delegates, strangely enough, were ready to vote for me. And I had twelve of the Eisenhower delegates; so I could have been chairman of the delegation without any trouble. But Langlie was so vindictive, and I had had trouble with him before. Although I wanted to be chairman very badly, I really wanted to do that, I said to myself, "He is governor and who am I?" So although I wanted it badly, I bowed out, and he was elected unanimously.



Mrs. Tourtellotte has made the most consistent contribution down through the years of anybody in the party, I would say, to party harmony, welfare, prestige, image. She was a very good person. She was very helpful always. She supported me; she was very nice, and so did her brother, George Powell.

BURG: Now did you, while you were back there, meet Eisenhower?

MOORE: Yes. But I had met him a month before in Denver. He had come to Denver to meet certain delegations from all over the West.

BURG: So you had gone to that as the sole representative from the state of Washington?

MOORE: No. We all flew back one morning on a United flight, and we flew out of here early in the morning.

BURG: How many of you from here?



MOORE: Oh, I think all the Eisenhower delegates went, nineteen and some of the alternates. Probably thirty. And that was a wonderful day. Eisenhower had not been back, you know, out of his uniform very long; he had a great gray flannel suit. And he

came out, and we were all sitting there. He sat with one leg on the floor and one dangling over the table that was there, and said that he was glad to be here and that he was glad that he had a chance to be President and a few polite remarks.

Considering that he lived at Ft. Lewis for several years, what happened at that meeting really surprised me. Bob Yoemans, who was very interested in the big public-private power argument that's been going on here for forty years, was very interested in this. He said, "General, how do you feel about public power?"

The General looked puzzled. You know that he didn't hear terribly well, and he kind of leaned over and said, "What was that question?" He was desperately trying to think what kind of an answer to give. And Yoemans repeated the question. He rallied for a minute, and he said rather strongly, "I've always believed the public should have the power."

BURG: For Heaven sakes. What did Yoemans do when he recovered his equilibrium?



MOORE: His mouth fell open, and we laughed about this for

years afterwards. It's an unimportant issue.

BURG: Nobody challenged the remark?

MOORE: No.

BURG: Just let it go?

MOORE: No. We were all for him, and we were hoping that he would not be asked too many other questions in public, and would be better shielded. But then I had another nice conversation with him in 1953. They gave a prize to the county chairman that had done the best job in the state, and so I was lucky enough to win that in the '52 election.

BURG: Is this for the State of Washington?



MOORE: For the State of Washington. So I went to Washington one day with my wife to have a half hour seance with Daddy Warbucks; that's what we called him.

I knew that what he had to say was much more important than what I had to say, but I'd been in the forefront of every civil rights movement in the state. My wife later marched in the Selma--marched with Martin Luther King. She's not a strong physical

person, but she is determined. So am I. Anyway we went there, and we were going to tell the President that one of the most important things that he could do in this country was to promote harmony among all the people and that the idea of second class citizens had to go. Well, he listened, and that reminded him of something that had happened a week or so before. It seems that some head of state from Africa had been in Washington and was staying at one of the better hotels, and the secret service was looking after him, and he was being afforded every amenity the State Department could offer. But he got up early one morning, and, with a couple of his friends, his staff, he went down the street and went into a cafeteria to have breakfast, and he was thrown out. Well, apparently the secret service man reported this to the White House, and Eisenhower apparently was not that well shielded or wanted to know everything. And that really distressed him. He was describing this, a big vein in his neck stood out, kind of red in the face and was leaning forward; and he said, "I just couldn't believe that would happen. I'd heard these things but I couldn't believe it." This reminds me, incidentally, a little of Lincoln. They were very sensitive and touched, but they could ignore a lot of things.



I said, "What did you do?"

He said, "I got in touch with that cafeteria. I told them that if that ever happened again, they'd be doing no more business in Washington, D.C. as long as I was President."

BURG: With no word about how he proposed to carry that out?

MOORE: No. No, I have no idea.

BURG: Unless he stood in front of the door and physically barred people from entering, I don't know what he could.



MOORE: But anyway, he said, "We haven't had any trouble. I've tested them a couple of times since then, and we haven't had any trouble there. I'm trying to get the word around." He was very good about that. He was a good human being.

But in Chicago I only met him briefly because that was the giant moment when everybody wanted to spend time with him, and I always try to be more thoughtful in those situations and not force my way and to further complicate matters. I didn't spend any time at all, three minutes maybe.

BURG: What was the situation here in the state among the Taft

people after the maneuvering that you did. Although you say they would have voted for you for chairman of the delegation--

MOORE: In opposition to Langlie only. They really hated me. You see they'd choose me a bad second, but they'd choose me in preference to Langlie as chairman.

BURG: I see. Did it hamper your work then in the campaign once the nomination had been secured by your man?

MOORE: I think I was probably ninety-five percent effective. One thing I had done in order to kind of prepare the way--I was fearful that the business community might be so upset that money would not be forthcoming, not only for Eisenhower because I knew that national money would take care of that, but it might carry over to local candidates if they became disenchanted. So I invited the president of Harvard to come out and speak, and that was [James B.] Conant. I invited him to come out and speak to only the business men. I had about fifty, the fifty biggest in Seattle at a breakfast at the Rainier Club, that would be May of '52, to let him tell them why. He'd answer any questions they had about why he was for Eisenhower and why



the country's best interest would be served by having Eisenhower instead of Taft. They were all there; they wanted to stay till noon. There were many good questions, very little rancor, and it broke the back of the Taft people. They looked poor in their questioning; they looked small; they looked vindictive, and I had two or three very skillful people there asking the right questions. It went off very well, and ever after that Eisenhower was an accepted medium of exchange.

BURG: I'll ask you a question; I fear I know the answer already. Was somebody there with one of these? Was there any record kept so here was an instance in state politics of reaching perhaps a turning point in that campaign?

MOORE: Lost.



BURG: And we have no record of it. No real reporting of it in the papers I would guess, nothing thorough enough to do the job?

MOORE: No. They might have had a half a column. But that was a very important thing at that moment. It made a lot of difference.

BURG: Did you make any attempt, Mr. Moore, to mend fences or protect your candidate in the state at large? I think we both know that the eastern section of the state tends to be more conservative and probably tended to be Taft country.

MOORE: Yes.

BURG: Do you recollect any efforts of the party, of course you would not because of King County, but any efforts of the party to mend fences and secure Taft support for Eisenhower over there?

MOORE: Well, Mort Frayn, and he had two people with him, a fellow by the name of F. M. "Pete" Higgins, and Bill Culliton.

BURG: That last name, Culliton?

MOORE: Culliton, C-u-l-l-i-t-o-n. Frayn, Higgins, and Culliton toured the state. They're all people of some substance and known conservatism, and Frayn had been for Taft. I suspect that Culliton and Higgins had been too, but they were able to speak with these people, and they carried it off very well and got them quieted down. Things went very well, but not by



anything that I did. That's the sort of thing I do poorly.

BURG: That was done by others?

MOORE: Yes.



BURG: You did the best you could to do for your own county.

MOORE: Yes. I didn't do much to cure the recalcitrant Taft diehards; I just concentrated on the general public, and let him win them. Here we did a job to try and make it appear that Eisenhower was a real man, not a patriot, but a real man; and that Stevenson was kind of ethereal and a dreamer, and we depreciated him.