The Bancroft Library University of California/Berkeley
Regional Oral History Office

Earl Warren Oral History Project

Ford A. Chatters

(1896 - 1974)

VIEW FROM THE CENTRAL VALLEY: THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE, WATER, POLITICS, AND THE STATE PERSONNEL BOARD

With an Introduction by
Harold G. Schutt

An Interview Conducted by
Amelia R. Fry

Copy No._____

© 1976 by The Regents of the University of California

All uses of this manuscript are covered by a legal agreement between the Regents of the University of California and Ford A. Chatters dated 4 October 1973. The manuscript is thereby made available for research purposes. All literary rights in the manuscript, including the right to publish, are reserved to The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. No part of the manuscript may be quoted for publication without the written permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to the Regional Oral History Office, 486 Library, and should include identification of the specific passages to be quoted, anticipated use of the passages, and identification of the user.

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Ford A. Chatters

PREFACE i

INTRODUCTION iii

INTERVIEW HISTORY v

FAMILY BACKGROUND, BOYHOOD, AND YOUTH 1
Forebears and Siblings 1
Attendance at USC, and Part-time Newspaper Work 8
Marriage to Mabel Janet McConkie and Service in World War I 9
Role in the California Newspaper Publishers' Association 10

EARLY POLITICAL INTERESTS 11
To Sacramento: Clerk, Committee on Irrigation, 1921 11
Member of the Assembly, 1933 12
Work for the California Farm Bureau, 1927 13

ROLE IN CALIFORNIA WATER LEGISLATION 15
Legislative Water Studies 16
Power Company Opposition 20
Evolution of the Central Valley Project 21
Change in Riparian Rights Law, 1928 31
Campaign for Passage of Central Valley Project Act, 1929-1933 32
    Referendum to Stall the Central Valley Project Act, 1933 35
    Special Election, December 1933 39
    Other Proposed Water Legislation 40
    Exposé of CVP Act Opponents 43
Federal Help for the Central Valley Project 46
    William Warne, Representative of the Bureau of Reclamation 48
    Walker R. Young, Engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation 50
    Construction and Operation Under the Bureau of Reclamation 51
Disposition of State CVP Bonds of 1933 53
The 160-Acre Limitation and the CVP 56
Edward Hyatt, Bob Edmonston, and U. S. Webb 60
Retirement from the Legislature, 1937 60

ROLE IN THE WARREN CAMPAIGN, 1942 62
Hired by Whitaker & Baxter 62
Ran Campaign News Service 63
Walter Gordon in the 1942 Campaign and Later 64
Tom Coakley and Irving Martin 66
With Warren on the Campaign Trail 67
Comments on Warren as Governor, and the Warren Family 71
Warren's Campaign Pictures 73
Reported Falling-Out Between Warren and Whitaker & Baxter 75
Charges Against Governor Olson Withheld 77
Friends Made in the 1942 Campaign 78

ROLE IN THE WARREN ADMINISTRATION 79
Comments on Warren's Appointments 79
Verne Scoggins 80
Helen MacGregor 81
Bill Sweigert 82
Richard McGee 83
Checking Reappointments 85
Extraditions and Pardons 86
Recollections of Jim Welsh 87
How Warren Vented His Temper 90
Recollections of Beach Vasey 92
Recollections of "Pop" Small 94
Relations Between Warren and Whitaker & Baxter 95
Warren Family and Campaign Publicity 96
Alleged Bugging in Olson Administration 97

AS A STATE LEGISLATOR 99
Election to Office 99
Cross-Filing 100
Social Legislation 102
Reorganization of State Tax Structure 102
Sales Tax, 1933 103
Election to a Second Term 104
The Income Tax Bill 108
The Donihue Committee Investigations 114

PROBLEMS OF LIQUOR CONTROL (BOARD OF EQUALIZATION, ABC BOARD) 126

RELATIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE 131

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, 1935-1940 133
Textbook Controversy 135

RICHARD NIXON 142

THE HIGHWAY COMMISSION, SEPTEMBER 1945-APRIL 1947 146
C. H. Purcell 147

STATE PERSONNEL BOARD, MAY 1943-APRIL 1947 150
Hearings Procedures Revised 157
Appeal Procedure 159
Hands-off Policy of Warren and His Successors 160
Extension of Civil Service 161
Terms and Powers of State Personnel Board Members 163
Japanese-Americans and the State Personnel Board 164
Salary Adjustments 165
The State Personnel Board and the State College System 166
Remembered Personnel Board Cases 167
Veterans' Problems (California Veterans' Commission) 169

Duties of State Personnel Board Members 170
World War II and Post-war Problems of the Personnel Board 172
The Forty-Hour Work Week 174
Evolution of Intradepartmental Personnel Management 175
Staff Cuts 176
Cooperative Personnel Services to Local Governments 177
The Legislature and the State Personnel Board 177
Miscellaneous Discussion 179

APPENDIX - Selected Letters from Ford Chatters to ROHO 181-187
Inventory of papers delivered by Ford Chatters to ROHO, November 17, 1972 188
Materials received from Ford Chatters, July 24, 1973 189
Letter to ROHO from Harold G. Schutt, May 13, 1974 190

INDEX 191

PREFACE

The Earl Warren Oral History Project, a special project of the Regional Oral History Office, was inaugurated in 1969 to produce tape-recorded interviews with persons prominent in the arenas of politics, governmental administration, and criminal justice during the Warren Era in California. Focusing on the years 1925-1953, the interviews were designed not only to document the life of Chief Justice Warren but to gain new information on the social and political changes of a state in the throes of a depression, then a war, then a postwar boom.

An effort was made to document the most significant events and trends by interviews with key participants who spoke from diverse vantage points. Most were queried on the one or two topics in which they were primarily involved; a few interviewees with special continuity and breadth of experience were asked to discuss a multiplicity of subjects. While the cut-off date of the period studied was October 1953, Earl Warren's departure for the United States Supreme Court, there was no attempt to end an interview perfunctorily when the narrator's account had to go beyond that date in order to complete the topic.

The interviews have stimulated the deposit of Warreniana in the form of papers from friends, aides, and the opposition; government documents; old movie newsreels; video tapes; and photographs. This Earl Warren collection is being added to The Bancroft Library's extensive holdings on twentieth century California politics and history.

The project has been financed by four outright grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a one year grant from the California State Legislature through the California Heritage Preservation Commission, and by gifts from local donors which were matched by the Endowment. Contributors include the former law clerks of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Cortez Society, many long-time supporters of "the Chief," and friends and colleagues of some of the major memoirists in the project. The Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation and the San Francisco Foundation have jointly sponsored the Northern California Negro Political History Series, a unit of the Earl Warren Project.

Particular thanks are due the Friends of The Bancroft Library who were instrumental in raising local funds for matching, who served as custodian for all such funds, and who then supplemented from their own treasury all local contributions on a one-dollar-for-every-three dollars basis.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in the history of California and the West. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Amelia R. Fry, Director
Earl Warren Oral History Project

Willa K. Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

30 June 1976
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Principal Investigators

Ira M. Heyman
Lawrence A. Harper
Arthur H. Sherry

Advisory Council

Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong *
Walton E. Bean
Richard M. Buxbaum
William R. Dennes
Joseph P. Harris
James D. Hart
John D. Hicks *
William J. Hill
Robert Kenny*
Adrian A. Kragen
Thomas Kuchel
Eugene C. Lee
Mary Ellen Leary
James R. Leiby
Helen R. MacGregor *
Dean E. McHenry
Sheldon H. Messinger
Frank C. Newman
Allan Nevins *
Warren Olney III
Bruce Poyer
Sho Sato
Mortimer Schwartz
Merrell F. Small
John D. Weaver

Project Interviewers

Amelia R. Fry
Joyce A. Henderson
Rosemary Levenson
Gabrielle Morris
Miriam Feingold Stein

Special Interviewers

Orville Armstrong
Willa K. Baum
Malca Chall
June Hogan
George W. Johns
Frank Jones
Alice G. King
Elizabeth Kerby
James R. Leiby
Dillon Myer
Harriet Nathan
Suzanne Riess
Mortimer Schwartz
Ruth Teiser

* Deceased during the term of the project.

EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
(California, 1926-1953)

Single Interview Volumes

Amerson, A. Wayne, *Northern California and Its Challenges to a Negro in the Mid-1900s*, with an introduction by Henry Ziesenhenne. 1974, 103 p.

Breed, Arthur, Jr., *Alameda County and the California Legislature: 1935-1958.* 1977, 65 p.

Burger, Warren. In process.

Carter, Oliver J., *A Leader in the California Senate and the Democratic Party, 1940-1950.* 1979, 200 p.

Carty, Edwin L., *Hunting, Politics, and the Fish and Game Commission.* 1975, 104 p.

Chatters, Ford, *View from the Central Valley: The California Legislature, Water, Politics, and The State Personnel Board*, with an introduction by Harold Schutt. 1976, 197 p.

Dellums, C. L., *International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Civil Rights Leader*, with an introduction by Tarea Pittman. 1973, 159 p.

Faries, McIntyre, *California Republicans, 1934-1953.* 1973, 155 p.

Graves, Richard, *Theoretician, Advocate, and Candidate in California State Government.* 1973, 219 p.

Huntington, Emily H., *A Career in Consumer Economics and Social Insurance*, with an introduction by Charles A. Gulick. 1971, 111 p.

Jahnsen, Oscar J., *Enforcing the Law Against Gambling, Bootlegging, Graft, Fraud, and Subversion, 1922-1942.* 1976, 212 p.

Johnson, Gardiner. In process.

MacGregor, Helen S., *A Career in Public Service with Earl Warren*, with an introduction by Earl Warren. 1973, 249 p.

McGee, Richard Allen, *Participant in the Evolution of American Corrections: 1931-1973.* 1976, 223 p.

McLaughlin, Donald, *Careers in Mining Geology and Management, University Governance and Teaching*, with an introduction by Charles Meyer. 1975, 318 p.

Olney, Warren III, *Law Enforcement and Judicial Administration in the Earl Warren Era.* 1981, 523 p.

Patterson, Edgar James, *Governor's Mansion Aide to Prison Counselor,* with an introduction by Merrell F. Small. 1975, 79 p.

Pittman, Tarea, *NAACP Official and Civil Rights Worker,* with an introduction by C. L. Dellums. 1974, 159 p.

Powers, Robert B., *Law Enforcement, Race Relations: 1930-1960,* with an introduction by Robert W. Kenny. 1971, 180 p.

Rumford, William Byron, *Legislator for Fair Employment, Fair Housing, and Public Health,* with an introduction by A. Wayne Amerson. 1973, 152 p.

Shell, Joseph. In process.

Sherry, Arthur H., *The Alameda County District Attorney's Office and the California Crime Commission.* 1976, 146 p.

Small, Merrell F., *The Office of the Governor Under Earl Warren.* 1972, 227 p.

Sweigert, William, *Democrat, Friend, and Advisor to Earl Warren.* In process.

Taylor, Paul Schuster, *CALIFORNIA SOCIAL SCIENTIST,* Three Volumes.
Volume I: *Education, Field Research, and Family,* with an introduction by Lawrence I. Hewes. 1973, 342 p.
Volume II and III: *California Water and Agricultural Labor,* with introductions by Paul W. Gates and George M. Foster. 1975, 519 p.

Warren, Earl, *Conversations with Earl Warren on California Government.* 1981, 337 p.

Wollenberg, Albert, *To Do the Job Well: A Life in Legislative, Judicial, and Community Service.* 1981, 396 p.

Multi-Interview Volumes

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, with an introduction by Arthur H. Sherry. Three volumes.

Volume I: 1972, 137 p.
Mullins, John F., *How Earl Warren Became District Attorney.*
Balaban, Edith, *Reminiscences about Nathan Harry Miller, Deputy District Attorney, Alameda County.*
Hamlin, Judge Oliver D., *Reminiscences about the Alameda County District Attorney's Office in the 1920s and 30s.*
Shaw, Mary, *Perspectives of a Newspaperwoman.*
Shea, Willard W., *Recollections of Alameda County's First Public Defender.*

Volume II: 1973, 322 p.
Chamberlain, Richard H., *Reminiscences about the Alameda County District Attorney's Office.*
Jester, Lloyd, *Reminiscences of an Inspector in the District Attorney's Office.*

Volume II (Continued)

Heinrichs, Beverly, *Reminiscences of a Secretary in the District Attorney's Office.*

Severin, Clarence E., *Chief Clerk in the Alameda County District Attorney's Office*

Spence, Homer R., *Attorney, Legislator, and Judge.*

Daly, E. A., *Alameda County Political Leader and Journalist.*

Bruce, John, *A Reporter Remembers Earl Warren.*

Volume III: 1974, 165 p.

Coakley, J. Frank, *A Career in the Alameda County District Attorney's Office.*

Hederman, Albert E., Jr., *From Office Boy to Assistant District Attorney.*

Jensen, Lowell, *Reflections of the Alameda County District Attorney.*

Oakley, James H., *Early Life of a Warren Assistant.*

EARL WARREN'S BAKERSFIELD. 1971, 185 p.

Ashe, Maryann, and Ruth Smith Henley, *Earl Warren's Bakersfield.*

Cavins, Omar, *Coming of Age in Bakersfield.*

Vaughan, Francis, *Schooldays in Bakersfield.*

Kreiser, Ralph, *A Reporter Recollects the Warren Case.*

Manford, Martin and Ernest McMillan, *On Methias Warren.*

BEE PERSPECTIVES OF THE WARREN ERA. 1976, 186 p.

Rodda, Richard, *From the Capitol Press Room.*

Phillips, Herbert L., *Perspective of a Political Reporter.*

Jones, Walter P., *An Editor's Long Friendship with Earl Warren.*

EARL WARREN'S CAMPAIGNS. Three Volumes.

Volume I: 1976, 324 p.

Barnes, Stanley N., *Experiences in Grass Roots Organization.*

Cunningham, Thomas J., *Southern California Campaign Chairman for Earl Warren, 1946.*

Draper, Murray, *Warren's 1946 Campaign in Northern California.*

Mailliard, William S., *Earl Warren in the Governor's Office.*

Mull, Archibald M., Jr., *Warren Fund-Raiser; Bar Association Leader.*

McNitt, Rollin Lee, *A Democrat for Warren.*

Volume II: 1977, 341 p.

Knowland, William F., *California Republican Politics in the 1930s.*

Feigenbaum, B. Joseph, *Legislator, Partner of Jesse Steinhart, Aide to Earl Warren.*

Ladar, Samuel, *Jesse Steinhart, Race Relations, and Earl Warren.*

Steinhart, John, *Jesse and Amy Steinhart.*

Hansen, Victor, *West Coast Defense During World War II; The California Gubernatorial Campaign of 1950.*

Mellon, Thomas J., *Republican Campaigns of 1950 and 1952.*

Volume III: 1978, 242 p.

McCormac, Keith, *The Conservative Republicans of 1952.*

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATS IN THE EARL WARREN ERA. 1976, 278 p.

Clifton, Florence, *California Democrats, 1934-1950.*
Clifton, Robert, *The Democratic Party, Culbert L. Olson, and the Legislature.*
Kent, Roger, *A Democratic Leader Looks at the Warren Era.*
Outland, George, *James Roosevelt's Primary Campaign, 1950.*
Post, Langdon, *James Roosevelt's Northern California Campaign, 1950.*
Roosevelt, James, *Campaigning for Governor Against Earl Warren, 1950.*

THE GOVERNOR'S FAMILY. 1980, 209 p.

Warren, Earl, Jr., *California Politics.*
Warren, James, *Recollections of the Eldest Warren Son.*
Warren, Nina (Honeybear)[Mrs. Stuart Brien], *Growing Up in the Warren Family.*
Warren, Robert, *Playing, Hunting, Talking.*

EARL WARREN: FELLOW CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS. 1979, 244 p.

Brown, Edmund G., Sr., *The Governor's Lawyer.*
Kenney, Robert, *Attorney General for California and the 1946 Gubernatorial Campaign.*
Kuchel, Thomas H., *California State Controller.*

CALIFORNIA STATE FINANCE IN THE 1940s, with an introduction by Stanley Scott. 1974, 406 p.

Links, Fred, *An Overview of the Department of Finance.*
Groff, Ellis, *Some Details of Public Revenue and Expenditure in the 1940s.*
Killion, George, *Observations on Culbert Olson, Earl Warren, and Money Matters in Public Affairs.*
Post, A. Alan, *Watchdog on State Spending.*
Leake, Paul, *Statement on the Board of Equalization.*

THE WARRENS: FOUR PERSONAL VIEWS. 1976, 137 p.

Albright, Horace, *Earl Warren Job Hunting at the Legislature.*
Stone, Irving and Jean, *Earl Warren's Friend and Biographer.*
Henderson, Betty Foot, *Secretary to Two Warrens.*
Swig, Benjamin H., *Shared Social Concerns.*

EARL WARREN AND HEALTH INSURANCE: 1943-1949. 1971, 216 p.

Lee, Russel VanArsdale, M.D., *Pioneering in Prepaid Group Medicine.*
Salsman, Byrl R., *Shepherding Health Insurance Bills Through the California Legislature.*
Claycombe, Gordon, *The Making of a Legislative Committee Study.*
Cline, John W., M.D., *California Medical Association Crusade Against Compulsory State Health Insurance.*

HUNTING AND FISHING WITH EARL WARREN. 1976, 186 p.

Cavanaugh, Bartley, *A Mutual Interest in Government, Politics, and Sports.*
Lynn, Wallace, *Hunting and Baseball Companion.*

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELOCATION REVIEWED, with an introduction by Mike M. Masaoka. Two Volumes.

Volume I: *Decision and Exodus.* 1976, 196 p.

Rowe, James, *The Japanese Evacuation Decision.*

Heckendorf, Percy C., *Planning for the Japanese Evacuation: Reforming Regulatory Agency Procedures.*

Clark, Tom, *Comments on the Japanese-American Relocation.*

Ennis, Edward, *A Justice Department Attorney Comments on the Japanese-American Relocation.*

Wenig, Herbert, *The California Attorney General's Office, the Judge Advocate General Corps, and Japanese-American Relocation.*

Volume II: *The Internment.* 1974, 267 p.

Cozzens, Robert, *Assistant National Director of the War Relocation Authority.*

Myer, Dillon S., *War Relocation Authority: The Director's Account.*

Kingman, Ruth W., *The Fair Play Committee and Citizen Participation.*

Hibi, Hisako, painting of Tanforan and Topaz camps.

EARL WARREN: THE CHIEF JUSTICESHIP. 1977, 245 p.

Brownell, Herbert, *Earl Warren's Appointment to the Supreme Court.*

Finkelstein, Louis, *Earl Warren's Inquiry into Talmudic Law.*

Hagerty, James, *Campaigns Revisited: Earl Warren, Thomas Dewey, and Dwight Eisenhower.*

Oliver, William, *Inside the Warren Court, 1953-1954.*

Richman, Martin F., *Law Clerk for Chief Justice Warren, 1956-1957.*

Stassen, Harold, *Eisenhower, the 1952 Republican Convention, and Earl Warren.*

LABOR LOOKS AT EARL WARREN. 1970, 145 p.

Bulcke, Germain, *A Longshoreman's Observations.*

Chaudet, Joseph W., *A Printer's View.*

Heide, Paul, *A Warehouseman's Reminiscences.*

Simonds, U. S., *A Carpenter's Comments.*

Vernon, Ernest H., *A Machinist's Recollection.*

LABOR LEADERS VIEW THE WARREN ERA, with an introduction by George W. Johns. 1976, 126 p.

Ash, Robert S., *Alameda County Labor Council During the Warren Years.*

Haggerty, Cornelius J., *Labor, Los Angeles, and the Legislature.*

EARL WARREN AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE. 1973, 223 p.

Tallman, Frank F., M.D., *Dynamics of Change in State Mental Institutions.*

Hume, Portia Bell, M.D., *Mother of Community Mental Health Services.*

RICHARD M. NIXON IN THE WARREN ERA. 1980,

Jorgensen, Frank E., *The Organization of Richard Nixon's Congressional Campaigns, 1946-1952.*

Day, Roy O., *Campaigning with Richard Nixon, 1946-1952.*

Dinkelspiel, John Walton, *Recollections of Richard Nixon's 1950 Senatorial Campaign in Northern California.*

Adams, Earl, *Financing Richard Nixon's Campaigns From 1946 to 1960.*

Crocker, Roy P., *Gathering Southern California Support for Richard Nixon in the 1950 Senate Race.*

THE GOVERNOR AND THE PUBLIC, THE PRESS, AND THE LEGISLATURE. 1973, 177 p.

Gallagher, Marguerite, *Administrative Procedures in Earl Warren's Office, 1938-53.*

Scoggins, Verne, *Observations on California Affairs by Governor Earl Warren's Press Secretary.*

Vasey, Beach, *Governor Warren and the Legislature.*

EARL WARREN AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, with an introduction by E. S. Rogers. 1973, 409 p.

Merrill, Malcolm H., M.D., M.P.H., *A Director Reminisces.*

Stead, Frank M., *Environmental Pollution Control.*

Ongerth, Henry, *Recollections of the Bureau of Samitary Engineering.*

Zimmerman, Kent A., M.D., *Mental Health Concepts.*

Arnstein, Lawrence, *Public Health Advocates and Issues.*

THE SHIPBOARD MURDER CASE: LABOR, RADICALISM, AND EARL WARREN, 1936-1941. 1976, 276 p.

Ramsay, Ernest G., *Reminiscences of a Defendant in the Shipboard Murder Case.*

Grossman, Aubrey, *A Defense Attorney Assesses the King, Ramsay, Conner Case.*

Harris, Myron, *A Defense Attorney Reminisces.*

Resner, Herbert, *The Recollections of the Attorney for Frank Conner.*

Johnson, Miriam Dinkin, *The King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee: 1938-1941.*

Odeen, Peter, *Captain of the Point Lobos.*

EARL WARREN AS EXECUTIVE: SOCIAL WELFARE AND STATE PARKS. 1977, 147 p.

Drury, Newton, *A Conservative Comments on Earl Warren and Harold Ickes.*

Schottland, Charles I., *State Director of Social Welfare, 1950-54.*

EARL WARREN: VIEWS AND EPISODES. 1976, 250 p.

Hale, Mildred, *Schools, the PTA, and the State Board of Education.*

Kerr, Clark, *University of California Crises: Loyalty Oath and the Free Speech Movement.*

Kragen, Adrian, *State and Industry Interests in Taxation, and Observations of Earl Warren.*

McConnell, Geraldine, *Governor Warren, the Knowlands, and Columbia State Park.*

McWilliams, Carey, *California's Olson-Warren Era: Migrants and Social Welfare.*

Siems, Edward H., *Recollections of Masonic Brother Earl Warren.*

EARL WARREN AND THE YOUTH AUTHORITY, with an introduction by Allen F. Breed. 1972, 279 p.

Holton, Karl, *Development of Juvenile Correctional Practices.*

Scudder, Kenyon J., *Beginnings of Therapeutic Correctional Facilities.*

Stark, Heman G., *Juvenile Correctional Services and the Community.*

Beam, Kenneth S., *Clergyman and Community Coordinator.*

INTRODUCTION

Ford Chatters and I first met on November 9, 1912. On that evening Troop One, Boy Scouts of America, Lindsay, held its first meeting. Ford was chosen Treasurer and I was Secretary. Later I became Scoutmaster of that veteran troop and could always count on Ford's support.

Ford completed his secondary schooling in Michigan, but he dated some of the girls in my high school class and we regarded him as one of us. He married one of the girls.

After college and a few years in New York City and West Virginia, I returned to Lindsay and my close association with Ford was resumed. We each had our special interests and hobbies but we served many community organizations, committees and projects, occasionally at the same time. Having about the same political philosophy it was natural that we discussed government issues frequently.

This published report deals mostly with his service to the state. His service to his home town was equally dedicated. He gave freely of his time to the Methodist Church, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion, the Lindsay Art Association, the Kiwanis Club, and the innumerable special projects that came up from time to time. He served several years on the Lindsay School Board.

When something of historical interest came to his attention that he thought I might miss, he would attach a slip marked "Schutt" and save it for me.

The Lindsay Gazette was more than a livelihood. He made it a community service organ. One of the things that carried great weight was his analysis of the ballot "propositions" and his recommendation for voting on them. We all knew that Ford was a staunch Republican but the news in the Gazette was quite nonpartisan. Even after the paper was sold, the new owners came to him for background knowledge about local and state matters.

Ford loved the mountains, and one of his great vacation pleasures was to take a pack trip into the Sierra. Four or five local men might be joined by one of Ford's colleagues on the California State Personnel Board or some other agency. Hired packers looked after the pack mules and riding horses, but everyone helped. Some seemed to specialize in gathering firewood, assisting in the cooking and even in dishwashing. A pack trip is a great equalizing experience. After a week or so it is obvious if anyone isn't doing his share! It was my pleasure to go on such a trip in August, 1928. The new trail to the summit of Mount Whitney had not been built and we climbed the mountain through the "chutes" on the western slope. Ford was the chief cook, his usual chore on these trips, I believe.

The Chatters and Schutts had neighboring cabins at Camp Nelson, at the five thousand foot level east of Lindsay. His family, when the boys were small, stayed there for several weeks in the summer and Ford would join them on weekends. One of our fond memories is the games of croquet on another neighbor's court.

Ford introduced me to Earl Warren when he was campaigning for governor the first time. I recall with pleasure showing him about the plant of the Lindsay Ripe Olive Company because he seemed quite interested in the unique processes of this industry and some of the special equipment that we had developed.

Ford's friends are happy that the Bancroft Library has been able to include this volume in the series on the Earl Warren Era. We miss his earthly presence. We are sure that there are many stars in his crown.

Harold G. Schutt
Plant Superintendent, Retired
Lindsay Ripe Olive Company

Editor of Los Tulares
Tulare County Historical Society

March 28, 1976
Lindsay, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Dates of Interviews: First session, 19 March 1972
Second session, 17 and 18 September 1972

Dates manuscript sent to Chatters for review: First session transcript, 5 September 1972
Remainder of transcript sent unedited, 27 April 1973

Date Chatters returned manuscript: In installments, final section returned 17 July 1973

The Interview:

Ford Chatters wove his skein of varied but interdependent talents into a career that defies summation. If there is a main thread, it is symbolized by two sculptures which stand in his native valley. One sculpture stood guard outside the motel where I stayed: a towering hulk of Paul Bunyan, carrying the Blue Ox, responding to any challenge with bulging, redwood muscle that implied success. Another sculpture, in Mooney Grove, sent the same message: "The Pioneer," with sleeves rolled up and tools at the ready, sits with determination astride his horse.* Ford Chatters' life was like that: full of society's unprecedented problems in a new and different land, but, although his actual muscle measured somewhat less than Paul Bunyan's, he kept his figurative sleeves rolled up and used his tools of information-gathering, a lot of common sense, and a knack of leadership. One wonders if somewhere psychologists are studying a similar personality type. It would be called "the pioneer syndrome" and would be defined as the consistent response to challenges of new problems in relatively untried economic and social habitats.

Born in Michigan in 1896, he migrated to Tulare County in 1912 at the time when its lush citrus and olive groves were threatened by water table depletion resulting from the first decades of irrigation in the young state. His budding journalism career under Bruce Bliven at USC was temporarily halted by World War I service then augmented by his service as a clerk to the Assembly Committee on Irrigation during the four-month-long legislative session of 1921 and 1923. In the state capitol he received expert tutoring: in politics by Lindsay Assemblyman Charles W. Cleary and his fellow solons; in journalism by political newsman Franklin Hichborn and rural life journalist John Pickett. The young clerk both wrote for and helped the legislative representatives of the California Farm Bureau Federation, all the while keeping alive his involvement in his uncle's Lindsay Gazette, for which he had worked from the time he arrived in California and in which he had begun buying an interest at twenty years of age.

*"Paul Bunyan" was carved in 1941-42 by Carroll Barnes. "The Pioneer," by Solon H. Borglum, was created in plaster for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco in 1915 and was moved to Mooney Grove in 1916.

The pioneer personality grew and flourished in the dual environments of Sacramento and Tulare Counties, with the Gazette an important adjunct in Chatters' participation in efforts to bring water to the beleaguered valley. For him this struggle began in 1921 when, as a fledgling clerk, he had typed a bill for Assemblyman Cleary which would have appropriated the then-startling sum of $500,000 for planning the coordinated utilization of all waters of the state. The Gazette was still his right arm in 1933 when Chatters, now an assemblyman himself, co-authored AB259, which established the Central Valley Project.

By this time a more extensive challenge loomed. California's government was nearly insolvent due to the impact of the Great Depression. Chatters and friends generally conceded that an income tax was needed to complement the more regressive (but quicker in revenues) sales tax that was being instituted. Chatters was sole author of the state income tax bill in the Assembly that year.

Locally, he helped to organize the Lindsay American Legion Post, was its first adjutant, then became its commander in 1924. He also was a charter member of the Lindsay Kiwanis Club. The innovative, pioneer personality also was evident in his other capacities: as trustee of the Lindsay Unified School District (1924-1933), as a board member during the development of the YMCA, the Boy Scouts, the Tulare County Farm Bureau, the organization of the Associated Chambers of Commerce Council of Tulare County, and the local Methodist church. Through it all, he was printer, editor, and publisher of the Gazette. In 1945 he purchased his uncle's interest, and in 1952 he acquired total ownership.

The state felt his imprint in many other ways, such as when he incorporated the young and southern-oriented California Newspaper Publishers' Association and became its president in 1930. By much traveling, he expanded it to a statewide organization. He left the legislature in 1937 and the following year was appointed to the state board of education for four of its stormier years. In 1942 he was asked to serve on the board of trustees of the College of the Pacific, and his tenure saw it evolve from a small, young campus in Stockton to a full University of which he was a regent until 1963.

Initially our interest in Ford Chatters as a narrator for the Earl Warren Era series was based on his role as publicity man for Warren's first gubernatorial campaign and his subsequent service on the California State Personnel Board, the State Highway Commission, and several lesser bodies to which Governor Warren appointed him. Early in 1972 we exchanged letters on topics to tape record and set March 18 and 19 for our session. The wealth of papers that greeted this interviewer, and that he had been reviewing and reorganizing for the session, expanded the interview so that another was clearly necessary.

The interviews were held in his study behind the kitchen. The desk and work table were weighted with numerous papers, stacked systematically by subject. It was an average-size house in a typical broad and tree-shaded street in Lindsay. The garden deserved a lunchtime tour: near the house in the back was an enormous fig tree from which he harvested four crops a year. A few

steps away an Armenian cucumber vine of unusually long, thin delicious cucumbers meandered; there was a tree bearing an extraordinary type of grapefruit which is slightly narrowed at one end with its juicy sections entirely separate; there were orange, nut, and lemon trees. (After the first interview, he chauffeured us to the local airport and filled the baggage section of our small plane with a large bag of oranges.)

His book shelves in the study and in the living room held volumes on a wide variety of topics--poetry, history, and the Sierras that have always been so intricate a part of him. Regarding the latter, he showed his most recently prepared slide show that evening. Entitled "Send Me Men to Match My Mountains," it combined his love for mountain beauty and his ability as a photographer to capture it. When the interviewer floundered for the name of the poet from whose works the title was taken and suggested Gillette Burgess, he gave her a rare copy of periodic whimsy by Burgess and Bruce Porter, "The Lark Who Sings to the Wind?"--noted as Number Two and published for 5 cents by William Dorey, June 1, 1895. It had been given to Mr. Chatters by his friend, Archibald B. Tinning.

The evening was typical as evidence he was still busy with grandson, sons, and friends, even though his wife had only recently died. He was entirely competent to shift into a life of caring for the house and the large garden; he was a good host, with coffee or juice breaks adroitly executed during the taping, and a lunch arrangement made for us with his longtime friend and history buff Harold G. Schutt and his wife. Chatters' motor was still running at constant speed, with regular hours at his desk in the printing office. He had sold his business but retained his office, and at this time his son had bought back an interest. In line with his sustained interest in local history, he was working with fellow-publisher Watt Clawson (The Exeter Sun) to add a Washington Hand Press to other antique printing equipment they had collected for Tulare County Museum's replica of an early day printing shop.

There were small daily signs of his do-something-about-it personality: a clothespin on the air conditioner vent in his car held the fins easily in the desired position--an accomplishment that had eluded the Detroit designers. The car's small post which unlocks the door, and on which most of us break fingernails, became usable after he tied a short cord around it so that one can release the lock simply by yanking up the cord, fingernails intact.

He was a matter-of-fact man with an ability to understand situations without distortions by his own colorations in perception--a talent perhaps heightened by his newspaper career. Of medium height, slender, he moved with the grace and ease of a younger man. His voice became hoarse at times, he explained, "ever since that 1933 session [in the legislature] when I had to make myself heard without loud speaker amplification." It was his first session and the last one to be conducted without microphones and amplification.

His willingness to put his full energies behind the project was apparent when he met this interviewer and her son-pilot at the airport and mentioned, "You had me working late nights," in preparation for the interview, going

through files. His steady work on this interview coincided with another large project, his family history, which he was putting together with his brother's help.* He was able to dispatch both with extraordinarily good results. The second session required him to drive to Goshen Junction to pick up the interviewer at the bus station and this he cheerfully did. In fact, he made every effort to insure the success of the project, fill the needs of the interview process--and even the pleasure of his fellow-worker. (He was pleased that we could begin interviewing in March because "the trees will be in bloom all over," which would compensate somewhat for his sneeziness caused by the Modesto Ash pollen at that time of the year.)

Because of his prowess at digging up verification and organizing his thoughts, we took the unusual step of sending him my edited version of the transcript of the first session before we recorded the second so that he could better judge what to elucidate on in the second taping date. Fellow ROHO interviewer Malca Chall provided more questions on the Central Valley Project on a new outline that was sent to him, and plans were made to ask him to deposit his papers in The Bancroft Library.

The second session was held September 17 and 18 after further review of his papers. Following this, he mailed back the transcript of the first session. The many additions and emendations which he made to expand the data in the first interview led us to simply send him the transcript of the second in its rough-transcription form. He went back to his papers, did more verifying, found more stories, wrote more inserts, and sent us his final version in installments, the last one arriving July 17, 1973. Supporting papers that particularly related to the interview also came with the sections he edited, with a few arriving afterward. He also wrote letters to straighten out details and called former Assemblyman C.C. Cottrell in San Jose to get additional information on the Donahue Committee. He had earlier destroyed the Donahue Commitee transcripts, but did locate a folder of final reports and minutes. He also found a folder documenting the civil service uproar in 1942 over whether Japanese-Americans could be released from their state jobs, and their return in 1945-46.

After his death April 10, 1974, his sons enlisted the aid of Harold G. Schutt in sorting his remaining papers further for deposit in The Bancroft Library. Among the material on water, sales tax, and a legislative scrapbook is Franklin Hichborn's 135-page offset book, written in 1962 at age 94, How Minorities Dictate to the Majority and the Development of Their Power.

Later Mr. Schutt, in addition to his yeoman's job on transcript and papers, found time to give advice and recipes for processing the olives from the interviewer's tree and, more vital to the survival of the project, helped an emergency entry in the state budget get through the legislature by keeping in touch with his local state senator, Howard Way, who was on the Senate Finance Committee.

*Roy M. Chatters, Ph.D. and Ford A. Chatters, Chatters-Hallack Family History and Genealogy, 1973. Offset.

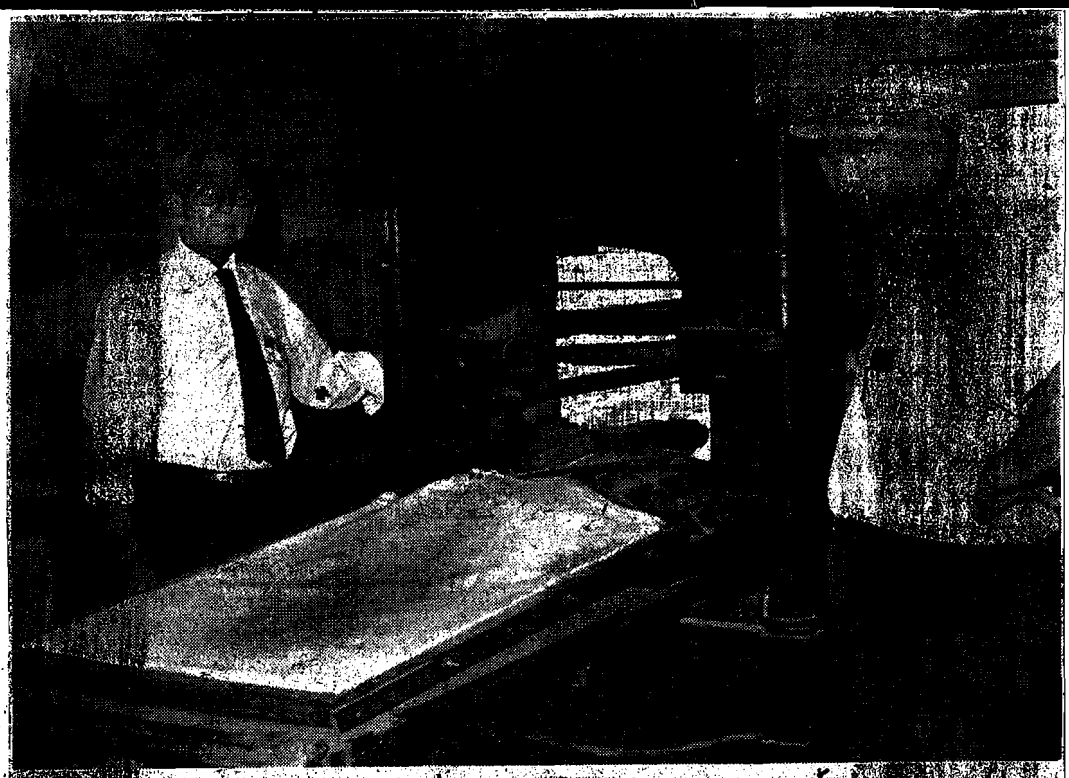
After Chatters' death, Mr. Schutt, who had been a party to both the olive and the legislative efforts, agreed to write the introduction, a contribution that rounds out the skill and competence of Ford Chatters' carefully organized, well-documented story.

Amelia R. Fry
Interviewer-Editor

8 February 1977
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

As Chatters notes, "A little side activity". One of many during his so-called retirement.

Tulare County Review
Exeter Sun - Woodlake Echo - Farmersville News-Herald - Lindsay Gazette



EARLY MODEL PRESS—This Washington Hand Press is just one of the early day printing items to be dedicated at a Friday ceremony at the Tulare County Museum at Mooney Grove Park. Chatters, left, former publisher of the Lindsay Gazette, and Watt Clay, former publisher of the Exeter Sun, have been the driving forces in securing and placing the old printing equipment in a replica of an early day printing shop.

'Like Ben Franklin used'

Dedication of old printing displays scheduled Friday

Friday night will be a big event for Lindsay and Exeter former publishers Boyd Chatters and Watt Clawson.

Clawson, who formerly published the Exeter Sun, and Chatters, former publisher of the Lindsay Gazette, will be the honored guests at a dinner, will formally present old printing equipment donated to the Tulare County Museum and will conduct a tour of the museum at Mooney Grove.

The museum events and dinner are part of a South San Joaquin Valley Unit meeting of the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

Chatters, former CNPA president, and Clawson will make the presentation of the old equipment, donated by unit publishers. Members of the Tulare County Museum Board will be on hand to accept the donation at the 5 p.m. ceremony.

A signboard directly over the entrance to the early day print shop arrangement will feature the Tulare County Record, established in June 1859 — the first newspaper in the county.

Clawson and Chatters have spent years gathering presses and other composing room equipment to make the "shop" reminiscent of the days when muscle power ran the presses, type was set by hand and the composing room had a "printer's devil" to tear down pages and throw type metal into the "hell box."

One of the features of the shop is the old Washington hand press, "the type Ben Franklin used," as Clawson pointed out recently.

Sen. Howard Way and Assemblyman Gordon Duffy have been invited, and Sen. Way has indicated he will attend the dedication.

However, he will be featured narrating Aaron Copeland's "Lincoln Portrait" at the Tulare County Symphony Orchestra's "All America Pops" concert that evening and will not be able to attend the dinner.

After the formal dedication Clawson and Chatters will conduct informal tours of the print "shop" and museum from 5 to 6 p.m. for South San Joaquin CNPA members and guests.

A social hour follows from 6 to 7 p.m. at Alma's Ranch House and the dinner is scheduled at 7 p.m.

County supervisors have indicated they will be on hand for the event, and CNPA officials Fred Weybret of Lodi, president, Ben Martin, general manager, and Jack Beisner, administrative director, also will attend.

While the two veteran publishers were assembling some of the material recently they reminisced about the old days in printing and place some unusual items in the shop replica.

One of Clawson's gifts to the museum print shop is a drawing—done by his son Samuel, a Santa Barbara County planning department employe—of a hand-powered cylinder press. The drawing shows Watt at age 15 helping run the press at the Blairsville (Pa.) Enterprise.

Watt started at his grandfather's Blairsville plant when he was just six, and he noted when he started in Exeter he used a hand-fed 10x15-inch press (and that was the press used to print the first Exeter High School annual).

Chatters displayed some old brass column rules, talked about an early linotype machine that regularly shed small screws into a pile of metal shavings "always at the most opportune time" and put on a printer's apron with a hole worn in it from the printer standing at the composing stone.

Chatters, who served in the California Assembly 1933-37 and later was on the California State Board of Education, State Personnel Board and was secretary of the State Highway Commission, talked of politics and this brought an observation from Clawson.

He pointed to a post office (from Monson) and a telephone switchboard (from Springville) noting in early days the post office went to the paper that sided with the winning presidential candidate and the switchboard was a vital part of the newsgathering system. (Gossip went from the switchboard to the compositor.)

And in passing the former publishers noted that the Woodlake Echo, when it was published by Edward Ropes, had the post office in his office.

Lindsay Gazette

17 April 1974

Ford Chatters, former publisher, lawmaker

Memorial services were held Saturday morning at the First United Methodist Church for Ford Aubrey Chatters, 77, former longtime publisher of The Lindsay Gazette, who died April 10 in Sierra View District Hospital in Porterville following a short illness. Burial services followed at Olive Cemetery.

The Rev. Michael Williams, Methodist pastor, conducted the memorial service, and the Lindsay American Legion color guard took part in the interment services.

Mr. Chatters, eldest son of Milton and Edith (Hallack) Chatters, was born on December 6, 1896, at Flushing, Michigan, where his father was employed as a railroad ticket clerk and telegrapher.

At an early age Mr. Chatters took to the printing trade. Around 1910 while living in Flint, he purchased a dozen cases of type and a large hand press from a Salvation Army Major being transfered to Los Angeles. With this equipment, and largely self-taught, he operated a small home printing plant. On weekends he would canvass the neighborhood, selling calling cards to the ladies and business cards and other printing to the small merchants in the area, printing and delivering them the next week. In 1911-12 he published a small school newspaper while at Flint High.

On June 11, 1912 he left for Lindsay, where his uncle, Myron M. Hallack, was engaged in the printing and publishing business as a partner with A. L. Evans.

Mr. Chatters enrolled at the University of Southern California journalism school in Los Angeles with the fall term of 1916. He was an assistant news editor of the Daily Trojan, selling advertising for it on the side. This landed him a part-time job with the Hollywood Citizen in his second semester.

Mr. Chatters married Mabel Janet McConkie in Lindsay on January 11, 1918. Mrs. Chatters, who died April 16, 1970, was actively engaged in the operation of The Gazette over the years, particularly in an accounting capacity, although she began as a linotype operator in 1918.

Several months after his marriage, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served nearly a year overseas with the American Expeditionary Forces in France.

For many years, Mr. Chatters was active in local and state politics. His first elective office was as a member of the Lindsay Unified School District Board in 1924, serving for nine years.

At the California Legislative session of 1921 and again in 1923 he served as a committee clerk and later was a member of Legislature from 1933-1937, when he had a leading role in the passage of irrigation legislation and the development of the Central Valley Project as well as helping sponsor major reforms in the state's tax system. At the 1935 session he was chairman of the important Assembly Committee on Education and was sole author of the state's income tax law.

FORD CHATTERS

He served as a member of the State Board of Education from 1938-42. In 1943 he was appointed by Governor Earl Warren (later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court) to the State Personnel Board where he served until December 31, 1969, with the exception of 15 months during 1946-1947 when he had an interim appointment as Secretary of the State Highway Commission, to allow the return to the Personnel Board of a former member, following service in the Armed Forces.

He resigned in 1947 from his highway commission post to accept a full 10-year appointment on the personnel board, again from Governor Warren. In 1957 he was appointed by Governor Goodwin J. Knight to an additional 10 year term on the personnel board, a quasi judicial position requiring about one-third time and attendance at bi-weekly meetings of two days, usually in Sacramento. During his tenure he served three times as board president. Over the years he also served on a number of lesser boards and commissions, including the California Veterans Commission in World War II.

He served in the early '30s as president of the Lindsay Chamber of Commerce and as president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce Council of Tulare County. He was president of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association in 1930. He incorporated the organization, was its first president north of the Tehachapi Mountains and spent much of his year in helping expand the association statewide.

In 1942 he was made a member of the board of trustees of the College of the Pacific at Stockton and in 1961 saw it become the University of the Pacific, when he became a Regent, serving in this capacity until October 1963.

He helped organize the Lindsay American Legion, Post 128; was its first Adjutant for two years and Commander for 18 months in 1924-1925. He held a Life Membership Card. He also was a charter member of Lindsay Kiwanis Club, organized in 1926, and a communicant of the Lindsay United Methodist Church. In his younger years he was active in the Y.M.C.A. and the Boy Scout movement.

In 1916, he began buying a one-third interest in The Lindsay Gazette. The announcement of the change in partnership was delayed until after his return from military service in France. In 1945, he purchased Myron Hallack's one-third interest and in November, 1952, acquired the remaining one-third from A.L. Evans. From that date until Feb. 1, 1964, when he sold The Gazette to Roy Brock, he was sole owner, editor and publisher. He retained the building which the Mt. Whitney Litho now occupies.

Although he sold The Gazette in 1964, Mr. Chatters exercised a keen interest in its operations until his death. He wrote a series of stories entitled Know Your Neighbor, several years ago, and also edited a feature of old photographs, Lindsay Yesteryears in Pictures, which was discontinued about two years ago. At the time of his death he was in the process of preparing a new series of old pictures for a continuation of Lindsay Yesteryears in Pictures.

Mr. Chatters was Lindsay's Man of the Year in 1967, and in 1964 he was Grand Marshall of Lindsay's Orange Blossom Festival parade.

Mr. Chatters is survived by two sons, Robert, operator of Mt. Whitney Litho in Lindsay, and Donald, a member of the Lindsay Police Department; three brothers, Clayton and Kenneth Chatters, both of Florida, and Roy Chatters of Pullman, Wash., and four grandchildren.

Sacramento Bee, April 12, 1974

Obituaries

BEE 4/12/74 Friday

Ford A. Chatters, Ex-Legislator

Funeral services will be held tomorrow at 10 AM in the United Methodist Church in Lindsay, Tulare County, for Ford A. Chatters, former state assemblyman and for 23 years a member of the State Personnel Board.

Chatters, 77, who was elected to the Assembly in 1932 and was one of the authors of the state legislation which authorized the Central Valley Water Project, died Wednesday.

After two terms in the State Assembly, Chatters was appointed to a four-year term on the State Board of Education. Chatters also served for a time as secretary of the State Highway Commission.

He retired from newspaper work in 1964 after devoting 40 years to journalism, primarily as editor of the Lindsay Gazette.

He was a past president of the California Newspaper Publishers Association and served as a regent of the University of the Pacific for 20 years.

Survivors are his sons, Robert and Donald, both of Lindsay, and brothers, Clayton and Kenneth, both of Florida, and Roy of Washington.

Lindsay Gazette, April 17, 1974

Lindsay Lines

By Roger Brod
Editor

With the death of Ford Chatters, The Gazette lost a friend and assistant who loved the small town newspaper business and delighted, in his years of retirement, in being of assistance whenever he could.

Ford had a unique ability to find a local angle in a national story, and many were the times that he would show me a story in the pages of The Gazette or the Lindsay [illegible]. That was just that—a national story in every sense of the word, but also a Lindsay story, because he had had the ingenuity or the knowledge or the luck to make it one.

Ford Chatters was better than any newspaper clipping file, and we will deeply miss that luxury of being able to ask Ford about some event in the past and get an instant answer.

Not long ago a young lady from San Francisco wrote a letter to The Gazette. It was important to her that she know when her great grandfather died many years ago, and she wondered how to go about finding the date and getting a copy of the [illegible]. She didn't have the foggiest notion of when the death had occurred—just that she thought it had occurred in Lindsay some time.

That kind of thing was right up Ford's alley, and within a couple of hours of my passing that letter on to Ford he was busy [illegible] her great grandfather's death [illegible]

We didn't know Ford until his retirement—his accomplishments—his role as a citizen-politician of which there are so few [illegible] were for the most part over. But we did know Ford Chatters as a friend who offered invaluable assistance to us over the past 10 years, a man who delighted in the newspaper business.

His "Know Your Neighbor" series [illegible] articles, cut short by the illness and death of his wife, were to us an outstanding piece of home town journalism at its best—incisive, penetrating studies of the people around us, revealing things we didn't know about our neighbors, always [illegible] and holding our interest.

Probably most popular was his series of Lindsay Yesteryears in Pictures. Ford was eargerly working on a new [illegible] feature at the time of his last illness.

The community of Lindsay, [illegible] his contemperaries, remember Ford Chatters for innumerable accomplishments for the public good.

We remember him as a friend and counselor, and we will miss him.

I am asked to remind folks that there will be no tickets sold at the door at Saturday's queen's luncheon.

[illegible] of rumors about the Board of Supervisors [illegible] to order [illegible] train station. People [illegible] we've talked to who have talked to folks who [illegible] back home don't hear this out. [illegible] are planned to ride the train [illegible] the trip back to Folsom late this week.

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 131

Introduced by Senator Way
(Coauthors: Assemblymen Duffy and Mobley)

May 1, 1974

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE ON RULES

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 131—Relative to memorializing the Honorable Ford A. Chatters.

LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL'S DIGEST

SCR 131, as introduced, Way (Rls.). Ford A. Chatters.
Memorializes Ford A. Chatters.
Fiscal committee: no.

WHEREAS, On April 10, 1974, the people of California suffered an irreplaceable loss with the death of a former Member of the Assembly of the State of California, Ford A. Chatters, much of whose life was devoted to public service in our state; and

WHEREAS, At the age of 15, Assemblyman Chatters moved from his native Michigan to Lindsay, California, where he was to become owner and publisher of the Lindsay Gazette for 48 years, and where he was named "Man of the Year" in 1967; and

WHEREAS, In 1918, he married Mabel McConkie, who worked with him at the Gazette through the years and who preceded him in death in 1970; and

WHEREAS, As one of Tulare County's leading citizens, Assemblyman Chatters was a member of the Tulare County Farm Bureau, the Lindsay Unified School District Board, and the First United Methodist Church of Lindsay; charter member of the Lindsay Kiwanis Club,

adjutant and commander of Lindsay Post 128 of the American Legion, and president of the Lindsay Chamber of Commerce and of the Associated Chambers of Commerce Council of Tulare County; and

WHEREAS, He served as president of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association and was responsible for incorporating the organization; and

WHEREAS, In 1933, Assemblyman Chatters was elected to the first of two terms in the Assembly of the California Legislature, where he served as chairman of the Education Committee; and

WHEREAS, Perhaps his greatest service to the State of California was his foresight in recognizing the potential of the Central Valley as the world's leading agricultural area, resulting in his coauthorship of Assembly Bill 259, which established the California Central Valley Project Act in 1933; and

WHEREAS, Appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of College of the Pacific in 1943, Assemblyman Chatters remained to see the college achieve university status and to serve on the Board of Regents until 1963; and

WHEREAS, He was a member of the State Board of Education and of the California Highway Commission; and

WHEREAS, Following appointment to the State Personnel Board by Governor Earl Warren, Assemblyman Chatters was a dedicated and highly respected member of that body for 25 years until his retirement in 1969; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, the Assembly thereof concurring, That the Members pay honor to the memory of the Honorable Ford A. Chatters in recognition of his lifetime of public service and the achievement of innumerable benefits for the people of the State of California; and be it further

Resolved, That suitably prepared copies of this resolution be transmitted to Assemblyman Chatters' sons, Robert L. Chatters and Donald W. Chatters.

O

FAMILY BACKGROUND, BOYHOOD, AND YOUTH

Forebears and Siblings

Fry: You were telling me yesterday, off the tape, about your father's family--when did they start in this country?*

Chatters: My grandfather on my father's side was born in Glemsford, Suffolk, England in 1828. His name was George Chatters. He came to Canada when he was very young. As a youth he was employed as a hostler in a Glemsford Inn, when he was induced to make the overseas trip with a boatload of livestock. He never returned, found farm work near Toronto, and eventually acquired land of his own.

He married Margaret MacDonald, born near Toronto, Canada, in 1834, a half-dozen years before the British Parliament adopted the Act of Union which brought responsible government to the Provinces. They had six children, all boys. My father, Milton, was the youngest. Grandmother Chatters passed away in Ontario at the age of almost ninety-four, in 1927, so she lived quite a while in this century. Her husband passed away some forty years before.

Milton Chatters came to Flushing, Michigan, in 1891, where his oldest brother, Henry, had migrated a few years before from their home in Canada, which was about forty miles northwest of Toronto. Uncle Henry had become a man of some affluence in Flushing. He had built a large three-story brick building, with

---

*See Roy M. Chatters and Ford A. Chatters, "Chatters-Hallack Family History and Genealogy" (Bancroft Library).

Chatters: a general store on the ground floor. My father, then eighteen, clerked in the store--as I later did all one summer when I was eleven years old. Subsequently father got a job on the CS&M Railroad (later Grand Trunk) in Flushing as an apprentice ticket clerk and telegrapher. This was in 1894.

Fry: This was your father?

Chatters: Yes. I was born in Flushing on December 6, 1896, when he still was learning the business. By 1898 he had acquired a depot of his own at nearby Lennon.

Fry: What were you telling me yesterday about the Hallacks?

Chatters: On my mother's side--she was a Yankee from a long way back--her ancestry dates back to a Peter Hallock*who came from England--crossed first in a sailboat in 1620 [1926 in the "Family History"]. He remained about two years when he returned to England, married, and was back to America in 1640. He landed on what later was known as Hallock's Neck, Long Island, New York, and settled near Mattituck. William Hallock, his son, died at Mattituck in 1684. He had four sons, the oldest being Thomas, from whom our line extends.

There are a succession of Hallacks named John and Caleb, running back into the late 1700s in the Thomas Hallock ancestry. My mother's father was John Hallack; his father was Caleb, Jr., apparently, for his father also was named Caleb.

I have here a deed dated November 24, 1841, from a Joel M. Goff, Nunda, Allegany Co., New York, for the sale of forty acres in Michigan to John M. Hallack of Flushing, Genesee Co., Michigan. Presumably this was the farm at Brent Creek, near Flushing, where my mother was born.

We also have a deed from "The United States of America" under an act of Congress, September 28, 1850, entitled "An Act Granting Bounty Land to Certain Officers and Soldiers who Engaged in the Military Service of the United States" for forty acres issued to "Caleb Hallack, a Private in Captain Barrow's Company, New York Militia, War 1812." This property also was in Genesee County.

Fry: Your family?

---

*Chatters adds a note for the typist: "Hallack is spelled with an 'o' and an 'a' (sometimes with an 'e' and an 'i'). Follow copy."

Chatters: Yes. John would be my grandfather and Caleb, Jr., my great-grandfather. My mother, following her graduation from high school in Flushing, was trained as a teacher at the Valparaiso (Indiana) Normal School. She taught school in Flushing for a short time prior to her marriage. To my parents were born five boys and one girl (if you wish to go that much into detail?)

Fry: Yes, I do.

Chatters: My sister Edith Leone was next to the youngest. Less than four weeks after her wedding, on September 3, 1926 (to a young Nova Scotian, then a tool-and-die maker in Detroit), and following a honeymoon trip, she died from a ruptured appendix. Our parents had started for California to visit me. She was ill the day they left but concealed it and saw them off, then collapsed at the depot and was taken to the hospital. Before our folks reached Denver word was wired that they should return to Flint. She died September 30. Somewhat tragic. She was the only girl in my father's and grandfather's families, and we had only two children, both boys.

Fry: Was this when the family was moving to California? Or just coming out to visit?

Chatters: Just coming to visit. It was a dozen years before that when they talked of moving here. A severe attack of typhoid fever suffered by my father ended that, and they stayed in Michigan. You mentioned something about my brothers; do you want a quickie?

Fry: Yes. They all seem to be auspicious in their fields.

Chatters: But this certainly is remote from any Warren material.

Fry: Well, just a paragraph.

Chatters: All right. My brother Carl was a year and a half younger than I, born June 11, 1898, at Lennon, Michigan. When he was graduated from Flint High in 1915 he was valedictorian of his class. He was graduated from Kalamazoo College in 1919, followed by a year's graduate work at the University of Chicago in Business Administration. There followed forty-five years in the field of public administration, starting with his first position as Assistant Auditor, then Auditor and Finance Director of the City of Flint, with emphasis on the city's bond problems.

Chatters: This led, about 1930, to his employment by some fifty Detroit banks and bond houses for the next two years, assisting them work out their post-Depression troubles with the municipalities.

Fry: Oh, this was bond problems of the metropolitan banks?

Chatters: Yes, they were having troubles with municipal bonds, so they brought him in to work on them. He then became--he got a job out at 1313 E. 60th Street, Chicago, as executive director--

Fry: Public Administration Clearing House--is that the correct name for that?

Chatters: I believe so; it was just off-campus at the University of Chicago. Carl, in 1932, went to the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada as their first executive director. He served a number of years (1932-1946), when he became Controller of the Port of New York Authority. In 1948 he took the position of Executive Director of the American Municipal Association, which he held until June 30, 1954.

Around 1947-48, I should have noted, Carl was a professor of Municipal Administration and Finance at Northwestern University, Evanston. He also was a visiting professor at the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration at Cornell from 1954 to the time of his death.

One of the first appointments of Mayor Richard J. Daley, upon becoming Mayor of the City of Chicago in 1955, was that of Carl Chatters as City Comptroller. Carl's acquaintance with Mayor Daley began fifteen years earlier when Daley was a young state senator and he conferred frequently with Carl on legislation relating to government finance. When, after several years, a coronary slowed Carl down, Daley gave him an office outside the city hall to work as a consultant on a study of how large cities could find new sources of revenue.

He had just finished a dinner speech to report his findings before the American Municipal Association's annual convention in New York City when he collapsed; he died two weeks later, on November 29, 1960, in a New York hospital--from an intestinal disorder. Perhaps it should be mentioned that on leave just before his New York Port position, in 1946, he served as Chief, Public Finance Branch, U.S. Military Government in Germany.

Fry: There were three other brothers?

Chatters: Yes, quickly: Clayton M. was born August 18, 1900, in Gaines, Michigan. Always interested in Boy Scouts, after he was graduated from Flint High School and after a short stint at Kalamazoo College in the S.A.T.C., he became Assistant Scout Executive at Flint, Michigan. In the next eighteen years he was a scout executive for Logan County, Illinois, then for Freeport, Illinois, and six counties. Finally, for Madison, Wisconsin, and six counties. In 1937 he led a four-state delegation to the World Boy Scout Jamboree in Holland.

Following the outbreak of World War II, he joined the American Red Cross Overseas Service and after a training period was assigned to the Desert District, U.S. Army, Persian Gulf Command, as Field Director with headquarters in Teheran. At war's end he and his wife Grace eventually founded an accounting firm in Flint, which they sold in 1964, retiring to Florida. They spend their time roaming the U.S. hunting rocks and polishing them.

Brother Kenneth L. came along next. He was born at Gaines, Michigan, on January 6, 1905. Following graduation from Flint High, and his junior college, he came to Lindsay to learn the printing trade in our shop. He was here five years, getting supplemental training at the Mergenthaler Linotype School in San Francisco and later in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Chicago.

Returning to Michigan, he obtained employment on the Ann Arbor Press. Soon afterwards, when the University of Michigan was seeking someone for the superintendency of printing at the new plant of the University of Michigan Daily, Kenneth applied and was employed--a tribute partly to the kind of all-'round training afforded in the so-called country print shops. From 1932 until his retirement in 1968 he held the title of Superintendent of Publications for Student Publications at Michigan. He and his wife Henrietta now live in Florida.

Fry: That leaves Roy?

Chatters: Yes, Roy Milton was the youngest, born December 25, 1908, in Flint, where he finished high school. For a time he worked on the Flint Daily Journal as a printer's apprentice, and then for the Chevrolet Motor Company. At the height of the Depression mother induced him to return to college. (He had spent one

Chatters: semester at Kalamazoo.) This he did in February, 1932, at Hope College, Holland, Michigan--a Dutch college from which he was graduated in June, 1935, with a B.A. degree in science. Immediately upon graduation he went to the University of Michigan for graduate work, getting his master's degree in 1936. He received a Ph.D. degree in wood technology in 1941 at Michigan. In the meantime he finished his residency requirement, and in the interim he was an instructor in biology and chemistry at Washington College in Maryland; he also was chairman of the departments of biology and chemistry at Oakland City (Indiana) College. During the war he worked three years as a chemist and laboratory chief for the Trojan Power Company, manufacturing TNT [Tri-nitro toluene].

Following the war he was back to teaching, at Morningside College in Sioux City, and after three years he took a research position at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater. While there he took special courses at Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies in Tennessee; in 1957 he took a position with General Electric as an engineer on the aircraft muclear propulsion project at Idaho Falls. After several years and just before the project was cancelled he went to work for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Fry: In what capacity?

Chatters: In the Licensee Compliance Division for a half dozen western states. After a year he accepted an offer from Washington State University at Pullman to establish in their Institute of Technology a radioisotopes and radiations laboratory, which included carbon dating.

Roy made two trips to Europe in connection with his work. On one of them he represented the U.S. Atomic Commission at nuclear energy symposia in Vienna and Prague; he had become widely recognized in his field. After eleven years at WSU he retired last June and now is devoting his time to his major interest, history of western United States with special emphasis and some authority on the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-06. He and his wife Sara will remain in Pullman where already he is promoting the Whitman County Historical Society for the preservation of the artifacts and memorabilia of the Palouse country.

Fry: Were you the oldest?

Chatters: I was the eldest. After our stay in Lennon, my father was station agent at Gaines, also in Genesee County. We were there some five years when my father moved the family to Flint, the county seat, where for seven years he was head of the billing and invoice department in the main office of the then young Buick Motor Company. I worked there several summers as a messenger boy.

Fry: That would have been about when?

Chatters: Around 1908 and 1909. They didn't have child labor laws then.

Fry: Let's see. You told me you were born in 1896, is that right?

Chatters: In December, 1896. I had four years in the last century.

Fry: When you went to school, in high school and the grades, what courses did you like most?

Chatters: History probably would come first--and I had a wonderful Latin teacher. I liked English, and in the elementary grades I believe I learned more grammar than most students do now, through the graphic, blackboard parsing of sentences. The Latin vocabulary always has helped.

Eventually I came to California where my uncle owned a half interest in a newspaper--The Lindsay Gazette--and a good commercial printing business.

Fry: Your uncle?

Chatters: Yes, Myron M. Hallack, my mother's brother. He had owned several Michigan newspapers and a commercial printing plant in Flint. I came in the summer of 1912. It was planned that my folks would follow in a few months. I stayed with my uncle's family for a year or so, working in the newspaper, first as a printer-linotype operator, then as a reporter.

Attendance at USC, and Part-time Newspaper Work

Chatters: In the spring of 1916 I had started looking around for a university with a good journalism school, when the University of Southern California English Department announced a journalism school was opening with the fall semester. I registered in September as a special student, for most journalism and advertising classes were not open to freshmen. I took all of these classes I could get and other related subjects, including, in the two semesters, history, sociology, and art--for such help as it might give in advertising layouts--and elementary law and library. Bruce Bliven, later of the New Republic, was the journalism head.

I worked on the Daily Trojan as an assistant news editor and on the side sold advertising for the USC Trojan. This landed me a part-time job the second semester selling advertising for the Hollywood Citizen. Judge Harlan Palmer was the editor and publisher, and he was also secretary of the old Southern California Editorial Association which later became the present California Newspaper Publishers Association, of which I subsequently was president in 1930. This perhaps stemmed from my acquaintance with Judge Palmer (Hollywood Justice of the Peace), who later was CNPA legal counsel. I had joined the Southern California association when I became active again in Lindsay and was in on the reorganization and statewide expansion.

Fry: You enjoyed USC?

Chatters: It was the most rewarding thing I ever undertook. I worked hard, grades were good, and I made some lasting friends. In my classes were Telford Work, who, with his son, now owns the largest legal newspaper in the United States, the Los Angeles Daily Journal; Clarence Pfaffenberger, a top executive in the San Rafael Guide Dog School for the Blind (now deceased), and Cliff Henderson, who promoted the development of the Palm Desert area near Palm Springs.

Fry: How long were you there?

Chatters: The one year, though I had hoped to continue. By now we were involved in World War I. In May the entire USC band, not as large as now of course, enlisted as a unit to serve on one of

Chatters: the battleships. The business manager of the band was one of my roommates--later a prominent Southern California physician. I returned to Lindsay with the intention of enlisting.

Marriage to Mabel Janet McConkie and Service in World War I

Chatters: That fall my parents came out to Lindsay for the winter. While they could be present, the girl to whom I had been engaged for two years and I decided on a January 11 (1918) wedding. They left for Michigan that day. I enlisted several months later in the U.S. Army and served with the American Expeditionary Forces in France for almost a year, attached to the 26th Division.

Initially I was assigned to the Army Transport School at Jacksonville, Florida, but in August I was transferred to an overseas company heading for Brest. After a boxcar trip across France to Chaumont, General Pershing's headquarters--and a narrow guage train trip into the foothills at Nogent--we were assigned as replacements to relieve the 26th Division infantrymen moved into the lines for the big Meuse-Argonne drive that ended the war on November 11, 1918. Then a sergeant, I remained until the advance section was evacuated and the Army of Occupation moved into Germany. This was early summer.

When I returned to Lindsay, the two partners immediately took off on a two weeks' vacation and I got out the next two editions of the weekly newspapers. Mrs. Chatters and I then arranged to be packed back in the mountains for a belated honeymoon. Our first had been a short one up in the valley.

Fry: And she was from Michigan?

Chatters: No, she was living here. A native of Ohio, near Mansfield, she came here with her parents around 1906. Her mother died when Mabel was eleven years old--I don't believe I mentioned her name. She was Mabel Janet McConkie. When she finished her junior year at Lindsay High she returned to Ohio to live with an aunt in Mansfield. There she took a year's work in a business college, then returned to Lindsay to be graduated with the Class of '16. In later years when we were the sole owners of the publishing business, and during my frequent

Chatters: absences on state business, she took over as assistant publisher...meeting the payrolls and doing whatever else was necessary although she had help from our two sons who were employed in the business.

Role in the California Newspaper Publishers' Association

Fry: You mentioned being president of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association?

Chatters: Yes, that was in 1930. Justus F. Craemer of the Orange Daily News was my immediate predecessor and H.R. Judah, publisher of the Santa Cruz News and member of a pioneer California family, succeeded me. John B. Long, former Omaha and Council Bluffs newsman--more recently from the public relations field in the midwest--came to the Association as its first full-time paid general manager. C.N.P.A. today ranks the top state association in the U.S. I was at the helm during Long's first full year. We traveled many thousands of miles that year, as we extended the Association activities and membership statewide. The Association was incorporated in 1930. Today its membership includes nearly every newspaper, daily and weekly in California.

EARLY POLITICAL INTERESTS

To Sacramento: Clerk, Committee on Irrigation, 1921

Fry: When did you first become interested in politics?

Chatters: For as long as I can remember I was interested in the Hiram Johnson brand of Progressive Republican politics. For a very short time, while I was at USC, Professor Bliven had located me a job as advertising manager of The California Outlook, house organ of the Progressive party in the West. It emulated the National Outlook. This was before my job with the Hollywood Citizen.

Fry: Was your job on the Outlook indicative of an interest in progressive politics on your part?

Chatters: Yes perhaps; even the course under Dr. Bogardus (whose own syllabus we used as a text) may have had some impact, as did U.S. history in Tully Knoles' history department.

The first practical contact with California politics came in 1921 when Tulare County's assemblyman asked me to attend the 1921 legislative session and work as a committee clerk. I attended the second half of the then bifurcated session, for some four months, as clerk of the Committee on Irrigation. It was in the previous session that Earl Warren, just out of the service, had his political initiation. I should be quick to concede he has gone a bit, quite a bit, further than I. He was clerk of the important Judiciary Committee.

Fry: The assemblyman's name?

Chatters: Of course. He was Charles W. Cleary, an orange grower in the Lindsay district; at least he had a young grove and was a packing house accountant to help pay bills. He and his father, the late Frank Cleary, were leaders in the movement to help Hiram Johnson "drive the Southern Pacific out of politics," and supported all his progressive innovations back in 1911, such as the initiative, referendum, recall, civil service, protection of industrial workers, etc.

I had good political tutoring; also a visit to Lindsay by Governor Johnson may have helped spark my interest.

Fry: What did a committee clerk receive in pay?

Chatters: A committee clerk was listed at $4 a day, for a 7-day week. I was enrolled as an assistant sergeant-at-arms at $5. I understand Bill Knowland got $7.50, by several assemblymen combining part of their $5 daily patronage limit. I returned to the full sessions of 1923, also as a committee clerk, with Assemblyman Cleary whose salary in those days, for the full two-year term, was $1000. By rooming together, in a private home near the Capitol, and sharing expenses, we both survived.

Member of the Assembly, 1933

Chatters: Ten years later, in 1933, William F. Knowland and I both were back at Sacramento as assemblymen; he from Alameda County and I representing Tulare and Kings counties. He sat just across the aisle from me. Salary then was $1200 a year with no per diem expense unless on Interior Committee work.

Fry: You both were newspapermen?

Chatters: We both were in the newspaper business. There was a cordial fraternal interest.

Fry: Well, in general, what was your appraisal of Bill Knowland?

Fry: Some people have told me that he was one of the more liberal members of the legislature in the earlier days and then others have said no, that he wasn't.

Chatters: Well, certainly not in the sense that you think of "liberal" today. Not by any means. He supported the progressive legislation--the offshoot of the Hiram Johnson type of Republicanism. At the end of the 1933 session labor issued its list of good and bad votes, among some twenty-five or thirty bills tabulated. I ran across it only a few days ago. Bill Knowland and I were each listed as casting seventeen good votes, a bit better than average and probably what they would expect from the "cow counties."

Knowland was right along with the rest of us. His voting record was good, and the next year he was elected to the senate where he served, I believe, until Governor Warren appointed him to the U.S. Senate to succeed Hiram W. Johnson.

Bill had the advantage of a very high-class news staff covering the legislature for the Oakland Tribune. It had some of the best Sacramento news coverage. One of the top newsmen in the capitol corps was the Tribune's Tony Moiteret, the only reporter I ever knew who constantly carried a steno notebook with him. He used shorthand and when he quoted you, it came out verbatim--correct--in print.

Fry: You had some legislative background, too.

Work for the California Farm Bureau, 1927

Chatters: I did have the advantage of my work in the 1921 and 1923 sessions with Cleary, and in 1927 I had worked in Sacramento for the California Farm Bureau Federation, sending a daily legislative dispatch to its radio station at San Jose, mailed news releases, writing for the Farm Bureau Monthly, and otherwise helped its legislative representatives.

Chatters: Here I got acquainted with John Pickett, editor of the Pacific Rural Press and former editor of the Country Gentleman, national farm magazine--a very top-notch agricultural journalist. And Franklin Hichborn, whom I first met through Assemblyman Cleary. I used to walk with Hichborn from the capitol to Sutter Fort and back after breakfast.

Fry: Well, there was a knowledgeable person.

Chatters: Indeed he was; I have some of his books. I have his sessions of 1911 and 1913, the Hiram Johnson years; the 1921 session and the famous King Tax Bill fight, and his book, The System, as Uncovered by the San Francisco Graft Prosecutions. In all of them his annotations give extensive details, such as names and roll calls, and devious political maneuvering.

Fry: That must have been good training then for you later on when you authored the income tax bill.

Chatters: Well, it separated the people. You knew who were working for the so-called special interests and who were on the side of "the People." You had learned how they lined up and it was indeed a big help when I became a member of the assembly.

ROLE IN CALIFORNIA WATER LEGISLATION

Chatters: I also spent the session of 1929 at Sacramento in behalf of the irrigation people and farmers of the South San Joaquin Valley, when we hoped to pass a Central Valley Project Act. Heading the effort at that time was Earle Houghton, also of Lindsay. I handled publicity.

Fry: You had been the committee clerk back in 1921 session when a bill was introduced authorizing the expenditure of a substantial sum for a full investigation of the state's water resources. What brought about that legislation?

Chatters: When Cleary first went to the legislature in 1919, this district already was embroiled in a water suit that continued for twenty years--starting in 1916. This particular area of Tulare County was drying up. Water levels in our wells were dropping at the rate of five feet a year, steadily depleting an underground reservoir that had built up over many centuries from the Sierra runoff. Tulare Lake once was a huge inland body of water. It was dry.

Our orange and olive groves were dying. In the meantime, farther north, water was rushing wastefully down the Sacramento River into the ocean, an average runoff of 22 million acre feet. They had to build a bypass a half-mile wide, or wider, to carry the flood waters around the city of Sacramento, as well as construct high levees. Before,it hit and inundated the lower part of the city. In downtown Sacramento all the older houses were built with the first floor eight or ten feet above ground level. The Crocker Art Gallery is an illustration.

Legislative Water Studies

Fry: So Cleary put in the bill then for the water study?

Chatters: Assemblyman Cleary, chairman of the Irrigation Committee at the 1921 session, drafted a bill--I recall typing it as he dictated--that in its initial form carried an appropriation of $500,000, directing the State Engineering Department to develop a plan--a complete, coordinated plan--for the maximum utilization of all the waters of California.

One of the early reports (Bulletin 12) pointed out subsequently that three-fourths of all the waters of California lie within the northerly third of the state and three-fourths of the need for water is in the southerly two-thirds. Three-fourths of all the state's waters reach the ocean within forty-five days after their precipitation as rain or snow upon the mountain areas.

Mr. Cleary handed the bill to Bradford S. Crittenden, Stockton, a committee member, for introduction. It was passed but Governor W.D. Stephens reduced the amount of the appropriation to either $200,000 or $250,000, I can't recall which, but the subsequent studies by State Engineer Edward Hyatt resulted in the eventual development of plans for both the Central Valley Project and the present state project which will carry water through and over the Tehachapi Mountains as far south as Perris in Riverside County.

Fry: Why did Governor Stephens cut the appropriation?

Chatters: He said it would be impossible for the department to spend a half million dollars in the next biennium. A half million was a lot of money in those days. Governor Stephens was friendly to the undertaking, and a warm personal friend of Assemblyman Cleary.

BUTTE CITY

SACRAMENTO ADDRESS
STATE CAPITOL

VAN BERNARD
MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, FIFTH DISTRICT

CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON LIVE STOCK AND DAIRIES

COMMITTEES—
AGRICULTURE
CONTESTED ELECTIONS
DIRECT LEGISLATION
DRAINAGE, SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS
PENSIONS
WAYS AND MEANS

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Assembly

FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
NINETEEN TWENTY-NINE

File
Personal

July 9, 1930.

Mr. Ford Chatters,
Lindsay, Calif.

Dear Ford,-

Your letter of a few days ago at hand. Glad indeed to have a word of encouragement, because they are not all words of encouragement I receive these days. Our campaign is progressing very well. We have a stronger combination against us this time than we have ever had before. I am not discouraged, however, because I feel that we have been in the right. We have the lobbyists and all whom they stand for, against us. They have placed us on their black list. W.A. Beard and his bunch, including Col. Parsons, who have convinced me thoroughly that neither of them are honest nor wish to play the game squarely, are against us. I also have a right to believe that the Barrier people are nosing in. D.C. Williams, who used to be Assemblyman from LeGrande, is running for Assemblyman up here, and is taking every occasion to knock both Governor Young and myself on the water conservation program. Our friend, Walter Wagner, is writing letters to the irrigation districts in his behalf. They are trying to drag in the wet and dry question, and even going so far as to bring religion into the matter. I am prepared to stand by my record, especially that pertaining to the coordinated water program. The Tehama County papers will give me no publicity, even the service clubs and others where I scheduled to speak, have found it convenient to cancel the dates. The American Legion, or members of it, are also quite active. I shall appreciate anything that your people can do in a practical way, and I need practical help at this time.

I feel I am going to win, but my biggest danger is that my friends all think there is no danger.

Sincerely yours,

Van

BUTTE CITY

SACRAMENTO ADDRESS
STATE CAPITOL

VAN BERNARD
MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, FIFTH DISTRICT

CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE ON LIVE STOCK AND DAIRIES

COMMITTEES—
AGRICULTURE
CONTESTED ELECTIONS
DIRECT LEGISLATION
DRAINAGE, SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS
PENSIONS
WAYS AND MEANS

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Assembly

FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
NINETEEN TWENTY-NINE

September 2, 1930.

Mr. Ford Chatters,
Lindsay, California.

Dear Friend Ford:

No doubt you have noticed through the press that we lost out in the election. I am enclosing herewith an article from one of the Glenn County papers, the last paragraph of which will explain to a great extent our defeat. I am not sorry that I took the stand I did because I felt and feel still that we were in the right. I might be possible that we could be of greater service in the third house than as a member of the Legislature. I would be glad to see some of you folks and talk things over with you, and if I could be of any help would gladly do so.

I do think that if a few people who are interested in this water program should meet together, outline a line of procedure to put squarely up to the new governor, and if it could be arranged that the power companies could handle the power, I believe the rest of it could be taken care of. Only the minds of the people must be cleared up on the matter in the Sacramento Valley.

How did Mixter and Martin come out?

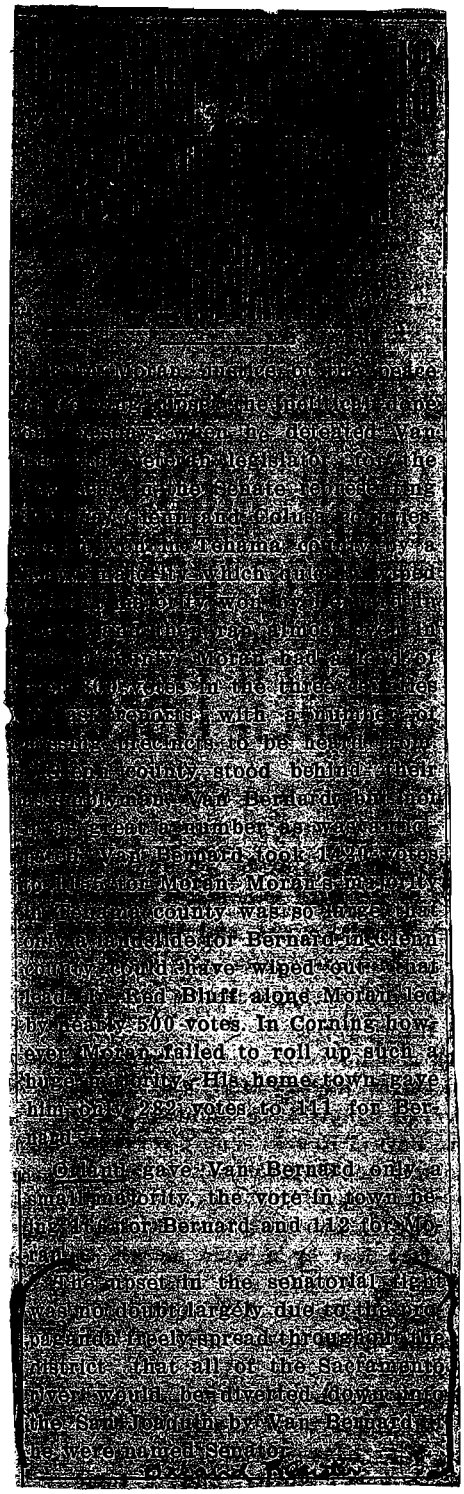
I would be glad to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

VB:H

Reference was made several times to Assemblyman Van Bernard, member of the Legislative Water Committee from the Sacramento Valley who ran for State Senate in 1930 and was defeated. Note some of opposition; also his position on power at that time (1930).

Ford A. Chatters, 5/18/73



...Monan, Justice of the Peace ...Edward Hall, Constable ...Mohan, Van ...Democrat ...Legislature ...Senate ...Corning ...Tehama ...Red Bluff ...Mohan had ...votes in the three ...with a majority ...precincts to be heard ...county stood behind ...Van Bernard ...Van Bernard ...Van Bernard took ...votes ...Mohan. Mohan's ...county was so ...Van Bernard in ...Bluff gave Van Bernard ...Red Bluff alone Mohan led by nearly 500 votes. In Corning however Mohan failed to roll up such a majority. His home town gave him 282 votes to 111 for Bernard.

Corning gave Van Bernard only a small majority, the vote in town being 171 for Bernard and 112 for Mohan.

The upset in the senatorial race was mostly due to the report that had been spread throughout the district that all of the Sacramento river would be diverted down into the San Joaquin by Van Bernard if he were named Senator.

September 9, 1930

Assemblyman Van Bernard
Butte City, California

Dear Van:

Regretted, of course, to learn of your defeat, but it may be in your case as in the case of many I have known--while it seems one is kicked out of something, it is in reality a boost into something better. Cleary's defeat opened the way to him for a much better job, where he would have otherwise been struggling along with an orange grove and giving a lot of time in public serve with very little pay. This may not be much consolation, but I trust in your case it may work out decidedly to your advantage.

I shall, of course, convey to the water committee the suggestion that you might be of some definite service during the session, and I am sure you will hear from them at a later date.

1973 → Frank W. Mixter defeated Harry Martin (Ass. State Senate) by a tremendous majority, the vote being four to one in Lindsay and Exeter, and better than two to one over the county.

I am enclosing a clipping that may be of interest to you; also a paper under seperate cover.

Hoping to see you in the near future, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ford A. Chatters.

FAC:H
Enc.

Fry: So, he put in the bill then to provide for the study?

Chatters: Cleary in 1921 drafted the bill as chairman of the Irrigation committee. I recall typing it. He handed it to Assemblyman Bradford S. Crittenden of Stockton to introduce. The bill in the initial draft called for an appropriation of $500,000 to provide the State Engineer (at that time W.F. McClure) with funds to study the Marshall Plan and for the state engineering department to make an extensive, complete and comprehensive study of the area and the development of a coordinated water plan for the maximum utilization of all the waters of the state, bearing in mind that three-quarters of all the waters fell north of the city of Sacramento, running off into the ocean and in the spring causing enormous floods. And Southern California--you might say that three-quarters of the need were south of the Tehachapis, where they were going to the Colorado for water.

So, we had an enormous water problem in California. The bill was introduced and finally passed in that session--but the appropriation was cut down to $200,000. It led, however, to the repeated studies and the production of volumes of engineering reports by Edward Hyatt, the subsequent state engineer, and others.

It evolved finally into the development of detailed plans for the first phase: The Central Valley Project, which called for the construction of a dam near Redding--it happened to be at Kennett--now called the Shasta Dam. It involved the generation of a large amount of electric energy, which brought opposition from power companies, in particularly, PG&E.

Power Company Opposition

Fry: Was there opposition to the idea behind the bill, or was the reason for the difference in the money purely economic?

Chatters: I am sure the principal objection of PG&E was economic. Shasta Dam would place a large block of electric energy on the market. Strenuous objections too were made to including cost of the transmission lines that would bring this power down to the Bay Area, where there could be competitive bidding--with the public agencies having preference.

Chatters: Somewhere it should be pointed out that the Southern California Edison Company, at least its San Joaquin Valley Division, through release of their district well measurements, had pointed up the rapidly dwindling underground supply. Company officials here were very cooperative, though perhaps it also was a matter of economics, for unless the underground water could be replenished there would be no water to pump and less market for their energy. Edison Company a few years before was successor to the pioneer, locally owned Mt. Whitney Power and Electric Co. The interest of the local management--Ben Maddox for instance--was genuine and helpful. Perhaps in Southern California the company's interest may not have been the same.

Fry: I understand that the legislature did not appropriate money to continue the study in 1923, but did in 1925.

Chatters: That may be true, I have forgotten, but if so, sufficient funds must have been found to continue the engineering studies for I can recall no serious impairment. There may have been some $90,000 in related funds approved. Friend W. Richardson was governor in 1923 and he was notoriously conservative in his budgets. He and Cleary were at odds and when the latter ran for reelection in the 1924 primary Richardson came down to Tulare in an open and outspoken effort to defeat him--which he did by a handful of votes. That, again, is a long story.

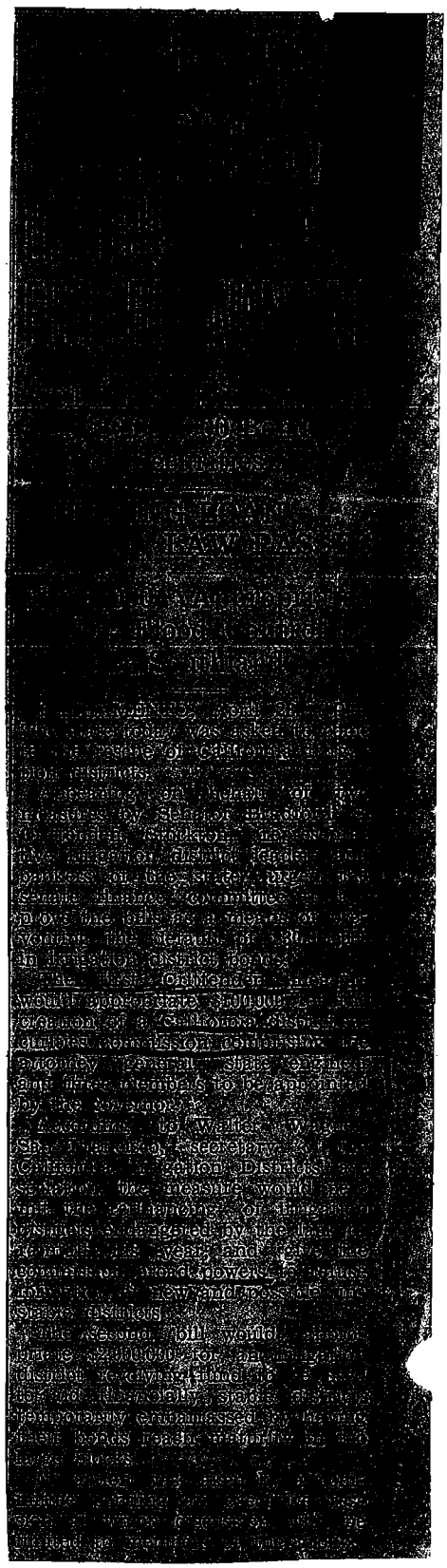
Evolution of the Central Valley Project

Fry: The 1921 bill passed the legislature with an appropriation of about what they asked for?

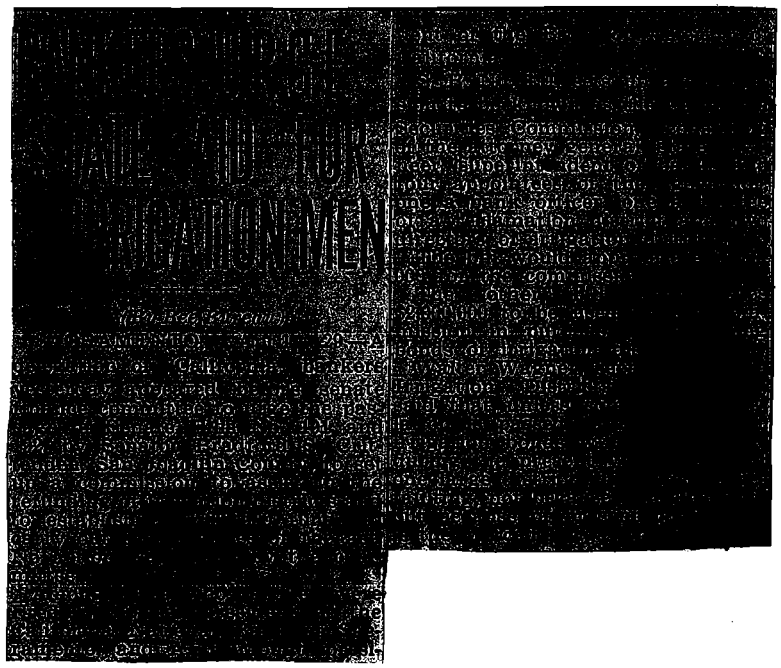
Chatters: It passed the legislature for the full amount, but Governor Stephens reduced the sum to $200,000. There were succeeding appropriations, however, and state water studies have continued to this day, you might say. They developed the plan that built the Shasta Dam and provided among others an initial unit to carry fresh water to the industries in the Carquinez Straits area. Before that, for example, they were running water barges up the river above Sacramento to transport fresh water for the sugar refineries at Crockett.

From Visalia Times-Delta, 28 April 1921

Re: Crittenden Bill, 1931. Creation of Districts Security Commission.



From Visalia Times-Delta, 29 April 1921



Chatters: The plan originally called for backing Sacramento water up the channel of the San Joaquin River, lifting it over a series of fourteen collapsible dams (collapsing them in flood season) to get water to a point where it could run by gravity flow to the Mendota Pool, served then from the San Joaquin.

We would dam the San Joaquin River at Friant, about twenty miles northeast of Fresno, and carry water by gravity canal on the east side of the valley on the western slope of the Sierra foothills, through Tulare County, to a point on the Kern River five miles west of Bakersfield. Later the Tracy pumping system and the Delta-Mendota gravity canal on the west side were substituted for the collapsible dams as a means of getting water to the Mendota Pool.

That basically was the plan. It was evolved out of the spark provided by Colonel Robert B. Marshall, who for a long time had advocated taking the excess waters of Northern California and running them, largely by gravity, into the San Joaquin Valley on both sides. He even proposed tunneling the Tehachapi mountains to get water into Southern California. Actually Colonel Marshall provided more than the spark; his vision and push were the foundation for the whole vast statewide water conservation program.

Fry: Just a gravity flow?

Chatters: By gravity here in the valley. Colonel Marshall's plan seemed quite impossible, both financially and time-wise, but he is credited with providing the fundamental idea: that vast amounts of waste waters could be moved into the dry areas of the state and at the same time prevent costly recurring flood losses. Power generation on the several streams he advocated. Actually there were three Water and Power elections in the twenties involving the Marshall Plan principle.

Fry: What kind of a person was Colonel Marshall--can you characterize him?

Chatters: I had met Colonel Marshall a few times in Sacramento, here, and possibly elsewhere. He spoke before the Irrigation committee back in 1921. However, I understand it was in 1891 that he first conceived his plan and in the next thirty years he had worked vigorously on it. I knew him more by reputation. He was a warm personal friend of Mr. Cleary.

Chatters: We did dedicate a "monument" in his memory here in Lindsay when in March 1951, with his widow Mrs. Myra Marshall present, a bronze plaque was affixed to a large rock core from the Friant Dam foundation. (He passed away in June, 1949.) The inscription reads: "Erected in honor of Colonel Robert Bradford Marshall, whose illustrious vision and untiring service made possible the Central Valley Project." It still can be seen in the Lindsay park.

His illustrious ancestry (Chief Justice John Marshall and, on his mother's side, Governor William Bradford of the Massachusetts Colony) may have something to do with his intelligent persistence. He was reputed to be soft-spoken and modest, but determined.

Fry: How did he react to the opposition to his plan from PG&E because of the power sections in the 1921 act?

Chatters: I personally don't know. Eventually he did lose his job with the Department of Interior or Bureau of Reclamation and was employed by the California State Irrigation Districts Association. He also maintained a consulting office in Sacramento.

Fry: How did Marshall work with Cleary and you in writing the legislation?

Chatters: Not directly on the appropriation bill, or the CVP Act, but I am sure he was watching its progress.

Fry: Whose idea was it to go the route of the investigation of water resources rather than implementation of the Marshall plan, which couldn't pass PG&E opposition?

Chatters: Approval of the 1921 legislative water studies came before the water and power measures got on the ballot, first in 1922. The studies were sought by South San Joaquin Valley orchardists, principally in Tulare and Kern counties, working I believe, through the State Irrigation Districts Association. The local irrigation people initiated the move for a state water study and later for a legislative water commission study and report.

Privately owned power utilities inherently were and are against any undertaking that proposes public dams and hydro-electric generation. Colonel Marshall envisioned dams on many Northern California streams, under his plans. Power company

Chatters: opposition became especially noticable when the CVP legislation began to move in 1929 and in 1933.

Fry: Was there opposition other than the utility?

Chatters: When the Central Valley Project bills were introduced, and earlier in the legislative water commission investigations, I believe, there was some opposition encountered; some in the Sacramento Valley with legitimate concern, and other no doubt inspired. As a result legislative provision was made clearly spelling out water rights protection for the "areas of origin," guaranteeing their preservation.

Fry: Would you care to comment on the 1924 and 1926 Water and Power Act initiatives on the ballot, which failed? Did you work on these measures? Was the opposition all PG&E?

Chatters: Actually there were three statewide elections involving the Marshall plan principle. All were defeated.

Since we first mentioned Colonel Marshall I have had opportunity to refresh my memory a bit. At that time I was news editor of the Lindsay Gazette. In 1922 a proposed Water and Power Act was opposed by Colonel Marshall himself, according to our files, on the ground, I assume, that he believed results of the engineering studies authorized by the legislature in 1921 should be awaited. It was beaten 2-to-1 in Lindsay and lost statewide. I seem to recall it was alleged there was some support for the proposal on the part of the power people on the assumption the impracticality of the plan, if passed, would end the water and power agitation for years to come. On this I admit being rather hazy.

Colonel Marshall was in Lindsay just prior to the 1924 election when a Water and Power initiative, carrying a $500 million authorization, was on the ballot. Speaking before a large local group Marshall urged passage of the measure. Voters of Lindsay turned it down by a narrow margin. It lost 2-to-1 in Tulare county and was defeated statewide. Assemblyman Cleary made a half-hearted and qualified recommendation for its passage.

Fry: There was a third try?

Chatters: That's true and it makes the vote here all the more significant. We had gone to the Kaweah River delta around 1915 for water and

Chatters: from then on, and for twenty years, the Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District was involved in water litigation. Reversing its Water and Power votes when the Central Valley Project Act came up in December 1933, the Lindsay district voted 2400 to 4 for the Act carrying a $170 million revenue bond issue.

Ironically, Los Angeles county and particularly the Los Angeles Times, which vigorously favored the referendum, eventually and quite directly, have become beneficiaries of the 1933 act and bond approval. I understand the bonds were sold in the '60s to help finance the construction of the San Luis reservoir and works necessary to, among other benefits, get water into Los Angeles county and Southern California. The referendum for the repeal of the CVP Act was beaten by 28,000 statewide, with Los Angeles county casting over 100,000 votes against the water act.

Answering your last question: Opposition to the Water and Power Acts were quite general and not confined to PG&E, largely on the belief that the Marshall Plan was too vast to be tackled with lack of specific engineering and planning--which by then was being undertaken under legislative directive, and financing, by the state engineer and his staff.

Fry: Now, at this time you were in Sacramento during the sessions and then back here working on your paper simultaneously during odd years, and then full time on your paper in the even-numbered years?

Chatters: That's right. I'll explain briefly. In those days we had a three-way partnership. A.L. Evans was a writer and M.M. Hallack, my uncle, was a fine journeyman printer of the old school. He was plant superintendent. They were partners since 1907. I joined the firm a dozen years later. We had other capable employees and I could leave if I got auxiliary help on the news end--which I did many times over the years. Just to complete the record, I purchased Mr. Hallack's third in 1944 and bought out Mr. Evans in 1952. I sold in 1964.

Getting back to water. I should mention in connection with the CVP water plan an important element before I forget it. Water impounded and released behind Shasta Dam would equalize the year around flow of the Sacramento River, thus pushing back with fresh water the brackish water as far as the straits and washing out also the delta and island lands around Stockton.

Chatters: We had fresh water channels again. That was part of the plan in addition to getting water down here. The water finally came in 1950 to Lindsay--do you want to go on with this water business?

Fry: Yes, I do. I want you to link together, particularly, the points in which you were active in this whole water plan.

Chatters: May I say first that since 1921 there were many persons, irrigationists, water engineers, legislators, editors, several state water committees, and chambers of commerce and county water commissions here in the valley pushing for a speedy solution to California's water problems.

For example, at the 1929 session, when passage of CVP bills introduced in both houses failed, though both got out of committee, Assemblyman [Van] Bernard successfully carried a $390,000 appropriation measure directing the Department of Public Works to recheck and expedite the studies on a state-wide conservation plan. Governor Young signed the bill. The Joint Legislative Water Committee, which sponsored the measures, was continued and a state water commission of citizens also was approved, to be named by the governor.

Fry: Altogether a lot of money was spent on these studies.

Chatters: As I recall, by 1933 expenditures of about a million and a half dollars had been approved by the legislature. I should add that a California Water Commission was also continued in 1931, with members named by Governor Rolph, who always had been interested in our program.

Now, in the meantime we were getting water for our local irrigation district from the Kaweah delta--and we were being sued by ditch companies all the way to--forty irrigation districts and ditch companies in Tulare county and Kings county were suing us. Fresno and other interests were watching this suit. They thought at first the state water plan was designed for some subtle impact on this litigation because of the activities of our water committees down here.

For a while Tulare ditch people were against us. Title of the action was the Tulare Irrigation District, et al; vs. Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District. Even Tulare was fighting us in the beginning. They were suspicious that our activities in Sacramento were motivated by their relationship

Chatters: to the litigation which finally lasted twenty years and ended with a judgment against LSID, suspended on payment of an annual fee pending the arrival of Central Valley water, which came here in 1950 with a dedication to the Friant-Kern canal.

Fry: Can you clear up the difficulties betwen the ditch companies and the irrigation districts? When water was so desperately needed in this area, it is hard to understand why there would be opposition to the Central Valley Project. Did private irrigation firms fear government competition?

Chatters: No indeed, and my statement must not be exaggerated. Everybody needed more water. Ditch companies and the newer irrigation districts operated under different laws, all for the same purpose.

LSID had gone to the delta of the Kaweah and St. Johns rivers, purchased a thousand acres of land, put down thirty-seven large wells and by canal proceeded to bring water some twenty miles to the Lindsay District. The litigation had been underway since 1915 and was very bitter at times. Judgment was rendered in December 1936, several years after CVP was assured, it being stayed at a cost until Sacramento water came fourteen years later. Litigation cost a couple million dollars.

To reiterate: The irrigationists and ditch people all were public, cooperative ventures and glad to get all the government help they could. There was just that first suspicion that Lindsay, almost alone at the beginning, might be pushing the legislation for some legal advantage involving the suit. You must understand that fifty years ago water struggles along the ditches were bloody affairs. LSID employed armed guards at certain stages of the litigation.

Fry: Now about the part you had in it.

Chatters: My interest and that of our newspaper began around 1915 when a critical local water shortage in the district came to a head and involved the area in a costly water suit that lasted for two decades.* It went to the State Supreme Court.

---

*See Fifty Year History of the Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District.

Chatters: I am sure the problem here helped precipitate action on the part of our local legislators. Assemblyman Cleary in 1921 prepared the first big water study measure. I was at that session and again in 1923, serving in each as clerk of the assembly committee on irrigation.

I was at the 1927 session representing the California Farm Bureau Federation, particularly to handle publicity statewide. At the 1928 general election I was employed by the California State Irrigation Districts Association, of which Arthur S. Crites, Bakersfield, was president, to promote the passage of Proposition No. 7. This was the measure to repeal the old Riparian Rights water law and substitute for it the doctrine that ownership of water shall be limited to a showing of "reasonable and beneficial use." It carried, as I recall, almost 4-to-1.

It was through Mr. Crites I was paid for the work I did in that campaign; I wrote the handouts. Earle R. Clemens, publisher of the Terra Bella News here in the county, went to Southern California and I took all of Northern California.

I was at the session of 1929 assisting, particularly in the way of publicity and promotion, the backing of water legislation supporting the findings of the 1927 Joint Legislative Water Committee. I was there in 1933 as a member of the Assembly when my name headed the group of sponsors to a bill creating the California Water Authority and providing for $170 million in revenue bonds to finance the CVP unit of a statewide water plan. A companion bill was introduced in the Senate. The Assembly bill was moved and passed both houses. On the subsequent referendum election in December of that year I spent much time throughout California, particularly in the South, helping defeat the referendum move against the water bill.

Fry: Were you on the study committee? As an administrator?

Chatters: No, they were legislative authorized committees. I was part-time secretary of the Tulare County Water Commission in 1929-30. We did interest ourselves in getting a legislative committee appointed to work concurrently with local water groups in the two valleys--the Sacramento and San Joaquin. The 1927 legislature produced a very able committee that worked right up to the time they reported to the 1929 session and recommended the development of legislation for the project. This committee had as its chairman Assemblyman Bradford S. Crittenden of San Joaquin county.

Chatters: Incidentally, his name will appear in 1921 as the author of the initial appropriation bill. While Cleary wrote the bill, he handed it to a committee member to introduce, so it became known as the Crittenden Bill, not the Cleary Bill.

Fry: Why did he do that?

Chatters: His idea of ethics, I guess. Cleary was chairman of the Assembly Irrigation Committee and he thought, when the bill came before the committee for hearing a committee member should handle it rather than the chairman. Mr. Cleary had a very high sense of ethics, politically and otherwise. We wrote the bill one Sunday morning up on the fourth floor of the capitol. I typed it out as he dictated it--the first draft of the bill that went to the committee--and he handed it to Crittenden for introduction.

Fry: Is that kind of fast bill-writing usual in the legislature?

Chatters: The preparation of this simple appropriation bill was not unusual, nor hasty if a question of ethics is inferred. It subsequently was subjected to the usual committee hearings and floor debate in both houses. Many legislators come to Sacramento with measures prepared at home, probably at the importuning of a constituent or a group of voters in their district.

Today they have a well-staff Legislative Council Bureau to assist in researching and preparing bills. Certainly it would be unwise not to use the service though many state agencies have corrective legislation ready to submit through a legislator at the beginning of a session.

At the opening of the 1935 legislative session Walter Wagner, secretary of the Irrigation Districts Association of California, handed me a dozen or more bills and asked me to distribute them among San Joaquin valley assemblymen for introduction. He may also have had them introduced among friendly senators on the other side. This was the program of the irrigation districts' organization that had been prepared for that session, some amending existing laws where it was felt improvement could be made. Others may have proposed new laws.

The Crittenden committee made a report to the legislative sessions following its appointment and recommending that bills be drafted and the legislation be enacted.

Fry: What was the title of the committee? Was it a joint committee?

Chatters: Joint Legislative Water Committee.*

Fry: Why was Crittenden appointed chairman? Was he the chairman throughout the years of the committee's activities?

Chatters: Probably because his name earlier had appeared as author of the "Crittenden Bill," a usual legislative practice I believe, even on Joint Committees. He headed the 1927 committee, I think in 1929, and again a Joint Committee that submitted a report in April, 1932.**

Fry: What sort of chairman was he--strong, weak, or--? How did he get along with opponents of water legislation in order to get bills passed, through the years?

Chatters: Assemblyman [later senator] Brad Crittenden was a lawyer, neither flashy nor given to the spectacular, but he was sound. Representing San Joaquin county, probably no committee member would have made a better chairman for all problems were not outside the committee. Members had water interests in their own area. There was, for example, the salt water barrier involvement down around the Bay. Sacramento Valley people claimed we were stealing their water, at least some did and were inspired to protest; others recognized the flood-control advantages and other benefits along the river. Van Bernard from Butte City, it is said, eventually was defeated for reelection because in the report he supported a broad, state-wide outlook toward solutions. Senator [Ralph E.] Swing had a Santa Ana River problem that should come in for study. Bert [E.G.] Adams of Merced and Madera counties represented a vital area. [Frank W.] Mixter's constituents emphasized the urgency in Tulare county and Senator [Edwin A.] Mueller wondered if eventually they could get Northern California water into San Diego county.

---

*Members of the Joint Legislative Water Committee were: Bradford S. Crittenden (Tracy) chairman, Ralph E. Swing (San Bernardino) vice-chairman, E.G. (Bert) Adams (Livingston), Van Bernard (Butte City), F.W. Mixter (Exeter), Edwin A. Mueller (El Cajon), H.C. Nelson (Eureka), Will R. Sharkey (Martinez).

**The 1932 Report is submitted herewith.

April-1929

30a

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1/2 Col. Mat of Assemblyman B. S. CRITTENDEN, Chairman of Water Committee, enclosed.

NEWS RELEASE: 1929. On Filing report of the Joint Legislative Water Committee with the 1929 session by Chairman Bradford S. Crittenden.

By Ford A. Chatters

(Special to the)

SACRAMENTO, Apr. 9.--Completing two years of exhaustive research into the water resources of California, and the study of a comprehensive plan for their maximum utilization, the joint legislative water committee today filed with the legislature its final, supplemental report in which it definitely recommends the voting of state bonds for the first unit of construction of projects entailing the following:

1--The building of Kennett dam, Shasta county, at an estimated cost of $70,000,000,

2--Construction of the San Joaquin system of pumps, dams, canals, etc., which will make possible the transporting of surplus Sacramento waters as far south as Earlimart, Tulare county,

3--The inclusion of $15,000,000 for flood control and conservation in the Santa Ana river.

A total proposed bond issue of $109,000,000 is recommended to meet immediate needs as compared with an issue of $300,000,000 as suggested in its preliminary report in January, involving also the bringing of Colorado waters to Southern California, and the Salt Water barrier at Army Point. The necessary measures for carrying out the recommendations have been drafted, it is understood.

Unanimous On Three Units

The report, so far as the three units are concerned, had the unanimous backing of the committee. "Whatever appendages there are, ask the state to do more than the committee majority recommends at this time as the first units to be financed and built," declares Chairman B. S. Crittenden, Tracy. This serves to bring out the strength of the more conservative recommendations.

The report was signed by Senators Nelson, Swing and Mueller, and Assemblymen Crittenden, Adams, Bernard and Mixter, while Senator Sharkey of Martinez, eighth member of the committee, filed an appendage in which he urged the inclusion, also, of the Salt Water barrier in the work to be immediately undertaken, Senator Sharkey declared in his supplementary report that the barrier was eliminated, "not because of the lack of merit or necessity of the barrier, but because of political expediency."

Assemblyman Adams also has an appendage in which he states he believes the importance and necessity of the barrier is under-estimated by the majority of the committee but, he says, "I do not concur in that part of Senator Sharkey's minority report in which he suggests political expediency as the reason the salt water barrier is not recommended among the first units of the co-ordinated plan to be financed and built." But the plan submitted, he continues, "will have my wholehearted support."

Senator Ralph Swing, while concurring, likewise files a supplementary report. "I concur in the majority report," he says, "but it does not adequately express the policy which I believe should pursue with reference to its water resources." Swing, recognizing the immediate needs of the state, proposes submitting "the entire general scheme for full development of the water resources of the state to the voters for their approval or rejection, and in the proposition submitted should be included a direction to the legislature to provide from year to year the funds necessary to carry out such development as the state's needs should require." The Senator would have reposed in the legislature authority to authorize the issuance of bonds "in such amounts and at such times as might be necessary to carry on such development," based upon recommendations of the department of public works each biennium.

Recommends Immediate Legislation

The main report points to Kennett dam, and the San Joaquin valley, and the Santa Ana River as the projects demanding immediate consideration, while it recognizes the request of the City of Los Angeles and other southern California cities to finance, own and operate their own proposed Boulder dam aqueduct. The report concludes with the recommendation "that bills, resolutions, constitutional amendments or other measures be prepared necessary for the carrying out of the recommendations (for $109,000,000) hereinbefore made." It also recommends that the Federal government be interested in the development of Kennett, "upon the grounds of its well-established policies regarding navigation and flood control."

Salt Water Barrier

"Without doubt, the salt water barrier is an integral unit of any plan which the state may adopt for the fullest conservation and use of the fresh water of the Sacramento," says the report, but it points out that "The State Engineer and Consulting Engineers in the State report have continuously refused to recommend the Salt Water Barrier as one of the first units to be constructed by the State on the ground that the Kennett project would produce greater benefits at a less expense to the State."

Favors State Financing

The committee sets forth its belief "that because of the magnitude of the undertaking; the extent and diversity of the areas affected and the benefits to be derived, that these projects are of state-wide interest, and should be constructed by the state through the lending of its credit at the earliest possible time. Through the sale of electric power that can be generated by installation of a power house at the dam, a large part, if not all of the cost thereof as well as interest charges thereon, can be realized...."

American River Development

The committee affirms its conclusions in regard to the development of the American River water shed. It says: "This appears to possess attractive features as a supplementary unit to Kennett Dam in the coordinated plan; and with prospects of private financing should eliminate state charges and at the same time yield a return that will materially aid the state in carrying the cost of the San Joaquin unit. We urge the diligent prosecution of negotiations by state agencies to the end that flood menaces from the American river water shed be removed as soon as possible."

Will Accomplish Many Things

The building of the dam at Kennett will not only supply a 3000-second-foot surplus for the San Joaquin Valley which is crying for water, not to bring additional acreage into bearing but to save present development, but it will solve the flood problem of the Sacramento, increase navigation to a point far up the river, force back salt water along the straits and make available by regulated flow, as far down the river as Antioch, a constant supply of fresh water for the industries, and in addition, develop power at Kennett with an estimated annual revenue of $4,500,000.

Report Points Out Needs

"Many sections of the state," says the report, "have already reached their fullest development unless additional water supply can be furnished; and, indeed, certain areas are in a state of decline and retrogression because withdrawal of water from sources of supply in excess of their replenishment. This is notably true in the South San Joaquin Basin where thousands of acres and millions of dollars worth of property, highly productive if supplied with sufficient water at not prohibitive rates are facing ultimate exhaustion of water supply through steady and constantly sinking water levels. Likewise, the seriousness of the condition prevailing in the great delta area of the Sacramento and San Joaquin will become more and more acute should further withdrawal of waters occur in the upper reaches of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. We observe vast areas of the state, and masses of people locked in litigation that is rendering further development impossible, and which will produce results of inestimable damage irrespective of which side may be successful in litigation. In fact, it is evident that some sort of state aid is imperative. The solution, if possible, of the immediate problem facing these vast areas of the two great valleys, presents matters of such diversified and varied importance that the adoption of certain general yet basic principles by the state seems necessary.

"The ultimate development of this state will be largely dependent upon the fullest utilization of its water resources...."

Fry: Who selected the members of the committee? Did they tend to be the same people through the years?

Chatters: Committee members were named by the speaker of the assembly and by the lieutenant governor presiding over the Senate. I am sure conferences and suggestions had to get a balanced representation. All of them as far as I can recall continued to support the resulting legislation and to maintain their interest in statewide water conservation.

Fry: As I remember, wasn't there some opposition too on the part of Miller and Lux?

Change in Riparian Rights Law, 1928

Chatters: Well, not in 1921, but later after the Herminghaus court decision which established their absolute right under the Riparian Right doctrine to the full flow of the river even at flood stage.

It had a very direct bearing on the success of the Central Valley Project and the impounding of San Joaquin waters at Friant. It was necessary that the Riparian Rights law be changed and this led to Proposition 7 on the ballot in 1928, successfully passed, which adopted the doctrine of "reasonable and beneficial use." I think here we may be duplicating a bit. The amendment carried.

Miller and Lux owned thousands of acres here in the Central Valley, irrigated principally by overflow of the San Joaquin River in flood years, involving less than three per cent of the stream flow.

Eventually before the Bureau of Reclamation progressed with CVP construction Miller and Lux were paid around $2 million for their riparian interest.

When California became a state and a set of laws was adopted to govern the people, it was provided that in case there was no covering law, the Common Law of England should prevail. With the first water difficulty the law, adopted from wet, foggy England, was applied to our semi-arid acres for almost three-quarters of a century.

Chatters: In Proposition 7 rights to the use and ownership of water was limited by the ability to demonstrate reasonable and beneficial use of the same.

Fry: You were employed to work for passage of Proposition 7?

Chatters: Yes. I may have alluded to this before, Arthur Crites of Bakersfield, president of the California State Irrigation Association employed me. Memberships were individual. H.J. Evans, Exeter, was vice president of the group and Alden Anderson, Sacramento, treasurer. I secured Earle Clemens, publisher of the Terra Bella News to assist. He went to Southern California and I covered the north, covering the newspapers prior to election. The amendment won by an overwhelming majority.

Campaign for passage of Central Valley Project Act, 1929-1933

Fry: Let's return to the 1933 legislative session.

Chatters: In the 1933 legislative session my principal interest was to secure the passage of the Central Valley Project Act. There was a group of co-authors to companion bills introduced in both houses. My name headed the Assembly Bill, No. 259, and it was decided to move from the Assembly side. Cliff Anglin from Contra Costa county did an outstanding job on the bill. Mixter headed the Senate Bill as I recall.

Because of my background of four sessions at Sacramento, though not as a member--and understanding legislative procedure, I did the floor work you might say, and Anglin provided the oratory. Near the close of the session, and on the question of the final passage of the bill, he made a brilliant summary and most compelling plea for its passage. When he finished he was roundly applauded by the membership as well as the gallery. Recently graduated from St. Mary's, he was a brilliant young speaker and a good thinker.

Anglin later became federal housing administrator for the western region, with offices in San Francisco.

Fry: Oh, and that was when you were floor manager?

PAMPHLET FROM 1929

CALIFORNIA WATER FACTS

(From Bulletin 12)

AMPLE WATER originates within the state's boundaries for all future needs, but it is very unequally distributed geographically.

Three-fourths of all the waters of California lie within the northerly third of the state's area.

Three-fourths of the need for water lies in the southerly two-thirds of the state's area.

Three-fourths of all the state's waters reach the ocean within forty-five days after the time of their precipitation as rain or snow upon the mountain areas.

Only the drain water in the wake of this great volume of winter and spring run-off is available during the long, rainless summers when most needed.

Not over two-thirds of the area now under irrigation in California can obtain water as needed with reasonable certainty.

The approach to exhaustion of local supplies in many parts of California presents even more serious aspects than the loss of anticipated wealth thru curtailment of expansion.

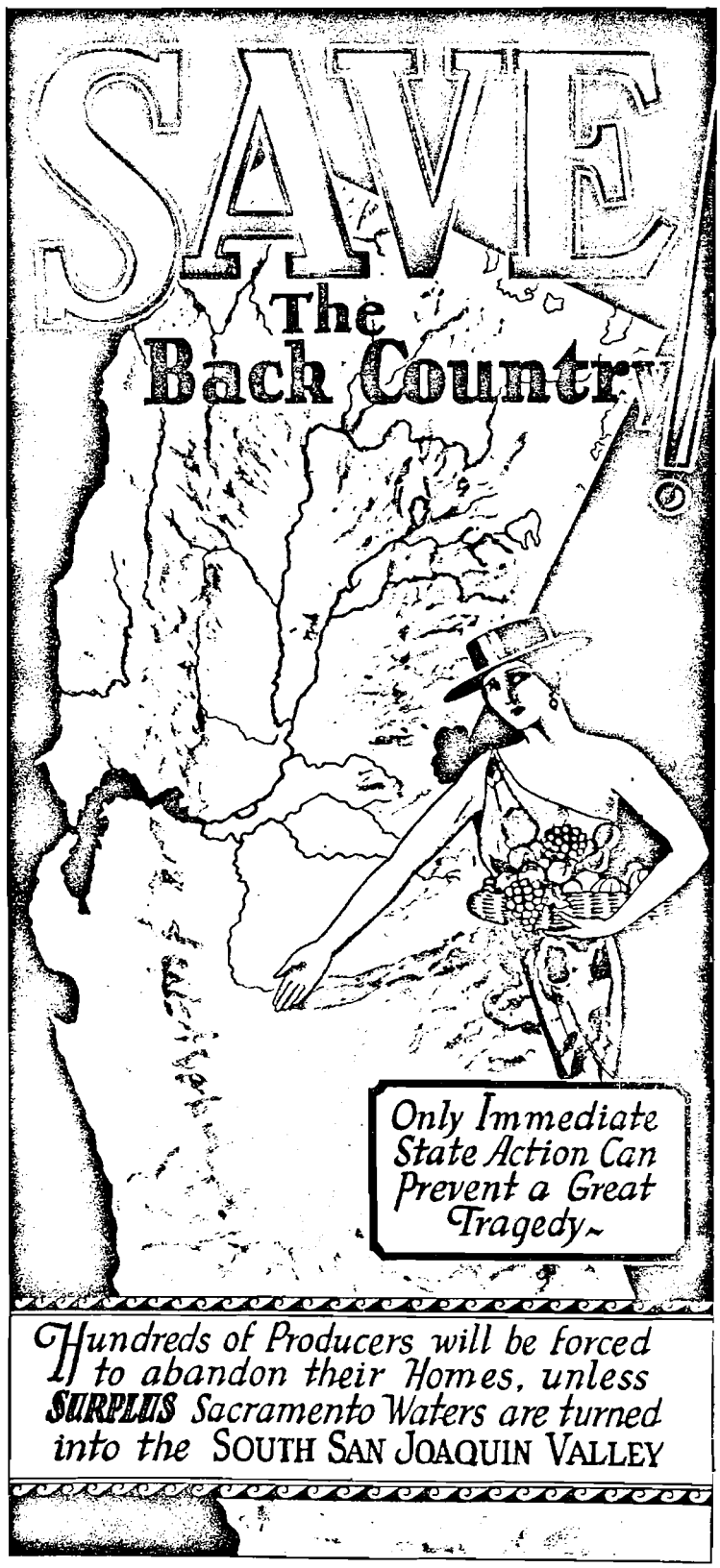
Without additional supplies, well levels in certain regions will continue to drop until either the underground basins are exhausted or the cost of pumping water to the ground surface exceeds its value.

The complication in the approach to exhaustion of the water supply in the South San Joaquin valley is of statewide concern, for there is no local means of relief.

With the above facts in mind, there is no greater subject for consideration by the present legislature, than the putting into operation at this session of a state water policy designed to secure an orderly development of its water resources for the greatest public benefit, at the same time meeting the urgent needs in the South San Joaquin.

PUBLISHED BY

TULARE COUNTY UNIT
CALIFORNIA STATE IRRIGATION
ASSOCIATION



Chatters: Not manager. I knew most of the members from past sessions so I did the floor work, so called. I circulated around, probably over a period of a couple weeks toward the last, with a copy of the roll call in my pocket, checking off the favorable votes as we were assured members' support. When we had enough for reasonable assurance of passage we asked to have it set for special order of business at a particular date and time. Oratory seldom changes a bill but this is one of those times when it might have been so. It passed the Assembly 69 to 4 (out of 80) at a night session. It passed the Senate 34 to 1, the "no" vote by Senator Olson, later Governor Olson, Los Angeles.

Fry: Why was the same bill introduced in both houses?

Chatters: That is common practice on such major legislation. Had it failed in the Assembly, we would have known where the problems were and could have started it from the other house, with time to do some work at home (in the home districts of members) and have another chance later with a Senate bill, amended possibly to meet objections developed in the Assembly if that became necessary to get, or possibly to improve, the legislation.

Fry: You might just mention the names who led the opposition in the legislature.

Chatters: As I believe I mentioned before, in the legislature itself, where the measure was thoroughly understood, particularly as to the provision that the bonds could not be sold until revenues to cover them were produced or procured, there finally was very little opposition to the 1933 bill. Perhaps I shouldn't say it in print, but I believe there were more "statesmen," yours truly excepted, then than now and I particularly believe this was more true back in 1921 and '23, and earlier, when legislators received only $1000 for a two-year term, and no per diem expense while in Sacramento, or any staff. I received $1200 a year, no per diem expense except on committee assignments.

Fry: Do I understand there was opposition on the outside, possibly from three sources?

Chatters: Well, even in the legislature if we keep the sessions separated. There was legislative opposition in 1929 and 1931 as I have indicated before, strong enough to prevent passage of a CVP bill.

Chatters: There was, up to the final approval on the bill by the people in 1933 at the referendum election, several sources of strong opposition . . . as the close vote in that December election shows. Most powerful opposition, by this time well out in the open, was from the private power people, particularly PG&E. Southern California, especially in the sphere of influence of the Los Angeles Times, was opposed quite strongly, as were some land owners in the Sacramento Valley who had been led to believe the San Joaquin Valley was going to "steal" their water, or that there was no surplus to be transported. Earlier, in 1929, there had been "static" from W.A. Beard and the Iron Canyon Dam proponents in the Sacramento Valley. He even appeared in Washington.

Fry: Afraid of more salt water intrusion at that point?

Chatters: I believe the salt-water barrier opposition, vigorous in some sources in 1929, was more or less moot by 1933.

Fry: What about opposition of the power people?

Chatters: We were talking about a huge dam, one that would generate a large block of power. It was easy to anticipate strong opposition, especially, as stated before, when it was proposed to transport it to the Bay Area, where there could be competitive bidding. The private-power people, always with a strong and influential public relations department and a powerful legislative lobby, functioned as might be expected--very open and aggressively as the CVP legislation progressed.

Fry: By the way, what about power at Friant Dam?

Chatters: That's a good question. Suddenly someone thought they had discovered something new--and ulterior. I believe it was during the referendum campaign when an unfriendly group raised the point. Engineers, both state and federal, had held from the beginning that to virtually drain the lake in dry years to meet the demands of irrigationists was incombatible with power generation unless a stand-by power plant was constructed in the same area.

The question was never pushed. It is good to have it brought up here so that, for the record, the judgment of engineers mignt be cited.

Fry: But the private power people's opposition to the bill was strongest?

Chatters: We had lots of opposition from Southern California. It came out in the open. Of course there had been some opposition in the legislature, too, when it was going through, but we had enough votes to pass it, in both houses. I speak again of 1933.

Referendum to Stall the Central Valley Project Act, 1933

Chatters: Then the bill was held up on referendum due largely to the power that was to be generated and the uncertainty on the part of the power people as to how this would be sold and distributed and what effect this would have on power rates and the power industry.

So, they were in back--and this is documented--they were in back of the move to get signatures to hold a referendum which usually would have held the bill in suspense until the next general election (of 1934), which would have been a year and a half from the time of its passage.

We succeeded in getting Governor Rolph to call a special election to be held in December of 1933, over the opposition of large numbers of newspapers in Southern California, particularly the Los Angeles Times, as well as a lot of Big Business people with whom the power people maintained cordial relations.

And the referendum move was beaten only by (this is my recollection; this would have to be looked up), but I think it was only around 30,000 votes. An overwhelming vote against us was from Southern California.

Fry: Why did Governor Rolph cooperate on this special election? Who could have influenced him? Wasn't he concerned about the power lobby?

Chatters: Governor Rolph was so well committed to this from almost the start of his administration, and from the opening of the legislative session as well as otherwise, that it was certain he would make the call. That doesn't mean that he didn't have plenty of pressure to put it over until November 1934. It would

Los Angeles Examiner
Dec, 1933

Conclusive Proof

35a

g Out Publicity Against
Used as Cats'-Paws; Secret
d by Assemblyman Chatters

–Conclusive proof of the activities of
s of California in opposing the Central
s produced tonight with the revelation
Association officials that the power
ing to maintain an air of innocence,
spreading propaganda against the

on the discovery that the power com-
nailing lists over to the bureaus send-
the measure. These bureaus, while
gan-
serv-
ower
ob-
ople,
offi-

been
out
llar
Act
are
ical
to
uin
ion.
iles

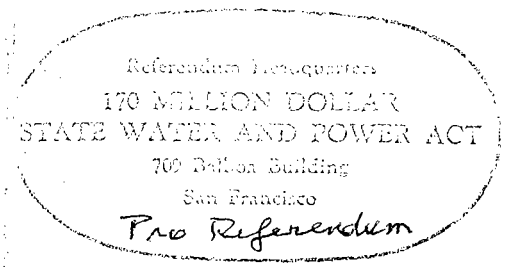
st
gh
as-
at
be-
o-
rs
as
y

sumers' bills are addressed.

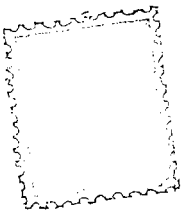
"The selfish reason for their interest is apparent. When the Central Valley Water Project is in operation ranchers in the San Joaquin Valley will not have to pay the excessive rates now in effect to pump their water. At the same time the power companies will lose the monopoly they enjoy in Northern California in the production of electricity for lighting and power. This will mean but one thing—that their rates must be reduced to within a reasonable proximity to the cost of producing this power.

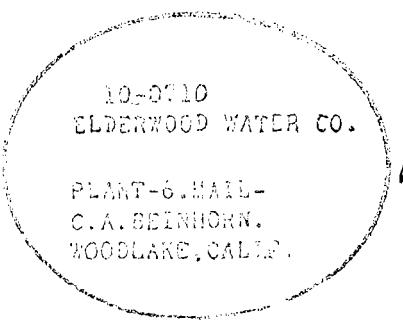
"Another indication of the power trust's activities was revealed the first of the month, when power companies in San Francisco began handing out folders, opposing the project, to every consumer as he paid his bill.

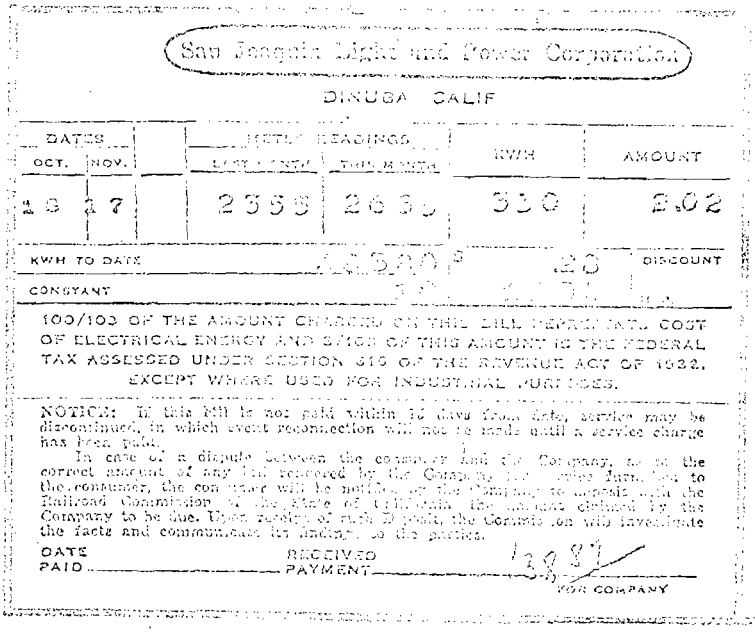
"There is no other opposition to the project from any source."



Sec. 562, P. L. & R






San Joaquin Light and Power Corporation
DINUBA CALIF

DATES OCT.	DATES NOV.		METER READINGS LAST MONTH	METER READINGS THIS MONTH	KWH	AMOUNT
20	27		2355	2665	310	2.02
KWH TO DATE						DISCOUNT
CONSTANT						

100/100 OF THE AMOUNT CHARGED ON THIS BILL REPRESENTS COST OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY AND 3/100 OF THIS AMOUNT IS THE FEDERAL TAX ASSESSED UNDER SECTION 615 OF THE REVENUE ACT OF 1932, EXCEPT WHERE USED FOR INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES.

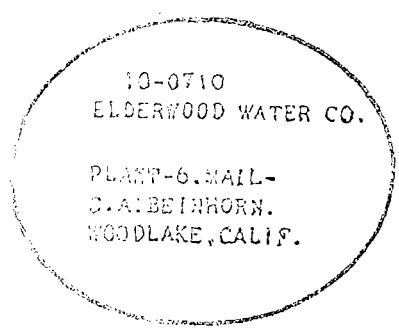
NOTICE: If this bill is not paid within 10 days from date, service may be discontinued, in which event reconnection will not be made until a service charge has been paid.

In case of a dispute between the consumer and the Company, as to the correct amount of any bill rendered by the Company, which cannot be settled to the consumer, the consumer will be notified that the Company is required by the Railroad Commission of the State of California the amount claimed by the Company to be due. Upon receipt of such notice the Commission will investigate the facts and communicate its findings to the parties.

DATE PAID _____ RECEIVED PAYMENT _____ FOR COMPANY

THIS SIDE OF CARD FOR ADDRESS

ER CO.



TOP PHOTO SHOWS reproduction of envelope used by "Referendum Headquarters" 170 Million Dollar State Water and Power Act" of San Francisco to mail out propaganda against Central Valley project. Below, reproduction of name and address on statements (shown beside it) rendered by San Joaquin Light and Power Corporation. Both were sent to same person and both were addressed with identical addressograph plates. Thousands of similar letters have been sent out opposing water plan, many addressed with plates furnished by power firms.

Chatters: give the opposition more time to organize against it. He withstood powerful and influential pressures, I am told.

Fry: What work did you do in defeating the referendum for the water plan?

Chatters: By that time we had active water commissions in both Tulare and Kings counties. Chairman for Tulare county at the time of the referendum, I believe, was J.H. Fauver of Exeter. Later he was manager and I was assistant manager of the local group. First thing was to hire Clem Whitaker, new in the Public Relations field and a former United Press Bureau head at the state capitol. He had offices in San Francisco. He was a capable writer and had plenty of political know-how from his work in Sacramento.

By this time the Redding people, and Senator [John B.] McColl were more active. Whitaker needed someone to handle the women's end of the campaign. I suspect it probably was Senator McColl who mentioned Leone Baxter, secretary of the Redding Chamber of Commerce, and she joined the Whitaker organization in San Francisco headquarters. She was capable, really brilliant. Later the two formed the firm of Whitaker & Baxter and became one of the foremost public relations firms in the United States, now headed by Clem Whitaker, Jr. They handled the 1942 campaign of Earl Warren for governor and I worked for them from the last of May to the election in November, in San Francisco--that was nine years after our 1933 water campaign.

Fry: Were you in San Francisco during the water campaign.

Chatters: No, I did my work out of our own newspaper office. I wrote considerable publicity, especially from the local irrigationists viewpoint, in part trying to answer and combat the extremely unfriendly attitude of the Los Angeles Times, as my scrapbook will show. I spent the last month before election in Los Angeles and Southern California.

It was while I was working in Los Angeles in November and early December 1933 on the defeat of the referendum that I first met Sam Yorty. A ruddy young man, probably in his early twenties, came into headquarters and offered his services free. He asked if he could be put to work, addressing small groups on the pro side (for the water bill), making radio talks on the proposition,

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

Mayor Sam Yorty
City of Los Angeles
California

PERSONAL

Dear Sam:

By way of introduction, the undersigned was a member of the State Assembly, sessions of 1933 and 1935. I believe you came to the Assembly the year I left. I also served 2½ years on the State Personnel Board, ending the first of January, 1967.

While at Sacramento and for some ten years previously I devoted a good deal of time to the Central Valley Water Project development. Currently I am furnishing some background material for the Bancroft Library, UC, in the course of which I have mentioned a month's work in Los Angeles in behalf of the CVP bill held up on referendum. This was in November and early December, 1933 at a special election called by Governor Rolph.

I have made the statement that a young man, as I recall, of ruddy complexion and slightly auburn hair, called in to headquarters and asking if he could be put to work, interviewing small groups that requested a speaker on the pro side; making radio talks on the proposition and helping wherever he could. I said I recalled him as Sam Yorty. For the sake of historical accuracy, am I right?

The interviewer came back with: Why did he volunteer to help? My answer was that I recalled him as a young man without standing, wealth, and possibly looking for a cause. I don't believe we had any money. Again, am I right? The first I heard of Yorty he had been elected to the Assembly, possibly before he had passed the bar examination.

If I am correct, can you take a moment to advise [illegible]

Sincerely,

Ford A. Chatters

SAM YORTY
MAYOR

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY HALL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90012

January 11, 1973

Mr. Ford A. Chatters
Post Office Box 36
Lindsay, California 93247

Dear Mr. Chatters:

This is in reply to your letter of January 7th. You are right on all counts mentioned in your letter.

It was my 1st experience in a state-wide campaign when I served as a member of the State Assembly. We saved enough votes in Southern California to win the referendum. The opposition said "why vote $170 million in bonds for a Northern California project?" They were effective in Southern California but not enough to overcome the landslide in some other areas.

Thank you for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

Sam Yorty

MAYOR

SY/fa

Chatters: and helping wherever he could. He said his name was Sam Yorty. He was very enthusiastic.

Fry: Why was Sam Yorty interested in passage of the CVP act?

Chatters: That would be only a guess on my part. I recall him as a young law student seeking experience, and possibly looking for a cause. I don't believe we had any money. I remember his ruddy complexion and slightly auburn hair.

The next I heard of Sam Yorty he had been elected (1936) to the State Assembly, possibly before he had passed the bar examination. I believe he served three terms in the legislature, and now, as you are aware, he is running for a fourth term as mayor of the city of Los Angeles.

In the session of 1929 Mr. Earle Houghton of Lindsay and I spent seven months at the capital working on what we hoped would be the passage of the Central Valley Project Act, which wasn't achieved until four years later. We were there attempting to have passed the measures recommended and introduced by members of the legislative water committee.

Mr. Houghton, a local orchardist, just prior to that had been president of the California Farm Bureau Federation and had wide acquaintance among rural legislators. He headed the activity; I worked principally on publicity. It was, in fact, through Houghton that I got the public relations job at the 1927 session, working with the Farm Bureau representatives. Our work at the 1929 session was paid by the Tulare and Kern county water commissions. I believe most or all the money was publicly contributed that year.

Fry: You mean a large part of the bills for all the public relations work was paid by the Tulare county irrigation districts and the Kern county irrigation districts?

Chatters: Well, the Tulare and Kern county water commissions. These two commissions worked closely together. In the session of 1929 our checks came from Chairman J.T. Crowe of Tulare. This was home-town money. People shelled out because they had so much at stake.

Fry: Back to the 1933 bill. You talked of knowing what the roll call would be before you brought the bill up on special call. Was this in the assembly?

Chatters: Yes, we naturally had polled the members.

Fry: Do you have to do any special maneuvering or make promises in order to get the bill passed? Or was there real interest in it--enough for passage?

Chatters: There were no deals, though there had been a lot of hard work by a lot of concerned people. Representatives of labor, industry in general, and the farmers and business people finally were convinced of the multiple benefits of the Central Valley Project. I speak of the farmers in the southern portion of the Great Central Valley, where water tables were falling year after year and orchards were dying, and of the farmers in the north plagued with floods and very often too much water. Levees and bypasses were built to hurry it toward the ocean; also legislators were convinced we were talking about a revenue bond act, with all costs to be repaid by those benefitted, as were the Bay Area bridge bonds.

Fry: Do you recall the so-called "Tin Pan Alley" bloc in the senate pledged to help John McColl pass the bill in that body?

Chatters: I never heard the expression "Tin Pan Alley" applied to members of the senate. I know there was a sort of fraternal group over there. Senator Mixter had some close friends in the group. I do recall the senate sometimes was referred to by the assemblymen as "The House of Lords" and they referred to the assembly as "Cave of the Winds."

Fry: Did Governor Rolph offer any help at this point in passage?

Chatters: Yes, he was energetically behind the legislation. This is documented in many ways, including his statement in the Public Works magazine, which I will turn over to the Bancroft Library. He urged CVP passage in his message opening the 1933 session.

Fry: Why was it that the sale of power to public agencies in the Sacramento Valley was added to the bill? Wouldn't opposition from PG&E have been expected? Was possible federal help a factor?

Chatters: Originally Shasta power was to be sold at the source--at the dam. It was vigorously argued by some that there could be only one bidder, that the plan should include a transmission line to bring the power to the Bay Area where there could be

Chatters: competitive bidding. I believe Senator Herbert C. Jones, a splendid public servant then serving his eleventh session, held out for also financing the transmission lines. It was included before the bill was passed. I can't recall at just what point. Of course PG&E was not happy. At that point federal participation was not a factor. Later the federal government through the Bureau of Reclamation assumed construction of the entire project. Newly elected President Roosevelt was asking for public works projects "ready to go." CVP was ready.

Special Election, December 1933

Fry: What prevented PG&E from defeating the measure in the legislature?

Chatters: I assume we are talking about the Central Valley Project Act in the 1933 session (AB 259). We got the necessary two-thirds vote--and more--in both houses because of the weight of the study behind the proposal, both engineering and financing. Governor Rolph urged passage of the legislation in his Message to the Legislature at the opening of the session. Engineering and plans had been checked and rechecked. Three legislative committees, named in 1929, '31, and '33 all urged action as did governor-appointed commissions in 1931 and 1933. A Joint Federal-State Water Commission earlier had reported favorably.

I can't locate my copy of AB 259 but I believe when it was introduced the bond sum was $160,000,000 and it did not have the transmission line included, which means that somewhere along the line, between date of introduction early in January and final passage in May, the power transmission lines were amended in and $10 million added to the bond authorization. Final sum in the approved bill was $170,000,000.

I am sure the legislators understood the proposed bond feature was strictly of a revenue-supported nature, to be paid back in full by the beneficiaries--the districts contracting in advance for water--and was in no sense an obligation against the general treasury of the state. Further, the need was so apparent and the labor producing feature so impelling that, with President Roosevelt asking the states for work projects "ready to go," there was no chance for PG&E or anyone else

Chatters: stopping it. Maybe there were times before final passage that this did not sound so simple . . . and a two-thirds vote in each house was necessary.

Neither could it be blocked by the claim in Southern California, and the later open opposition of the Los Angeles Times. With assertions such as "we have bonded ourselves to build the Metropolitan Water District to bring water to our area, why now have to help pay for a Northern California irrigation undertaking," purposely avoiding mention of the revenue-producing feature of CVP. PG&E opposition was not conspicuous at this point, though it was more open with respect to the transmission lines which we kept in the final draft of the bill.

In addition to irrigationists, there were many other direct beneficiaries of the undertaking, from the labor it would produce at a critical time in the depression period, to the cement manufacturers, and still more, not to mention control of a serious flood situation.

I am sorry if this is a long answer to so short a question.

Other Proposed Water Legislation

Fry: In 1934 a constitutional amendment was on the ballot which would have allowed issuance of general obligation bonds and taxation to help pay for defaulting agencies contracting for water. Did you work on this legislation at all? Why do you think it failed in the general elections?

Chatters: There were three water-related propositions on the November ballot that year. Probably you refer to Proposition 19, regarding extending the life of state bonds from forty to seventy years in case of water and power issues. I understand the authors of the amendment were asking for its defeat before election, I can't recall why. It went down, about 2 to 1.

You also may have in mind Proposition 18. As I recall, it was more or less a companion bill to AB 259 (CVP Act), and would have provided some desired legislation in the event the latter failed. The authors of the bills were the same, I believe. My recollection is that Assemblyman Cliff Anglin and

Chatters: I signed the election-handbook argument in favor.

In the meantime the CVP amendment had won at the special election in December 1933 called by Governor Rolph, and many of the features of Proposition 18 were in it. There was no urgent need for its passage and it was not pushed, as I recall. It was defeated by about 60 percent.

Fry: You spoke of a third proposition.

Chatters: Yes, there was Proposition 21, and it did pass by a margin of 2-to-1. This one we were interested in. It extended use of the right of eminent domain for the acquisition of reservoir sites and rights of way in the development and distribution of water. You readily can see its importance to the statewide water development program.

Fry: Do you recall a Proposition 6 at the June 1933 primary election?

Chatters: I did some work on it several weeks before the election. It had to do with straightening out a deplorable situation regarding irrigation and reclamation bonds. Such bonds were being quoted at from ten to sixty cents on the dollar. I know one district here in the San Joaquin Valley that refinanced at twenty-five cents on the dollar. Purpose of this amendment was to help stabilize the bond market, and the legislation was based on the recommendations of a group of financiers and leading agriculturalists in the state named by the governor. It got only a 40 percent favorable vote and failed to pass. The campaign was too short and I suspect voters, still feeling the effects of the depression, didn't want to get involved in financial difficulties other than their own.

There was a relationship, perhaps not apparent, between this and the CVP Act. Any irrigation district proposing to contract for the purchase of water under either a state or federally financed plan would have to be in sound condition with respect to its financial obligations.

Fry: Who was backing Proposition 6?

Chatters: Principally the Irrigation Districts Association of California, I assume. This was not the Crites' organization backing the Riparian Rights amendment in 1928 (California State Irrigation Association), which sought individual membership. I.D.A.C. was

Chatters: headed by William Durbrow, Grass Valley, president; D.K. Barnell, Merced, vice-president; Walter D. Wagner, San Francisco, secretary-treasurer.

At the Association's behest, ten days before election, I mailed a letter with news and editorial material to every editor-publisher in the state, hoping a personal appeal might help, but it was pretty late to be effective, especially for the weekly newspapers though I did get some favorable reaction. Not enough! They paid a small postage and printing bill.

Efforts continued with respect to irrigation district refinancing, accelerated perhaps by the publicity and efforts of the campaign. To illustrate: the Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District, which in 1915 started a lot of this agitation for outside water, refinanced in 1936 with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation upon approval of the Districts Securities Commission, which was created by a 1931 Crittenden bill. A $640,000 loan at 4 percent was completely repaid by 1969. Old bonds had been repaid at sixty cents on the dollar.

Fry: Another Crittenden bill! Almost confusing, all those bills introduced in those several years just before and after 1930.

Chatters: Indeed it is, and it's hard for me, after more than forty years, to keep them straight chronologically. I hope I have.

There is one important element to remind ourselves; into them all it should appear. It took a lot of legislative work and code changes, many requiring constitutional amendments and a vote of the people, before we were ready to finally pass a sound and workable measure, and one that would stand up and get the backing of the voters, as did AB 259 (CVP Act) in 1933.

Just another bill to illustrate, and I believe it will help answer one of your earlier questions about financing all this work, in more detail than I gave you--briefly, however, if we have time? Probably it never has been told.

Fry: Go right ahead.

Chatters: Senator Mixter, at the request of the Tulare county water group, introduced Assembly Bill 646 on January 17, 1929 (I should remind that he was in the assembly at the time). This measure permitted boards of supervisors to levy a tax of not to exceed

Chatters: four cents against all county property to aid in the advertising, preservation, and development of the agricultural and water resources of the counties. This was similar to an advertising and colonization measure which for years financed county Boards of Trade--but water development was not included.

We had found that we could not tell the public that we were out of water and our orchards were dying, and expect to attract new investors or home owners. Under authority of this measure, which was passed quickly and signed by Governor Young, the county Chamber of Commerce funds were diverted to full-time work on the water program, including the secretary and his office. Later Mr. J.H. Fauver, chairman of the Tulare County Water Commission, moved in as secretary-manager and the costs of his activities were paid through the county treasury. Every taxpayer was participating financially, therefore, toward bringing water from the north into Tulare county. Before that, money had to be raised largely by individual contribution.

I am quite sure Kern county availed itself of this type of financing, and probably several other south San Joaquin counties. It paid off. Today, and since 1950, a canal 80 feet wide, 19 feet deep, with sloping sides, cuts through the orange orchards two miles east of Lindsay. In most years it runs at full flow during the warm summer irrigation season. Fresno, Kern, and Tulare counties, in that order the past year, are the numbers one, two, and three highest-dollar-producing agricultural counties in the entire United States.

That's what all those bills, bills, bills, planning and struggles, of four decades add up to!

Exposé of CVP Act Opponents

Fry: Your newspaper clippings on the water referendum in 1933 show you answered Southern California charges.

Chatters: That's right. It was while I was in Southern California in mid-December that the opposition unwittingly gave us the kind of break one hopes in every campaign may happen--and this one gave us a better than half-page spread, with 8-column banner head, in the Los Angeles Examiner on the Saturday morning preceding the election the following Tuesday.

Chatters: It gave conclusive proof that the private power interests were behind the referendum move. The exposé no doubt easily could have accounted for the statewide majority of some 30,000 votes to sustain the act and defeat the referendum move, though Los Angeles county recorded some 100,000 votes against us.

Fry: You wanted a "yes" vote?

Chatters: Yes, I believe the question in effect was: Shall AB 259 become law in spite of the referendum move?

Now about that big break, bearing in mind the Los Angeles Times was vigorously opposing the CVP program.

I had been sent copies of (1) a monthly power bill from a patron of the San Joaquin Light and Power Company (PG&E), Fresno, and (2) an envelope from a San Francisco group containing literature urging defeat of the CVP undertaking. The latter was from one of those spurious organizations calling itself on the envelope the "Referendum Headquarters, 170 Million Dollar State Water and Power Act," recalling no doubt that three times before in the preceding decade water and power proposals had been defeated by the voters.

The electric power bill on the address plate or stencil carried "keyed" numbers on the service connections and other identifying information, five lines in all.

The envelope with the referendum propaganda came later to the same patron, addressed by stencil from the same plate used on his power bill--a dead giveaway that they were from the same source.

Supposition is that the packet of election literature ready for mailing except for address, was sent from San Francisco to the Fresno power subsidiary with instruction that its staff should hand address them to all patrons. Instead, they used their billing stencil and mechanical addressing.

This otherwise anonymous packet of information quickly backfired, to our advantage of course. Many people who may not have been for us but whose prejudices against the big utilities when their behind-the-scene activities were exposed, no doubt turned to our side. It was fortunate and timely for us. The influential Los Angeles Times was carrying on a vigorous daily

Chatters: campaign against us, with page one news stories, financial page articles, special features from their Sacramento staff, as well as editorials and cartoons. I am sure the Hearst publicity helped materially. Los Angeles even then, you will recall, had publicly owned municipal light and power.

Well, anyway the one element that I don't want to forget: The big opposition was in Southern California--and in this the Los Angeles Times played heavily and even sold Farm Bureaus and other rural groups scattered around the south the idea that "We bonded ourselves to build the Metropolitan Water District, obligating ourselves to bring water from the Colorado, why should we pay also to bring water from Shasta to the farmers in central California and why should we vote state bonds to develop their water and move it down from the Sacramento?"

The CVP act emphasized that these were revenue bonds, stipulating also that the project wasn't to be built until firm contracts (with the irrigation districts to be created and those already existing) were in hand to repay the project costs in a certain number of years, completely repaying the obligation. The state simply was loaning its credit. It was revenue bonds to build this project just as revenue bonds were used to build the Bay Bridge, which was finally paid off, as you know. And this was to be the same thing. We are paying for it now, through the federal government, which finally assumed the construction.

Fry: In this revenue bond question, the Los Angeles Times and other opposition kept completely ignoring that vital feature?

Chatters: Yes. The opposition kept calling it a "bond" issue, with the overall obligation that such issues imply. I talked to a Farm Bureau meeting in Orange County, I remember, and the subject came up right away of "Why should we do this?" And then I would pound this revenue bond idea. But I don't think we carried Orange County. Most of the Southern California counties we didn't carry, though we effectively cut down their majorities. In many Northern California counties we rolled up a tremendous vote for the water project.

The Lindsay area and the City of Lindsay voted 2200 to 4 to defeat the referendum, an almost unbelievable percentage. Hanford, county seat of Kings, voted 40 to 1 and the total county, 20 to 1 to beat the referendum. Tulare, Kern, and Kings counties alone ran up more than enough votes to account

Chatters: for the winning majority in this very close contest. Other San Joaquin Valley counties likewise rolled up a very large percentage of favorable votes.

Fry: Do I remember right that even after the election returns were in, the Los Angeles Times said that the referendum had lost because it required a two-thirds majority?

Chatters: Most ordinary bond issues in the state do require two-thirds vote, such as school bonds.

Fry: That's if they're not revenue bonds.

Chatters: Perhaps, but this revenue bond bill was entirely different, at least the referendum result hinged on only a majority vote. There were many other features in the measure.

Fry: And the Los Angeles Times had a hard time admitting defeat on this?

Chatters: Well, it was a tough battle down there, but it was largely based on that one thesis inspired by a different motivation altogether. Because, too, most northern people were working with us.

Federal Help for the Central Valley Project

Fry: Now, on the federal aspect, as I understand it, this was partly a happy coincidence because Roosevelt came in with the New Deal, just right after this was passed--

Chatters: Roosevelt and I and Bill Knowland were elected at the same time on the same ballot in 1932, and each for the first time for the office he was seeking.

After Roosevelt tried several ways to change the economy, including the Blue Eagle, he quickly called upon the states for public works projects "ready to go." Here in California, fortunately, we had the Central Valley Project ready--blue-printed and detailed. Out east of Lindsay, for example, the state engineers had provided for a drop of six-inches-to-the-mile in order to get gravity flow in our canal along the hills,

Chatters: keeping it up above the floor of the valley as high as they thought practicable in order to serve a maximum acreage.

The only change the bureau engineers made here, I believe, was to adopt a five-inches-to-the-mile drop. This small difference, however, brought a few thousand more acres under gravity irrigation by moving the canal higher up as it progressed southward toward Bakersfield and the Kern River.

Fry: And it would bring several thousand acres in for gravity irrigation, is that right?

Chatters: That is right. Of course the state had abandoned the earlier plan of collapsible dams in the San Joaquin River channel--to get exchange water into the Mendota pool--by substituting the Tracy pumping plant to lift Sacramento water into the Delta-Mendota canal running down the west side of the valley. I may not have mentioned this before.

Fry: The state had representation in Washington?

Chatters: State Engineer Edward Hyatt, backed by several others from here on the governor's authorization, made effective representation. They had the finished CVP plans with them.

Fry: Can you tell a little bit about the effort that went into getting federal help?

Chatters: Yes, I'll stay on that track.

We now are talking about the committee named early in May by Governor Rolph to confer in Washington with federal officials on the prospects of getting the Central Valley Project included in President Roosevelt's public works program.

I was named, as a member of the legislature along with Patterson D. Nowell, Tulare, then employed by the Tulare County Water Commission, to accompany State Engineer Edward Hyatt. I assume Hyatt took some of his staff from Sacramento. I was unable to go. Hyatt was back there the latter part of May, and I believe Nowell went at the same time.

Principal reason for not going, on my part, was that I had been away from our business for about five months and had some obligations here. I could add that $12 a day for

Chatters: one hundred days, to cover board and room away from home, doesn't build up a very fat bank account. In any event, Nowell could very well represent the local interests.

Outcome I believe was successful. President Roosevelt requested subsequently that a study of our problem be made. It was following that that William Warne was here making a personal check on the need. I presume also that federal engineers were in Sacramento going over Hyatt's reports and plans.

Fry: Did this committee have a name?

Chatters: I think not. Governor Rolph's referred to it as a "California delegation."

Fry: Who headed the California delegation?

Chatters: Edward Hyatt. He later died and was succeeded by A.D. Edmonston, long-time assistant state engineer, and--just as an interjection--when the plan to run the water to Southern California finally was evolved and the huge Tehachapi pumping plant was installed near the Grapevine, it was dedicated to the late A.D. Edmonston. Six big pumps eventually will be employed to lift the California aqueduct water up and through the Tehachapi tunnels, some of it to reach Perris in southern Riverside county.

Ickes--getting back to the effort to secure federal aid--did begin to take an interest in CVP. (He came out later to turn the first spade of earth to start the Friant Dam.)

William Warne, Representative of the Bureau of Reclamation

Chatters: There were other representatives of his involved, others in the department. For instance, as I mentioned before, he sent a man by the name of William Warne out here. Warne came into my office in Lindsay and said, "You've been writing about the hundreds of acres of orange groves dying and being abandoned and the area returning to desert. Let me see them." Just as bluntly as that.

Chatters: So, I spent half a day with him. I took him out north of Lindsay, where for lack of water there would be a completely dead, withered grove on one side of the road, and then you'd turn around and on the other side there was a green grove where the owner still could go in and ask the banker for money to put his well down deeper, and buy a larger motor for a heavier lift, to bring water up--in some places over four hundred feet. Maybe he owned a farm in Iowa that he hadn't sold yet, to back his bank loan.

As we went on we came to the remains of a forty-acre grove at the edge of the foothill in a nice warm area--otherwise fine orchard land. We saw two large concrete pump emplacements or foundations where the owner had to deepen his wells, putting in larger motors and bigger pumps to lift the water in an effort to save his trees. Nearby were feed racks and salt licks, with cattle in the field. The grove, just a year or so before had been torn out so he wouldn't have to pay taxes on it. The trees had all been removed and we could see the pipe lines once used for irrigation. Standpipes from which the water would flow down the furrows still were there. The picture was evidence of complete reversion back to cattle grazing. This was about three miles north of Lindsay.

All along the highway Mr. Warne could see evidence of once healthy groves now abandoned--some dead and not yet removed. After he left here he went into other parts of the county, first to Porterville and the Terra Bella areas where he saw with his own eyes the same conditions.

It wasn't long before word came that the project had been accepted. I always thought William Warne had a bit to do with it. He came back into the California picture later on, at the time Governor Brown started looking around to fill his cabinet. He brought Mr. Warne from a job in Asia back to California--when a temporary job opened as Director of the Department of Fish and Game. He gave that to Warne until the head of the Division of Water and Resources opened up and William Warne was put in as director.

Now, on this trip with Warne I was telling him, since he came from Ickes' office out of Washington, all about our semiarid valley which once was limited to dry farming--mostly wheat, cattle, and sheep. This changed in the early '90s when they found an abundance of ground water just below the surface. One

Chatters: could dig to it with a spade--some fifteen to twenty feet--and pump with a centrifugal outfit, steam powered. That was before electricity was used on the farm. The locally owned Mt. Whitney Power & Electric Company was organized soon afterwards, with a hydroelectric generating plant at Hammond on the Kaweah River near Three Rivers. I understand it still is operated by Southern California Edison Company. (It is named I believe for John Hays Hammond.)

Before Warne left that day we got on the subject of newspapers, when he remarked: "I once worked for Myron Witter (former assemblyman) on the Brawley News--worked for him for four years before I got a public relations job in Washington." Here he was, from one of the warmest and dryest spots in the USA, and there was I, trying to educate him on desert ways. Well, that's that!

Warne figures in the California picture with me again later on--a state personnel problem, but we'll talk of that some other time. But it's fascinating how one's life interweaves with others.

Walker R. Young, Engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation

Chatters: Walker R. Young, whom Ickes sent down to complete the building of Boulder (Hoover) Dam, had been sent out here earlier in connection with federal-state cooperation on CVP, particularly concerning the engineering feature of it. He was in and out of Sacramento and working with Mr. Hyatt, the engineering staff and Mr. Edmonston.

I had gotten acquainted with him and I met him hurrying down the front steps of the capitol one morning; he'd probably been into the governor's office saying good bye. (Governor Rolph was the governor then.) He said to me, "I'm leaving you. They're sending me down to Boulder Dam to finish its construction."

I said, 'My gosh. You told me that you were so busy that you couldn't run down to Lindsay, that you were so occupied in Washington with projects all over the country you didn't have time. How are you going to leave and go down to Boulder Dam?"

Chatters: He replied: "Well, from the time I started my career, I always made it a point to teach the man next under me all I knew." No matter how busy, he always managed to have someone trained to step into his place--which meant he always was ready for a bigger job when opportunity presented and the higher-ups were looking for an available person.

I have thought many times of the Walker Young lesson. There are many, in and out of civil service, of a mental level who reason, "I won't tell the fellow working with me all I know; he then might be able to do my job and I could get bounced." He fails to realize he could be kept from advancements for want of a trained replacement. Always be available for promotion, that's the lesson I learned from a great engineer. Walker Young was a delightful person to know, and never too busy to be cordial and pleasant.

Construction and Operation Under the Bureau of Reclamation

Fry: Thank you. Now, on this getting federal help--

Chatters: We got their acceptance. They took over CVP as a project for the Bureau of Reclamation and established constructional and operational headquarters in California. For the Friant-Kern canal unit the construction offices were in Lindsay. Warehouses still are maintained here. There was a dam construction headquarters at Friant, later moved to Fresno.

When the Friant-Kern canal was completed, some preferred not to move, and Lindsay got a few fine new citizens; some of the older employees retired here. The present superintendent and engineer for the Lindmore Irrigation District, Robert Lanning, was hired off the project. He served several terms on the city council, and as mayor.

Fry: What about water utilization?

Chatters: The bureau proceeded to make contracts for the purchase of the canal water. There were two classes available. Class One was water, based on records of mean annual run-off, that the bureau could guarantee to deliver every year. The cost was considerably more than Class Two water, available most years but subject to limitations on delivery in dry years--perhaps

Chatters: none late in the irrigation season in periods of excessive drought.

The Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District, with its experience of the twenty-year litigation costing over a million dollars, was the first to contract with the Bureau. It signed for 30,000 acre feet a year, all Class One water, for its 15,000 acres. Citrus requires around two acre feet a year. Therefore, we hopefully are guaranteed water from the canal from here on out.

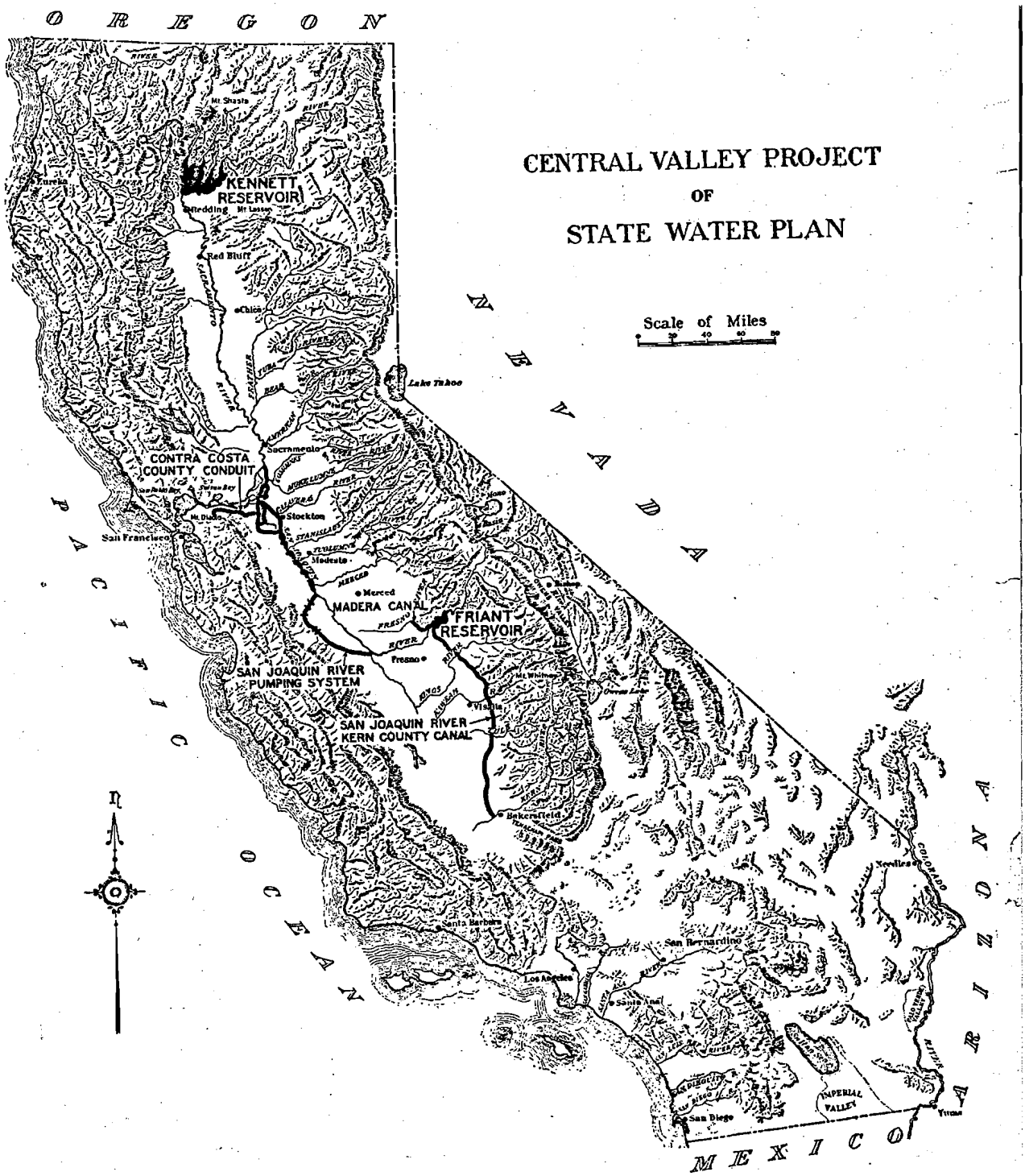
Fry: Did that take care of the water needs or the entire Lindsay district?

Chatters: They had to form, west of town, a new district to sign for CVP water. They created the Lindmore Irrigation District (contraction of Lindsay and Strathmore), which embraced 26,000 acres of well-developed farms west and south of the other (LSID) district, the Southern Pacific railway being the approximate division line. Probably a third was in oranges and olives, the balance in deciduous fruit, cotton, alfalfa, etc. In the northerly part of the district, before CVP, they were pumping to a depth of four hundred feet. Between that depth and three hundred feet they ran into water strata of high salt content, too saline for irrigation over an extended period. (The valley at one time was covered with sea water, flowing in through the Golden Gate). The Tule River, some eight or ten miles south, flowed across the southwest corner of the district and, in years of heavy runoff, sometimes flooded that area with fresh mountain water.

Lindmore district contracted for about one-third of its need with Class One water and the remainder of its obligation in Class Two. Over the years growers had depended entirely on wells and most of them kept their pumps. In the intervening years water tables have risen to a district average of fifty to sixty feet, due in part I suppose to the Friant ditch water going back into the ground. Generally, in recent years, the Lindmore district has been in good shape regarding its water needs.

Fry: Were you on hand to help hammer out those contracts?

Chatters: Not personally, no. Boards of directors of the irrigation districts took care of that, with Reclamation officials. Other irrigation districts up and down the canal were formed--


CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT
OF
STATE WATER PLAN
Scale of Miles
OREGON
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
KENNETT RESERVOIR
CONTRA COSTA COUNTY CONDUIT
MADERA CANAL
FRIANT RESERVOIR
SAN JOAQUIN RIVER PUMPING SYSTEM
SAN JOAQUIN RIVER KERN COUNTY CANAL
Mt. Shasta
Redding
Red Bluff
Chico
Lake Tahoe
Sacramento
Stockton
San Francisco
Modesto
Merced
Fresno
Visalia
Bakersfield
Santa Barbara
Los Angeles
San Bernardino
San Diego
IMPERIAL VALLEY
Yuma
N

Chatters: some already existed--until all available water has been contracted for, sold, and enough money, with interest, assured to pay for the project in the agreed forty-year period. That time is about half gone. I understand Lindsay-Strathmore district has paid more than half its obligation to the Bureau. The project, however, still will belong to the federal government.

Disposition of State CVP Bonds of 1933

Chatters: It won't revert to the state or to the local districts. Now, maybe just a point here so you won't overlook it.

In the studies of the complete comprehensive program of maximum water utilization, a plan to take water eventually as far south as San Diego county was evolved, as I already have mentioned. And the $170 million, which we didn't need--those bonds continued to exist, as they were voted by the people and there never had been any vote by the people to rescind. When the San Luis Reservoir recently was built, as part of the plan to get water into Southern California, those $170 million in bonds were used during, I'd say, the latter several years that Governor Brown was in office.

The irony is that while Southern California was fighting CVP and our boards, water now is flowing as far as Perris in Riverside county, to where it could be transported or piped into San Diego county. So, literally we now are seeing the fruition of the whole Marshall dream. They are getting water that's stored behind Oroville Dam on the Feather River, which was studied as one of the supplemental plans to get more water down here.

Suppose the Los Angeles Times had switched half of that thirty thousand votes, the elections would have been lost and we wouldn't have had the water project in California. Maybe eventually development would have been forced in smaller units, but not as a complete plan, such as evolved from a little Sunday morning bill writing upstairs in the capitol on the part of the late Charles W. Cleary, whose property out here in the Lindsay district, as well as his neighbors', was drying up and they were being sued by forty ditch companies in our own county and neighboring Kings.

Fry: Did you tell me yesterday something about discovering that the bonds were still valid and unused?

Chatters: Yes, the $170 million bonds we voted in 1933 had not been sold because CVP had become a federal finance project under the Bureau of Reclamation. Recently, and here we are repeating, those were sold and used to build part of the California project taking water into Southern California now. That was about six or seven years ago. The bonds were sold to help build the San Luis Reservoir, over on the west side of the valley, south of Los Banos.

Fry: How did that first come up as an idea?

Chatters: I believe I mentioned to you I had been wondering about the $170 million bond issue approved back in 1933. I recall asking a staff member from the attorney general's office, following a personnel board meeting, if he would check and see what the status of the bonds were. He came back in a couple weeks and told me they were still valid, salable bonds.

It always seemed odd to me that soon afterwards I learned the bonds had been sold to help cover part of the state's costs on San Luis Reservoir and the California aqueduct. Had I dug up a chunk of forgotten money for the governor? It may be just my imagination and the coincidence of the timing. If so it was spent essentially for a purpose for which the people voted it. Regardless, I am glad it was available for such use, after being dormant and seemingly forgotten for over thirty years.

This, I emphasize may be only speculation and I only tie it into the whole picture because of the incongruity of Los Angeles getting water that they fought so hard against.

The bill, however, also did create the California Water Authority, which was a legal entity of the state and was authorized to build and construct the project or find means of its accomplishment.

Fry: What impact did TVA have on all this early planning and writing of legislation and so forth? Had there been at any point an idea to emulate the broader social and economic changes that TVA had undertaken?

Chatters: None whatever. Most of our legislation has been conceived back before the 1929 session and it wasn't until 1933 that we heard of TVA. I believe it was several years later before the Tennessee Valley project was held to be constitutional. In any event by 1933 we had been in crying need for water for a dozen or more years. Facts are, I believe, the growers were "in the middle" on the power fight in the early stages for fear such a struggle would defeat their efforts to get water. Then it became apparent that sale of the hydroelectric energy was necessary to help meet the costs, and it was vigorously supported as you have seen.

Roosevelt, it will be recalled, first tried the "Blue Eagle" approach to combatting the depression. We were required to raise all our printing charges. We must have been lower than the government's fixed printing charges. Other business approaches failed, and wasn't it then that the professors were called in to help?

For instance, Dr. Benjamin Mallary, who was on the state Personnel Board when I was named, went back to Washington and was assigned a desk. (I forget in which agency it was.) "All I had to do," he told me, "was to sit there and think up ideas for the administration. I would read some, including the newspapers, and listen to what was going around Washington, and now and then write a short brief and send it in." Maybe weeks afterwards, he said, he would detect his language and his thoughoughts projected into an idea in some report from the White House, advancing the New Deal.

Later he was assigned to the Dust Bowl with a couple million dollars to help rehabilitate that area. The experiences he relates there would fill a book.

I believe he subsequently returned to UC Berkeley as a professor and was active in the successful Culbert Olson campaign for governor of California in 1938. He was Olson's first appointee to the Personnel Board. Mrs. Mallary was appointed postmistress at Orinda and held the post until she retired around 1961 or '62.

Dr. Mallary was a fine, human person, a down-to-earth type, and we became warm friends. He died several years ago but we still hear from Mrs. Mallary.

The 160-Acre Limitation and the CVP

Fry: When you were dealing with Washington and trying to work out whether this would be under the Bureau of Reclamation or what, was there any talk of the 160-acre limitation being a restrictive factor?

Chatters: Not at first as I recall, but later it was indicated it would be applied to CVP. In our immediate area there was no problem. Generally our orange groves were in smaller parcels: ten, twenty, thirty acres or so perhaps; fifty to sixty acres in those days was a good sized orchard to care for. In LSID, for instance, one person had about five hundred acres which he farmed. That was R.E. Stark. The acreage had been acquired around 1915 by King C. Gillette, the so-called "Safety Razor King." When the water suit started going against us he got out and a large Southern California orange grower and investor, C.C. Chapman (Chapman Bldg., Los Angeles) took it over and he lost it or had to sell during the depression of the early '30s I believe. His son Stanley was managing it at the time. Stark, a promising young man here in the district, took it over with local financial backing and has been very successful both as a grower and packer.

The 160-acre limitation did not come into the picture until the Bureau began signing contracts in the mid forties. Bear in mind no contracts were made with individuals, only with districts. An individual with five hundred acres could divide his property with his wife and two sons and comply. There was no involvement in that instance.

Fry: Chapman's sale was not because of the 160-acre limitation?

Chatters: That's right. He was out of the local picture before the Bureau became involved.

I don't mean to imply that it did not affect some areas later. There was a case involving the Ivanhoe Irrigation District. We printed a brief in the matter, which I have tried unsuccessfully to locate, and I can't recall the outcome or any of the details. Governor Brown, then attorney general, got into it in some way which also I am not clear on, though I believe it was on the side of the Ivanhoe people. Best recollection is they lost and I do know that the 160-acre

Chatters: limitation is being applied against Friant users and I presume all who get water in California through either the Bureau of Reclamation or the Board of Army Engineers.

We have two dams in Tulare county completed more recently as flood-control projects by the Army Engineers: Terminus Dam on the Kaweah and Success Dam on the Tule River. The former is east of Lemon Cove and the latter east of Porterville. Both apply acreage limitations where irrigation is involved, I understand. I might add that the Friant Water Users Association was joined with Ivanhoe District in its litigation.

I am told that under the California Aqueduct (federal-state), the 160-acre limitation applies only where delivery is made through a federally financed district.

I also should add that in recent years the man who could raise his family on a ten-acre citrus orchard, doing his own work with a mule team, has long since gone. It probably takes forty to sixty acres now, and many groves have been sold to larger operators. Several brothers, operating as a partnership, recently bought another grove in the LSID and their total properties exceeded 160 acres. They were forced to reorganize as separate operators in order to get delivery of district water to more than 160 acres.

Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District of 15,000 acres tells me it has only fifty acres on which they are unable to deliver water, while other districts along the Friant-Kern canal presently have some 25 to 30 percent of their acreage on which water cannot be delivered.

Fry: Before we take off on another subject, I'd like to ask a few more questions on this topic. Even if you had no difficulties about the acreage-limitation law in your immediate area, what opinion do you have about it?

Chatters: One who believes in justice and equity has to be for a land-limitation law under the conditions it was promulgated, back in 1902 I believe, with the Reclamation Act adopted that year. Certainly, when the government builds dams in barren and semiarid lands to provide irrigable tracts for homesteading and settlement it would be unthinkable that the amount each could acquire should not have some limitation in size so that the greatest number could be benefited. This act provided that

Chatters: reasonable sized parcels, in this instance 160 acres, or not to exceed that amount, would distribute the benefits most widely.

That figure has been retained to this date, though I understand the Secretary of Interior was given the right to forego the requirement that in every instance the owner had to live on the property.

Several secretaries over the years have variously interpreted the act, some more broadly, particularly to districts which already had been formed. I believe you will find the Imperial Irrigation District currently has a suit in court, contending the act does not apply to Imperial Valley.

On acreages so widely scattered throughout the West and midwest, with varying types of soil and growing conditions, it is easy to see that an arbitrary 160 figure applied to the use limitation very easily could be out of line between district and district and state and state. The question on how far the limitation should be applied to existing districts, some requiring only supplemental water, also is open to debate, granting the original, basic purpose of the act is fundamentally right. A twenty-acre limitation in 1901 in this orange country might have been considered equitable but at the same time, on a dairy or cattle ranch it would have been quite inadequate. These variables still can point to inequities, especially when economical operation and profits seem to call for larger farms.

This may not answer your question, but it may stimulate some thinking on the subject.

Fry: Did you ever get involved in the controversy between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers about which agency should build and administer the dams and canals?

Chatters: I think not, particularly when it was understood this basically was a Reclamation project. We wanted water for large areas already highly developed, definitely a Reclamation undertaking although flood control and navigation were involved. Prime functions of the engineers are flood control and navigation. I believe the problem of the proper agency to handle CVP quickly was resolved in Washington. The question may have been raised but I recall no serious problem there.

Fry: It seems to me that you probably had some opposition to federal help from other large land owners, wherever they might be in the whole Central Valley plan, if it was going to limit them to 160 acres of irrigated land.

Chatters: Well they weren't buying the water from this canal. There wasn't enough water available, and it was too costly for certain types of farming.

Fry: So, they weren't going to be affected by this Central Valley water plan?

Chatters: No, the big westside farms, in Kings county for example, were getting water from other sources. They were pumping, also receiving some water from the Kings River, especially in the spring when often there was heavy runoff. From the beginning it was known that Friant water could not meet all future needs of our section.

As I mentioned to you before, I believe, all present available water in the canal has been sold, most of it long ago. The present move for a supplemental eastside canal is one of the needs of portions of the south San Joaquin Valley. There are other areas in the valley where drainage has become a problem. Tulare Lake, forty miles southwest of here, some five or six years ago overflowed thousands of acres of cotton and wheat farms. One could hardly see across the lake. Underground water levels no doubt arose in a wide area over there. So the picture changes.

Main emphasis, to answer your question regarding opposition from the big farmers, is that they couldn't afford the cost of Friant water if it was available.

Fry: But when you were working for this, you didn't feel the impact of the opposition there?

Chatters: No, not at all, so far as the 160-acre limitation was involved at that time.

Edward Hyatt, Bob Edmonston, and U.S. Webb

Fry: You've mentioned Edward Hyatt and Bob Edmonston a number of times. Did you know them both pretty well? [if yes] Could you tell me about them? They seemed to be so successful in getting their projects accepted--did they have the respect of the farmers and legislators throughout the state? Or what made them such effective politicians?

Chatters: I knew them both quite well. Both certainly were regarded highly as water engineers in the irrigation and reclamation field and as able administrators. Hyatt had more political acumen, perhaps, while I suspect Edmonston might be expected to take a more academic approach to a problem. Both were practical men, with Edmonston a bit less aggressive on the exterior but none the less respected. They were the right men in their time for handling the intricate problems of integrating the exact engineering science with the obviously political requirements of a combined federal-state relationship, particularly when there were two aggressive federal agencies (Engineers and Reclamation) to deal with.

May I add the name of a state official who should not go unmentioned--and I am sure there are others. I speak of U.S. Webb, long-time attorney general of California. Through all our water struggles his counsel often was sought and always was generously given. In every sense he was a real and valued friend of the water conservation efforts in California.

Retirement from the Legislature, 1937

Fry: Now, can we skip, for the time being, to your appointment to the Board of Education and go right into your work for Earl Warren? And then if we have time, we'll come back to the Highway Commission, your Board of Education work, the Personnel Board, and the tax legislation--

Chatters: All right. I might conclude this section with just a note that I continued in the legislature to 1937, and then retired because I was needed in Lindsay. The family was growing up, and it was better, I felt, to stay home with the kids. I was succeeded

Chatters: by Gordon Garland, who in his campaigning said he was going to carry on "the same policies that Ford Chatters had in Tulare county," although he was a Democrat. Later he was speaker of the assembly. Garland subsequently, at the 1942 primary election, ran for member of the State Board of Equalization from this district. He was opposed by Ivan Spurbeck, registered as a Republican. Both cross-filed. Garland won the Republican nomination and Spurbeck, the Democrat nomination, thus both were disqualified--for under the cross-filing rule one also had to win in his own party. Garland's headquarters were in Oakland. He then came over and assisted in the Warren campaign--a defection that helped.

note from Chatters 7-16-73

At the 1942 election Ivan Spurbeck ran for member, Board of Equalization, 2nd Dist , as did Gordon Garland; Spurbeck registered Rep. and Garland, Demo. At the primary election each topped the ticket in the other party. The law provided that to get both nominations one had first to win his own party nomination. Both were disqualified and the state central committees of each party had to select candidate for general election. Garland subsequently handled some Warren Democrat efforts.

Also this memo may help answer some of Mrs. Fry's querries about the Board just before I got on it a few months. GOP nominated Jas. H. Quinn, Oakland FAC who was elected.

ROLE IN THE WARREN CAMPAIGN, 1942

Hired by Whitaker & Baxter

Chatters: Warren announced along the latter part of April 1942 that he was going to run for governor against incumbent Olson--an interesting situation, the attorney general against the governor. I believe Bob Kenny tried the same thing against Warren four years later. Warren made his announcement from Southern California, though the release was simultaneous, north and south. Whitaker and Baxter had been hired. Whitaker asked me to come up and work for them on the campaign, which I did as soon as I got a good newsman I knew in Texas to come and relieve me. Whitaker had known me in Sacramento, and from publicity work I had done on the CVP referendum election publicity.

Of course Warren's office as attorney general was in San Francisco, and he lived in Oakland. Some of his financial help, I'm sure--promise of some assistance--came from San Francisco, and they immediately hired Whitaker and Baxter to handle the campaign. Clem started at once to build up his staff.

Fry: In the campaign, who gave you guidelines on what to write and what to send out?

Chatters: Well, Whitaker and Baxter. Clem was the public relations manager of the campaign but he and Leone Baxter worked together. He also had contacts with Southern California. He headed the campaign effort. I want that plain all the way along the line.

Ran Campaign News Service

Chatters: I was just on the news end of it. Clem directed the overall campaign and perhaps was interested some in finance as well as the top policy. If Warren came in, he'd go to Whitaker's office or Whitaker would make contacts with him. Last say always was Warren's. He had excellent political judgment and timing.

Fry: Who hired Whitaker?

Chatters: I don't know the names. Except you did mention one name in your brief, that was involved. That part I didn't get into too deeply. On other matters at times I did contact such men as attorney Tom Coakley, who was associated with the campaign activities and now and then Bill Sweigert, Miss MacGregor, William Reichel, Bill Knowland, others. [Fry gives him a copy of her outline.] Oh, Jesse Steinhart I know was active, because I met him several times and knew of his interest.

But I had nothing to do with finance in the campaign.

But Whitaker wanted somebody to take over a news desk. They set up a regular city room. We had a woman handling that angle, clubs and radio; we had two or three writers he picked up in San Francisco, a couple of very good ones, maybe three working part of the time. All the information coming into headquarters that required a news story, and the preparation of the releases, was done out of this office, which I had charge of. We'd write the stories and I would take them in and clear them; at least those going out were cleared with Clem or Leone Baxter, before mimeographing and mailing. Probably they previously had conferred with Warren.

Several times when the Whitakers were gone I had to send out a release and take the responsibility, though I am sure I would have tried to check first with Coakley down the street. Releases when ready were taken to the mimeographer who also addressed and mailed them to designated lists. I usually would "plant" (deliver) them personally to all the San Francisco dailies.

My job was to take them to the political editor, such as "Squire" Behrens of the Chronicle, and the political man on the other newspapers. We got them to the Oakland dailies

Chatters: sometimes by messenger. Which reminds: Bill Knowland often was back and forth and Mrs. Knowland was in and out frequently after Bill went into the service. Then we mailed them statewide; we had a dailies list and a weeklies list. Some releases, hot news, maybe could only go to dailies and we would rewrite them for weekly press release. So, that was done by this news staff. Small dailies didn't have as large a news staff as we had.

Fry: What were you afraid of, when you--?

Chatters: Oh, the opposition. We knew they got our releases as soon as they were out. Our staff would write copy and I'd sit there and pick it to pieces, just like I was the public relations man in the Olson camp--watching for anything that could be distorted or that might backfire. I tried to pick out anything they could jump on and say, "Here goes the Warren campaign, look what he said," or "Look what this release says."

Fry: In other words, you were afraid you might release something that would make Warren very vulnerable to an attack from them?

Chatters: That's right. One had to be cautious. We did the same to their copy. Clem and Leone might not have known it, but I often went back to my hotel with knots in my stomach, night after night, after they'd gone home, and I'd still have to get that release down to the mimeographer and maybe finish it off. Usually when he cleared a story, Clem would say, "That's okay, or maybe, "Rewrite this paragraph."

Walter Gordon in the 1942 Campaign and Later

Chatters: We'd work routine stories out in the newsroom. For instance, the story we had on Walt Gordon, the great Negro (black) football star tackle in his junior and senior years at UC. My recollection is he also had made a track record. Anyway, he was tops in sports.

Fry: The head of the Adult Authority?

Chatters: Well, later that comes into the picture. But somebody had said, see Walt Gordon. He was a prominent young Berkeley athlete. He'd been a neighborhood night patrolman down in Oakland when he was going to college. At first the residents were frightened to have a black man down there.

Fry: A policeman in Berkeley.

Chatters: In Oakland. But after while, as long as Walt was on the job at night, they knew their kids were safe.

And so somebody sent word from Oakland--or phoned it over to either Clem or me, that Walt Gordon could be interested in the Warren campaign. Well, we thought that was a break--famous athlete and friend of Warren. So I called over and asked him if he'd give us an interview, which he did. So, we fixed up an interview for release and Walt got real, real active in Warren's campaign. Later Warren appointed him to the head of the Adult Authority. That was rather unheard of. Here was a Negro heading one of the most critical departments of our state--the prison and parole system. I got well acquainted with him. He was to make a woman's club talk down here, and was to be a guest in our home, but he had to cancel out for some emergency that came up. I think it was his elevation to a federal job. But anyway, we were on a friendly basis. Is he still alive?

Fry: Yes. He went down to the Virgin Islands as governor, then judge, and he's now back in Berkeley, interviewing with us.

Chatters: Well, I think he'll remember me. He may not remember the name of the reporter who first talked to him, but I think he will.

Fry: Well he was doing enough political work, even then, that he would have known of you and your political work.

Chatters: At least through the state Personnel Board I am sure. Warren had a "family party" after he'd gone back to be the Chief Justice. He came back to California after he'd been in Washington about six months, and had this little gathering. Verne Scoggins, Jim Welsh, Miss MacGregor, many others, and Walt Gordon--I remember Mr. Gordon was there. Mrs. Chatters and I went up. Present also were some of the judges around the Bay Area he appointed. Just a nice informal affair over there in Oakland in one of the clubs.

Tom Coakley and Irving Martin

Chatters: If Warren was south and we had a release ready to go, and we didn't want to send it without checking with him and his office, one could do the same with Tom Coakley, a young attorney down the street a half block in one of the Sutter Street office buildings. Some years later he was appointed superior court judge in Mariposa County and subsequently served on the appellate bench until his recent retirement. Some may remember Tom Coakley as having one of the popular name bands in the Bay Area, during or immediately following his college days. His brother was district attorney of Alameda County.

Fry: So, in other words Warren delegated judgment on stories to Coakley when he was out?

Chatters: Perhaps not in so many words, but there were stories he could and did okay. Bill Sweigert or Miss MacGregor also might be consulted. That happened several times, but Tom was closest. There might have been policy meetings in Whitaker's office or elsewhere when Tom was present. It should not be inferred that Warren was unaware of what was happening.

Fry: What did Irving Martin do? I have him down as chairman of the Northern California campaign.

Chatters: Irving Martin was one of California's ablest and most highly regarded editors and publishers, with wide knowledge of the early California political scene, from his participation in the progressive A.O.P. activities in the Hiram Johnson campaigns back in 1910. I believe he was a member of Governor Johnson's first Railroad Commission, and was one of the leaders in the Progressive movement for some years. I am sure his active participation in Warren's campaign was welcomed, while his political editor, Verne Scoggins, was extremely helpful. The latter, upon Warren's election, became the governor's first press secretary. I know how badly Martin hated to lose him, but he was gracious about it.

With Warren on the Campaign Trail

Fry: When did you come into the campaign?

Chatters: Actually it was on Memorial Day, 1942. Warren, then attorney general, had just announced, from his Los Angeles office. He was coming up from the south on the Lark and I was to go to San Jose and meet him the morning of May 30 when he got off the train, and ride on in to San Francisco. There to meet him also was a gentleman with a briefcase and his driver, Investigator Ray McCarthy. The former, a deputy attorney general, and Warren sat in the back seat and they went over documents or briefs on their way back to the city. It was strictly business for the office.

Later that day I met Whitaker to get lined up on the work. For the next three or four weeks I was to accompany Warren around the state, principally to meet newspaper publishers but also to attend other scheduled meetings and speaking engagements. McCarthy as always was driver and bodyguard. One of the highlights of our first trip was getting back to Warren's hometown of Bakersfield where he conferred with Publisher Alfred Harrell of the Californian, and with friends who wished to get the campaign underway there.

When we started out from San Francisco Whitaker gave me packets of prepared material: pictures, handouts, and biographies of the candidate, etc. While Warren would go in and talk to the publisher, I went to the newsroom with the handouts and the pictures--material they could use later in the campaign.

On the way down to Fresno I handed to Mr. Warren the publicity we were going to use. That was the first he saw of it. We had a matted picture which he didn't like. In fact, he didn't want it used. He did accede until we got back into San Francisco--told him I'd go over to Oakland, to the Tribune, and look through their morgue for a picture or at least see how he photographed best. We then could have a picture made that would be acceptable for our use.

We did use those mats temporarily. The way this trip worked was: We'd go into--well, I remember going into the Porterville Recorder. While Warren went in to meet the publisher, Homer Wood, I went into the newsroom and met Sardis Templeton, the city editor. He asked me, "Isn't that the

Chatters: attorney general?" I said, "Yes, he's running for governor and we're on a little tour." Then he told me he and Warren were in the same fraternity or club in college. Warren on one occasion returned with a black eye after a party out at the beach. "I was sent down to the drugstore to get some leeches to draw the blood out of that swollen eye," Templeton said. So on the way to the next stop on the tour, I told Mr. Warren I had just met a fellow who said he was a fraternity brother at Cal and had told me about this incident.

Immediately Warren cautioned, "Don't say anything about it." We'd been told that as attorney general he might be a little bit aloof and that his problem in the campaign was going to be to get votes up and down the street. I thought the black eye proved he was human, anyway.

Then he told me, as we rode a little farther, "Don't say anything about it." And a third time he cautioned me, but this time he added, "It wasn't one black eye, it was two." Some guy had hit him between the eyes with a wrench or tire iron, blackening both. It seems the college group had been over in San Francisco to a dance, when some of the boys around town decided to take the girls away from them, and started busting in. The college boys threw them out but were told, "We'll get you when you come out." Warren told me that when they had driven a half block or to the next corner "cars started converging on us, headlights on, and blocking us off. They jumped out with their tire irons, etc., and started working us over" (or words to that effect). That's when Warren got the black eyes. When they got back to Berkeley they started doctoring up. John R. Quinn was in the same club group (possibly before it became a Greek letter frat). Quinn won renown as national commander of the American Legion in the early '20s and later was prominent in Los Angeles county politics.

That was just an incidental occurrence--a little thing that illustrates the human side of Warren. It probably wasn't his first black eye, for he grew up in a mighty tough district here in the valley. His father was employed in the railroad shops in East Bakersfield, a typical railroad town when the oil boom started and another tough crowd moved in. He was in school at the time and no doubt learned the forceful and colorful language that atmosphere produced, as well as having to defend himself now and then in order to survive. This is only supposition on my part.

Chatters: However, I did learn that he could become forcefully and vocally indignant when something hit him wrong. There were times, I am sure, when he was justified but he always waited until we were back in the car and on our way. One such occasion was after we left Fresno. I don't know who he met or what had upset him. We had gone only a few blocks when he said, "Ray, pull over to the curb." And he just let loose. Something had displeased him. He just wanted to get it out of his system, and a bit of old-fashioned mule-skinner language apparently helped.

Fry: That sounds like sort of a technique he had to kind of get himself calmed down again.

Chatters: Please do not infer that I am suggesting he was more addicted to strong language than a lot of us. Several times during the tours he had occasion to become "righteously indignant" and would have the car pull over to the curb. When he said to Ray, "drive on," that was the end of it. Perhaps I should not mention such things, and my only purpose is to establish that he was a real, down-to-earth person. His penchant for hunting and fishing proves the point.

May I say here, in case the informality of this interview might be misinterpreted, that I had then, and still have, the highest regard and esteem for Mr. Warren--for his character and integrity, his insight and ability in government and politics, for a sympathetic understanding of people, and a humane approach which knowledge of his early background makes readily understood and appreciated. No man could have been elected governor of California three successive terms who was not more than ordinarily endowed with a capacity and ability to serve his fellowmen. History will find these characteristics reflected in his judgments as the Chief Justice of the United States.

Warren always was very good to me and I trust, in a helpful sort of way, I was able to reciprocate. There were a few intimate conversations in his office in the capitol, when I tried to be of some special service.

Fry: Can you mention more of your tour with Attorney General Warren at the start of the campaign?

Chatters: There's one thing I recall quite well. In none of the publicity was I to mention his lodge affiliation or side activities in connection with it. I never did. A half dozen years before, he had been the Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge in California and also was an honorary 33rd Degree Scottish Rite Mason.

On several occasions, while he was talking to a group, someone would come over to me and say he wanted to get word to Mr. Warren that they were arranging a meeting that night--maybe it was one of their stated meetings--and they would like to have him attend. Later on he might tell Ray and me that we were on our own; he would see us at breakfast time. No mention was made concerning where he had been that night. He took an adamant position, too, on involving his family in the campaign.

Fry: Mrs. Warren never became involved?

Chatters: Not in the remotest fashion as far as I could observe, though I am sure she was interested in the outcome. It was a fine family of six children which he would come home to.

I recall a trip of several days. On the way back he seemed to be planning a full program for himself, even for that evening, but when we pulled up in front of his Oakland home and three or four kiddies came bounding out, all was off. After hugs and kisses he said, "Go tell Mumsey we're all going out for dinner tonight." All other plans were off, and Ray and I went over to San Francisco for dinner, where I had a hotel room. It was that night, I believe, when Ray thought he wanted to show me some of the unusual spots in the city. He took me to the morgue, where of course he was well known. As we went in he introduced me as "Doctor Chatters," for I understand casual visitors were not welcomed due to some unfortunate incidents.

The attorney general wasn't much given to story telling, or breaking in on his speeches with a bit of humor. With big odds against him at the start of the campaign I am sure he had serious things in mind. Once in Quincy he "brought the house down" at a dinner meeting, and no doubt there were other times when he put a little spice in his talks. Here's how it happened that night:

In preparing a schedule or itinerary for an all-day trip that ended in Quincy I had noted the time we would be at each stop, giving the hour, the contact to meet, and place. This

Chatters: was handed over to one of the girls to type, with copies for his office, campaign headquarters, etc., so he could be reached at any time.

Fry: Warren was to speak there that night?

Chatters: Yes. When we came to the last item, which was Quincy, I had noted the town, the time, our first contact "Pop" Small, the publisher, the dinner hour, banquet chairman, etc. The typed sheet given me to turn over to Warren read something like this:

4:00 P.M., Quincy, population small, etc., etc.

When Warren told them at the dinner how his schedule read he got one of the biggest laughs of the campaign, for the townspeople all knew that "Pop" with his five or six children was doing his best in the opposite direction. I remember we met publisher Small in his office earlier that afternoon. He was standing at a job press feeding some kind of election poster, at the same time attired in the usual ink-covered printer's apron.

Friends will recall that M.F. (Pop) Small later served on Governor Warren's staff at the capitol, for some time as Departmental Secretary. Later he became U.S. Senator Tom Kuchel's administrative aide in Washington. A mutual arrangement.

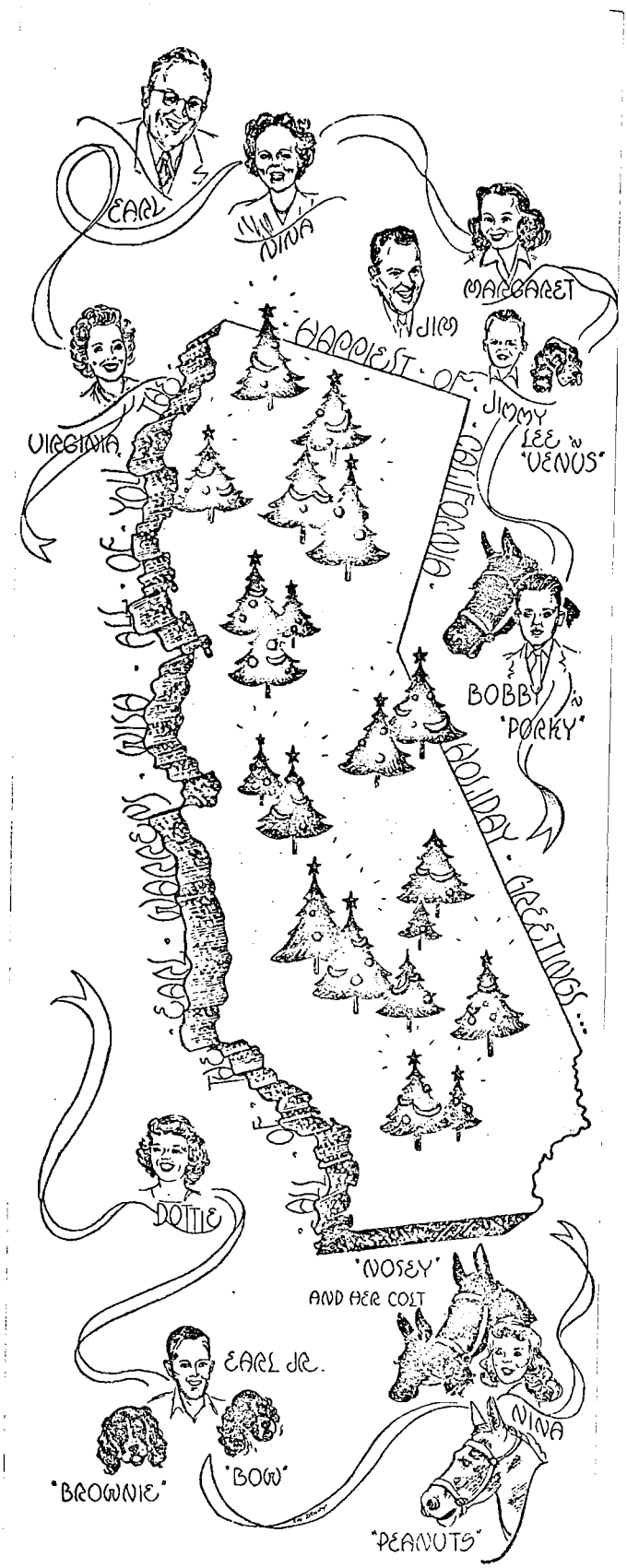
Comments on Warren as Governor, and the Warren Family

Fry: Was Mrs. Warren willing to take the peace and quiet of home?

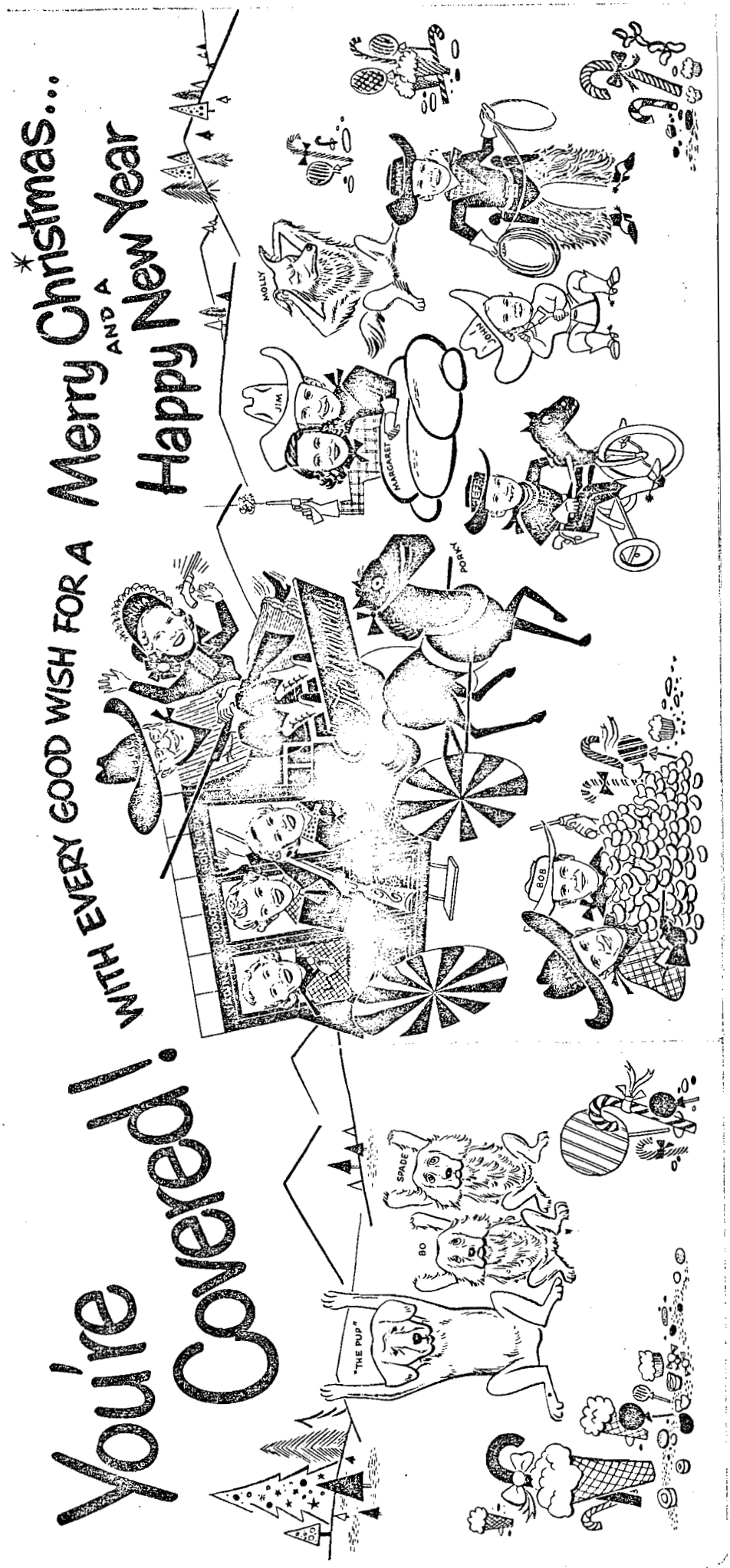
Chatters: Probably, I am not competent to answer; but an observation or two: I saw and heard enough to know she was a marvelous lady, certainly a wonderful mother and gracious person for the mansion. I understand she had a new kitchen put in and made the old structure a real home for the eight of them.

This may be getting ahead of my story, but after Warren became governor and one of his drivers at the mansion took the children to school, they insisted on being let out a block or so away rather than be conspicuously chauffeured to the

Warren family Christmas card, 1947



Warren family
Christmas card,
1951



Chatters: front of the school. They walked the last block with the other students, a driver (a uniformed state traffic officer) told me.

As I stated before, I can't recall Mrs. Warren ever directly involving herself in politics. When he was governor we were over to, I believe, a publishers' meeting in Santa Cruz, and she had come with him to be the guest of honor at a women's luncheon out near Soquel. I was secretary of the Highway Commission at the time.

The governor had gone downtown with the car and driver. I believe there was a conference on an upcoming judgeship. Pretty soon I was being paged. It was Mrs. Warren on the phone and she had to leave for her luncheon. Warren had not returned and she asked me to take her to her appointment. I had a state car and was delighted to comply. We had a nice friendly visit on the way.

An incident which may show how thoughtful she is: Mrs. Warren was a faithful member of the First Baptist Church in Sacramento. I seem to recall that the governor once told me she was the daughter of a Baptist minister. The Sacramento minister was Dr. C.A. Carmen, who had transferred from the large Morgan Park church in Chicago--and I can't recall whether Mrs. Warren or the Carmens told this to me.

In his sermon one Sunday morning Dr. Carmen had mentioned that folks in his household were happy because their son was home on leave from the Navy. It was his birthday. (This was war time.) Mrs. Warren returned home and that afternoon baked a cake, sending it back to the parsonage. I am sure she baked it herself. That "preacher's kid" now is my nephew by marriage. My brother's family attended the Morgan Park church where my niece met the minister's son. They were married after the war. I hear from Dr. Carmen at least at Christmas time. Retired, he and Mrs. Carmen live in Phoenix.

I don't believe I mentioned that the California Highway Patrol maintained a constant guard at the mansion.

Fry: At all times?

Chatters: Yes, I am quite sure. Warren on occasions used to walk home alone from the capitol in the evening, perhaps for the exercise. When in Sacramento I stayed at the Senator Hotel and, taking my

Chatters: own evening jaunt, would see him. Several times he asked me to walk with him to the mansion, a distance of eight or nine blocks from the capitol. I don't believe there was a guard anywhere near. One wouldn't do this today. With an execution coming up now and then after final appeals had been turned down by the governor this even then might have been a bit risky, for I am sure crank letters came into the office at times.

Warren's Campaign Pictures

Chatters: Someone remarked that Warren never went out without a hat in those days. A few years ago I checked it. Recalling a picture taken with Governor Warren and the Personnel Board in front of State Office Building No. 1, enroute to the Sutter Club for lunch, I looked for the hat. He was holding it in his hand for the picture-taking. We had three "professors" on the board at the time, and I was a regent at the University of the Pacific. There was Dr. Robert D. Gray, head of the Industrial Relations Center, Cal-Tech; Dr. Emery E. Olson, founder and Dean Emeritus of the USC School of Public Administration; and Dr. Benjamin E. Mallary, philosophy professor at UC Berkeley. Someone suggested the board when in session should attire itself in cap and gown. There was of course a fifth board member, whom at the moment I don't recall. Over the years there were numerous changes, though the terms were for ten years.

Fry: Did you get another campaign picture that he approved of? I believe you told me he did not like the first one.

Chatters: We had some good ones, especially after the primary election. I called over to Bill Knowland of the Tribune and asked if I could go through the pictures in the Tribune morgue--or library--to look over the Warren file. I already may have mentioned that Knowland had been very cooperative and was back and forth a lot, between his office and campaign headquarters.

Back to pictures. Bill arranged for me to come over on a Sunday morning. There were only the two of us. Bill got out the Warren material and we spread pictures out over a large desk. There were many of them, from his years as Alameda county D.A. and from his eight years as attorney general. We were trying to see how Warren photographed best, and maybe find a good "shot."

Chatters: In our searching I found a family picture which I believe had tremendous publicity impact on the campaign later. Apparently taken in front of the Warren home in Oakland, it showed Mr. and Mrs. Warren and Jim on the top step, the next three children on a step below, and the two smallest on the bottom step--step-ladder fashion.

It was a "knockout!" I asked Bill if I could take it. He told me there was a rigid rule that nothing was to go out of the library, and I believe he implied that had I been there with the regular librarian I probably would get "no" for an answer. He told me, however, that if I would promise to get it back soon I might take it.

Clem or Leone told me later that many thousands of them were printed, postcard style, and sent to all county headquarters and to all committeemen for distribution. It was printed in blue, and was very attractive. (Postage in those days still was one cent.) We were told many signed and mailed them by the score. On the front was the statement: "You can help give our state real wartime leadership by casting your vote on Nov. 3 ['42] for Earl Warren for Governor." It pointed out also that Warren, who had filed on both the Republican and Democrat tickets, had received almost a half million Democrat votes at the primary election. Space for signing was at the bottom. We suggested the cards be mailed to Democrat families as the Republican part of the campaign was well in hand. Large orders came from several counties, on which they paid the printing cost. Santa Barbara, I recall, was one of them.

Fry: These were particularly effective where families were big, I guess?

Chatters: Well, our Democratic families were generally larger than our Republican families, in other words, there the greatest appeal was--among your big Irish families, etc.

I think Clem and Leone quickly foresaw the potential worth of the picture. That card probably got us most of the modest majority that beat Governor Olson.

Fry: And Warren liked that picture?

Chatters: Well, at first he didn't want the picture used.

Fry: Why?

Chatters: Oh, just the desire to keep the family out of it. And especially when we talked in terms of using hundreds of thousands of them, all we could afford to distribute. But I got the picture back to Bill and it all ended well.

Fry: Who talked Warren into okaying it, I wonder?

Chatters: Oh, Clem and Leone, probably; maybe Leone turned on her charms because I am sure she sensed its feminine appeal. You should see this picture with the children! At one time we thought we wanted a little more room for message because the front side was limited to a comparatively few words--and a little space for a person to sign his name. On the back side we wanted a little more printing. Somebody suggested cutting off the children's feet and legs so we'd have another inch in space. One of the girls in our stenographic pool exclaimed, "Don't you dare!" There were several other women working in headquarters and there was just a big remonstrance over that. So we used it all complete and cut the message. It was the wise thing to do.

Fry: Those little chubby legs were a big sale.

Chatters: They only wanted to cut off the children's feet.

Fry: At any rate, Warren did let you use the picture.

Reported Falling-out Between Warren and Whitaker & Baxter

Fry: Later, as I understand it, Warren discharged Whitaker around the weekend before the election because of a news release that was sent out. The story I get is that probably Charles Blyth had given Whitaker that story.

Chatters: I think it was on the issue of whether Warren would back the lieutenant governor candidate. I'm unaware of a firing. It hardly seems true. Possibly there may have been some disagreement.

Fry: It was just about four days before the election.

Chatters: Whitaker and Baxter were in the office election night. The governor came in the office. I remember a couple of his enthusiastic supporters tried to put him up on their shoulders and carry him, and he didn't like it. One of them was--I can't recall his name now--a man who worked very actively in the campaign. He and another fellow tried to get Warren up on their shoulders, with Warren remonstrating. Clem and Leone were there. All my pay checks came from Whitaker and Baxter. And I have never heard of their dismissal at that time until you told me.

Fry: I got my information on good authority. I wonder if Whitaker could have been discharged, and then, since the election was almost over when he was discharged, the mopping up was continued by Clem anyway?

Chatters: And even the publicity. I don't recall--I do recall that Houser, the lieutenant governor candidate, put out publicity. It wasn't our publicity. Unless--I don't think it was our publicity at all. Houser's publicity--he campaigned up the coast and he was seeking to tie himself closer into the Warren campaign. And Warren wanted to keep his independent, nonpartisan appeal. Whether he got on some of the billboards, I don't recall. But any breach had nothing to do with our news publicity. I wrote that right up to the last and there never were any such reverberations. But apparently there was a clash and Warren and Houser just--they weren't intimate. But that part of it wasn't my involvement. It seems as though Houser wanted to get on some billboards with Warren; or he wanted stronger Warren endorsement. There might have been something, but not in our routine news releases. I don't believe there was anything out of our office in San Francisco. Or if it was, it was something they had prepared and handed to someone else to send out.

Fry: I think it went out in Southern California.

Chatters: Maybe that is it.

Fry: That was the story I got.

Chatters: I could agree to that by the time Houser got up halfway to Sacramento, trouble was brewing, and Warren was very irate. But that was not done in our office, and I can't believe Whitaker was fired. It might possibly have been somebody in his employ. He had somebody working down in Southern California

209-
Telephone 562-3321
562-3321

ANNOTATED BY MERRELL F. "POP" SMALL, 1970. Ed.

FORD A. CHATTERS
Editor and Publisher
(Until Feb. 1, 1964)

LINDSAY PUBLISHING CO.
EAST HONOLULU STREET • LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA
P. O. Box 36

March 12, 1970

Mr. M.F. Small
3020 Seventeeth St.
Sacramento, Calif. 95818

Dear Pop:

First, let me say it was good to hear from you and I am sorry the reply is so long delayed. Between Mrs. Chatters' every-other-day trip to the doctor's office for "shots" (to the lab also once a week); two programs I had to prepare for and take part in last week; a bad cold which fortunately did not turn into the "flu" as many have--and several other involvements--I now am back in circulation!

Referring to the second paragraph in your letter: I worked in the Warren San Francisco headquarters until after the November, 1942, election. I was there on election night and saw Warren balk when some enthusiasts tried to carry him in on their shoulders. Resented that kind of display. Whitaker and Baxter had the corner office and I received from them all my pay checks until I cleaned up and left the middle of that month. I stayed on the news end, getting out the daily releases with a staff of three or four. Most of the releases I cleared through either Clem or Leone. Material that had to have a Warren okeh could be cleared with Tom Coakley if Ew was unreachable.

Until he went into the service in the early fall, as I recall, Bill Knowland used to come over frequently. After he left, his wife dropped in quite often as did Bill Reichel. I was not involved in policy, although I did accompany Ew on the road the first month (June 1942) while we visited most of the newspaper plants north of the Tehachapis. Deputy Ray McCarthy was driver and body guard. You probably recall our visit to Quincy ("Pop-ulation Small") and his talk there in the evening.

Along toward the end we really had Governor Olson on the ropes (betting at start in June was that Warren didn't have a chance). In the office before the November election there was a 50-cent pool on how high our majority would be. My guess was, as I recall, somewhere around 340,000. A month after the campaign was over I received a box by express from Whitaker & Baxter containing $70 or $80 in silver half dollars. Many coming into the headquarters had been getting in on the guessing.

I mention this to affirm my recollection that W & B saw the first campaign through to the end, and beyond. It is to be noted that in the August primary Warren carried both

tickets in many of the smaller counties but Olson came off with the Democratic nomination.

Verne Scoggins was very helpful down in Stockton--as was Irving Martin--but Verne stayed on with the Record until later in 1943 when Gov. Warren induced Martin to let him come into the press section of the new administration. During the campaign Verne called frequently and his political experience with Martin and the Record was very valuable.

Referring again to your letter, there no doubt were times when the candidate and Mr. Whitaker clashed on policy--but that probably happens in any "well regulated office" as in any "well regulated family" though I was not in on any of it (Did have to go over to the Oakland Tribune to check the Warren file in the morgue and see how he photographed best). EW didn't like the SC mats handed us when we started out in June and requested a new photo be taken. I was in the Trib library with Bill Knowland one Sunday morning to see if they had some good home-town photos. I did find the family picture--the stair-step type with Mr. & Mrs. Warren and the six children--you probably remember it. I am sure more than a million were printed. One county wanted 100,000. Wish I had a copy to compare with the family picture in the center spread of last Sunday's L.A. Times' magazine "West". The family has grown to over 30.

My first state appointment (except county fair board) was in 1938 by Governor Merriam, to the State Board of Education to help Dr. Dexter clean up the textbook mess. We were in litigation over language book adoption most of the four years I served.

A previous board had executed a contract (on a split vote) for a book that was not among the texts approved by the Curriculum Commission and at a cost of some thousands of dollars more than the bid for good ones. Dr. Dexter refused to execute the printing order to effectuate the contract. We supported him and the textbook people brought suit to compel him to sign. My term overlapped the Olson administration two years and I was not reappointed. Textbook people did the picking of the Olson replacements. It's a long story.

Governor Warren named me to the Personnel Board in April 1943, vice Harry Lutgens. When Lutgens returned from the Military I resigned and was named Secretary of the California Highway Commission. After a year and half a 10-year appointment opened on SPB and Warren reappointed me to it. Knight subsequently gave me another full 10-year term (Served SPB 22½ years). A couple years later he tried hard to get me to resign and take the remaining 4 years of Judge_____'s term on the State Public Utilities Commission. He resigned to return to L.A. I declined--it took full time-- and Ted Jenner was named. This has never been publicized, though on one occassion in L.A. Knight called me over to a group of friends and said: "I want you to meet a Republican who turned down a $24,000-a-year job"--(or whatever the salary was at the time). So let's not publicize it now.

I was under the impression you did the same thing in the second campaign that I did in the first. Either I sug-

 Narrow to me! mFS 3-14-70

gested your name or someone checked with me on it. I recall attending one or two "strategy" meetings in S.F. at the start of the campaign. I believe Jess Steinhart was among those present. I told them I could not mix civil service with a partisan campaign.

I have been doing a weekly series in the Gazette (for free to kill time) entitled "Lindsay Yesteryears in Pictures". I find it quite difficult to locate old-timers with accurate recollections, as proved by our files--if I can get a lead on dates to check.

For that reason I am almost afraid to make positive statements myself, though I have a fair volume of files and clippings (boxes of them on some topics such as Central Valley Water). I think I can authenticate most of what I have given you here.

I would have said Whitaker & Baker were involved also in part or all of the second Warren campaign?? Verne was on the inside soon after Warren went to Sacramento and can answer a lot of questions, both in Sacto and in the Dewey-Warren presidential campaign as you know--and certainly Miss McGregor, Bill Sweigert, you or Jim Welsh can.

NO (Geo. Lyman was P.R. for Jim)

I was in and out of the Governor's office a lot when I was secretary of the Highway Commission as you know. My contacts were with Jim Welsh on matters relating to the Appointments book. I did get a call re. the Warren "Oral History Project". Said they would call later. I'm a bit afraid to trust my memory and maybe my judgement on matters.

Give my kindest regards to those named above and to Walter Jones when you see them.

Hope I have been a little bit helpful. Have never gotten reconciled to California's loss in Senator Tom Kuchel and his senseless defeat.

Cordially yours,

February 22, 1970

Mr. Ford Chatters
Lindsay, California

Dear Ford:

Every so often I read in some account of Earl Warren's first being elected Governor of California that Clem Whitaker did it.

I amsure Earl Warren told me himself that he fired Whitaker in the middle of September, 1942. He had been embarrassed, and certainly was chagrined, by statements issued by Clem as if made by Warren, having him take policy positions which if not at variance with his real views were on subjects on which his policy had not been formulated.

Do you remember whether this was so? Did not you and Verne Scoggins then take over fully the chores for which Whitaker had been hired?

No one ever sees or hears from Verne. We read in the papers not long ago that he had married again. Norma died several years ago. I am glad Verne has found happiness again.

I believe your first appointment at Warren's hands was to the State Board of Education. When was it you went on the Personnel Board.

I remember how durigg the last year or so of my departmental secretaryship kx I would come downtown for Saturday lunch with you and your colleagues, at the end of your two-day or three-day monthly Board meeting, and kick thiggs around with you. What was it we used to talk about? I remember the rationale of the confabs was that the Board needed to feel closer to the Governor, and some of you felt that I partially supplied the need.

If you find time to reply to all these questions, you will be helping me in my current project of turning out some pieces for Walter Jones. Walter felt that some of us should get our reminiscences into the record while we still can - he wants the record of his great friend's

public service to be as complete as possible.

He has also asked me to help as much as I may be able an undertaking of Bancroft Library at the University. The Library has been given a grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities to put on tape for the archives a series of interviews with people who had a part in Warren's career. If you have not yet been asked to participate, I certainly want to give the Bancroft people your name. This "Oral History Project" is being directed by Mrs. Amelia Fry. I meet Tuesday with her and Helen MacGregor.

We enjoyed your Christmas letter as always. I trust Mrs. Chatters is continuing to make progress, and that in all respects everything is well with the Chatters.

With all best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Chatters: and Houser of course, being there, could walk in and out of headquarters--it would be harder to shut him off. Possibly originating in the south, it might have gotten into the press up here. Warren might have seen it and could have remonstrated with Clem. But that never got to me. I did hear that Warren had some problem with Houser, the GOP lieutenant governor nominee, possibly because the latter wanted to play a closer running-mate role, and tie in with Warren, who wished to make his race independently--a nonpartisan campaign as much as possible. Many of his county chairmen were Democrats, maybe a third or more. He had some GOP criticism later when, in harmony with his campaign, he made some Democrat appointments. However, he won both nominations in the 1946 primary which virtually meant an unprecedented reelection in November. Subsequently, a matter of principle with him, he made sure that on nearly all boards and commissions Democrats were included. This I know. He was nonpartisan before election and to be honest he had to maintain that approach after he was elected.

Charges Against Governor Olson Withheld

Fry: Do you recall any other campaign incidents you can tell?

Chatters: There's one part of the campaign windup that may not have been told, a sort of final stroke to assure a Warren victory, some may have thought. Perhaps you wouldn't call it a coup de grace. I think now I can use it safely--if I can't I can obliterate it.

Fry: Well, you can put it under seal.

Chatters: For the monent then it's under seal. We had the story all written, legal papers were drawn a month before election for serving the last couple weeks before the campaign ended. Governor Olson would be accused in a stockholders' action of nonpayment of room and restaurant bills, over a considerable period, at the Clift Hotel, where he stopped in San Francisco. The balance, a considerable sum--maybe a couple thousand dollars--was long past due. It so happened the state, through its Building and Loan Commission, had taken over the property and was operating it for the stockholders, some of whom our publicity would remind, were widows needing their money.

Fry: All this was worked out ready to go into court?

Chatters: Yes, the publicity on it too, and all the filing details. Clem talked to Warren a couple weeks before the end of the campaign. But that time most everyone knew we had Governor Olson on the ropes; and Warren, with that fine sense of political intuition and timing which characterized his whole career, said no, indicating we might just spark a streak of voter sympathy for a man that obviously was down, or that he was being persecuted. Some, of course, with a last-minute charge, might suspect it was a trumped-up deal. Warren said, "No, we won't use it," and of course we did not.

And that, as I recall, was the thing we were sitting on about the time the Houser problem was breaking. Of the latter, my recollection is that it started in the south and as Houser got closer to San Francisco it got more acute. Seems like Houser at one point even was threatening to drop out of the campaign. I wasn't too close to that part of it.

Clem, so far as money and payroll goes, continued to pay me until I cleaned up after the campaign and returned to Lindsay. Warren might have gotten a bit irate at him, but Clem certainly was there--and Miss Baxter too--when Warren as victor and governor-elect came in to headquarters election night. There was a crowd and the usual victory rejoicing; people who had been in on it were all there, it seems.

Friends Made in the 1942 Campaign

Chatters: Friends I made during the Whitaker-Baxter campaign in 1942 have remained friends for years. I am thinking of Miss MacGregor, William T. Sweigert, Verne Scoggins, Tom Coakley, James Welsh, and numerous others. Clem Whitaker passed away some years ago and his son, Clem Jr., carries on the Whitaker & Baxter business in substantially the same way as his father, it appears to me. I haven't seen Leone Baxter for over thirty years. She was all business in the office, but always cordial and very gracious to me.

FROM THE CHATTERS PAPERS. A WHITAKER PRESS RELEASE, WRITTEN, PERHAPS, BY CHATTERS

Californians will see a truly non-partisan government at Sacramento--and a strong win-the-war, win-the-peace executive--when Earl Warren is elected Governor, Ford A. Chatters, Lindsay publisher and former member of the State Board of Education, predicted here today.

Chatters, who covered many of the Northern California counties with Warren during June, says astonishing support of a non-partisan nature is piling up behind Warren and that he is certain the present attorney general, with a long and unimpeachable record of public service behind him, will win in November. He has an outside chance to win at the August primaries.

Democrats in large numbers, as well as Republicans, in every county are uniting behind Warren, Chatters declares. Warren points out that President Roosevelt has set an example of non-partisanship in this emergency by appointing Republicans to the important war posts of War and Navy secretaries in his cabinet as well as to head the Office of Production Management. Warren promises to surround himself with the most able men in the state, regardless of party, to push California's war effort and to guide the program of readjustment that will follow.

Warren's friends point out that Governor Olson has not used even the best material in his own party in the selection of his aides; that if President Roosevelt can choose cabinet members from the opposite party it is no offense for Democrats to break party lines and elect a leader who promises, quoting Warren, "to stop the wrangling and petty conniving in high places at Sacramento."

"We need to put an end to 'politics as usual,' Warren told a group recently in Visalia. "We need an armistice in the senseless, disruptive war between the Governor's office and the Legislature. We need a united leadership for a united people."

Chatters took occasion to praise state legislators who, back in 1933 and 1935, had the foresight to enact a long-range revenue and finance program that, with the concentration of war activity here in California, has resulted in the accumulation of a $20,000,000 balance in the state treasury. Much of this, he said, resulted automatically from mounting sales tax returns. "Had Governor Olson's budget requests during the past two bienniums been approved by the legislature, the State still would be over $100,000,000 in the red," Chatters declared.

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN
Northern California Headquarters
111 Sutter Street, San Francisco

Memorandum

From: Chatters

Date: June 25

To: Miss Baxter

Time:

FOR THE RECORD

I promised Bill Knowland when we have finished with Warren family picture it would be returned to the Tribune library.

[illegible]

SUGGEST A DUPLICATE BE SENT OVER UNTIL YOU ARE THROUGH WITH THE ORIGINAL, IN CASE THEY MIGHT HAVE TO USE ONE.

chatters

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN
Northern California Headquarters
111 Sutter Street, San Francisco

Memorandum

Date: June 29, 1942

From: Chatters

Time:

To: CW & Miss Baxter

Re. TOM STORKE

When Fauver was here Thursday you asked me to have him check on Tom Storke at Santa Barbara.

Fauver just phoned and said ~~MMMMM~~ Storke is For Warren a Million and is going to throw his paper and all his influence back of him....BUT

HE WROTE WARREN SOME TIME AGO AND HAS HAD NO REPLY, and felt it enough to mention it to Fauver

Letter should be dug up in AGO and Warren should telephone Storke. He was close friend of McAdoo, and very powerful influence as you know; in addition to being a Democrat.

If Warren doesn't take care of it at once, we should have letter sent at once.

Whitcher + Baxter

Seal for permanent file

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITAKER and BAXTER DATE: July 20, 1242

FROM: FORD CHAMBERS TIME:

I had dinner last night with Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. Cannon, former Assistant Building and Loan Commissioner. His name should be kept entirely confidential because of his present employment with the State Railroad Commission.

He points out the following facts, however. Pacific States Building and Loan has paid only 12% in three years, inspite of the fact that war activities has given business a general upswing. The company however has expended $400,000 for legal fees. This may have to be handled judiciously, if at all, because one of the attorneys involved is Albert Rosenshine, now a candidate for Congress. You know the local angles on this, I don't.

THERE IS HOWEVER SOMETHING THAT MIGHT BE OPENED IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION. PACIFIC STATES OWNS THE PLAZA, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, CLIFF, and NUMEROUS APARTMENT HOUSES, PARKS, ETC. IT OWNS OF THE LOCAL HOTELS WHEN THE PAY CHECKS WERE HANDED OUT A FEW DAYS AGO TO AN ELEVATOR OPERATOR, HE WAS TOLD TO TAKE HIS CHECK TO THE CASHIER, CASH IT AND GIVE 10%, PRESUMABLY TO THE OLSON CAMPAIGN FUND. THIS PROBABLY APPLIED TO ALL EMPLOYEES. IF WE COULD GET THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO SUBPENA A FEW OF THE EMPLOYEES AND MANAGERS OF THESE HOTELS AND APARTMENT HOUSES, AND GET PUBLICITY ON IT, WE MIGHT ALSO HAND OVER INFORMATION ON THIS SOURCE OF CAMPAIGN REVENUE. IF THIS IS TO BE DONE, I SUGGEST WE CALLED TO BE ATTENTION OF SOME OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE MEMBERS TODAY.

It also is suggested that some stock holder might be found who, over his own signature, would write letters to all Building and Loan stock holders, as many of them have a particular grievance against the Olson administration. Letters should at least go to heads of subject Building and Loan Company.

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITAKER and BAXTER DATE: July 20, 1942

FROM: FORD CHATTERS TIME:

Names suggested who are known to be unfriendly to Mr. Olson and who might sign such a letter are:

George B. Campbell, San Jose
Lester Miller, San Jose
Ed Einstein, Fresno.

Ford Chatters/bj

cc: Miss Baxter

all 1942

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITAKER & BAXTER DATE: Sept. 2

FROM: CHATTERS TIME:

RE: USE OF FAMILY PICTURE

Perhaps the family picture attracted more votes than any other single item, and should not be overlooked in the General Election Campaign. I would like to have you consider the possibly of having the picture printed with a fine screen about three column size, and possibly have it stippled to get somewhat of a portrait effect as cheaply as possible, and get this picture into the hands of Democratic women voters. One of the county organizations reported that this was done with apparently very successful results. I am informed from Mr. Warren's office that they have had requests for this particular picture.

This is just an idea but one I believe might be productive of votes.

In this connection, we have arranged to secure from the San Francisco Examiner a picture of Warren voting, with Mrs. Warren standing beside him, and the six children also in the picture. I would suggest we have this made into mats and sent to all newspapers shortly before election. Warren

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO:..... DATE:.....

FROM:..... TIME:.....

is seated in the polling place signing the register. Some effective captions could be written with regard to the American Way, etc.

It is my suggestion that the original family picture be used in the sepia, and the voting picture be matted for the newspapers as they have all run the other. If we start early enough, we might get the picture planted in some rotogravure sections.

Steve Johnson, of the Johnson Mat Company wishes to make a contribution and would furnish mats. This came to me from sources outside the office and I believe he indicated he would prefer to furnish the mats directly to a publishers' committee. Apparently he would be willing to go for a state release and in addition might also mat several others. I just talked to him on the phone and mentioned we might like to have a 3 column mat and he remarked that he wanted to go a lot stronger than that. Perhaps he might do one of our newspaper pages for statewide mailing, w several cartoons.

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO:---------- DATE:----------

FROM:---------- TIME:----------

-3-

He has asked for a luncheon engagement with Craemer and myself, when he will indicate how far he will go and I promised we would keep such an engagement sometime within three or four weeks.

cc:Mr. Craemer

ROLE IN THE WARREN ADMINISTRATION

Comments on Warren's Appointments

Fry: Would you like to start with your comments on the procedure that Earl Warren used in choosing appointees?

Chatters: Well, this, gives an idea of the way he approached it. Bear in mind at that time I was secretary of the state Highway Commission and doing a lot of traveling. First, he was honest in his efforts to be nonpartisan. He ran as a "nonpartisan" candidate, having filed on both tickets. I recall, just to illustrate, an instance when I was going to San Diego. There was a vacancy in what I believe was a veteran type of position, possibly on the Veterans' Welfare Board. He remarked that World War II is over and perhaps we ought to start getting a veteran of this war on the board. And then he thought further; this was a rather important spot and maybe he should have an older person, a veteran of World War I who also was a veteran of this war. And then it happened he wanted a Democrat to balance up his board. I don't recall whether it was to replace a Democrat or if it was just because there was a preponderance of Republicans. So I was down there looking for a Democrat and a veteran who was in both wars--and we found one.

As I went around the state, Jim Welsh who had the appointment book in the governor's office would ask me to check, say on Fair Boards. There would be eight members of the County Agricultural Fair Board and if it appeared they were all Republicans, too many Republicans, Warren might say, "Find us a Democrat." All I'm saying is that Warren ran essentially as a nonpartisan candidate--the surest way he could win with the other party having so many more registered votes--to him when he made that declaration he meant it.

Chatters: There have been people of course who have cross filed as Democrats or Republicans and when they got elected they forget their other-party friends. Warren was determined, I know, not to do that. It wasn't necessarily fifty-fifty but I'm sure there were very few boards or commissions when Warren was in office that didn't have a Democrat, or several of them, on the board.

Fry: Were you ever questioned by Earl Warren about the qualifications of someone he was considering for appointment?

Chatters: Yes, I was. Someone from this area particularly. A judgeship for instance.

Fry: What did he seem to consider?

Chatters: He just wanted to know if they were capable, qualified, honest and had nothing hidden in their background that he should know about or we could tell him. There is no question about Warren's inherent honesty and integrity, no matter what some people may think now in the light of his later years and the many bench-mark decisions he made on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Fry: Yes, even though people don't agree with him.

Chatters: That's right.

Verne Scoggins

Fry: I wanted to ask you a couple of questions about Earl Warren's staff that you might be able to answer for me. Do you know how far on the policy level were particular members, like for instance Verne Scoggins?

Chatters: This might be presumptive on my part. I'll try. Verne Scoggins came up from Stockton. He was one of Governor Warren's first appointees. He was the political editor of the Stockton Record and the right-hand man of publisher Irving Martin, who himself had a very long career in politics and public affairs from Hiram Johnson's day. Scoggins was a very capable newspaper man. He headed the news staff in the governor's office. He was the type of person that always was a year ahead in his thinking and

Chatters: planning. I think he was even ahead of the governor in his planning on the prospects of a race for the presidency. I'm sure the governor discussed things with him but I don't think he made ultimate policy; he may have helped shape it. He kept the governor well informed, I'm sure of that.

Fry: He was anticipating Warren's bid for the presidency even before Warren did?

Chatters: Well, I don't know whether Warren thought that someday he might be president--it would be surprising if he hadn't had such thoughts. Verne was well aware of the possibilities long before Warren finally consented to run with Dewey. I'm sure the record already shows that Verne was on the Dewey train as liaison. So there obviously were some intimate relationships and responsibilities given by Warren.

Helen MacGregor

Fry: What about Helen MacGregor?

Chatters: Well, I could go into a lot of superlatives when I speak of Helen MacGregor. I'm sure with all her years and experience and background (she, of course, was a lawyer too) that she must have been most helpful to Governor Warren. She was the closest in. She had tremendously good judgment in lots of affairs and on many occasions.

Fry: Did he depend on her for policy advice and help and assistance?

Chatters: I couldn't answer that. I'm sure he respected her judgment on things, but I couldn't answer that. I am sure he would respect her counsel. She was with him a long time. I am not sure she started when he was district attorney, but she was with him as attorney general and he brought her down to the governor's office.

Bill Sweigert

Fry: What about Bill Sweigert? Was he also one of those who was in the "inner" circle in Warren's office?

Chatters: Well, he was the governor's executive secretary. I'm sure they talked over lots of things. I never knew Bill until the campaign. I got better acquainted when he came down to Sacramento. He was capable, as his experience since he left the governor's office has proved. I'm sure he was a very helpful member of the governor's family.

Fry: I thought maybe that since you were on the scene in Sacramento while Warren was governor that you would have picked up what people around felt were the more influential members of the staff?

Chatters: Well, I know that Bill Sweigert called me over to the office one day, or one evening, and opened a drawer of his desk as I recall. He showed me notes he was keeping, saying he was going to write a history of Warren and the Warren period. He said he wanted me to help on the writing part of it. He was getting a lot of material together along toward the end of the administration. All of a sudden a book came out by, I think, a Mr. Stone. This was soon after Warren announced for the vice presidency.

Fry: Oh, the Irving Stone book in '48?

Chatters: The Irving Stone book, and so I figured that it stymied Bill but I understood from other sources that perhaps some of Sweigert's material went into that book.

Fry: I think Stone used his material, yes. And I think we're getting the manuscript that you speak of because Judge Sweigert just finished it. It's an amazing document considering how little time he had to work on it. The documentation is really unusually good for the amount of time he had.

Chatters: Well, Sweigert was apparently a man of considerable capacity and ability. He had the "inside"--no doubt about that. He was very close to Governor Warren I'm sure.

Richard McGee

Chatters: The governor had a real good starting staff with Bill Sweigert, Miss MacGregor, Beach Vasey, Verne Scoggins and others. But he also picked a fine staff of department heads. For instance, he had to fill the position of head of the Department of Corrections; instead of the usual patronage method, the governor came to the Personnel Board and asked the board staff to make a nationwide search for the best man they could find from that field. They came up with Richard McGee. That was done strictly through the Personnel Board's staff, a refreshing contrast to the usual political means. That might be an illustration of how the governor approached some of his appointments. He was very careful to check. And on reappointments he was very careful to check again to make sure that he made solid ones.

Fry: I'm interested in this account of how McGee was appointed because we frequently hear that it was a result of a nationwide search and that he really was the one, who was right next door practically in Washington at the time (the state of Washington), but from people who have been in politics and people who are presently in criminology I find some skepticism about this. Is there anything you can tell us to describe the way in which he did get his appointment?

Chatters: Well, I know our staff worked on it. The governor came to the Personnel Board and asked the staff to search, using or hiring the Cooperative Personnel Services unit.

Fry: He came to a board meeting?

Chatters: No, I don't recall whether he came over to talk to John Fisher, S.P.B. executive officer, or, more likely, he phoned Fisher to see him. But I know positively that's how recruiting for the post was done.

Fry: Did the Personnel Department handle the testing and everything?

Chatters: Yes, but at that level sometimes they get the information and appraise the background and record. I don't know the details, other than that Warren used our contract unit. I don't know how detailed a written examination may have been given.

Fry: Of the candidate?

Chatters: Yes, and the candidate availability. I don't know just who the staff may have contacted and what process they went through. I am sure Mr. Fisher would personally have a hand in it. Sometimes they advertise in trade magazines that would be read nationwide. But that was not necessarily used in this case.

Fry: Then, the tests were given by whom?

Chatters: Well, someone from the contract section of S.P.B. In a case of appointment of a director there wouldn't necessarily be the usual test, written and oral, and so forth. An appraisal of his record might constitute the written portion of an examination.

Fry: I'll have to check on that when we get this manuscript transcribed because it seems to me that in the case of the Department of Corrections there was an examination given and some interviews.

Chatters: There could have been. I'm not saying that there weren't. I'm sure there must have been interviews.

Fry: But that was a special committee that was appointed for this purpose?

Chatters: Probably not a special committee, but special attention on the part of the executive officer and his staff.

Fry: Are there any other department heads that you want to comment on that you know anything about their appointment other than Richard McGee?

Chatters: No, but by whatever method selected they were all top-notch people. Many in the ten Warren years here were moved up from civil service positions.

Fry: I was wondering about James Welsh. Did you know him at all in Warren's office?

Chatters: I knew him very well. Have you ever interviewed him?

Fry: No. I wish you could tell us something about him.

Chatters: He was Governor Warren's extraditions and appointment secretary. He had the appointment book. In other words his task was to know when vacancies were to occur and alert the governor, file names of applicants for positions and, in the case of reappointments, often to do some rechecking.

Checking Reappointments

Chatters: In the year and a half that I was the secretary of the Highway Commission, going up and down the state, Jim called me frequently. He might say there's someone down in San Diego coming up for reappointment, just check a little and see how they're doing down in the community. I could tell you a number of instances where people on a new list were checked to see who's the better one. If they had two or three people wanting a position someone might have to go down and find out who they were and what they were like, their reputation in the community and so forth. I'm saying that was one of Jim Welsh's responsibilities. In addition, he was the extraditions secretary.

Fry: Oh, before we get into that part of his job how did you check on the person in San Diego to see how he'd been doing? How did you go about checking on him?

Chatters: There are lots of processes. For instance, on one in San Diego I checked with a friend, or I might check with someone I knew on the newspaper. When I got it all together I'd sometimes doublecheck with the chairman of the Republican Central Committee or the Warren campaign chairman in the area. He might have been a Democrat. Usually I could go to a newspaper editor or city editor in the community and find out a lot about what a person is like through his knowledge of what went over his desk. There were devious legitimate ways of finding out about them.

Fry: It's interesting that Warren's appointment man was able to keep up, if this is what you mean, was able to keep tabs on how different appointees were functioning all the time so that when the time came for reappointment he'd have a report ready for Warren.

Chatters: Well, there might be big fat files of letters and petitions, or he might have a clipping out of a newspaper. There was an instance when a person in Southern California was being considered for an appointment, a very clean-cut, able, and capable individual. He was all set to be appointed. I had checked on him. I came into Jim's office one day and he said, "Look at this newspaper clipping." I'd already seen it. The prospective appointee wasn't what you'd call a drinking man. He had been to a party several nights before. Coming home he

Chatters: was arrested for driving intoxicated. The officers had smelled liquor on his breath. It got into a newspaper unfriendly to him. It should never have gotten into the print, but that kept him from getting the appointment. I remember Jim showing me the clipping because I'd been promoting him as a clean-cut individual, which he was.

Fry: In a case like that was it that they doubted this individual's way of living, or was it that public opinion had been created to give him a bad image and they couldn't afford to appoint a man with that image?

Chatters: Well, the governor just didn't do it or wouldn't do it. Now, I don't want to make this too momentous because he wasn't too important in the whole scheme of things, and it was not a big job, but it just shows how they get the information and in this case I know the individual didn't get the appointment which he otherwise was assured.

Extraditions and Pardons

Fry: How did James Welsh operate the other part of his job on prison extraditions?

Chatters: Usually they'd seek to extradite somebody who, maybe, was sought from out of state on a charge of murder. Welsh would hold a hearing; the defendant's lawyers would appear; Welsh would then recommend to the governor that extradition either be granted or denied.

Fry: I see. Was he also the secretary who handled pardons?

Chatters: I doubt it. I think that would be the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles. Welsh may have been the governor's liaison with that board. When the governor took office, I think I am right on this, there were those distressing, last-minute appeals to stay an execution, alleging "new evidence" of innocence. I am sure Warren was the one who inspired the legislation which provided that in the event anyone was found guilty and convicted of murder and the judgment was execution, an automatic appeal was started at that time, so there wouldn't be these last-minute appeals. The governor still had the right up to the last moment to stay an execution, of course. I think that was one of the first things the governor did.

Recollections of Jim Welsh

Fry: I was just wondering who in his office helped him with that?

Chatters: Well, it probably would have been Mr. Welsh. I think maybe it was Governor Warren's own idea. I should have mentioned Jim Welsh along with Verne Scoggins and several others. Jim was one of the younger ones in there, but he appeared to be equally as capable in his area. When Warren was running for vice-president with Dewey and it was almost certain the Dewey-Warren ticket would be elected, Warren started thinking about who would go back to Washington with him. Jim Welsh was one of those chosen to go. Jim even made a trip to Washington to find a place to live. He was talking to me one evening about whether he would go the southern or the middle route, driving his family back to Washington in the winter.

My acquaintance with him was a very delightful experience. Jim was down there alone, his family stayed in San Francisco. He roomed on the eleventh floor of the Sacramento Elks Club--at the very top. Mrs. Chatters stayed in Lindsay and helped a bit in the office. So we ate dinner together very often and sometimes I'd go over to the capitol with him, and to his office in the governor's wing. Our friendship was close.

Fry: Well, describe him more. What was he like?

Chatters: He was an able young fellow, a very good lawyer.

Fry: How would you describe him politically?

Chatters: I never knew with which party he was registered; he might have been a Democrat; I don't know.

Fry: Did you and he share your progressive outlook?

Chatters: Well, I'm sure that he was progressive in his political thinking.

Fry: A liberal. And would you class him as an intellectual?

Chatters: Maybe, but not radical. I would say that he was very intelligent, but always had his feet on the ground.

Fry: A competent, legal mind is that what you mean?

Chatters: Yes, and very intelligent. In fact, intuitively so. You certainly should do Welsh's interview. Last I knew he was on the municipal bench in San Francisco.

Fry: That's right. He is and he didn't want to talk to us. He's unhappy, I think, about something in the Warren administration. I don't know but he didn't want to talk to us.

Chatters: Well, he might hesitate, like I'm hesitant now, speaking too much of the intimate things that naturally go on, but in Warren's case I observed no undercutting or dirty politics.

Fry: I have this theory that nearly everyone else who was in Warren's office and was a lawyer is now either a superior court judge or on a federal bench and Jim Welsh isn't, and I wondered if something had happened to prevent his appointment and if this was it? This is just a thought in the background of my mind.

Chatters: Well, I know nothing of any such thing. Of course, it's just like in a family; you get to know the individual intimately, even the principal. I'm sure they all respected Earl Warren, but he certainly expected honest, capable service and he got it as far as I know. The fact that Jim had been selected as one to go to Washington at the time of that Dewey presidential fiasco would indicate Mr. Warren's appreciation of his abilities. Up to that point, Warren certainly had a high regard for him.

He came back and worked for Governor Knight when Warren left, I'm sure.

Fry: Oh, so that municipal court appointment was not Warren's?

Chatters: I think the municipal court appointment was Knight's. Now, that's my recollection. Whether he wanted to be a superior judge and it was not open, I don't know. A municipal court judge is a pretty good position. Maybe if Warren had been doing it earlier he might have found a superior judgeship. I don't know the answer. All this is supposition and such things hardly ought to get into print.

Fry: That's right. All of this is just sort of a shot in the dark. Did you know him in the last four years of Warren's administration, from '48 to '52, were you close to him then?

Chatters: Yes, I knew him. I saw him more when I was on this other job.

Fry: On the scene all the time? I see. Well, he must have been very confident because he's one of the few people who stayed on right to the end of the administration.

Chatters: There's no equivocation on the question of his capacities and capabilities and loyalty to Warren, so far as I know.

Fry: Would he be good to talk to about the political part of it? Did he ever help out in campaigns, or do you know?

Chatters: I don't know that he was conspicuous in the campaigns, but as appointment secretary he had to know a lot of the political backgrounds, activities, and interests of hundreds of Californians.

Fry: In this '48 campaign, was he helping on that?

Chatters: Well, he might have done--

Fry: That was the vice-president's campaign when Welsh was expecting to go to Washington?

Chatters: Yes, but he was pretty busy at home while Warren was campaigning.

Fry: Were there any others on the staff who were expecting to go to Washington?

Chatters: I don't know who they were. I'm sure he would have offered Miss MacGregor a chance to go, possibly Sweigert also; maybe Scoggins. I don't know whether I should-- You know you're getting me to say things that I think if I'm smart I wouldn't say.

[Conversation about how the "seal" works.]

Chatters: Well, you were asking about Jim's activities. For instance, there was one occasion when there was to be an execution, say on Friday morning. The governor was out of the state and they were claiming--where the case involved the San Francisco Police Department or the Sheriff's office--that the person to be executed had information about another murder they were working on, and they wanted to check it out. Jim called me one afternoon and said, "Let's have dinner. I want you to come over to my office around eight o'clock." At that time he was to get a call

Chatters: from Folsom prison. They were sending a couple of officers down from San Francisco to Folsom to interview this person on Death Row to ascertain how much he knew, and whether to stay the execution to get more information. This is more to illustrate Jim's carefulness. They were to call the governor's office, the governor was out of the state, and Jim could hold up the execution in the morning or give the final word. He wanted me to listen on another phone so there would be a witness to the conversation.

We ate, then went over to the capitol. The phone rang, I got on one phone and he was talking on the other. I think it was a sheriff calling. They had interviewed the prisoner. He knew nothing that hadn't been printed in the newspapers. He didn't have any new information and they saw no reason for a stay of the execution. And Jim said, "Well, that's it then, isn't it?" or words to that effect. They said, "We don't know any reason to stay." The warden called soon after. He was standing by too. So, the execution took place. That helps explain something of Jim's responsibility. Certainly the governor assigned to him many important duties where judgment was required.

How Warren Vented His Temper

Fry: Others have indicated that Warren was a pretty tough taskmaster and that he assigned certain members of his staff certain duties and that it was just up to them to carry it out, and he expected a high level of performance and long hours of work and so forth. And sometimes the pressures of the governor's office was very much on all of these top people and his secretaries around him. And also that in line with this Warren would sometimes just lose his temper and cut somebody down. Did Jim Welsh ever tell you anything about that?

Chatters: No, nothing I can recall. I never saw any outbursts, other than the car incidents I have mentioned.

Fry: I think I should go ahead and say that generally the governor was a very even tempered person, but occasionally a member of the staff might catch him at a bad moment.

Chatters: Well, that happens to all of us. And that's only human and I think that through all of this we came to realize that Earl Warren was human.

Fry: One of the things that we don't want to do in our project is to create a myth of a man, who is superhuman or something.

Chatters: Well, I had told you that on some of our trips he was just human enough that when he had all he could take he'd ask Ray McCarthy to pull over to the curb. This was after we were on our way alone. Those he left may not have been aware of his feelings, unless they sensed he didn't go along with their ideas, but, as I said above, when he got just all he could take it was kind of interesting. He would pull over to the curb and then he would cut loose. I think I said this before, that he could use the English language like some of the rest of us can on occasion, and with forcefulness. Righteous indignation!

Fry: And he just got his anger out that way.

Chatters: He'd blow off, then say, "Drive on, Ray." It was out of his system and you never heard another word all that day, or all that trip.

Fry: Why did he have Ray stop for this?

Chatters: I don't know, but he would ask Ray McCarthy to pull over and stop. Warren would just blow and then drive on. I'd say it happened several times when I was in the car, and only Ray and the governor were there.

Fry: That is why I was trying to get an idea of how he did this when he wasn't traveling through the state? How did he do this in his office? No one has given me a real example of it. Probably Judge Sweigert could, at least I've got a specific question to ask him, if he could describe it.

Chatters: I think Bill Sweigert might be the one to tell us, don't you? Perhaps any of his secretaries might.

Recollections of Beach Vasey

Chatters: He appointed Beach Vasey, I think to the superior bench in Los Angeles county. Beach is another one of those outstanding, very capable persons.

Fry: I have him down as the next one to ask you about here.

Chatters: We've visited on a few matters and been out together, but I don't have anything that I think would be helpful other than to say that he also was a man of great capacity and I'm sure was loyal to Warren. He was very clean cut, he made a fine impression with everyone who knew him. He sort of exuded a friendly feeling. You felt at ease with him immediately. But he also evidenced a lot of intelligence, good judgment, and understanding.

Fry: He was the one who was supposed to keep track of legislation?

Chatters: He may have been. I seem to recall now that he was the legislative secretary, a contact between the governor's office and the legislature to keep track of legislation and the movements of bills the office was interested in. And since you mention it, I think he was the one who, when bills came down for signing, would review and digest them.

Fry: You were saying that Beach Vasey kept track of the bills as they came down from the legislature to see if they had any bugs in them.

Chatters: Yes, on the question of constitutionality among other considerations--for every bill had to undergo scrutiny to protect the governor, you might say, and the people. Also to make sure that buried in a bill somewhere there were no "bugs." The governor would want to be sure before he signed a bill that there would be no backfire. I think all the governors were very careful about that--and to be certain just what the legislation might do.

Fry: Did he ever check with you on a bill that concerned personnel practices?

Chatters: I'm sure if there were personnel bills, bills relating to civil service, he would have checked with the board if there

Chatters: was any doubt in his mind. We also were following every bill relating to or affecting civil service and personnel. That was Roy Stephen's job in later years.

Fry: The executive officer probably would have been the man with whom he would have checked?

Chatters: We were only there two days every other week. He probably would call over to John Fisher if he questioned such a bill. But most of those bills become public as they go through committees. Somebody from the governor's office--possibly Beach Vasey--on bills they were watching, would be at the hearing and they would know about it before it ever got down to the office. Maybe they could stop it before it got that far.

Fry: One question I can think of as an outsider looking in is how did the legislative coordination function between someone like Beach Vasey and the governor's office on a bill concerning the administration and the department that was specifically concerned with the bill? I understand that the department heads were usually also in there plugging for their bill or fighting it, whichever way it happened to be. Was there some way of coordinating the efforts of the department and the efforts of the governor's legislative secretary for or against a particular bill that affected the department?

Chatters: Well, I'm sure if there was legislation affecting a department and the department head decided it was adverse to their interests they might contact Beach or whoever might be the legislative secretary before the bill went to the governor. In other words they probably would contact Beach on whether he thought the governor should get into it or hear about it. They might contact someone on the committee--not often would they personally appear from the governor's office before a committee.

Fry: And I suppose, too, that the governor's veto would be asked for? Can you think of an example of any piece of legislation?

Chatters: No, though this might happen often during a session if legislation adverse to administration policy starts to move. Remember, there were regular conferences with departmental heads.

Recollections of "Pop" Small

Fry: The other person who had a lot to do with the departments was "Pop" Small?

Chatters: Well, later he held the title of departmental secretary and in addition he was a whiz on a lot of matters. "Pop" was the liaison between the governor and all the department heads. He was departmental secretary. Even matters involving civil service and the personnel board might go first to "Pop." We wouldn't just go running into the governor; we proably would check first with "Pop" Small.

He turned out to be a very capable addition to the staff. I don't know just how long he was in that position, four or five years, maybe more; then he went back as an aide to Senator Tom Kuchel.

Fry: Yes, it was a few years. Can you give me an illustration of how "Pop" Small functioned in the capacity of--?

Chatters: Well, he functioned well. He used to be mistaken for the governor. More than once they would come up to him when he'd get there ahead of the governor. People would think it was the governor walking in. I don't know whether you can see any resemblance now.

Fry: Yes, I do. They are sort of the same shape.

Chatters: "Pop" was a newspaper man up at Quincy. You know his background. He was just a natural in this kind of activity.

Fry: And I guess he must have started out in public relations in the governor's office or newspaper relations?

Chatters: I was trying to think just what he did. He may have worked in the second campaign. I recall Clem Whitaker had the first--Whitaker and Baxter. I was asked if I would come back for the second one, that is, the one four years later, early in 1946. I was on the Personnel Board and still more deeply involved in the newspaper and I told them I couldn't. They wanted somebody out of the city, who had the country feel of politics. It certainly gets perverted in a city newsroom, if you're looking for a man to handle the news in a statewide campaign. I believe I was asked, "Who will we get?" And Small had a background that

Chatters: sort of paralleled mine. He had been the past president of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association when he was still up at Quincy. I'm pretty sure I suggested "Pop" Small at one time. Later he went down and did exceedingly well in the governor's office. He fitted right into the picture.

Relations Between Warren and Whitaker & Baxter

Fry: I don't think that Whitaker was in on the second campaign?

Chatters: I believe you are right.* I don't recall who I talked to. I attended one, maybe two meetings in San Francisco when I was asked if I would go back up in that campaign. I believe Jesse Steinhart presided--or was there I am sure.

Fry: That's interesting. You aren't aware of any serious argument between Whitaker and Warren in the first campaign?

Chatters: I can't clearly recall such an argument. I think I know what you're talking about, but I never thought he was--

Fry: What I'm referring to is a statement that was released through Whitaker toward the end of the campaign in '42, which Warren did not want released.

Chatters: I don't recall it--unless it had to do with or was related to Houser's desire to tie in on some billboards.

Fry: Maybe Leone can straighten this out for us?

Chatters: Are you going to talk to her?

Fry: Yes.

Chatters: The second campaign virtually ended at the primary election when Warren got both nominations. I didn't have anything directly to do with that campaign. Being a member of the Personnel Board and the Civil Service Commission, I tried to separate myself from partisanship and politics and didn't want to get involved.

---

*I have found a file with some 175 interoffice memos, mostly between Clem and Leone (she got duplicates of all) and me. They were all in 1942. FAC

Chatters: Part of the time I may have been on the highway job. I did attend that one meeting down in San Francisco when they were just getting the campaign underway.

Fry: In '46?

Chatters: I think it was '46. You must remember, now get this on the record somewhere, this was almost thirty years ago and when you get around seventy-five you have a "Forgetter" that sometimes gets to working.

Fry: That's why we try to check with more than one person.

Chatters: That's why I dug out so much of this material that I have laid out in front of you, to try and document the things I'm trying to establish. But when you ask me certain questions then it's a matter of judgment or even memory. It could easily be established as to whether Clem Whitaker did work in the 1946 campaign if you talk to Leone Baxter. She would know.

I was going to write her one time several years ago when I got to wondering where I could find one of those postal cards with the Warren family. Somewhere there must be more of those floating around. (Since this interview I located one in my files and a copy is being sent with this transcript.)

Fry: I have one that Judge Sweigert gave me on my bulletin board. Not on the state steps, though. I believe it is for the '46 campaign. The whole family is strung out, walking across the lawn of the governor's mansion and it's postcard size but it's on the back of a blotter. And again millions of these were distributed.

Warren Family and Campaign Publicity

Chatters: In the beginning, I've mentioned this before, Warren wasn't going to allow it to be used; he insisted we keep the family out of it. It was the best campaign material we had. The appeal of that card and the family was tremendous. We sent it largely to win over the Democrats. We needed to break in to the large Democrat registration.

Fry: Well, what about Bill Mailliard? Were you familiar with his work in Warren's office or with him? He came in later, the latter half of Warren's administration.

Chatters: Let's see, did he go to Congress?

Fry: Yes.

Chatters: Yes. I knew Bill in and out of the office, favorably but not too intimately. He's proved in the years since then that he was a good and capable representative. He was still in Congress up to the last election. Seems to me he lost by a narrow margin.

Fry: You know I never did find out how the primaries came out on Bill Mailliard in this present election.

Chatters: Well, anyway he was there for a long period.

Fry: Last I heard he is in Congress now and maybe he's a lame duck, I'm not sure.

Alleged Bugging in Olson Administration

Chatters: Watergate, I am reminded, is not the first time eavesdropping has been resorted to. When Warren first went into the governor's office in the corner of the old main capitol building (before the present annex with offices for the governor and his staff) he showed us the way Governor Olson had been operating.

Fry: Will you tell us about it?

Chatters: After a delegation, or a small committee, had been ushered from the outer reception room to a small corridorlike room to await their next audience with Governor Olson, he had it wired so he could hear all their planning and strategy for their pending interview. The waiting room was bugged. Warren pulled out a drawer in his desk with a listening device or phone. When Olson had heard all he wanted to he called his secretary to bring in the unsuspecting delegation. I believe he also had a phone on his desk with a hidden mike. At the press of a hidden button a recorder on the mezzanine started taking down the conversation. That itself may not be too unusual but I understand Warren had the equipment immediately removed. I

Chatters: am aware that stenos in another room often, on signal, will make notes on telephone conversations for protection in case of further need.

Fry: That's interesting.

Chatters: It was Democrat Gordon Garland, when elected speaker somewhere in the middle of the Olson administration, who, with considerable fanfare and publicity, yanked from the speaker's rostrum the direct line that connected the speaker with the governor's desk downstairs.

Fry: Since we're already into Warren's administration what do you think about going on into the state personnel board discussion, now and then going back into your stay in the legislature?

Chatters: I think if we interject the twenty-three years of involvement in the state personnel board now we'll be in trouble.

Fry: Because we'll never get to anything else?

Chatters: That's right.

AS A STATE LEGISLATOR

Election to Office

Fry: In 1932 you ran your first race for the legislature.

Chatters: That's right.

Fry: Why don't we start there then and take you up to the Personnel Board. What we need is your story of the Riley-Stewart Tax Plan and first of all your story of getting elected.

Chatters: Well, the latter is the easiest part of it all. One of the Visalia newspaper men, Charles A. Whitmore, and I were at a publishers' meeting when he suggested that I should run for the assembly. Then he went home and wrote an editorial containing the same suggestion. I gave no serious consideration to it until several others, on the strength I guess of what they'd read, started pushing a little. So, finally I agreed to run, and filed. Subsequently Judge Ward Rush, Justice of the Peace in Tulare--the man who sent people to jail--a day a mile if caught exceeding the speed limit on Highway 99 at Tulare--eighty days if clocked at eighty miles an hour. He was known and feared up and down the state for his enforcement of speed limits.

Fry: Sort of a rest stop between the Bay Area and Los Angeles.

Chatters: That's right and whether it was a man or woman. Anyway Rush was a lawyer in Tulare--a Republican--and along toward the end of the 1932 filing period he filed. Presumably, being a lawyer, he reached up and got his political code down to see what assembly district this was, forgetting that the 1930 census had

Chatters: just come out and the '31 legislature had reapportioned the assembly and senate districts. This had become the 38th instead of the 32nd. Anyway, he filed his nomination papers for the wrong district. Our county clerk checked the nomination papers, and failed to catch the change. It went up to the secretary of state. The filing date was closed by the time it got to him and he sent word that Rush was disqualified because he couldn't serve from another district. On the primary ballot, therefore, my name was the only one that appeared and I filed on both tickets. The Democrats filed no one. So, I was virtually elected at the primary, with no opposition.

Fry: You didn't have any opposition at all?

Chatters: No.

Fry: In the primary, no other opposition?

Chatters: No opposition in the primary or the general election. That doesn't happen very often and it couldn't happen today. Cross-filing has been done away with.

Fry: And you don't have to live in your district.

Chatters: The district Rush filed for was in Stanislaus county, and the secretary of state disqualified him. Possibly you don't have to live in a congressional district.

Cross-Filing

Chatters: I like cross-filing, not because of that, but on a theory that it did make elections more nonpartisan. That was why California sort of grew into a nonpartisan state. With two million more registered Democrats, Republicans with a few exceptions still are holding most major constitutional offices. People were voting for the man. I'm not talking about my own instance, but the theory of cross-filing wasn't bad. It was another one of our progressive approaches promoted by Hiram Johnson.

Fry: But you might not have been quite accurate when you said that you weren't talking about your own instance because you did have--

Chatters: Well, I was the beneficiary, but take cross-filing in the case of Governor Warren where, in his second election, he again cross-filed and won from Bob Kenny in the primaries. He had no opposition, or virtually no opposition at the general election in 1946. I don't know whether there was a prohibition candidate. But he had no opposition from either major party. That's one of the interesting stories of his career and I'm sure you have it somewhere.

Fry: In which, Bob Kenny's?

Chatters: No, of Warren's second election when he won in the primaries against Bob Kenny. It was partly due to what I've said of his honesty. If he had run the first time, being registered Republican, and then forgotten all about his Democrat support in 1942, this could not have happened. He ran a nonpartisan campaign and he had a lot of Democrat support. Later, on virtually every board or commission Democrats were named. And it was not done in the usual political sense of trying to get reelected. He had to be honest with himself. No other governor ever tried to cross-file up to then.

Fry: And yet in a state with cross-filing I should think that would be a necessity if you're a political realist.

Chatters: Well, I don't believe it was ever done that way at that level, to that extent. He was often criticized by Republican backers and central committeemen for it. Using the partisan way on appointments, they would go down to the chairman of the county Republican Central Committee and say, "We've got a vacancy down in your district, who do you want?" And naturally it would be a Republican. Warren did get some criticism from Republicans all over the state. I usually would try and see the county GOP chairman when checking on appointments, but Warren pretty much did the selecting rather than the central committee. And it did engender opposition among some Republican leaders. I think that's probably showing up somewhere.

Fry: Yes, it did very much. So, you went into the legislature then the same year that Franklin Roosevelt did.

Chatters: We were on the same ballot.

Social Legislation

Fry: When he became president for the first time. There were quite a few things that went on in the legislature here of a reform nature, too. Particularly monetary fiscal reform.

Chatters: Yes, in anticipation of legislation which was pending in Congress like social welfare measures and other so-called welfare reforms which had to be implemented by state legislation, they were passed here in 1933. We passed an unemployment insurance act before the federal government passed it, before it went through Congress. That's my recollection. Because we had a 2.7 rate set up in our state unemployment insurance act with earned employer credit for full employment. It saved millions of dollars. The federal rate was 3 percent for years after that. With the state administering the unemployment insurance, California business concerns paid 2.7 to the state and paid 0.3 to the federal government. Our bill was passed prior in anticipation of that type of legislation. With full employment a firm could cut its payment, sometimes to 0.0.

Reorganization of State Tax Structure

Fry: Was the thing that you were most involved in the tax legislation at that session?

Chatters: Next to water. The session was pretty much involved in a complete rewriting of the state tax set-up, except it started off with a bill almost identical to the King Tax Bill of 1921--an equalization bill that was going to raise state utility and corporate taxes substantially. That 1932 bill was defeated and I voted against it. In 1921 I was all sold on the King Tax Bill and its purpose and intent. However, had we enacted this tax equalizing measure early in the 1933 session, with its limited revenue impact, it might have proved a poor stopgap for the over-all tax reforms that were needed, slowing down other desirable legislation.

Sales Tax, 1933

Chatters: In 1933 both the sales tax measure and an income tax bill were passed. Governor Rolph signed the former and pocket vetoed the latter. All sales tax revenues went into the general funds of the state. At the same time, to relieve local taxpayers, we provided that the state should assume or take over the county's local "school matching costs" which at the time, per pupil per year, were $30 per unit of A.D.A. (average daily attendance) for the elementary grades and $60 for high school level. (I believe it also was $100 for junior college students.) With the state assuming these costs a saving of many millions of dollars to local districts of California was effected. Because of the more-or-less concurrent enactment of the sales tax it was for a long time referred to as the school fund, though it had no such earmark. At today's rate it puts several billion dollars annually into the state treasury, and I am sure the schools get their share.

To be sure the savings would be reflected in local tax rates, a law was passed whereby no local governing body could exceed its previous year's budget by more than 5 percent without a vote of the people. At the same time we put the corporation properties, utility properties, back on the county and local districts for tax purposes so they now pay the same as common property--at the same rate. We did away in California with the "separation of sources" system of taxation, obviating any further need for a King tax-type of equalization measures.

Fry: Are you talking about 1921?

Chatters: No, 1933. All I was talking about in '21 was the similarity and purpose of the bills. It was one of the first things that came up in 1933.

Franklin Hichborn, who was in on the 1921 fight, had a long time reconciling my vote in 1933. It took him quite a while to get over the fact that I had voted the other way, but eventually he did. The session wound up with a pretty good tax program.

Fry: Do you feel that your vote was inconsistent with 1921?

Chatters: It was a reversal on a very similar equalizing bill, but hardly comparable. Remember I was only a committee clerk in 1921. In 1933 other more far-reaching fiscal legislation was pending which might have been delayed or blocked had the initial equalizing, or stopgap bill passed. I am sure time proved I was right.

As I just mentioned, concurrent with the passage of the sales tax act, but not a part of it, we placed utility properties back on the local payrolls, with the operating properties paying the same tax rates, city and county, as common property. As I just mentioned, to make sure the savings to common property would be reflected in their tax bills, a vote of the people was required if succeeding budgets were increased by more than 5 percent.

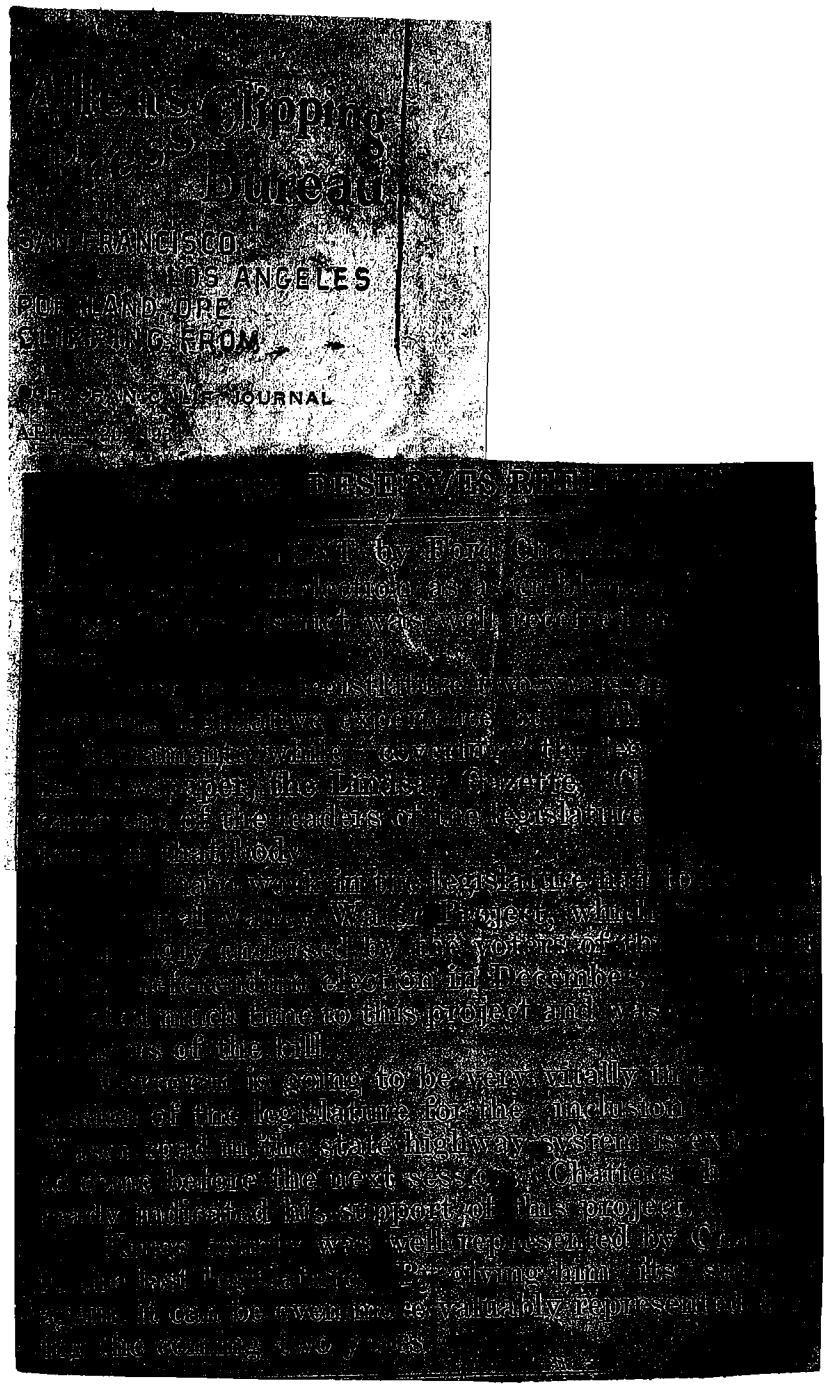
Election to a Second Term

Fry: Most of your constituents here, I gather, were also behind the income tax and sales tax, is that right?

Chatters: Well, yes. I have clippings which show I came home and explained the program that was put through, though we didn't get an income tax bill signed until 1935. I was elected at the primary a second time, with very little opposition. No one filed against me until just before noon deadline of the closing day. This was the election of 1934 when Upton Sinclair was the Democrat candidate for governor and he urged every legislative district to have friendly candidates. There were active units of this EPIC (End Poverty In California) group in most of the counties of the state, particularly in Southern California where they wound up electing some twenty legislators including Culbert L. Olson in the senate. Sinclair was beaten but quite a few EPIC assemblymen came up from the south--with not enough votes to capture the speakership, but they did muster twenty-five votes for William Moseley Jones of Los Angeles county. Edward Craig of Orange County was chosen with fifty-two votes, eleven more than the necessary forty-one.

Fry: This was '34 and you had an EPIC candidate file at noon?

Chatters: The last minute an EPIC candidate filed against me, a woman living here in Lindsay. She had an orange grove east of town--


Clipping
Bureau
SAN FRANCISCO
LOS ANGELES
PORTLAND, ORE.
CLIPPING FROM
JOURNAL

Chatters: a widow with a fifteen-year-old daughter. She was a disciple of Father Divine, along with her interests in Upton Sinclair. Probably a woman of ideals--if perhaps misguided. She filed on the Democrat ticket as all the EPICs did. I won the Democrat nomination two-to-one. So, again after the primaries I had both nominations and had no contest at the general election.

Fry: What sort of a campaign did she carry out?

Chatters: Oh, she didn't seem to carry out much of a campaign, though she was at most candidate meetings. She tried to paint me as an ultraconservative. Passage of the Central Valley Project act the previous session was all the backing I needed. My final vote in November was 23,956, thirty-one scattering.

Fry: In other words, she really didn't deal too much with either your record or with local--it sounds like she just used the state platform of EPIC?

Chatters: She was there trying to get elected to support Upton Sinclair in the legislature if he became governor.

Fry: Were there very many Mexican farm workers voting at that time here?

Chatters: No. Almost none, no factor at all.

Fry: I should have broken that question into two parts; were there very many Mexican farmworkers here? And then, were many of them voting?

Chatters: Well, there weren't many Mexican farmworkers here in the early '30s; the farmworkers at that time were from Oklahoma and Arkansas. And before that they were all from Missouri it seemed. The orange groves were owned largely by successful eastern farmers who moved out here, many from Iowa, and the workers were the Missourians--it seems all of the latter lived around Springfield. We used to ask, "Where are you from?" And they'd probably answer, "From Springfield." That could mean all of Missouri. But the orange groves were worked largely by men from the Midwest. Cotton sections of the valley brought the Dust Bowl people and the blacks, perhaps just a little later.

Fry: I wonder what made people from Missouri migrate to this place?

Chatters: Well, maybe one got out here and liked it and the word spread.

E·P·I·C
I PRODUCE·I DEFEND

END POVERTY IN CALIFORNIA

UPTON SINCLAIR FOR GOVERNOR
SHERIDAN DOWNEY FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

1501 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
PRospect 8145

Corcoran, Calif.
Sept. 15, 1934.

Mr. Ford Chatters
Lindsay Gazette
Lindsay, Calif.

Dear Mr. Chatters:

The people of California indicated their overwhelming preference for Upton Sinclair and his running mate Sheridan Downey, at the recent Primaries.

This preference was based, not on any lauding of personalities, but upon their conviction that the EPIC Plan is something absolutely necessary for California.

The fact that the adoption of this plan will start work on the Central Valley Water Project almost immediately is an item of greatest importance to all of us.

We find that many people do not really understand the EPIC Plan, and naturally, "People are down on what they are not up on."

Your position as Assemblyman of the 38th District, warrants the assumption that you are vitally interested in becoming fully and accurately informed about the EPIC Plan. We are therefore sending you this special invitation to attend a meeting on

Tuesday Sept. 18th, at
Visalia High School Auditorium, at
Seven-thirty P. M.

At this meeting the EPIC Plan will be thoroughly explained by Mr. P. B. Crouse. All questions will be answered. Mr. Crouse is an Industrial Engineer and Economist. He is Pres. of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Society of Industrial Engineers and is without question fully qualified to speak with authority on this subject.

Crouse, who is a member of the Executive Board of the Sinclair Campaign Organization, is looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you personally after the meeting for a short and more intimate conference.

Again cordially urging your attendance,

Yours truly,

Evadne Hanson Secty. 38th. Assembly District

This was after I had the demo. nomination — HH

Fry: Just the word spread. It wasn't any special debacle that happened in and around Springfield?

Chatters: Not like the Oklahoma Dust Bowl. But the dust did drive them out here in the late '30s.

Fry: Well, was this a voting bloc? Did you have to contend with this?

Chatters: No.

Fry: Why? Did they not vote or were there too few--?

Chatters: They might have voted, but even the so-called Oakies and Arkies, then weren't a bloc. Steinbeck's book came out about then and they may have sensed they belonged to that group. Nearly all registered Democrat. In fact, the state started going Democrat about the time William Gibbs McAdoo moved out here, ran for United States Senate and won. We weren't aware until then the Democrats were a factor. The Democrat Central Committee in Tulare county never filed anyone against me and that was as late as '34. They didn't place a candidate on the ballot. I represented Tulare and Kings counties, so there were two county central committees of each party involved.

Fry: So, when she ran--by the way what was her name?

Chatters: Zetta Walker Smith.

Fry: When she ran was she appealing to the Oakies?

Chatters: Oh no, not necessarily. They weren't a factor in politics in any sense. Some old-line Democrats stayed with the registered Democrat at the primary. The primary vote on the Democrat ticket was: Chatters 7,197, Smith 3,693. My Republican vote was 10,769--total 17,966 at the primary. At the 1934 general election: Chatters 23,956, scattering 31.

Fry: The Oakies just weren't a consideration. I see.

Chatters: They were just any other citizen, except new to California politics. They had the right to vote and some of them did, no doubt.

Fry: You didn't have any well-formed opposition then, I gather, is that right?

Chatters: That's right.

Fry: If it wasn't the farmworkers then who would it be?

Chatters: Well, the farmworkers weren't against me. I had been working for the Central Valley Water Project which was to bring more water to the farms and give jobs to the laboring man. Everyone wanted water, including the businessman.

Fry: Well, we'll have to put in one of those editorials at this point.

Chatters: Guess I was fortunate. It looks a lot like I had it again all to myself.

Fry: Well, it kind of sounds like you did. At least in this district. As you say, the partisan considerations were so immaterial here; that it was very much the party for the man, not for a political party.

Chatters: In my last election the county seat publisher over at Hanford told me, "The only battle we had over here was where the Democrats were trying to see if they could give you more of a majority than the Republicans in Kings County." Which is a nice situation to be in. I just feel lucky, not boastful.

Fry: Then the Democrats and Republicans there were competing to reelect you?

Chatters: That was when Zetta Walker Smith was running.

Fry: Do you know what paper that is?

Chatters: This one was The Sentinel, in Hanford, Kings County. I refer to Joe Richmond, long-time publisher. His editor's name was Smith.

Fry: Was this a Democratic or Republican paper, or either one?

Chatters: There were two papers in Hanford, two daily newspapers; one Republican and one Democrat. They both supported me editorially. Richmond was Republican. (See scrapbook.)

The Income-Tax Bill

Fry: So, I guess we have you in the legislature now for both sessions. The income tax bill came up in 1935 according to my notes. I even have the number of it down here, 1182, passed June 13th became effective.

Chatters: Yes, that was my bill. I was still in office.

Fry: You were. So, can you tell me the story of that legislation then?

Chatters: I did show you the clipping, did I not?

Fry: Yes, and we'll have to run them along with your story.

Chatters: Well, I may need sort of a refresher. There had been an income tax bill in 1933, too, passed but vetoed. I think I previously said the purpose of my income tax bill, more than a revenue-producing measure, was to equalize and maybe help save the sales tax because there still was an effort in '35 to do away with the sales tax. They did eliminate the tax on food stuffs, and then raised the rate from 2 1/2 to 3 cents. The income tax bill was to tax the fellow who, maybe, had an income not derived from tangible taxable sources but from clipping coupons, as well as salaries, rentals, etc.

Fry: Was that in 1933?

Chatters: 1935.

Fry: Could we start with the one in 1933 which you introduced?

Chatters: I didn't introduce that one. I didn't have the bill in 1933; Assemblyman Clowdsley of Stockton did. It may have been part of the 1933 package. I supported it and voted for it, as I notice Senator Bill Knowland did also. It passed the assembly July 22 by a vote of forty-seven to thirty, forty-one were needed. It also passed the senate.

Fry: I think Governor Rolph vetoed it in '33, is that right?

Chatters: Yes, he pocket vetoed it after the legislature adjourned. (I have located my 1933 journal since our first interview.)

MEMBERS OF THE BUREAU

JAMES ROLPH, JR.
GOVERNOR
ROLLAND A VANDEGRIFT
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE
RAY L. RILEY
STATE CONTROLLER
JOHN C. CORBETT
FRED E. STEWART
R. E. COLLINS
H. G. CATTELL
MEMBERS, STATE BOARD
OF EQUALIZATION

OFFICERS OF THE BUREAU

JAMES ROLPH, JR.
CHAIRMAN, EX OFFICIO
FRED E. STEWART
VICE CHAIRMAN
~~EARL LEE KELLY~~
DIRECTOR
MARGUERITE N. KEELER
SECRETARY

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Tax Research Bureau

IN THE OFFICE OF

STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

SACRAMENTO

December 1, 1932.

Honorable Ford A. Chatters
420 No. Mirage AVE.
Lindsay, California

Dear Mr. Chatters:

You will receive under separate cover a copy of the first report of the permanent Tax Research Bureau created in the office of the State Board of Equalization by Chapter 623, Statutes of 1931.

Brevity, without sacrificing clarity or adequate treatment of the subject, has been the constant aim of the Bureau in the preparation of this report. We realize that the days preceding the next session of the Legislature are busy ones for you and we have endeavored to make this summary report concise in order that you may get from it the information you desire with the least possible demands upon your time.

Constructive tax legislation will undoubtedly do much toward restoration of economic balance. The Bureau has every confidence in the ability of the Legislature to meet the situation if afforded an adequate survey of the facts relating to revenue matters. We trust that this report will satisfy your needs and that such legislation as may be based upon our findings will prove beneficial to the People of the State.

Very truly yours,

Fred E. Stewart

FES:RC

Vice Chairman and Director

ROBERT C. KIRKWOOD, CHAIRMAN
STATE CONTROLLER
JOHN M. PEIRCE, VICE-CHAIRMAN
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE
ROBERT McDAVID
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

JOHN J. CAMPBELL
EXECUTIVE OFFICER
1020 N STREET
SACRAMENTO 14

State of California

Franchise Tax Board

Sept. 3, 1957

Mrs. Elmer Welch
5300 Silver Strand Way
Sacramento 21, California

Dear Mrs. Welch:

Your letter of August 17, 1957, directed to the Sacramento Bee was referred to this office for consideration and reply.

Your first question reads substantially as follows:

Who was the author of the legislative bill which created the California Income Tax Law?

Mr. Ford A. Chatters (former Assemblyman ably represented Kings and Tulare Counties - currently a member of the State Personnel Board) introduced Assembly Bill No. 1182, which bill was passed and approved by the Governor on June 13, 1935 (Statutes 1935, Chapter 329, Page 1090) and was thereafter known as "The Personal Income Tax Act of 1935".

Your second question reads substantially as follows:

Who was the Governor that approved said bill?

Governor Frank F. Merriam.

Your final question was substantially as follows:

Was said bill a mandate of the [illegible]?

Section 11, Article XIII of the [illegible] Constitution authorizes the imposition of an income tax on persons, corporations, etc., resident or doing business in the State and the bill introduced by said author was pursuant to said authority at the request of his constituents and not as a mandate of the people since that term is limited to constitutional amendments.

Very truly yours

FRANCHISE TAX [illegible]
John J. Campbell
Executive Officer

By Burl D. Lack.
Burl D. Lack
Chief Counsel

BDL:ab

COPY

Fry: Was the sales tax passed and he signed that?

Chatters: That's right.

Fry: And when the income tax was passed he refused and vetoed that?

Chatters: The record shows it was pocket vetoed. There was no income tax law enacted in '33. Then in '35 Von T. Ellsworth, who was in Sacramento representing the California Farm Bureau Federation, came to me with the income tax bill and asked me if I would "father" it. I said, "And who else?" He said, "Just you." So, my name is the only one on that bill. Mr. Clowdsley did not return in 1935. When I introduced the bill and it went over the desk, the clerk said there were amendments at the desk already. Senator Olson (later Governor Olson), who represented Los Angeles County, had his version of an income tax bill. So, his amendments were offered. The question then was on the adoption of the Olson amendments. We fought for several months defeating the Olson amendments.

Fry: What did they do, the Olson amendments?

Chatters: I can't recall specifically the detail because they wiped out everything but the title of my bill and put his bill in. They show up as an amendment to my bill. So, we had to reverse our procedure. We were fighting his amendments. The main thing was their inconsistency. For instance, they had a very high surtax schedule of rates--bear in mind we already had a federal income tax. They had one bracket which, with the federal tax, would take 105 percent of a person's entire income. It was mathematically impractical and had many other undesirable features. We defeated them finally in the assembly.

On April 10, 1935, on the final series of opposition amendments offered by Messrs. Dewey Anderson and [Earl D.] Desmond, they were defeated thirty-four to forty-six, voting under a call of the house with all eighty members present. I then asked that the bill (1182) be made a special order of business at 10:30 the next morning and it was granted. The question then was on the passage of the Chatters bill. In the course of the proceedings some obvious changes were pointed up, adopted, and the bill passed. This was April 11, 1935. An attempt had been made also to lower my proposed rate. It was defeated as were some sixty-five amendments submitted by Assemblyman [William] Moseley Jones which lost by a vote of twenty-seven to forty-eight. Before the final roll call I

Chatters: offered ninety amendments--most of them minor and clarifying, and they were approved. I then asked for and was granted permission to take up the bill for final passage without reference to reprint or file. The roll call on its passage was seventy to five. At this stage the EPICs also had to be for an income tax bill, seeing they could not prevail with their amendments. The bill then went to the senate. There certain amendments were made. Our bill provided for administration by the Franchise Tax Commissioner. Fred Stewart was very active as a member of the State Board of Equalization and wanted the administration of this bill to be in the hands of that board. Of course, it meant more jobs and initially more patronage.

Currently I have seen the name of retired chief justice of the California Supreme Court, Roger J. Traynor, mentioned in the press in connection with his new post as chairman of the National News Council founded by the Twentieth Century Fund. Roger Traynor was involved in our income tax legislation fight, having been brought into it, I understand, by either Fred Stewart or Senator Olson, I don't recall which. I believe Governor Olson later gave Traynor his first judicial appointment. My recollection is that at the time he at least had some academic background in taxation matters.

Fred Stewart was in the senate a good deal during that period and he brought over former Senator Joe Riley from Mono County who had been defeated the previous election by Senator Karl P. Keough. Riley had been popular with the inside group in the senate and had lots of influence. He worked with Fred Stewart and they succeeded in getting an amendment in the income tax bill, giving administration to the Board of Equalization.

Fry: Tell me why you wanted it under Franchise Tax instead of the Board of Equalization?

Chatters: They were tax people. They were administering the bank and corporation franchise tax program. It was just the most logical place for it to be. Originally the Board of Equalization essentially was an assessment equalizing body.

Fry: Did the Board of Equalization at that time administer any other kind of tax bills?

Chatters: Well, they were given administration of the sales tax in 1933; possibly they got liquor enforcement about the same time and

Chatters: I believe that involved license fees and liquor taxes. In 1931 that agency secured passage of a bill creating a Tax Research Bureau in the Board of Equalization. I should add somewhere that the late Dixwell L. Pierce, executive secretary of the Board of Equalization and one of the nation's top men in the field of appraisals and property assessing, was a warm personal friend of mine; he went on at least three of our extended High Sierra pack trips.

Fry: Now, in this 1935 tax bill did that include taxes on both income and corporations and banks?

Chatters: No, this was income tax on individuals.

Fry: And the tax on corporations and banks was already--

Chatters: Bank and corporation taxes were administered by the Franchise Tax Commissioner and our bill put the income tax, logically, in that agency to administer. You will recall earlier that Equalization grabbed the liquor control enforcement and administration and made a mess of it. It was [through] Paul Leake's efforts after his appointment to the Board of Equalization by Governor Warren that liquor was taken entirely away from Equalization.

There were two elements in the 1935 income tax bill that might be mentioned. One was that for the first time public employees, meaning school teachers, city and county employees, state employees, all would pay income taxes which they did not then do under the federal income tax law. Since then the federal government has included public salaries, but in general we paralleled the federal return to make it as easy as possible, after preparing a federal return, to prepare one's state returns using basically the same figures--with such exceptions as I've mentioned--and then take only a certain percentage on that. I think originally the lower bracket in the federal tax was 4 percent and ours was 1 percent, and then you started in the surtax brackets. As I said, Culbert Olson inadvertently got up to 105 percent, and they already were quite high in the federal upper brackets, as you know.

Fry: I thought that you had won your battle to get it in the Franchise Tax Board because in this California Blue Book of about 1936 it says that in 1935 an income tax was incorporated in the state's revenue tax. In that year the legislature enacted the

Fry: California Personal Income Tax Act of 1935 and provided it should be administered by the Franchise Tax Commissioner.

Chatters: That's correct. Today and for some time income taxes are paid to the Franchise Tax Board.

Fry: This is the report of the Franchise Tax Commissioner in the California Blue Book. And he says, "Under the terms of this act, a tax is imposed upon the entire net income of the residents of this state, regardless of whether derived from sources within or without the state and upon the net income of non-residents of the state derived from sources within the state."

Chatters: That really should be the Bank and Corporation Franchise Tax Commissioner. In recent years it has been administered by the Franchise Tax Board, as you will note by your returns.

Fry: Yes.

Chatters: Well, that's where we put it, under the administration of the Franchise Tax Commissioner. It was Fred Stewart wanting it in the Board of Equalization. He wanted it merely for the patronage there was in getting more jobs (patronage at the outset) and setting up a new agency function. Charles J. McColgan was Franchise Tax Commissioner at the time.

Fry: Oh, then Stewart did lose?

Chatters: Oh sure. --I thought that you were trying to infer that it did succeed in getting into Fred Stewart's hands and I thought you were arguing against my statement that they went to the Franchise Tax Board (which it is now) and I was on the defensive. No, it went to the Bank and Corporation Franchise Tax Commissioner. What further does it say there?

Fry: And then it says, "The rates of tax are approximately one quarter of the federal rate, range from 1 percent on incomes from $5,000 or less to 15 percent in excess of $250,000."

Chatters: That's right. That was the schedule in the state bill. You see the federal surtaxes were way up in the 60 and 70 percentages on the upper brackets and you couldn't take 100 percent of the man's income, so we had to scale it down a bit. But it still was--

Fry: This does not go into the provisions of taxing state and federal employees.

Chatters: Well, that's implied in the bill.

Fry: But it just says everybody.

Chatters: Yes, well they are all included. I got a lot of static from school people. They now were going to have to pay taxes on their salaries. I got it from our city clerk, he didn't like the bill. State employees had to pay taxes for the first time on their state salaries. Our whole idea was that we wanted them to have an awareness of being taxpayers, assuming that if they were aware they too were taxpayers it might affect the whole idea of taxation in the state.

There's one thing that should be cleared up. Fred Stewart and his friend Ex-Senator Joe Riley lobbying in the senate did get some changes in the bill, particularly as to where it would be administered. When the bill came back to assembly for a concurrence in 235 senate amendments the author asked the assembly to not concur.

Fry: Is that what you did?

Chatters: Which is what I did. I got a refusal to concur and the bill went to a committee on free conference which means that the senate and the assembly each appoint three members to try and work out a compromise. That committee put the administration back in the Franchise Tax Commission and knocked out some other senate amendments, after which the bill was passed by both houses.

Fry: Do you remember who was on that final free conference committee?

Chatters: In the assembly it was Redwine, Williamson and Cottrell; in the senate Knowland, Parkman, and Powers.

Fry: Were they favorable appointments.

Chatters: Apparently so. The bill now was acceptable. I will say for the record that Senator Knowland, with a lot of opposition to my bill from the financial interests in the Bay Area, did vote for the final passage of the measure. He voted for the 1933 bill which was vetoed, also. There was a number, including

Chatters: my own senator from Tulare county, who voted initially in 1935 for the change from Franchise Tax to Board of Equalization. Fred Stewart was a very powerful man in California politics in those days. He exercised it largely through patronage and he wanted this additional patronage. He would have made the initial appointments until civil service took over. Senator Mixter declined to handle my bill and Senator Schottky carried it in the upper house.

On the state Board of Equalization there are five members. Stewart represented the second district, which was Oakland and the San Joaquin Valley to Bakersfield. Maybe that's why I got more static from him. He had power in the patronage of handing out jobs. You see, he could name the staff when initially an agency like the income tax division was created. They would have to take a civil service examination later for permanent status, but they were on the inside getting on the job experience and a lot of jobs developed as a result.

The Donihue Committee Investigations

Fry: Did this coincide with the time of the investigation of the Board of Equalization?

Chatters: Yes and no. That came after the session ended. Most of the Donihue Committee hearings were held in 1936 and we filed reports with the 1937 legislature.

Fry: According to my notes in 1935 you were on the committee?

Chatters: Yes. I was named to the committee before the 1935 session ended.

Fry: Donihue?

Chatters: The Donihue Committee. But there was no relationship, and it did not investigate the income tax in any way or the Stewart effort to amend the bill.

Fry: I know. Did it threaten Fred Stewart?

Chatters: No.

Fry: At all?

Chatters: No. The Donihue Committee was an audit investigation committee. We had Leo Friedman as committee counsel and he performed well.

Fry: Do you want to go ahead now and tell about the investigation or do you want to say some more about the income tax first? Were there other people involved in the income tax fight that you'd like to mention?

Chatters: No, I've got the roll calls, I think. The final roll calls in both houses were very gratifying.

Fry: You mentioned Knowland and he finally voted for it, is that right?

Chatters: Yes. In the 1935 session as well as in the 1933. I mentioned that because I think somewhere in our conversation you were questioning his legislative record, whether he was progressive or not and I think I answered that. And [I should add] this, just to prove that this bill was being fought by a rather large number of people in California: I was at a dinner in Oakland sitting around one of those large tables with a dozen men when Assemblyman Charles Fisher, later Judge Fisher of Alameda County, pointed to me and said, "There's the author of the income tax bill." He was doing it to harrass me a little in a friendly way. He was a good friend and an able assemblyman. I didn't think the glances were very friendly around the table.

But Bill Knowland: I've said that his vote in 1933 was identical to mine in the AFL labor record summary of the session and it was on the plus side. It was nineteen to eleven; nineteen favorable votes from labor's chart to eleven against and his votes and mine totaled the same.

Fry: I missed the first part of your sentence a while ago on Knowland, but you mentioned that he had voted for the amendment and then also he had voted for the bill after the amendments had been taken out in the senate.

Chatters: That's right. We're now talking about the income tax bill. I have a very complete record on that. I believe I have given the highlights, including some of the important roll calls.

Fry: I hope that your papers and your data on this whole section here can be filed along side the interview.

Chatters: I don't see any purpose in retaining them any longer. It would be a good depository, yes. (See scrapbook.)

Now, I guess we're done with the income tax. There was an involvement there that was very interesting. The fight that was made by some of the newspapers against the income tax bill, like Mr. Hearst who was going to move to Florida. Did I cover that with you?

Fry: No, you didn't. But I can just imagine his reaction. What was it? --Let me start out by asking you what the correct name of the committee was that Donihue headed up?

Chatters: The "Assembly Interim Committee on State Finances and Audits." Just before the session of 1935 ended, Mr. Donihue introduced a bill to create an interim audit investigating committee of the assembly. He was appointed chairman of a committee of five. Ralph Evans was on the committee. He was one of those leading the EPIC program up there at the time. C. Don Field, author of the Field Earthquake Act; (all this you read about schoolhouse planning and buildings having to conform to the terms of the Field Act).

Fry: Oh, the recent one?

Chatters: No, it was passed at that time in 1935. On the earthquake protection of the public buildings, he was the author of that measure. His home was Glendale in the area where the very severe Los Angeles earthquake occurred right at the beginning of our 1935 session. Anyway that identifies him. Fifth member of the Donihue committee was C.C. Cottrell, a very capable San Jose attorney. Ralph Evans later became the Building and Loan Commissioner under Governor Olson. (See Donihue file herewith.)

Donihue was the assemblyman from Oakland. He was business agent of the Butcher's Union in Alameda County, which identifies a bit of his background. He was part of the Olson team. I blieve the purpose was to have a committee to get into the workings of some of the departments. But it was very quickly perverted, I think. I was appointed on the committee. Don Field, Cliff Cottrell, and I would be the three Republican members and Donihue and Evans were Democrats.

There were several things investigated. One was the race-track at Santa Anita. The theory was that the state was not

Chatters: getting enough of the revenues, but it got into a lot of ramifications as to who owned Santa Anita. Principal involvement was whether a second track should be built in Southern California. Santa Anita was a very profitable enterprise. There were some questions on the morals, and of off-track betting.

Fry: You had mentioned to me that that was particularly the stand that you were taking on it.

Chatters: Well, I opposed the second track for that reason, at the same time knowing that I was only enhancing the value of the other operation. It was a question of morals more than anything else, as far as I was concerned. That was the principle reason. Don Field and I did file a minority report when we finished our investigations.

Committee records show, for instance, we had subpoenaed the list of stockholders of Santa Anita and the results were rather illuminating. Hal Roach, Jr., was one of the owners.

Fry: The movie producer?

Chatters: I guess producer, but he was an actor too. Later he had Hal Roach Enterprises. We had him on the stand.

Fry: As a stockholder?

Chatters: As a stockholder and president I believe. Marion Davies' name was listed within parenthesis after it: "confidential." She was a stockholder. And the stock which they had purchased to originally build the track, Santa Anita I'm talking about, skyrocketed in value. It was a very profitable enterprise, but the purpose of our investigation mainly was to determine if the state was getting its fair cut, its percentage on the wager I guess you could say; also what became of the "out" money and the "breakage" as they called it. This "breakage" as I recall ran over $400,000 in one year. The "outs" money was over $100,000 in two years.

Fry: What did that mean, breakage and outs money?

Chatters: The "outs" money which the track kept was the residue that didn't belong to anyone, principally money not called for. They paid off the betters and then there was money left where

Chatters: people mistakenly had torn up their tickets, maybe didn't hear the winning numbers correctly and had thrown them away. "Breakage" was where the track paid off, not to the exact penny but to the next lowest multiple of ten. Santa Anita "breakage" totaled over $400,000 a year--which the track kept. (See pages 4 and 5 of the main Donihue Committee Report to the 1937 Legislature. The Reports are included herewith). The committee's question was: Should the state get percentage of that breakage, or all, or did the track legitimately keep it all? It was a sizeable sum. Well, that was part of the investigation.

Fry: I'm still on horse racing, but I don't understand your point about the illuminating evidence that you got from the stockholders.

Chatters: I mean it was illuminating as to who owned the stock. It was a long list. I've forgotten them. The list was in the transcripts I discarded several years ago. The president of Santa Anita was on the stand and the business representative, and there were a number of people subpoenaed. It was held in the state building in Los Angeles and lasted for three or four days or more.

We hired as the investigator for the committee Leo Friedman. He was a well known name in legal circles. Retired as a judge and died a couple years ago. Ours was one of his first jobs. He was a young attorney and headed the investigation for the Donihue Committee. I've seen his name in later years in conspicuous places. He was the lawyer who defended David Lamson, involved in the alleged murder of his wife over at Stanford some years back. This was his third trial, the jury disagreeing on the death penalty verdict, and he was finally released after months on Death Row. The case was dropped. Lamson later wrote a double-page article in the Saturday Evening Post under the title, as I recall, "We Who Are About To Die."

I have a book published by Stanford University Press which Lamson earlier sent me. On the inside cover he wrote: "To Ford Chatters in memory of a pleasant afternoon as his guest. Dave and Allene Lamson." Several years after, as one of the Lamson trials was going on, Mrs. Chatters says, "We have a book given us by David Lamson." I have the book, "Death Valley, The Facts," by W.A. Chalfant and published by Stanford University Press in 1930. Lamson and his wife were visiting in Giant Forest and we took them around the park for half a day.

Fry: Well, what sort of an investigator was Mr. Friedman? Was he fairly fearless? Because this was a traditional area of graft--

Chatters: Yes, he was very good and the fact that his career since then flourished substantially needs no further elaboration.

Fry: You said that you wrote a minority report, I mean you and Don Field filed the minority report; what was the majority report?

Chatters: I have it somewhere in my files. I will enclose both reports. Involved in it, as I have said, was a question of whether there should be another track in Southern California, besides Santa Anita. I think maybe the promoters of the second track got to the committee and tried to use it to show how much Santa Anita was making--enough that there could be another track financed. Of course it all eventually came out of the pockets of the poor suckers that bet--at least there were many who couldn't afford it. Santa Anita profits of over 100 percent annually are shown on page eight of the main report--over $2 million in two years of racing!

Fry: You were telling me about big profits and so forth. Did you feel that there was some kind of strong influence on the other three members?

Chatters: No, I don't question the motives of the majority and in much of their report I concur. Not, however, to lowering the state's take. There was an effort being made in Southern California to get another track and there were people who would like to get in on the money that the Santa Anita people were making. I think what got this thing started was that group. Maybe someone got to Mr. Donihue, feeling this committee was a means of opening the records.

Fry: To give some publicity as to what a good deal this was.

Chatters: The committee could subpoena anyone and all the records. We never knew from morning to morning, Don Field and I and probably Cottrell, who was coming in the next day.

Fry: Is that a standard procedure for committees, for the committee members not to have anything to do with who is subpoenaed?

Chatters: No, oridinarily the committee decides who they will subpoena. But this was a cut and dried act, I felt, on the part of

Chatters: Donihue and Evans. There were suspicious things about the committee and its use. I never enjoyed the committee but like Don Field and I am sure Cottrell, we felt we had to be there otherwise we would just turn it over without anyone to put on the brakes.

Fry: How did the investigation turn out on the cut that the state was getting? Did you conclude that the state was getting enough?

Chatters: No, I think that was aired but I can't recall just what we recommended. At least Field and I thought the "take" of the state should be increased especially when they showed all this profit. The state ought to have a bigger cut in it. (See Minority Report.)

Fry: Just as background; at this time were the tracks operated very much as they are today with only off-track betting allowed?

Chatters: Off-track betting was not allowed in those days.

Fry: I mean, on-track betting allowed at the racetrack. I'm sorry I said just the opposite.

Chatters: Yes.

Fry: Did you have any problems with bookies? Did you go into the existence of illegal bookie operations or anything like that?

Chatters: That was brought in. You'll find it in the main report, page 12. There were a lot of ramifications gone into.

Fry: Later on, when Earl Warren was attorney general the booking operations and the use of telephone lines in them was the big investigation of his office.

Chatters: Yes. I think there were people up in the trees signaling and getting stuff out from the track, or telephones or things like that. This illicit activity was gone into by the committee. I don't recall the time element on those and just how much came out.

I recall there was a set of transcripts about sixteen to eighteen inches high that I had in my office until just a couple of years ago when I threw them out.

Fry: I wonder if this would be in an ordinary government documents depository, like the state archives?

Chatters: Possibly. Some portions of the transcript are referred to in the report. I could have given those to you. I wasn't aware of the Bancroft Library's interest. I had them way up on the mezzanine in the office for over thirty years. Cliff Cottrell is still alive. He might have his set over in San Jose. I have noted his address and telephone number. (See later letter from Cottrell.)

Fry: Did you think the Bancroft was only interested in rare diaries and things?

Chatters: If I had thought of anyone I would have thought of the state library, I think.

Fry: The only other question that I was wondering about on this: Was there any intimation of connections with organized gambling because this was still in the backwash of the Capone days?

Chatters: None that I knew of. I don't know whether Capone was in Los Angeles at that time or later. I think maybe later. Or Bugsy Siegel. I think that was quite a bit later.

I did mention to you the other day that someone reported that there were shinanigans in connection with the liquor division of the State Board of Equalization. Someone had gone down through Santa Clara County, in liquor stores, and had told them to turn all slot machines and pin ball games against the wall or put them in a back room. They didn't have to take them out and destroy them, though they were already illegal. Said the board was cracking down.

Fry: The "one-arm bandit" type?

Chatters: As I recall, more of the pin-ball type. They were told to turn their machines against the wall. Then somebody came along and said they were collecting a defense fund, practically forcing the liquor dealers to ante into that.

Fry: Presumably for legislation to legalize it?

Chatters: No, a "defense" fund to allow them to continue operating, saying they knew someone in Sacramento that could get to the board and change that order; that it would cost money to send someone

Chatters: to the capitol. So, that got into the hands of the Donihue Committee.

There was an Italian liquor dealer down there who wouldn't pay and he reported it to the police, or to some source that thought the Donihue Committee would be the one to investigate it. That's how we got into it. We spent a week over in San Jose, at the courthouse holding hearings. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Donihue, one morning got a note under his door; he said he heard someone at the door around five or six in the morning. When he got up there was a note under the door which read that if we didn't discontinue the hearings and get out of San Jose he would find himself in the bay with a chunk of concrete around his feet, like the son of a prominent merchant over there in San Jose. They had wired concrete to the boy's feet and tossed him into the bay previous to the hearings. That didn't deter the committee. Maybe it was just a prank.

Fry: Did you take any security precautions after that?

Chatters: Not that I recall, but again Friedman was the investigator and got the material worked out for the committee. That was the reason I mentioned this incident.

Then, we also got into a real political involvement in Southern California, not the committee, but a political involvement affecting Helen Werner. She was a political figure in Los Angeles in those days. Her husband, Pete Werner, had been the D.A. of Los Angeles County. The thing that started the investigation of Helen Werner: first, the Board of Equalization Liquor Division had closed a number of liquor outlets in Los Angeles--a hundred or more, possible two hundred. One of them involved the license of a Lon Chaney Jr. Cafe, as I recall. Helen Werner had acquired a list from an assistant secretary of the Liquor Control Board, a large list of names of persons whose licenses had been suspended temporarily and that was the basis. She got this so-called "capper" as they called him, who would make the follow-up rounds and tell the licensees he knew how they could get their permit to open restored for payment of a certain sum. He told them Helen Werner was the intermediary to see--"She had influence in Sacramento."

I recall testimony where they called the niece of Lon Chaney, who was operating this cafe, into Helen Werner's office. It had

Chatters: been wire tapped and conversations were being transcribed three or four floors above. The hidden mikes recorded conversations before they brought Chaney's niece into the inner office for Helen Werner to talk to her. The conversation was between the "capper" and Helen Werner on how much they could charge her, which was as I recall very steep. Then Helen Werner was to contact the board to get the license renewed; that is the Liquor Control section. This girl was one of many contacted. John Lee of the Examiner (later of Lee and Losh, a public relations firm) seemed to have access to the Werner recordings. I always thought the newspaper brought the Donihue Committee in to make them privileged so they could be safely published. Lee passed away some years ago. I met his partner for the first time at a recent state publishers' gathering in San Francisco.

Now, in those days you know the principal had very close control (later it got Mr. Bonelli involved in lots of things). He was more liquor-control czar in his district than he was a tax and equalizing expert. They eventually caught up with Mr. Bonelli. He left for Mexico and several years ago there still was quite a pot of his salary withholding in the state retirement fund coffers that had never been paid. He passed away several years ago. It was never paid to him in Mexico and I haven't seen where it ever has been paid to the heirs. As long as he was alive he never received any money from the state retirement system, which with his length of service and salary would have been very substantial.

Fry: I heard that his widow is now suing for that.

Chatters: That's why I thought it still was withheld, but I haven't heard the outcome of any litigation. That was a year or so ago.

Fry: You said, "principal," did you mean Bonelli?

Chatters: Yes. William A. Bonelli.

We have interjected Mr. Bonelli, a later board member from Southern California, in our discussion of the Donihue Committee investigation of Helen Werner. At that time the board member for the 4th District (all of the state south of the Tehachapis) was Orfa Jean Shontz. I suspect Mrs. Shontz (home Montrose) had been a member when the Equalization Board's functions were largely in the assessing field. Reference to her appearance before the Donihue Committee is mentioned in the

Chatters: June 12, 1936 transcript I found in my files only a couple days ago.

Fry: What about Ray Riley? Was he involved yet? As a member of the Board of Equalization and the Liquor Control Board?

Chatters: No. Ray L. Riley was state controller and ex-officio member of the board at that time. He wasn't involved in it in any way. Fred Stewart was the board member from the Second District.

Fry: The other thing that I was wondering was what steps about this were taken after this came to light? What steps were taken by the committee, if anything? Were there charges put in for court suit?

Chatters: Well, as I said, it broke Helen Werner politically. She's dead now, in fact, I think she was picked up one morning on a lawn somewhere between Los Angeles and Long Beach according to the newspapers. I'm unclear on that. But Helen Werner's activities would make a book out of the material that must be in the files of the Times and Examiner. We didn't bring any direct actions against her. In fact, testimony before our committee gained immunity for witnesses. We would not let her testify. I believe the "bugging" of her office had been done by one of the newspapers. I think exposure was all the committee was involved in.

Fry: What kind of political activities had she been in?

Chatters: She was very active in the local campaigns including those for mayor, and maybe campaigns for legislators and other officials. She was the woman in Los Angeles you went to see. She was the wife of the former district attorney who was a reputable individual as far as I know. And as a little power is acquired it grows on some people.

Fry: What was the man's name that you mentioned in this who was involved? The one who died in the middle of it?

Chatters: That was Elwood Squires, assistant secretary in the Liquor Control Division.

Fry: And he had been a newspaperman?

Chatters: He'd been a capitol correspondent up there. He was on one of

Chatters: the wire services or newspapers. When the Liquor Control was put over in the Board of Equalization for administering he probably first got a public relations job there, and soon became assistant secretary in that division. I'm not sure of his exact title.

Fry: Was there any suspicion about his death coming just at that time?

Chatters: No, except that it was a few weeks after this action was started. He was afflicted with an old condition which this excitement and concern probably stimulated. He died before he ever appeared before the committee. The records showed that he was alleged to have turned over this list of licensees for Helen Werner to start working on--the list of licenses that had been suspended.

Fry: So, the trail was leading to him anyway.

Chatters: Yes. Squires also got involved in a liquor tax matter on which I am enclosing the committee transcript. Mrs. Werner also was mentioned in this June 12, 1936 hearing.

PROBLEMS OF LIQUOR CONTROL (BOARD OF EQUALIZATION, ABC BOARD)

Fry: Did the committee at this time consider putting the Liquor Control Board directly under the governor's office, or under some other department or agency?

Chatters: I don't recall that it ever came up. The exposure was there but not until Governor Warren appointed Paul Leake of Woodland as the board member from the Third District, some years later, did any real activity come about. I believe to Paul Leake alone is due the credit for the liquor business being taken out of the Board of Equalization and that's only several years ago now, maybe ten or twelve years ago.

Fry: And ABC [Alcoholic Beverage Control Board]. Let's see, did you have to deal with any of this when you were on the Personnel Board because this would have involved employees?

Chatters: Well, at that time I think they just moved from one department to another, Board of Equalization to ABC. The employees would not lose their rights to a job, unless [it was] completely abolished.

Fry: What are you talking about?

Chatters: It became a new agency, the Liquor Control Board, after the people voted to take liquor control out of Equalization.

Fry: Oh, you mean when ABC was formed.

Chatters: Yes, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. But the employees I'm sure were moved over.

Fry: I was asking you if, in the Personnel Board, you had to deal with Liquor Control Board employees back in the '40s who were

Fry: out in the field to check on liquor stores and so forth and enforce this on those who are not doing their duties?

Chatters: Yes, if there were charges or appeals, but this was twenty years, or so, after the Werner problem. We classified all positions and approved job specifications. If they were dismissed or suspended by the employing agency, and if they appealed their dismissal or suspension, then the Personnel Board's hearing officer heard it first and the board acted on his findings.

Fry: Did you ever have such appeals or such a case come up to you?

Chatters: Well, I showed you our calendar and it's thick. Every two weeks we had a calendar one to two inches thick and half of that calendar was made up of appeals of all sorts, such as appeals from oral board ratings, appeals from suspensions and dismissals. (Typical semi-monthly calendar is sent with such material herewith.) Those like an appeal from an oral board rating, we had the appellant come in before the board and he was given twenty minutes or so to state his case, and the board usually acted on it at that meeting. The oral boards were rather informal, after you had qualified on the written portion of an examination. Maybe three or four hundred people had taken it, sometimes there were several thousand applications. They'd pass the written and then there was an oral board made up of one staff Personnel Board representative (not a board member), one public member, and the hiring agency had one member. The oral board rated them and weeded out some who might easily pass the written examination but, on the fact of it, after he had an oral interview, would demonstrate he could not meet the public or do the work required. Others might rate high because of experience or background. Probably one out of four or five of such appeals were granted. I am speaking here of general State Personnel Board procedures.

Fry: Well, to return to the liquor control question, my impression is that until the '50s the liquor enforcement personnel was pretty much left as it was out in the field. But we had gotten some reports about the lack of inspections, checking on the life of liquor fees. But, I agree this wouldn't come before the Personnel Board. To begin with, this was probably something that the Liquor Control Board was very happy with.

Chatters: Mr. Bonelli was not the only one. Each member was a czar in his own district, that is they operated quite independently.

Fry: Each one?

Chatters: Each one, yes, in the four districts. And when Paul R. Leake, publisher of the Woodland Democrat, took over after Fred Stewart passed away he found that some employees were doing things that he didn't think were compatible with their position and his ideas of enforcement. He tried to get rid of some of them and that's where he ran into this civil service tenure business and found that he couldn't fire anyone with permanent status unless he made a case and was prepared to appear before the board and substantiate it, probably with witnesses. So, he took the other tack and campaigned successfully to remove liquor control from Equalization, where it never should have been.

Fry: Did he feel that he couldn't substantiate it?

Chatters: Well, the board would hear any case that properly came before it. You know it is hard to remove anyone under civil service tenure unless charges are well documented. Leake found difficult all that was involved in getting cases that could be upheld in court. It is true that usually the Personnel Board's determinations were upheld. Paul took the other route. He was a past president of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association and he knew many newspaper people. In 1933 he had been appointed collector of customs in San Francisco when Roosevelt went into office and held it for many years but was back in Woodland when Governor Warren asked him to take this appointment. Subsequently he was reelected. On his retirement William M. Bennett of San Rafael became the Third District member.

Fry: And what other tack did Leake take then?

Chatters: His tack was that, through his relationship with newspapers, he started a campaign to have liquor control separated from the Board of Equalization. It had to be voted on by the people and they approved it. The change was made and the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board was established.

Fry: I was asking you about what did he do with these questionable employees that he felt he would prefer to have out?

Chatters: Well, I think Leake found that getting rid of an employee involved getting witnesses, building a case, appearing before the State Personnel Board if the employee appealed and most of them would. I imagine most of them complied with his orders. Any of them if they were long-time employees would have CSEA*

---

*California State Employees Association

Chatters: representation, or other legal counsel. It was a little difficult to get rid of any employee unless the accuser was ready to just dig in and spend a lot of time developing cases. He found so much of it in many areas--where he couldn't do what he wanted to, like he might on his newspaper or even down at federal customs.

So, as previously stated he started working on the other tack, that of getting it completely out from under the State Board of Equalization.

Fry: My question was: In transferring it, if you still have the same corrupt employees working, how did that help?

Chatters: If they were corrupt. Paul talked to me about his problems. I explained how he could get it before the board, assuring him the board would listen to any action he chose to initiate. But he found it very frustrating. I think he found it overwhelming to develop a case and provide witnesses and be able to put in black and white the charges that he had or that he suspicioned. He proably would have to personally appear. So, it wasn't easy and it was frustrating and he decided that the best way to do it was to get the liquor control out from under the Board of Equalization administration.

Fry: Was the real problem with the members of the board actually?

Chatters: Well, I think again the problems maybe stemmed from the ambitions of some of the Board of Equalization members.

Fry: Were the Liquor Control Board people elected?

Chatters: No, they were appointed. The Board of Equalization was elected but the Department of Beverage Control's director was appointed by the governor. Now, whether it requires confirmation of the senate--it probably does--I don't recall at the moment.

Fry: It's not like Warren to let men like that in.

Chatters: This change was in '52. The Board of Equalization members were elected by districts, four of them, with the State Controller an ex-officio member. The employees were under civil service. Warren appointed Paul Leake, as I already have shown, and that was a good appointment. This was to the Board of Equalization. It was an excellent appointment. Paul was a Democrat, incidentally. And it is an important state post--the Board of

Chatters: Equalization. So, it was after that appointment that Paul ran into this problem. Now, there might have been other problems, in addition to the employees, that were distasteful to him. I'm sure there were. He didn't like what he found and tried to correct it. When did Warren leave for Washington?

Fry: October, '53.

Chatters: Well, Paul was just getting started when Warren left.

Fry: And then there was a Caspar Weinberger committee that I think helped investigate too.

Chatters: Yes, from what activities Paul was able to engender in either the legislature or otherwise I'm sure that he was very active in getting his position before the press and the legislature. And Caspar Weinberger was a top-notch individual, as you know. He went to the assembly from San Francisco in 1953 and went on up from there.

Fry: What were you going to say about this being a very good appointment of Leake?

Chatters: I've known Paul R. Leake for many years, partly through the publishing fraternity. Both of us are past presidents of the State Publishers' Association and have served together on committees. We both still are ex-officio members of the Governing Board of the publishers' group. In 1932 when Roosevelt was elected president naturally there would be a change in the collector of customs and Leake sought the job. I'm sure he contacted friends all over the state to help. He contacted me. Obviously I was a Republican and he was a Democrat, but he asked me if I would get the chairman of the Tulare County Democratic Central Committee to send a telegram to Washington to President Roosevelt favoring his appointment. Maybe a little interesting sideline here; Roosevelt and I were on the same ticket, elected the same time. That has no bearing here but prior to that when it appeared Roosevelt might be elected, I had told several of my Democrat friends they should get busy.

RELATIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chatters: We had no active local Democratic Central Committee. This was proved by that fact that the Democratic County Central Committee never brought anyone out against me in '32, or '34 when I ran again. I asked several newspaper men down in the southern end of the county to get somebody on the Democratic Central Committee and told them about the probable post office changes and its possibilities. From Porterville I got someone myself, who lived in Porterville and happened to be my news editor at the time.

Fry: I hope you got an honorary life membership in the Democratic Central Committee here.

Chatters: And there was a young attorney in Lindsay, John Preston King whom I got to file for the Democratic Central Committee. Later he was named county chairman. King probably got several others to run in the county. Now, when Paul Leake called and asked me if I could get a telegram off to the president from the county chairman, said chairman was this John Preston King. (He's now living in Okinawa as a retired colonel, U.S. Army.) He was home ill when I called him and told him of the Leake request. He told me to write the telegram, sign his name, and send it. Somewhere I have a copy of the telegram I wrote, urging Paul Leake's appointment. Leake became collector of customs in San Francisco, and served for a number of years, until Eisenhower was elected. His only stumbling block for a time was his own senator, Sheridan Downey. I'm not sure of the timing, I think I'm right. At least, Warren later appointed him to the State Board of Equalization and the collector of customs job had terminated, probably with the change of administration.

Fry: I wish you would add what your organizing the county for the Democrats effected in the way of post office appointments and so forth, you certainly gave your Democratic friends some good plums.

Chatters: Your query may sound a bit exaggerated. Well, the post office in Lindsay and every post office in the county during the early part of the Roosevelt administration were changed. At that time they had term appointments of four years. Some of them had terminated immediately. Within several years Democrats held all the post offices and the fixed term was done away with. In those earlier years the central committeemen in each local district picked their own postmaster. They put the finger on the one they wanted appointed and almost without exception he was named. In the case of our first supervisorial district, where there are five or six committeemen, the one from Lindsay picks the Lindsay postmaster. Then we have Strathmore in between Porterville, as well as Terra Bella and Springville.

Fry: And you had forwarned them that with FDR getting in--

Chatters: That they should get on the County Democratic Central Committee in case they wanted this patronage. Now, that's one of these asides that need not be on the record.

Fry: I think it's very interesting the way you organized the Democrats. You, a Republican!

Chatters: I wasn't organizing them, I was just pointing out their opportunities.

Fry: We're still on--

Chatters: They didn't bring anyone out against me two years later. The Democratic Central Committee had no candidate against me in 1934, nor in 1932. Only the EPIC candidate.

Fry: Who ran as a Democrat, but not as someone from the committee?

Chatters: The committee was not involved with her.

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, 1935-1940

Fry: In that same legislative session of 1935 there was a contest between you and H. Dewey Anderson as to who would be appointed to the committee on--what was the exact name of that committee?

Chatters: The Committee on Education. Well, it wasn't a contest. Edward (Ted) Craig was chosen speaker and he had the appointment of committees as one of his first duties. I was chairman of the San Joaquin delegation, extending from Angel's Camp to Bakersfield, and was interested in members of our delegation getting positions on committees of their interest. For instance, Assemblyman Jesse Mayo, a young publisher at Angel's Camp, was made chairman of the committee on mines and mining. All of them got pretty good committees. Then Ted said, "What committee do you want?" I believe I told him wherever he wanted me. So, he said, "Well, I'll appoint you chairman of the Committee on Education." Now, that was an important committee, as you are aware. I think a third of the bills had some impact on education--a quarter of them anyway. It was a big committee and had big bills.

Before the list was announced H. Dewey Anderson from Palo Alto came to me and said he heard my name had been proposed, declaring "I think a school man ought to be appointed to head this committee." He had some teaching job in connection with Stanford; he wasn't a full-fledged professor, not even an assistant professor, but there was some capacity in which he had a faculty connection. He said he thought an educator should be appointed chairman of the Committee on Education. Well, I told him that I didn't care who was appointed but I thought maybe a taxpayer ought to be appointed. That was poison, because he went to the CTA and everybody in connection with education. They went to the governor and tried to get him to have Ted not appoint me to the chairmanship. We found that the EPICs wanted spots on the Education Committee. It was pretty heavily

Chatters: loaded with them. On the committee were men like Dewey Anderson, W.F. Gilbert, Lee Geyer, and Ellis Patterson who later was lieutenant governor under Governor Olson, and several others.

Fry: So, you had the chairmanship?

Chatters: I was chairman. Pretty soon we found there was a line-up of a classroom teachers' group, and the EPICs, against the CTA and Dr. Dexter and the Department of Education. There was a definite line between the classroom teacher organization and a union group fighting the CTA at the time. Ellis Patterson lined up with that group as did Anderson, Gilbert and Geyer from down south, and one or two others.

Fry: Who was on the other side?

Chatters: The people more friendly to the established course of education. First there was Dr. Dexter, who was superintendent of public instruction and one of the ablest educators in California. He had been president of Whittier College for nine years and was appointed director of education and state superintendent of public instruction after Will C. Wood passed away. It was a very fine appointment. Dr. Dexter had a very progressive program. Quakers aren't too prone to follow routines, religiously or otherwise, like most other denominations.

So, for the whole sessions I had a fight in this committee. I got a letter from Dr. Roy Cloud who was handling legislation for the California Teachers' Association during the session. He told me personally he was very glad that I had been made the chairman and of course pointed to what he thought had been fair treatment. (Anyone who's on your side, I guess, is fair.) I know he was glad it was me instead of Dewey Anderson whose appointment they had worked diligently for.

There's one thing in the legislature, when a legislator makes a promise such as Ted made to me (that I was to have the education committee appointment), you don't go back on your word. If you ever go back on your word after you agree to vote on a bill--especially if the bill is lost--in the vernacular he's an S.O.B. from there on out. Even old friends won't stand up for him. It just wasn't done in those days.

Fry: I was just talking with someone last week who said that now that has changed and you can no longer count on that.

Chatters: Well, I think that's true now but in those days it was just an unwritten law which even the opposition lived up to.

Fry: Others have told me that too. It's an interesting change in the morality of lawmaking.

Chatters: Now, when Olson became governor, Dewey Anderson moved into one of the top appointments as head of the State Relief Administration; Ellis Patterson became lieutenant governor. Both Anderson and Patterson initially were elected as Republicans. Anderson later had a falling out with Governor Olson.

Fry: Where was Geyer [Lee] in this?

Chatters: Geyer was lined up with the Anderson pattern. He quit at the end of the session to run for Congress and was defeated. There were five or six of them. There are several other names I should mention. I have a handbook here.

Fry: All we need to know is did you have a majority of the committee?

Chatters: We had a majority of the committee. It was a fairly large committee--thirteen I believe. Yes, we had control of it but sometimes that group got to harrassing. They wanted publicity and made it difficult at times. But we wound up with what in those days was considered a fine educational program. As far as that session of the legislature was concerned the Department of Education as well as CTA were very pleased with most of what occurred.

Textbook Controversy

Fry: What about that school textbook case that you gave me the brief for? Did that have anything to do with this lineup on the board or was it a little bit later in the '30s when it started? Ed Fletcher was the plaintiff.

Chatters: No connection. That was nearer the end of the story.

Fry: Do you want to put something else in between?

Chatters: Well, to begin with, in '38 I was appointed to the State Board of Education simultaneously with Mrs. Edna Kasch of Ukiah who

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN
Northern California Headquarters
111 Sutter Street, San Francisco

Memorandum

From: Chatters

Date: June 12 -1942

To: CW & Miss Baxter

Time:

Accompanying this memo is Brief in the textbook case,* just filed in San Diego. This should be filed for possible future use.

Before Campaign is over the textbook controversy will be sure to come up, especially in school and PTA circles where large blocks of votes can be influenced.

Brief was prepared by Curtis Hillyer, representing Senator Fletcher. Hillyer is author of set of codes in every lawyer's office. He is one of ables in California.

This gives a brief and very clear picture of the entire controversy. You will note many school leaders testified voluntarily and without subpoena. Before campaign is over they could be organized and used.

Key man on this is Armistead B. Carter, Bank of America Bldg., San Diego. He is a democrat. WANTS TO GET INTO THE (Warren) FIGHT. Was member state board. He has a large file of persons who will actively work among school people against Olson.

Atty. Curtis Hillyer (can be reached in Los Angeles by appointment) was anxious to, and did meet Justus Craemer during publishers' convention Coronado. Creamer suggested to me Warren be sure to confer Hillyer. He has a lot of angles, and I think knows where there might be some money to pour on the school fight.

There is a lot of bitter anti-Olson feeling in this fight, among hundreds of school people--past president of state superintendent's assn. and many others. They should be used.

I have several extra copies of brief that should be filed here in offic...

*The brief for Ed Fletcher vs. Walter F. Dexter et al, is on deposit in The Bancroft Library, Ford A. Chatters papers.

Chatters: earlier had been Will C. Woods' secretary in the Department of Education--now married to an attorney, Charles Kasch, and living in Ukiah. She and I were appointed on the board by Governor Merriam after a textbook difficulty had developed and had become a very pressing problem to State Superintendent Dexter. It involved the signing of a contract for the publication of a textbook series on language. The president of the board, Dr. Lewis P. Crutcher of Long Beach, had signed the contract just before we became members, a time when he had control of the board majority. He signed the contract to lease the plates for the elementary series for some $87,000 more than was bid for one of the books recommended by the curriculum commission (composed of educators), who are selected to evaluate books for recommendation to the Department of Education, which then--with board approval--would give a printing order through Dr. Dexter and execute a purchase agreement. Well, this series was out of line; it wasn't even among the top four or five books evaluated by the curriculum commission.

Fry: Yes, they had recommended four others according to my notes here.

Chatters: Yes, that's right.

Fry: Also, Dexter refused to sign the contract after the old board had ignored the report?

Chatters: The president of the board had signed the contract, ignoring the curriculum committee report and Dr. Dexter's recommendation. So, when it came to Dexter in his administrative capacity to sign the order for the state printing office to go ahead, Dr. Dexter refused.

Mrs. Kasch and I came on the board after this had happened and I think it gave us six out of ten members, so we had a majority and we supported Dr. Dexter and his position. We elected A. Heber Winder of Riverside president. Then the textbook company sued us and Dr. Dexter on the basis of the contract they held, to compel execution of the printing order.

We went to court at that time and lost. Later, on appeal Senator Fletcher came into it. On appeal Curtis Hillyer, author of the Hillyer law series, was secured to represent our side of the board through action brought by Senator Fletcher of San Diego, acting as a citizen.

Fry: As I understand it there were two separate law suits. The first one was filed by the Silver Burdett Company to get Dr. Dexter to sign the printing order.

Chatters: Well, they brought suit against us, Dr. Dexter and the board.

Fry: And an appellate court ruled finally that he had to sign and this was finalized on April 5, 1940, and the same day the board had to go along with this then and he had to sign, so he did. And then they appointed this three man professional committee to work with the revision of the Silver Burdett textbooks. Then a second suit was filed.

Chatters: I believe this was after we left the board and Olson regained control. Ed Fletcher either was or had been a senator from San Diego. Armistead Carter, also from San Diego and one of the board members favorable to Dr. Dexter, had interested Senator Fletcher in the case. Senator Fletcher was able--either Senator Fletcher or Mr. Carter--to secure the services of attorney Curtis Hillyer. Every lawyer in California had the Hillyer interpretations of law in his library. He took the case.

Fry: Did you mean that he was publisher or writer?

Chatters: He wrote the books--the author. I don't know what you'd call him at the time.

Then Olson went out and Warren came in. During the last year or two we kept all of Governor Olson's appointees from being confirmed, though they served until the next legislative session.

Fry: How did you do that?

Chatters: We had some friends on the committee in the senate.

Fry: Oh, on the education committee in the senate?

Chatters: No, on the Rules committee I believe. They had to be confirmed by the whole senate. The members of the State Board of Education are appointed by the governor subject to confirmation of the senate. We kept them from being confirmed, but until the next legislative session met they served as unconfirmed appointees--until a successor was selected. So, when Governor Warren came he

Chatters: had seven appointees to place on the State Board of Education. He had control immediately over a ten man board. I think that's the committee on which he even put a couple of temporary appointees, like Miss MacGregor who was appointed as a member. So, nothing could be done by the old board as successors were appointed. The Warren board had immediate control of the Board of Education.

Fry: And he put them in to fill the gap so that there would be a person in that seat and the board could proceed?

Chatters: Yes. I think Miss MacGregor would tell you that she served as interim appointee. Whether on the Education Board or some other I'm not too clear. In any event the old board could function until a successor had been named. The governor in effect withdrew the names of the unconfirmed members and filed another list of appointments.

Fry: The highway commission was one that had some--

Chatters: But at any rate we again had control of the board.

Fry: But you still had this law suit coming?

Chatters: The Olson board had directed Dr. Dexter to order the printing, the new board directed him not to sign it. And I'd have to read that transcript again.

Fry: I've read that summary and I have some rather brief notes here. It's a summary of the arguments.

(The interviewer shows him her notes.)

It gives a good history of the case but it doesn't tell how it came out.

Chatters: The books never were printed, at least in their original form.

Fry: Well, this much seems to have been brought out; that once Dexter was forced to sign the printing order* the board authorized its president to appoint a three man professional committee to

---

*Dr. Crutcher initially had signed the Silver Burdett contract.

Fry: pass upon the revision of the text. Beale Wilson was the chairman of this committee. The publisher was to pay their expenses and they had in mind something like $400 apiece or something. Well, this came really to $800 apiece but this three man committee made up of prominent educators really didn't do anything except maybe change the text here and there. It turned out that the real work had been done by the man in Silver Burdett's office and that the textbooks had not really been just revised but according to all the testimony given they were rewritten. So, then the legal question involved in the suit filed was that the books being entirely new were not the books that the board had originally contracted for and that therefore had not gone through the proper channels of going through the textbook commission for recommendation and so forth, and that this would be an illegal action if it had gone to the printers. So, I guess this kind of stopped it.

Chatters: Well, it sort of ended like that and that's why I'm a little unclear as to the action. I was off the board by that time. But I knew that Silver Burdett never printed the books as originally reviewed.

Fry: This started in 1936 and I don't know exactly how long it went on.

Chatters: Well, I was on the board for two years overlapping into the term of Governor Olson. I saw in the papers the next day or two after my term ended that Governor Olson had appointed a replacement for me and another one for Mrs. Kasch.

Fry: So, you went off the board then about 1940?

Chatters: Probably in 1940, whatever that termination date was. I see by the Legislative Handbook of the 1941 session that Dr. Crutcher again was president of the Board of Education.

Fry: Yes, well this three-man so-called professional committee approved the text in January of '41, so this was still just getting into the climax at that time. How much publicity did this get?

Chatters: Oh, it got quite a lot if you refer to the textbook fight. It was interesting to educators. Probably the Sacramento papers which we all read carried more than you would find in the papers up and down the state. But Senator Fletcher's actions got into

Chatters: the Los Angeles Times and the San Diego papers and on the wire too.

Fry: Did he bring suit as a private citizen?

Chatters: Yes. Not as a senator. Now, this you're reading is the actual brief. It was filed in the Superior Court in San Diego County. This is a copy of the brief Curtis Hillyer submitted.

Fry: So, we'll file this along with the interview. It's an interesting case because I couldn't quite tell what Silver Burdett was trying to do.

Chatters: They were trying through mandamus action to effect the execution of the contract and get the money for the lease of the plates.

Fry: And Dexter seemed horrified at the quality of the textbooks that they had produced. And then of course the big question is how did they get the Board of Education to overrule the vote for their books, to overrule the decision?

Chatters: You see, often when one of these book people came to Lindsay, they'd drop in and see me "just casually."

Fry: This is when you were an assemblyman?

Chatters: No--when I was a member of the State Board of Education. These textbook salesmen make the rounds all of the time. Silver Burdett would be in town, and a dozen others. But a couple of them, particularly those on the other side of the Silver Burdett affair (they assumed they were in friendly territory and I guess they were) frequently came into my office whenever they came to Lindsay, usually wanted to take me to dinner, and I didn't object to talking to them but there was one rule and that was I always bought my own meal. I never took a penny, even a meal ticket from any of them.

Fry: Did you know of any instances where bigger favors were done for board members?

Chatters: I don't know. When they went to Long Beach they probably offered to take Dr. Crutcher, president of the board, out to dinner. I think probably that was legitimate--maybe the only available time he had. They're subtle and you have to distinguish what is a subtle way to influence you from a willingness to listen

Chatters: to their story. They had a right to see board members. From 1921 on I had a lot of valuable experience with a highly ethical individual, Assemblyman Cleary, and you have to stay alert. Subtly, they get more friendly. The textbook people would send to the Curriculum Commission books that were to be evaluated and they might send a board member a set. That would be legitimate. But, they never sent books other than textbooks to me, and only a few of them.

Fry: The one that was selected in this case by the textbook commission was a Sanborn book. How did that company operate?

Chatters: I think they all operated about the same.

Fry: Would you like to say anything about Dr. Dexter's role in this?

Chatters: Well, except that it was the kind of role you would expect from an honest Quaker. We were on the witness stand on one occasion, as I may have mentioned, and of course we were first sworn: "Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth--." When they came to Dr. Dexter he said, "I affirm,"--just to illustrate he still was a typical Quaker. Solid, stolid, and substantial in every way. I got to know Dr. Dexter quite intimately.

RICHARD NIXON

Fry: He's also credited with being one of the men that recommended Richard Nixon to run for Congress in '46.

Chatters: He could have been. I'm sure Nixon was an upstanding young Quaker at that time. He was graduated from Whittier College and I have no doubt that he would have recommended him. Now, if you asked today if he would recommend him, the answer might or might not be different. We have to wait a bit yet on that.

Helen Gahagan Douglas wasn't-- Are you talking about the time he ran against her for Congress?

Fry: It was four years before that when he first ran against Voorhis (Jerry).

Chatters: Of course Voorhis didn't represent the thinking of the people of Orange County very much.

Fry: No, I'm amazed that he could continue--

Chatters: Voorhis was a nice clean-cut young man, but he was swept with ideas, and ideals. Far ahead of his time. Simple now compared to what we think of as the ultra-left. He had something or he couldn't have carried the Orange County area.

Fry: He would be more middle-of-the-road now.

Chatters: I think his father had a Voorhis School for Boys or something?

Fry: I don't know.

Chatters: Well, there was a lot of idealism in the Voorhis family. There was a lot of solid Quaker also in the Nixon background. Nixon's mother's sister, Mrs. H.C. (Jane) Beeson, still is a fine teacher

Chatters: of piano. They lived on a ranch southeast of Lindsay, four or five miles. Richard, in the seventh grade, came up and spent one year attending nearby Sunnyside rural school, for the main purpose of living with his Aunt Jane and taking music lessons from her. When you hear Nixon sit down to play the piano, she is the one who taught him. Mr. Beeson is dead. Mrs. Beeson now lives over here two blocks from us. His father and mother were charter members and helped organize the Lindsay Friends Church, which still meets regularly. Mrs. Beeson still is a music teacher and is a regular and faithful attendent of the church.

She was at both inaugurations of Nixon's. She tells an interesting story about the first one. She had accommodations in a nearby hotel and had a seat in the presidential section, right down in the near center of the inaugural stand. Being an elderly lady, she got there early. There was no one in that section, but an usher took her to her proper seat near the Nixon family. As she tells it, pretty soon an usher looked over there and saw this little old lady all by herself, sitting right in the middle of the president's section, so he went over and politely said, "They've seated you in the wrong place." He moved her back up a ways in another section. When Nixon and his party came he started looking around for "Aunt Jane" and she wasn't there. Finally he or some of the family saw where she was sitting and he made certain that she was brought down forthwith and put in her proper seat. She was at the reception in the evening and he had her play a number she had taught him, one of his favorite selections. He then sat down and played it. She told this at the Kiwanis Club where she was guest speaker after she got back from the inauguration. She told a very nice story of the whole affair.

Nixon has a background in Lindsay, where his parents were charter members and founders of the Lindsay Friends Church. Services still are held there and Jane Beeson never misses a meeting.

Fry: I wonder if the Nixon project has interviewed her?

Chatters: Nixon's mother has passed away, also another sister. The only living relatives that close, other than his brother, is a younger sister living in Whittier.

Fry: Has she mentioned anything to you about what Nixon was like when he was living here and going to school?

Chatters: I succeeded in getting pictures. I was running a series in the paper on "Lindsay yesteryears in pictures" and recalled his being out at the Beeson ranch. I went to her and got some old snapshots (enclosed here). I got three or four snapshots that we printed in the paper, of Nixon when he was in school here at the time when the boys wore knickers.

Fry: Well, I guess he might have a teacher here too who could comment on him?

Chatters: I'd have to find out. He had several classmates here. One was a Japanese-American boy, Tom Shimasaki, who is a local past president and district governor of Kiwanis International and a New York Life Insurance agent in the million-dollar class. He was a classmate of Nixon and is a staunch Nixon supporter today. He's still living here. He knew him more initimately as a schoolboy.

Fry: As a contemporary?

Chatters: You might want to interview him.

Fry: Yes.

Chatters: He is a very intelligent young man. He was born here in Lindsay. He was runner-up I believe for the national president of J.A.C.L. (Japanese-American Citizenship League). When they moved the Japanese out of the state in 1942 he went to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Fry: Well, any names that you can give me I can take them down and pass them along.

Chatters: I'd have to talk to him. He was run into on Main Street on Monday morning and had a leg broken and a kneecap fractured and I think today he's being operated on--getting some bone work done. His leg is in a cast, so he's hardly reachable. (1973--He's very active again.) But the names could be gotten of other classmates living here.

Fry: We'll do that. We never know who exactly is going to be able to do the interviews. It's good to have the names though. So, there isn't anything else on Nixon or is there?

Chatters: No.

Fry: I mean, have you heard anything about him as a boy?

Chatters: No, he was just like hundreds of others in the elementary schools around here. I wouldn't have known him. I knew, when he was running for vice-president, governor, and so forth, that he had lived here. This isn't the first time I was aware of it.

THE HIGHWAY COMMISSION, SEPTEMBER 1945-APRIL 1947

Fry: We can move on to the highway commission. We haven't talked about that. I have down your date of resignation, which was April '47 but I don't have your dates on the highway commission. When did you go on it?

Chatters: About a year and a half before--September, 1945. I resigned from the Personnel Board because Harry Lutgens, San Rafael, who previously had the position, was returning from the service. In the spirit of giving returning veterans their jobs back, I resigned. He had to be reappointed and reconfirmed by the senate. But he did take the Personnel Board job back for the remainder of his term and I went over to the highway commission as secretary. The position was vacant at the time.

Fry: Were you over there just as a waiting operation until--?

Chatters: When I left there was no mention of a return to the State Personnel Board. I had an office over there in Public Works. The commission only met intermittenly but there was work to do, work which an "assistant secretary" was taking care of. Mr. [C.H.] Purcell also would send me on assignments. For instance, if down in Pomona they were having problems with their roads--where the highway would go through town--and there was a battle among the citizens, I would go down and see just what the score was, which I did in this case at Pomona. Well, there were a number of such places. Arroyo Grande--

Fry: Were these kind of conciliation hearings?

Chatters: It wasn't a hearing, more of an investigation. I would just go and interview the people I would know down there, maybe the editor. Start with him and get a copy of the paper and find out

Chatters: what the differences were and what the problem was and who were involved. And before long I usually had a pretty good picture of it. I reported back to Mr. Purcell. That was part of the highway job. And maybe when I went down that way Jim Welsh might have something to be looked into. I did that as part of the administrative program.

Fry: But this was primarily where the routing of the highways was in question?

Chatters: When the commission met and authorized the expenditure of certain sums and approved a certain route, and the engineers of the staff brought the order for the expenditure, as secretary of the commission, I would sign the order and sign the maps and the approved routing. In other words I attested to the commission's action and performed the usual duties of the secretary of such a body. I also sent out publicity releases.

C. H. Purcell

Chatters: Mr. [C.H.] Purcell was the director of Public Works and chairman of the California Highway Commission, so it was easy for us to work closely together. He's the man who built the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. And he was a great individual. His death was quite untimely.

Fry: What was he like as an administrator?

Chatters: He was a wonderful administrator. And that is an ability all engineers don't have. They've got the mathematical mind--and the highway should go from this point to that point and they draw a line and that's it. But Purcell was one of the finest diplomats, the perfect type you needed in a position where there could be lots of animosity over routings of roads and other involvements in public works. He headed several divisions. The Division of Architecture was under Public Works, also the Division of Highways, and the Division of Water Resources. It was a tremendous job and he was a man of tremendous capacity. When you have a man--an engineer--to head the highway department who had the ability to build the Bay Bridge you had a pretty good man.

Fry: I noticed in your scrapbook the story about the novel way the caissons were built for the Oakland Bay Bridge and you were telling me that they were rather uncertain whether this new type of caisson was going to survive in the tides.

Chatters: The involvements of tides and foundations, it was all quite new. When it came to building the tunnel under Yerba Buena, Purcell employed a tunnel engineer of national reputation, who was hired and qualified under our civil service act because of the duration of the job. But I couldn't overemphasize the capacity of Director Purcell. Just to illustrate--and really big men I've found are this way: We were going to lunch one day and I had worked all morning in a small office near his. I was using bifocals. On our way to the restaurant people would come along and say hello. I couldn't see who they were. I couldn't get my eyes in focus after working at close range. On the way back the same thing would happen. Somebody would speak, everybody knew Purcell of course, and I had to ask who it was. I still couldn't see them well.

Then in about an hour the buzzer rang on my desk from Purcell's office and he said, Dr. McCool will see you Friday at ten o'clock down in San Francisco." I thought it was some highway problem of which I should be aware, but I couldn't relate Dr. McCool to anything so I had to ask him who Dr. McCool was. He said, "Oh, he was my ophthalmologist when I was down working on the Bay Bridge and I've made an appointment with him to have you fixed up properly with trifocals" (at my expense of course). Now, when a man as busy as Mr. Purcell, with all his involvements, can take time off to help a poor guy from going blind, and make such an appointment, I thought that was typical of him--not so big or too busy to take time for some of the smaller needs of mankind.

Fry: I guess he always had a human concern. That is unusual for someone like that. To date, you were just leaving the highway commission as the gas-tax legislation was going a stormy way through the legislature and I wondered if you knew anything about that because the highway commission must have been terribly excited about that since it was the beginning of the freeway system. This was a 4 1/2 percent per gallon tax increase that was up first.

Chatters: I might have been aware of it but probably the highway commission stayed in the background. It might have been of legislative

Chatters: interest. I don't know the answer to that except we were always subjected to increases in the taxes applied to gasoline and the highway commission was the agency solely responsible for the distribution and expenditure of such funds under a certain north-south formula and the Mayo Bill giving a minimum to each county.

Fry: But, of course this did eventually pass. Did you have any problems to investigate that concerned arguments over the limited-access highways?

Chatters: Those arguments persisted. The limited access is called an expressway or a full freeway. Of course, there is little access to those highways and few stop signs on the freeways.

Fry: And businesses along those routes that are converted to limited access most always put up quite a protest?

Chatters: Always. You see, one of the functions of the California Highway Commission was to establish routes and approve rights-of-way, and they had the right of eminent domain, as far as that was concerned. Establishing rights-a-way and then spending the funds that are made available were a couple of principle functions, I suppose.

Fry: Well, I thought that this would be routing decisions also on which highways were limited access and which would not be limited access. The Blue Book reports for that year sounded as though they had had some protest on the limited-access highway.

Chatters: Well, they always do.

Fry: Well, is there anything else you'd like to add to the discussion of the highway commission?

Chatters: No, I don't think so.

STATE PERSONNEL BOARD, MAY 1943-APRIL 1947

Chatters: When a ten-year appointment came up on the Personnel Board a year and a half later, Governor Warren gave it to me. When that expired Governor Knight gave me another ten-year appointment to the board, on which I served a total of nearly twenty-three years.

Fry: Then, let's take you back to the beginning of the Personnel Board. I can start off with my notes that begin at December 23, 1942, when E.H. Christian was chairman of the State Personnel Board and Earl Warren announced in the press that Christian would not be reappointed and the Sacramento Bee said that he should not ever have been appointed in the first place. Why this unanimity of opinion about Mr. Christian?

Chatters: That's before my time on the board, but there had been considerable dissention.

Fry: That was the man you replaced in April?

Chatters: I don't know whether I replaced him or if Archibald B. Tinning did. We were named at the same time. They were the two replacements in May 1943, and Christian left the board. He left the board, period. He already had a record as a state senator--from Alameda County I believe.

Fry: But at the time he left he was chairman of S.P.B.?

Chatters: I wasn't interested in the Personnel Board, directly, up to that time.

Fry: Had you been involved in the civil service constitutional amendment in '34?

Chatters noted to interviewer that this memo shows the sort of personnel board connections that Warren wanted to reform after he won the governorship.

147

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITAKER and BAXTER DATE: August 5, 1942

FROM: Ford Chatters TIME:

Assemblyman Phillips just called from Oakland and said that a hearing of the sub-committee of the Field committee will be held in Sacramento, August 8, at 10 a.m., concerning the matter which broke yesterday in the Capitol.

While the personnel board was in session an investigator for the committee was able to catch red-handed a number of State employees in the State Board of Equalization addressing and mailing thousands of pieces of literature for Mr. Sperbeck.

The investigator after getting his tip went to Dixwell Pierce's office and told him he understood Board employees were being compelled to do campaign work for Mr. Sperbeck. Pierce denied that any such thing was taking place. The investigator asked him to step into the news room where, in the presence of witnesses, letters were pulled from typewriters and envelopes, mailing lists and other literature advocating the election of Mr. Sperbeck who recently was appointed to the Board position by Governor Olson.

Pierce's reply to the investigator when they walked in was: "My God, I am confounded".

Phillips points out that this not only is making slaves of civil service employees but that their activities were in direct violation of civil service rules and would subject each employee to immediate dismissal. That there apparently was no concern over such dismissal probably was a result of the close tie in between Sperbeck and the personnel board, of which Mr. Christian is president, both of course being very close to the Olson camp.

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO:..... DATE:.....

FROM:..... TIME:.....

Large stacks of Sperbeck's campaign material was taken by the committee investigator who also has Pierce's admission that he saw all this going on in the Board headquarters.

Ford Chatters/bj

file

WARREN-FOR-GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS

111 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHITAKER and BAXTER DATE: August 5, 1942

FROM: Ford Chatters TIME:

The hearing of the Field committee scheduled for August 7 and 8 has been postponed until August 14, 10 a.m., in Fresno. Phillips again assured me there is some very hot material coming out of this Fresno investigation. (CONFIDENTIAL). This relates to a mining board scandal.

Ford Chatters/bj

Ford Chatters Goes Back To Personnel Board

IN ORDER to accept appointment by Governor Earl Warren as a member of the State Personnel Board, Ford A. Chatters resigned as Secretary of the California Highway Commission. He was named for a 10-year term on the Personnel Board, of which he was a member from April, 1943, to February, 1946, during the absence of Harry Lutgens, who was on military leave.

Chatters is missed by all the members of the Highway Commission. Since 1916, Chatters has been a newspaper publisher in Lindsay, California. He was a member of the Assembly of the State Legislature during the sessions of 1933 and 1935; is a former member of the State Board of Education; Past Commander of Lindsay Post 28, American Legion; and a past president of the California Newspaper Publishers Association. He served overseas in World War I.

– May-June, 1947, Cal. Highways Mag.

150d

April 10, 1947

Governor Earl Warren
State Capitol
Sacramento, California

Dear Governor Warren:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter advising me of my appointment to membership on the State Personnel Board, and of the commission for same. I shall resign as Secretary of the California Highway Commission at the close of business this date, and shall sign the oath of office for the Personnel Board on Friday, April 11, 1947.

May I add a note of sincere personal appreciation, and I trust my service on the Personnel Board, over the years ahead, shall reflect nothing but credit to you and your administration.

I shall appreciate your counsel from time to time on the larger problems involving state employment and personnel.

Respectfully yours,

Ford A. Chatters

FAC M

Chatters: No, not directly; I'm sure we supported it with the newspaper.

Fry: Well, what was the problem with Christian?

Chatters: It would be hearsay on my part. Files of the Bee at that time probably could tell an interesting story.

Fry: It wouldn't be much hearsay because you had to carry on what this man had built up.

Chatters: Well, he took summary action in board meetings against some of the employees of the board. I believe Mr. Brownrig was involved, maybe Mr. Kroeger. The former resigned and went to Michigan. When I came to the board William K. Smith was the executive officer. Brownrig retired I think because of what went on. I believe Louis Kroeger also had been one of the executive officers in that period. I'm a little hazy on this because I wasn't involved at all. But we got the backlash. We were appointed because of the problem that existed. Oh, I've heard some of them but I can't recall specifically the difficulties. But they got rather bitter, I know that, and Mr. Christian got a little brutal as the presiding officer. There was lots of dissension on the part of the staff about that time.

Fry: How did you first hear about your appointment?

Chatters: I got a letter from the governor saying he was going to appoint me to the board. They may have called up and asked if I would serve.

Fry: And at that time you were primarily working in your business here in Lindsay, weren't you?

Chatters: Yes.

Fry: Did you hear any rumors or know anything about this--that it was being considered--before you got the letter?

Chatters: Not until they called me and asked me if I would consider it. Warren never discussed the problem with me, then or later. When I said I would be interested I got a letter announcing my appointment. I went on the board May 2, 1943. With our votes we reorganized the board at our first session, named Jack Kamlin president.

Fry: So, you went on the board and were faced with all of the normal problems of a personnel board plus some of the unusual ones that were brought on by a war that was beginning, and getting underway with all the drainage of manpower that accompanied it? And pay scales were going up because of wartime industries in California, as I remember.

Chatters: The pay wasn't the problem it became in later years, though it was low. One thing I was going to say was there were other men soon to join the board, like Robert D. Gray, who was the head of the Industrial Relations Center at the California Institute of Technology, and then there was one of the most academically schooled persons in the field of civil service in California, Dr. Emory E. Olson, who organized and was the dean of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California. He now is Dean Emeritus but still has some affiliation and work with the school. There was Dr. Benjamin Mallary, a holdover member. These others came in successive periods, I'm speaking of Olson and Gray. But Mr. Mallary and Arthur Brown remained on the board when Archibald B. Tinning and I were appointed. Warren first named Jack Hamlin a member and he was president of the board for a short time. He resigned to become an attorney for the McClatchy newspaper.

Fry: I have a couple of other names here, but this may be on another, later board; Ralph H. Cowing?

Chatters: Of Woodland. He was a former deputy attorney general under Warren. He may have been the one who replaced Jack Hamlin when he resigned. Over a period of twenty-three years there were numerous replacements. Because they were ten-year appointments changes didn't occur as much in twenty years as normally would appear in a public office of the usually four-year terms. Cowing resigned because of the press of his private law practice. He died several years later.

Fry: I have you down as president and Olson as vice-president on this particular board and Fisher as the executive officer. So, would that have been later on, in the later years of the Warren administration?

Chatters: I can't tell. There were three different periods, a total of about five years, when I was president. I have it somewhere in my personnel board file . There's a list of presidents and vice-presidents of the board. I'll try to enclose one. A

Chatters: partial list is found in the report: "State Personnel Administration in the War Years" which I am sending--the years 1941-1946.

Fry: The president's term was how long?

Chatters: Well, we usually held the office for two years. There was no law. Usually they gave it for one year and then reelected. It was passed around.

Fry: Well, how did this board stack up in its attitudes towards strict adherence to civil service law and progressive personnel practices?

Chatters: They made every effort to maintain an honest civil service and merit system, always trying to improve it. The constitution was our guide. Both Dean Emory E. Olson and Robert D. Gray had lots of background in this field and also currently were active and interested. They brought ideas of changes. John F. Fisher succeeded William K. Smith as executive officer several years after I went on the board. Smith had some heart trouble and we moved him into a new section with less pressures. Fisher came up from Los Angeles where he had been in civil service administration. He took the examination and passed highest on the list. He held the position until several years after I left the board.

Fry: Someone told me that one of the executives had a good national reputation in this field of personnel work.

Chatters: John Fisher was president of what originally was called the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. It later became the Public Personnel Association. Dean Olson also was president of the national organization at one time. While I was the president of the board I received a call from Washington, from the head of Federal Civil Service, stating they would like to offer Mr. Fisher a position there but it was their custom to advise the present employer first.

I replied that in my own business I would never stop anyone from getting an advancement and was sure that while we would hate to lose Fisher we would be agreeable to any advancement he chose. He decided, with his children growing up, that he would rather stay in Sacramento and turned it down. We did loan him for a year to the City of Philadelphia to help straighten some personnel problems they had with the civil service of that

Chatters: city. We loaned him also to Turkey for a period. We loaned one of our others, an assistant executive officer, Kelvin Sharp, to Thailand. He was there for a year, plus some vacation time of a couple more months. We loaned Roy W. Stephens, who was the assistant secretary of the board, to Egypt for a year a dozen years ago.

Each agency has one exempt position and we used Stephens, a civil service employee, as our exempt employee. In other words, in most instances each state agency or director had one employee not under civil service, whom they could hire and fire. Stephens held that exempt position with the State Personnel Board.

A lot of these young people came from Professor May's classes down at the University of California, Berkeley. I say a lot, there were several, maybe a dozen or more, including Roy Stephens; John Fisher was graduated from Stanford. He grew up in San Diego, recently has retired, and has moved back there. Stephens was in Egypt before the Suez Canal difficulty.

Fry: Which Suez Canal difficulty?

Chatters: When the Egyptians took over.

Fry: That was during the presidential elections of '56. Eisenhower versus Stevenson.

Chatters: I always thought we made a mistake in our position on the canal.

Fry: What? The Egyptians?

Chatters: No, we did. We told the British to get back out.

Fry: That's right. The British were going in to defend the canal.

Chatters: They've been closemouthed a lot since then. Back to S.P.B. We've had excellent boards. Dr. Mallary was very knowledgeable in labor matters and concilliation work. Other members of the board had good academic or technical backgrounds. Maybe my newspaper and legislative experience helped me in a more down-to-earth approach. It usually was Bob Gray who would come to meetings and pull out of his briefcase something in black and white he'd want to propose. Emory E. Olson, who organized the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern

Chatters: California, was one of the early presidents of the Public Personnel Association and is nationally recognized in this field. He maintains, year after year, an active interest in this field. I could name all our former members for their interest. Attorney Wilmer Morse, a former head of the attorney general's office in Sacramento, specialized in civil service law and rules for that agency and our board. (He's a brother of Carlton E. Morse of "One Man's Family" fame.) Sam Leask, Jr., a former administrative officer for the city of Los Angeles under Mayor Paulson, and long experienced in government both at the state and local level, still is serving on the Personnel Board, a Brown appointee.

Governor Brown's first appointee was Robert Ash, secretary of the Alameda Central Labor Council at the time, followed by a brilliant young Pasadena lawyer, Joseph L. Wyatt, second president of CDC (California Democratic Council), succeeding the now U.S. Senator Cranston. He was effective in his approach to the growing ethnic concerns; while Mrs. May Layne Davis now of Saratoga was another Brown appointment. A sister of Governor Brown's wife, and a former secretary in his office, she proved to be an excellent choice, practical, understanding and sympathetic to the best in civil service. She's still on the board. She grew up in San Francisco where her father was a captain in the police force, I believe. I am sure to leave out someone I should mention, but with ten-year appointments and several terms running up to eighteen and twenty years, there were relatively few turnovers. I was on the board over twenty-two years.*

If one is going to write a story of the activities of the board in more recent years, Stephens would be the most able person to do it because he not only had a civil service position

---

*To get the best story of the California State Personnel Board since the adoption of Article XXIV in 1934--other than from the rather extensive material I am submitting herewith--Robert Gray, Dean Olson, John F. Fisher, or Roy Stephens would be excellent sources. The last named, who, as I have said, held the exempt spot on the board, now recently retired, might be the most available. His home is in Sacramento. I believe you will find the materials I am sending [see Chatters' papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley] will answer in detail Amelia Fry's querys regarding S.P.B. when she was in Lindsay. FAC

Chatters: in different sections of the agency but, as noted above, he also held a position for a number of years as the intimate representative of the board itself. He sat in the board room when we were just "talking things over" informally; often he was the mouthpiece of the board. He can tell you a lot about the board that even the board members would not be able to tell and he probably would have access to old board records.

His wife is the niece of Mrs. (Professor) Sam May, and they visit back and forth. I've met Mrs. May several times in their Berkeley home through Roy Stephens and also in Roy's Sacramento home. When they were having a family gathering and I was in Sacramento I might be invited out there when Mrs. May was present. Roy was close to Professor May, both as a student and as a family member. Mrs. May recently retired from the Berkeley City Council. My brother Carl used to come out here from Chicago and often stayed with Professor May in Berkeley.

Fry: I have here a number of problems and trends of the Personnel Board that I picked up, usually out of Blue Books and historical summaries for these years and I don't know quite which one to go into first.

Chatters: Let me just interject this right now. There's a Blue Book up here of a certain year and if you get back to Sacramento and find you don't have it I'll give it to you. I believe there are several others at the office.

Fry: Oh, that's 1958?

Chatters: I thought of that several times and if I don't interrupt you right at this moment we won't think about it. Send me a note.

Fry: We'll eventually get our library reference books built up this way. Well, one problem I guess that you had was the appeal procedure?

Chatters: No problem, in the sense that employees had certain rights of appeals. Some of the decisions were hard to arrive at and some cases were rather complex.

Fry: Not a problem, but there was a simplification of these procedures and could you describe that? It wasn't in the Blue Book.

Chatters: This was a quasi-judicial position. When I first went on the State Personnel Board the board members themselves, individually, would take cases and hold hearings, then recommend a decision and a majority of the board members had to concur if it was to hold. After that they could appeal to the courts.

Fry: It was sort of a one-man judge.

Hearings Procedures Revised

Chatters: That's right. We immediately changed that. And I think it was Archibald Tinning's suggestion. He had lots of experience in the courts, as a former district attorney of Contra Costa County. He gave a lot to the board in the way of formalizing it. The history of courts and the history of jurisprudence show that if you follow certain routines of hearings and witnesses and all that, certain precepts become established and aid the cause of justice. Immediately we hired a legally trained hearing officer. One of the first was Kenneth Donelson of Sacramento. He's an attorney in Sacramento now. He and his wife Irene collaborated on a book for laymen entitled When You Need a Lawyer.

Fry: So, this was a book for the general reader.

Chatters: They wrote it after he retired from the board as a hearing officer and went into private practice in Sacramento.

Fry: And he was your first hearing officer? Was the procedure changed?

Chatters: I believe he was the first one. Hearings had become long and involved and the number of cases had increased. It was Tinning's suggestion that a hearing officer take evidence under the rules of law and admission of evidence (he had to be a lawyer of course) and build up a transcript for us. Copies were made, one each for the board members and of course for the files. Each board member read the transcript. I read thousands and thousands of pages. I spent one summer's vacation at my cabin reading a stack of volumes on one case.

I have a tape recorder, a big one. The chairman might say that we should all get our transcripts of a certain case read so when we came to the next meeting we could act--reach a

Chatters: decision. Well, sometimes with all the other things you were doing it put pressure on at the last minute. So, I got the tape recorder. I would read one volume and I might give another volume to a girl in the office who was a good reader and wanted to moonlight for a little extra money--which came out of my pocket, incidentally. This saved eyes and speeded up the reading. When my eyes gave out I could start listening. It was necessary to keep notes. A rebuttal witness might be put on several volumes later. The hearing officer built the record and we were the judges. In later years, he made a recommended decision which, after his review of the evidence, and we accepted it, became the board's findings and there was no transcript. If we didn't follow his proposed decision, a transcript was made and we then had to read it and come to a decision, which required votes to prevail.

Fry: I was about to ask you what was the monthly load of cases, approximately? Could you give us some idea of the quantity of appeals that you handled?

Chatters: Well, I imagine that at every meeting our calendar would contain around two hundred pages, with current and submitted hearing officer items totaling also around one hundred to 150. Some appeals were from oral boards and they could be decided right there, with the appearance of the appellant. Others we would set for the hearing officer and that might involve a wait of several weeks to several months. He had hearings scheduled continuously, usually one a day; sometimes two or three days all over the state. Over a period of years there were lots of transcripts. I would have to look at the calenders to give an exact answer. But there would be fifty to a hundred items for the hearing officer in the calendar all the time, including those that were pending--often more. I have said that in the earlier procedures the hearing officer took the record and turned it over to the board. Each member read it separately and individually and came in without any inkling from the hearing officer as to his opinion. He could look a man in the eye and know whether he was lying. We didn't have that advantage. We had only the record. It had its advantages and disadvantages. One advantage was that we could be very objective, we weren't swayed by the beauty of the appellant or the show that he or she was putting on. All we could go on was the cold record. On the other hand, we couldn't tell by his appearance whether the fellow was lying or telling the truth.

Chatters: For several years we followed this procedure. Finally we had an act passed in the legislature providing that the hearing officer could make a recommended decision at the conclusion of his hearing. It might take a day or two to get his findings written. If the board accepted his recommended decision that became the decision of the board. If the board refused to accept it then the transcripts for the board's review had to be made. In arriving at a decision, the majority opinion (three) of the board ruled. From there they could appeal to the Superior Court or higher.

Appeal Procedure

Chatters: I don't mean to say that many of our decisions were appealed, but they had the right of appeal and sometimes used it. On a case that might have more of a fundamental, overall impact on employee rights, the CSEA might take it on to the Appellate Court, even to the State Supreme Court. That would be a rare instance. But the employee of the state under civil service had those rights. That's why I say Paul Leake didn't know how far he'd have to go, or how involved his problem might get, just trying to summarily dismiss someone with permanent job status.

Fry: Did anyone ever appeal and keep going with a case when he did not have the backing of the California State Employee's Association?

Chatters: Well, some employees don't belong to CSEA although most of them do. Then they'd have to hire their own counsel or possibly the union would represent them. For a long while the CSEA didn't take individual cases, as they do now. There have been many times when an employee would make his own case to the board, make a simple appeal and win. It may have been over their performance appraisal rating, transfer, a suspension, denial of sick leave, layoff and numerous other charges, including dismissal. At the end of the reporting period, they might appeal the score of their performance report. That wouldn't involve even going to CSEA, but the staff would set aside a time and place for a short, direct hearing before the board. If they were a CSEA member and were stumbling along in need of help, a CSEA representative, always there, might step in and give them help. Some of this is very small detail as far as making the kind of volume you want.

Fry: I was wondering if there were any large trends in the type of appeals that you saw between the years of 1942 and 1966?

Chatters: Oh, that would be hard to say offhand. There were some problem cases.

Fry: Nothing terribly difficult in changes?

Chatters: No. The procedure was fundamentally about the same. The CSEA increasingly took a little more active part in the way of furnishing legal counsel, as did the Public Employees Union. I think in the beginning they did very little. A person appealed on their own. They could appear personally or they could employ a counsel. But the CSEA stayed pretty much in the background, if I recall correctly, until more recent years.

Hands-off Policy of Warren and His Successors

Fry: I should have asked you just as we began on this section: When you were appointed did you feel that there was any mandate from the governor's office to make certain changes or certain reforms?

Chatters: Governor Warren personally never said a word to me--and I doubt if he did to Mr. Tinning at the time of our appointments. He knew we were aware, or would become aware very quickly, and he knew enough of Tinning, and I hope he did of me, to feel that we'd handle it the way he would want it handled, in other words, honestly and fairly, following the constitutional mandate on civil service.

Fry: It was another case of his efforts being put into getting the right man in there, who would behave as he would want them to, and then leaving them to do this?

Chatters: He made the appointment and then never spoke to me about how I should act. I am sure it was that way with others. The board was required by law to make an annual report to the governor.

Chatters: We followed the policy, when we got our report ready to submit to the governor, of alerting him as to its contents. That was in early December. It would include recommendations for him to use in connection with the preparation of his budget message to the legislature. I'm talking about salary matters or even changes in personnel legislation. When the report was all written, reviewed, and finished, we would go over and tell him what we were going to file with him the next day or two, largely as a matter of courtesy to let him know what was coming, and to orally give him the picture. No governor ever asked us to change it and we never did. We did the same thing every year--for Warren and the six years or so of Knight's administration and the eight years that Brown was in. We still had a holdover of Warren board for three or four years of Brown's time. I was there all the time during Brown's administration.

Fry: And Knight.

Chatters: That's right. The governor also was kept informed regularly through "Pop" Small, the departmental secretary or whoever held that position. If there were other occasions when we thought the governor ought to be aware of something, we usually would go through his staff. On several occasions we had lunch with the governor. Warren had complete and sympathetic understanding of civil service and the merit system and supported it, as did all the governors in my tenure. As I previously stated, he asked S.P.B. to help fill a position such as Richard McGee's. He even got several secretaries and clerical help through the board--rather than by the usual patronage route for exempt positions. I am speaking now of Warren. You understand all positions in the governor's office and executive branch are exempt under the constitution.

Extension of Civil Service

Fry: I wonder if, according to the Blue Book, there were more positions put under civil service through this period, and the question I wondered about was it looked like there was still some left for the governor to appoint, these were paying jobs that I'm talking about that were below the departmental head level. Oh, the deputy director of employment and the division

Fry: chief in the Department of Industrial Relations. Did the Personnel Board have anything to do with which positions went under civil service and which ones remained out for the governor's patronage?

Chatters: Early in my tenure on the board we took in previously exempt employees of the prison system, the Railroad Commission (now Public Utility Commission), and the attorney general's office. I would say there are very few exempt positions for a governor to fill, except nonsalaried boards and commissions, perhaps only a couple hundred. That was Mr. Brown's dilemma, the first Democrat governor since Olson and only the second one in this century. Brown found, and so did Olson for that matter, there were only a handful of good paying positions. One of Brown's big problems I know was that he couldn't take care of all the loyal supporters he had helping in the campaign. Lots of them were very disappointed. Answering your question, when the legislature creates a new position the constitution provides that after a certain period (once ninety days but nine months now) the holder must qualify by civil service examination. Each departmental head could have only one exempt position in the beginning. For example, Public Works, which had three major divisions--highways, water resources, and architecture--and one exempt spot. Later this was broadened to allow one each, or three. Several of the larger agencies got a couple additional exempt positions. Usually it went to a top aide or chief deputy.

Fry: And this was in each department that exists.

Chatters: Most departments or major agencies originally had one exempt employee. We had one for the State Personnel Board and that was Roy W. Stephens.

Fry: Was this largely a legislative function then, to decide which were exempt and which were not?

Chatters: The agency itself made its choice.

Fry: I just wondered if this was a concern of your board; something you had to deal with?

Chatters: There were only a couple hundred employees who were not required to become civil service employees, out of thirty thousand in '46 and that number did not increase materially over the years.

Chatters: When I went on the board we had about twenty-five thousand employees and that was near the beginning of World War II. When I left on December 31, 1969, there were some 110,000 under state civil service.

Terms and Powers of State Personnel Board Members

Chatters: It should be mentioned somewhere here that when a Personnel Board member is appointed, and confirmed by the senate, the sole authority over him is Article XXIV of the state constitution. He can be removed only by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature and his term is ten years, on the theory that long tenure shields him from political pressures. I believe only the UC Regents named for sixteen years have longer terms.

The Personnel Board has considerable authority in the way of recruiting, examining, setting salaries and job classification, as well as its quasi-judicial function. These are some of the principal functions.

Fry: Did that change any during your term there?

Chatters: I don't recall at the moment any fundamental change in the constitution.

Fry: Salary adjustment, I guess, was another thing that was constantly before you and the procedure that was involved in that. Was there a salary adjustment board?

Chatters: No. We had a pay section on the staff that constantly was getting salary information, pay data and work conditions. The law said we should pay salaries in civil service comparable to salaries for like duties in private industry and in the federal service. When I was first on the board the law stipulated also "when funds are available." That was cut out, I believe through CSEA effort. It spelled out, however, that we were charged with paying salaries in state service comparable to salaries on the outside: "Like pay for like work." The section worked year round on it.

Fry: What was the salary adjustment fund? Was this something to give more latitude to the board?

Chatters: We would ask for, say, a 5 percent increase across the board; then we might ask for certain additional money in a lump sum for contingencies. In the beginning we were talking six months ahead about a budget for two years, with the fiscal year starting July 1. They were biennial sessions and budgets then. One couldn't anticipate two years and six months ahead where some classes on the outside might move and additional state pay would be justified. We needed some monies for that purpose. That's the salary fund. To make interim adjustment to correct inequities. Still the money had to be appropriated by the legislature.

Japanese-Americans and the State Personnel Board

Fry: There also was something you might know a thing or two about. Right after World II started there was a move to eliminate the Japanese-Americans from civil service?

Chatters: The war started in December of 1941 and we didn't go on the board until May 3, 1943. The Japanese had all been moved from the state and out of civil service; that is to say they were moved to concentration camps. Some went farther east or to eastern schools. Later, while I was on the board, they were all restored to their positions.

Fry: Was this a result of any particular person or personal effort?

Chatters: No, as they were allowed to return, they wanted their civil service jobs back.

Fry: And there was no opposition to this. There was a lack of opposition?

Chatters: I don't think there was any opposition to it. There might have been some problems of procedure in integrating them back again, but they had the right, there was no question of that. It was when Kenney was attorney general. (I'm merely giving you a lead to let you check where the records are.) There were some legal questions about back pay--a stipulation stopping it back in 1945. All I can recall at the moment is that after the war we restored all the Japanese-Americans to their former positions or maybe moved them up if their position was changed and others

Chatters: changed with it--just as though they had been here. But there could be some refinements and a little more detail on it. That goes back to my early years on the board and that was quite a while ago.

Fry: Do you know if there was any similar actions for the Germans or Italians as enemy alien second generation Americans?

Chatters: I am sure none other than Japanese were removed from the civil service rolls. It was a military order. The Germans and Italians were referred to but this was never pushed by the federal government.

Salary Adjustments

Fry: Do you want to get into pay scales now? As I understand it, I think from Verne Scoggins, there was this constant pressure sometimes. That's a funny way to say it. That sometimes pressure was more than at other times for pay raises, especially from CSEA.

Chatters: That went on every year as we were approaching the period of preparing proposed budget requests and our report to the governor. All the time I was on the board we held pay hearings, more formalized and extended in recent years. The employees and their representatives were invited to come in and make their recommendations. The board had to determine finally what it would be. Most of my recent years it seems as though it was just a flat 5 percent increase each year--not always perhaps; some certain classes were picked out for a 10 percent adjustment and a few for 15 percent, plus some monies to take care of unforeseen changes.

The CSEA was and is becoming more active and aggressive in salary demands. Even the threat of strike in public service, which is illegal has been heard recently. They didn't really go to that extreme down in the aqueduct "strike." They went back to work within five days or they were automatically out. They returned before that became an issue. I'm talking about the threatened strike in 1972--a few months ago.

Fry: What's the name of that?

Chatters: Well, I think it was the engineers all along the California

Chatters: aqueduct and its pumping plants.

Fry: Whiskeytown, was that the name of it? Or you mean all the pumping plants?

Chatters: All the operators in that classification, I believe.

Fry: Did you have any strikes in the late '40s when everybody else was?

Chatters: No.

Fry: How did you keep your pay scales equivalent to the outside world? Did you have a research department that provided you with the statistics?

Chatters: The pay division constantly was doing that. They collaborated with other similar public groups in the state and in the private sector where also they were making pay studies--the City of Los Angeles for instance.

The State Personnel Board and the State College System

Chatters: For some few years we were given the salary setting power for all the state colleges--not the university but the state colleges. Our pay section surveyed the state colleges and the pay of ten California private colleges, which would be of comparable size--like the University of the Pacific, Pomona, Occidental, Redlands, etc. However, they're growing faster than the private colleges. We also took salaries of some eastern colleges of comparable size. When we finished it actually effected an increase over what state college salaries were when we took over the pay-setting authority.

Fry: An increase for the state colleges?

Chatters: For the state college professors. They've taken it [this authority] back within the last several years and have returned it I believe to some school authority. The board doesn't have that authority any more. However, in case of dismissal or pending punitive actions the State Personnel Board still holds hearings on the college employees, and professors, unless the law has been changed.

Fry: The State Professors Organization has--

Chatters: The University of California and its branches were never involved.

Fry: It must go through the regents. I don't know either. I should know that.

Remembered Personnel Board Cases

Chatters: We had a professor in Long Beach State College before it became California State University, Long Beach, who appealed his dismissal to our board. There are a dozen such state universities now. We had a rather lengthy case involving the professor. At that time a state college professor went through the same procedure as any other state employee who appealed to the State Personnel Board.

Fry: On the salary question?

Chatters: No, not on the salary. On a dismissal or punitive action.

Fry: Oh, you could have had the Angela Davis case if you had the universities.

Chatters: Well, I wouldn't ask for it and we didn't have the University of California, where the regents governed.

Fry: Look what you missed!

Chatters: That was a pretty good one though.

Fry: You did have some celebrated cases?

Chatters: Yes, I can mention several and some of them were prolonged, for a year or two. We had one case involving a man by the name of--------- who was a municipal bus driver in San Francisco, later employed on the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge. He took an examination for the Highway Patrol, and didn't pass the oral. I think he squeaked through the written. In the investigation they found that he had so many reprimands, a hundred or more on his record as an employee of the San Francisco municipal bus

Chatters: system, that the patrol turned him down. He appealed and it was almost a year before the Personnel Board decided against him. F.E.P.C. got involved.

There was a case down here on the ridge route south of Bakersfield resulting in the dismissal of fourteen State Traffic Officers, where also the sheriff disciplined a couple of his employees. There was a fire on "99" in a truck carrying sewing machines, damaging the load. The driver was taken in a patrol car to the nearby weigh station where he telephoned his headquarters. The driver returned, saying, in effect, they are all salvage and insured, you might as well have a sewing machine. They were in cartons, some badly charred, and he started handing them out. Fourteen officers were on the scene, probably seven cars, and all were charged with accepting one of the machines and were discharged. They appealed and the hearing officer upheld the dismissals. This was one of the cases where the board didn't accept the hearing officer's finding. We had to wait and have transcripts made. This was one of those all-summer reading jobs. It was his first day on the job after his probationary period for one officer--his first day of permanent employment. There was a part-time preacher in the patrol group. One of them brought the machine back the next day. I think he was the one. The truck driver even took them over and put them in the officers' cars. The board finally concluded that all fourteen officers weren't basically dishonest. The case ran for some months. By the time we had the hearing and the transcripts and five members of the board reading them on summer-vacation time, and then coming to a decision, it was well into the fall as I recall.

A majority of the board agreed that taking a machine that was salvage, and maybe worth $25, was at best a misdemeanor in the local courts (which it would be for that amount of money). Our decision was to restore them to duty with a loss of salary for the time intervening from the date of the charges to the date of our finding. And my recollection is that it represented a $3700 average fine in lost salaries to each one of the employees. Some of them had been on the job for years and some of them were just beginning. All were restored to their positions. No doubt most had interim jobs.

It had the salutary effect of convincing State Traffic Officers up and down the state that one must not accept gratuities from anyone. I don't think you now could give them a pencil. It was a tough case and the board was not unanimous.

Fry: You said that your particular background as a newspaperman and so forth was what you brought to the board, and in a case like that would your knowledge of journalism and acquaintanceship with editors around the state be useful?

Chatters: Oh no. I wasn't referring to disciplinary cases. When you're a hometown newspaperman you meet people. And I also had the experience in the legislature which was a balancing experience, as was the State Board of Education. I don't know if I ever told you that for twenty-two years I was a trustee and regent of the University of the Pacific.

Veterans' Problems (California Veterans' Commission)

Chatters: Even more down to earth was activity on problems affecting veterans' interests. During the war Bill Sweigert headed up, in the beginning a California Veterans' Commission named by Governor Warren. This was different than the Veterans' Welfare Board. The Veterans' Commission was charged with proposing legislation and otherwise determining how the state could meet the problem of the returning veteran. Bill Sweigert headed it in the beginning with Rodney Richardson as executive secretary. I represented the Personnel Board. I had a commission from the governor appointing me to membership on the California Veterans' Commission. Maybe where I fit in was just sort of a balance. At least I'm saying--

Fry: Knowing the state in its various sections and the people in it?

Chatters: That very well might be it. Robert D. Gray and Emory E. Olson were outstanding, each with an academic background in this field yet both were very human sort of individuals. They all were. We had lawyers and professors and I was just a newspaperman.

Duties of State Personnel Board Members

Chatters: When I was appointed to the Personnel Board I had six legislative sessions behind me. Two sessions as a committee clerk and two sessions representing other public interests there, the California Farm Bureau Federation and the local water commission. And I had been on the State Board of Education before that. Other State Personnel Board members were good enough to say I gave balance to the board.

Fry: How much time did this take?

Chatters: It took three to four days every other week, counting travel time. If the meeting was Friday and Saturday I would leave here Thursday noon on the train and get in there at night, returning Sunday afternoon. I read most of my big thick calendars on the train going up so I was fresh as the dickens when matters came up the next morning. At first we met Friday and Saturday, then changed to Thursday and Friday. We used to think that Saturday was a good day because employees could come to the board on their day off. But the board employees had to work Saturdays. They were under the forty-hour week which eventually evolved. They got compensating time off. Later we abandoned the Saturday sessions.

Fry: And that evolved because of the board?

Chatters: The legislature had authorized the forty-hour week for most employees. Oh, one thing that you reminded me of was when the revised constitution was established (Article XXIV), the attorney general's office, the Department of Corrections employees and the Railroad Commission (later known as the Public Utility Commission) were left out of civil service. The constitution did provide that the board at some subsequent time could take them into the system. There may be some repetition here. When Arch Tinning was on the board, which would place it quite early in our tenure, we took in those three agencies. For instance, the prison guards (they called them guards and we later classified them as correctional officers) were reclassified along with all the employees in the prisons. Our Personnel Board staff went to the prison and classified the jobs. If they disagreed the employees had the right to appeal. There were a number of such appeals. So, the board had to go to all the major prisons and hold hearings there. Most were individual

Chatters: employees who objected to their classification relating to salary.

Fry: Why did you have to go to the prisons? Why couldn't they come to you?

Chatters: Well, they could but there were so many of them it was difficult to release many at one time. It was easier to go there. Folsom, San Quentin, and Chino at that time were the main ones. We took the attorney general's staff in and the Railroad Commission and had similar hearings for each agency. There was some objection from the employees to being put under civil service, but the problems usually related to classification and pay.

Fry: Why did the employees object to civil service?

Chatters: I suppose they thought that they could move faster without an examination every time they moved up. Attorneys I am sure were not used to this type of examination and classification, nor were the prison guards or for that matter the Railroad Commission examiners and engineers. But it was all done effectively and time has proved that civil service can work, even in such situations.

Fry: I remember one of the big problems before McGee went in was that a number of the men who worked in the prisons were political appointees and were very inadequate actually to handle the prisoners.

Chatters: Well, that was part of the argument for [civil service].

Fry: Did you have any problems grandfathering in these employees who had never been hired by civil service?

Chatters: I think we gave them a qualifying examination which was very simple. Most of them passed. I don't recall it as a big problem.

World War II and Post-war Problems of the Personnel Board

Fry: Let's go back to the World War II wartime appointments in which some four thousand military leaves had been granted, I have down here, and there was a problem of some submarginal qualifications to fill these slots for the war.

Chatters: That's going way back in my memory. But in the first place no employee who went into the service, who was either drafted or volunteered, was to lose any of his rights. If his job was reclassified or retitled or if his salary was moved up in his absence, he moved with it just as though he was here. That was part of the program: that the returning veteran would not be penalized in any way. We hired under temporary wartime authorization, so there wasn't permanent wartime civil service employment except for prewar employees. We made so-called "duration appointments," to terminate at the end of hostilities.

When we first went on the board we had requests at every meeting for the manpower commission to exempt from the draft certain people essential to the state's operation. There were key positions all over the state--also we staffed many essential positions in the military due to their prior state training.

Fry: So some people got to stay. But you did have this tremendous shortage of manpower, and I wonder if there was any step-up in the efforts to reach, maybe, women and people who are not subject to the draft to come in and take these positions for the duration of the war?

Chatters: I don't recall it. Demand for services also in most instances were subordinated to the war effort. We survived the whole war period, as far as civil service goes, without any impairment of the merit system. The governor was sympathetic as was the Board, to the rights of the men in the service and their return to civil service. And we did all hiring for a time on a temporary (duration) basis. I can't recall any serious difficulties either involving women, or in the recruiting, because a lot of activities were pretty much at a standstill.

I do recall that soon after the war, when we gave our first examinations for California Highway Patrolmen, there were some nine thousand applications. Mostly boys returning from the service. In the service they had been in the military police, or on shore patrol, and some of them had worked directly with

Chatters: local police departments.* All wanted to be in law enforcement it seemed. I'm not sure of this but I think, as an example, out of each one thousand examinations given, we qualified about one hundred for the employment list. That would be typical.

Fry: Four thousand military leaves had been granted and when the veterans returned, anyone who wanted his old job could have it back?

Chatters: Within a year. If he returned within one year after he was discharged. We had one appeal two or three years later. He got a good job on the outside and then when that job was gone he wanted to get his "military rights." He was turned down, obviously, because someone else had been in the position for several years.

Fry: Then the board began holding regular exams in February 1, 1946, and there was a Veterans' Personnel Section created a month before. What was the purpose of that? Was that to process the men who were coming back or was it to handle the new veteran's preference program for jobs?

Chatters: The Veterans' Personnel Section was set up to aid the returning veterans inquiring about state positions. The veteran's preference program had existed for a long time, and was more or less automatic. On successful examinations a veteran had ten points added to his score, fifteen if he was a disabled veteran. All one had to do to get this extra score was to establish that he was a war veteran. However, they got the veteran's preference score only if they made the minimum passing score on the examination. After examination scores had been computed then the extra credit was applied. They had to get seventy, the usual passing grade, and then the ten or fifteen points would be scored.

Fry: It couldn't save them if they failed?

Chatters: We didn't want employees who couldn't first at least meet the minimum passing score on an examination. It often meant that many capable nonvets who had made a good score--eighty-five was the general average--would have to wait until veterans with

---

*See pamphlet herewith: "State Personnel Administration In The War Years."

Chatters: lower scores, plus the added ten or fifteen, which placed them higher on the employment list, had been certified. We were hiring almost all veterans until that list got down. The lists were good for from not less than one or more than four years. So, your first appointments off of a postwar list could be nearly all veterans unless one passed up in the upper nineties.

Fry: So the Veterans' Personnel Section was set up to take care of the veterans returning to their jobs.

Chatters: I faintly recall it so it must have been more [than] transitory. I was over in Highways right after the war. As I recall a section was set up to aid veterans when they would come into the office seeking state employment or had a particular problem relating to service eligibility. Soon the old employees, back from service, also began returning to former jobs with unquestionable rights.

The Forty-Hour Work Week

Fry: Yes, everything seemed to stabilize about 1949. By that time you had the forty-hour work week and, if you want some statistics from the Blue Book in 1946, there were 28,000 to 30,000 employees filling employee positions filled by civil service. Then this increased by about five thousand a year and then stabilized in about 1949. I wondered if the forty-hour work week, which must have helped to add positions a little bit too, was unanimous or was there some opposition to it?

Chatters: It required legislative authorization, but it wasn't a question of being unanimous so much as, for instance, the California Highway Patrol requiring several years longer to work it out as they operated three shifts in a county, three eight-hour shifts, with relatively small staffs in some counties, limited also by sick leaves, vacations, days off, and so forth. The Highway Patrol was an agency that didn't go to forty hours immediately.

Fry: Was this agency option?

Chatters: No. It required action by the board. Also in the Division of Forestry there were men who had jobs in some of the fire stations or remote camps where they slept in. They were on duty fifty-some hours or on call twenty-four hours a day. Anyways the hours were different and that was still being adjusted in that particular class when I left the board.

Fry: Was this departmental option? Changing to forty hours a week? I gather that some departments had to do it and some didn't have to?

Chatters: No. Eventually nearly all state employees were paid on a forty-hour-per-week basis, with adjustments for forestry fire crews, etc.

Fry: The ones that were not on a five-day-a-week basis? Most employees have a weekend on Saturday and Sunday.

Chatters: I'm thinking of police and fire particularly, possibly some others. Hospitals and prisons were run twenty-four hours a day.

Evolution of Intradepartmental Personnel Management

Fry: That brings up another question of departmental power. There was an increase of personnel management duties that seemed to evolve in the departments and many departments hired their own personal officers by the end of 1949. What was their relationship to the State Personnel Board?

Chatters: Oh, you mean the departmental personnel officer?

Fry: Yes.

Chatters: The department heads as well as employees take their problem first to the departmental personnel officer who worked closely with the head of the agency, before coming over to the board.

Fry: Well, was this an erosion of the power of the Personnel Board?

Chatters: Not at all. In fact, the positions were filled mostly by former employees of the Personnel Board, after they had passed a qualifying examination.

Fry: What brought this change about?

Chatters: It was developed by the board, sort of evolutionary. It wasn't precipitated it just seemed like a desirable thing to have a personnel man over in the major agencies. I'm thinking of the Department of Water Resources. Jack Johnston went [there] from the staff of the Personnel Board. There are others. Originally they were in our agency and were trained in personnel procedures and knew state civil service practice. Undoubtedly they were very helpful to a director, especially if he was having personnel problems. Instead of having to come over to the board the director or agency had someone there who was knowledgeable, or knew where to get his answers from the board's staff. You might call him almost a liaison person at times.

Staff Cuts

Fry: I have another question here on another power of the Personnel Board. The Blue Book said that when it became necessary for staff reduction that the Personnel Board set up the criteria to decide who would be allowed his job. Were you ever in a position where you had to do that?

Chatters: Well, if the work isn't there and they have to let someone off, in other words if the work doesn't exist a layoff can occur, or a reduction in staff take place. In the latter case there might be appeals but I believe in general seniority was maintained.

Fry: I remember there was sort of a slump just before the Korean War broke out and I wondered if there had to be any personnel cutbacks then? Then there was another one a little less than ten years after that.

Chatters: I think the agencies took care of it pretty much. In other words the last man they hired probably would be the one to go in a specific position. Retirements and illness, plus the usual resignations, solved most of such problems.

Fry: Do you remember writing any rules for staff reduction?

Chatters: I can't recall. There are rules for every situation. There must be a rule to cover it, I'm sure there would be.

Cooperative Personnel Services to Local Governments

Fry: One thing I was interested in was this cooperative personnel service for local government. Apparently the state helped cities and counties.

Chatters: We have a section on that--a contract unit--and they furnish personnel to conduct recruiting examinations, make pay and personnel and salary surveys, etc., or set up a civil service system. It's paid for by the agency using the service.

Fry: Was this developed when you were in there?

Chatters: Yes. It was a long time ago. Called Cooperative Personnel Services.

Fry: Do you know what created it, what caused it?

Chatters: Well, I'm sure we had requests for political subdivisions for salary studies, job classifications, and help on personnel problems of all sorts. The section was set up to meet a real need. (Our employment lists, as the result of state examinations, are not available.)

Fry: These requests came from smallish departments, I guess, who really couldn't afford to hire their own, right?

Chatters: There were counties and cities, large and small, who used the cooperative services. If the City of Lindsay wanted an examination for Chief of Police, or some other position, they might ask Cooperative Services to make a search for a man, or men, give an examination and submit a list of qualified applicants to the city council to choose from. This was done here.

The Legislature and the State Personnel Board

Fry: Yours was a policy-making board; did you ever have any competition for policy making by the legislature? Did you feel at any time that they were trying to take over any of your policy functions by passing legislation?

Chatters: I don't think so. Our duties were spelled out pretty well in Article XXIV of the constitution, which was written to avoid political chicanery or political influence.

Fry: I can see how such things as, for instance, the work hours per week, something like that, might be the result of legislation rather than a Personnel Board decision.

Chatters: Well, that's true. The legislature may have passed either a resolution or an act, and appropriated the necessary funds. I don't recall at the moment. Annually they also have to vote on our salary recommendations, usually first proposed in the governor's budget, which they may grant, reduce or deny. Quite generally the legislature has acquiesced in matters of salary adjustments.

Fry: Another thing was on appeal procedures, did the legislature ever try to step in and dictate on which legislation the appeal procedure should be or anything like that? It's a stab in the dark for my part. That was where you would have cases that became causes of certain groups.

Chatters: I don't recall any from the legislature. The CSEA would have their legislative programs and legislators would have bills affecting civil service. There would be proposals which the Personnel Board would not agree with. Sometimes there were sharp differences. We also had bills to propose. None of us appeared in the legislature before a legislative committees. Our assistant secretary, Roy Stephens, during sessions would spend a great deal of his time over there but principally to make himself available (there is a committee on civil service in the legislature) for information which would help the committee reach its decisions. And if there happened to be a legislative proposal that could be adverse to what the Personnel Board thought to be its duties under the constitution, Stephens might be asked to express the board's opposition and the reasons why. But he didn't get into legislative matters other than those strictly relating to civil service. He was there primarily to assist members in understanding what the rights and rules of both the board and the state employees might be. Stephens also represented the board often at regional employee meetings, as well as to discuss with agency heads their more difficult personnel problems. Our relations all the time I was there always had been very good.

Miscellaneous Discussion

Fry: I wondered if you talked as much as you wanted to about that veterans' commission. Did this concern for instance Veterans' Farm and Home loans?

Chatters: No. That's in the Veterans' Welfare Board. The Veterans' Commission was to encourage state agencies to be liberal in their determination of what might be the rights or needs of the returning veteran and to suggest law changes to effect such benefits. It was staffed entirely by state people, an agency within state government.

Fry: And an agency that worked with the other agencies then, is that right?

Chatters: With the departments.

Fry: According to my notes here your appointment as Highway Commission secretary came about September 20, 1945 and then you held it for about a year and a half.

Chatters: I was on this Veteran's Commission until I went to the Highway Commission. I was representing the Personnel Board for about a year and a half.

Fry: That really is all of the questions that I can come up on this. But you know what we haven't covered is that tunnel scandal.

Chatters: I can't tell you about that. There was a scandal.

Fry: Which tunnel was it?

Chatters: I assume that it was the one which comes out at Orinda.

Fry: Oh, through the Berkeley hills.

Chatters: Yes.

Fry: About when was it?

Chatters: When Arch Tinning and Earl Warren were in their respective counties serving as district attorneys. It's something that I'm sure is available in lots of detail in the files of the Oakland Tribune.

Fry: Oh, we probably have that then. Well, I think we've covered this whole outline.

Chatters: May I add that all the years I was on the State Personnel Board we had excellent relations with the legislature, with the governor's office and his departmental heads--and I might say quite generally also with state employee groups.

Fry: How did you and Governor Brown relate, personally.

Chatters: Very well, from my point of view, and I believe it was mutual--when he was attorney general he had many contacts with the Personnel Board, both as our chief legal counsel, which duties he assigned to Wilmer Morse who at that time was head of the AGO office in Sacramento. Morse attended all State Personnel Board sessions. I knew Brown through newspaper connections and on one of our ten-day High Sierra trips he was invited to accompany us, and accepted, only to have to cancel out just before we packed out.

On one occasion while Brown was governor Mrs. Chatters and I were dinner guests at the mansion. Some two dozen persons, mostly newspaper people from around the state and members of his office staff, were there. All the others were Democrats.

At my last board session on December 16, 1968, Mrs. Bonnell (Davis) left a little early, and we soon got a call from her that the board members and a few top State Personnel Board staff people, who that day were planning a small retirement dinner at the Mansion Inn at bit later, were invited to stop at the governor's mansion for an informal get-together. Rooms were decorated in harmony with the season. (It was the Brown's last Christmas there.) Mrs. Brown was a most gracious hostess, for an hour or so when she announced she was flying to Los Angeles to meet the governor who was arriving there by plane from Washington. Mrs. Bonnell carried on until our dinner a half hour later. An occasion Mrs. Chatters and I appreciated very much.

[End of Interview]

Transcriber: M. Fernandez
Final Typist: Keiko Sugimoto

September 21, 1972
Lindsay, Calif. 93247

Dear Mrs. Cleary and Genevieve:

During the summer I have been participating, in a small way, in a project that has caused me to delve into my old files --in the process of which I frequently ran on to reminders of The Clearys.

The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, has been developing an Oral History of the Earl Warren Years In California. Somewhere my name was mentioned. I have had two taped interviews here in Lindsay, one last Monday. The Central Valley Water Project naturally came up as well as the name Colonel Marshall and of course I spoke of Charles W. (Waldo) Cleary's pioneer work in securing legislative appropriations to give impetus to engineering studies and the development of a statewide, comprehensive plan of water conservation and utilization. I found the Library also is interested in background material on the State Water Plan.

I mentioned in my interview of Mr. Cleary taking me to Sacramento for the legislative sessions of 1921 and 1923, as a Committee Clerk; of the Cleary background in Calaveras county; of father Frank Cleary's part in the Discovery Well (oil) at Coalinga, etc., and of Dr. E. W. Cleary's collaboration with his brother, C. W., in the preparation of a history of this pioneer family.

I told Mrs. Amelia Fry, doing the interviews here, of the extensive and detailed records Waldo kept, reaching back to the Hiram Johnson daysand of the family's activities in the Progressive Republican movement in this state. You may remember Waldo in more recent years frequently had breakfast with me at the Senator Hotel when I came to my semi-monthly Personnel Board meetings in Sacramento. He usually arrived armed with letters and clippings from his old files.

I recall too that he was an intimate of both Colonel Marshall and Franklin Hichbern, and with our early Progressive governors, Johnson, W. D. Stephens and C.C. Young. In this latter connection I resurrected correspondence with Governor Young in 1930, just prior to his leaving office, relating to the Durham and Delhi Land Settlement Projects which Mr. Cleary Headed and eventually liquidated. His file on that ill-fated undertaking must be large. You may wish to add the attached letters to it. I don't believe Waldo ever saw them.

This may be a bit lengthy but I thought someone someday from The Bancroft Library might contact you, and if they did you would better understand their purpose. You probably have the records; I can't recall any repository having been provided for them. I am, incidentally, turning over to The Library some of my files and later may make more of them available.

My very kindest regards to you and Genevieve, and to Charles, Ila and their families.

Mrs. Chas. W. Cleary
3256 Del Paso Blvd.

Very sincerely,
Ford

(Oct. 5, 1972)

PS: Mrs. Fry:

sent to IGS

I have unearthed Volumes 1 and 2 of the Annual Report on the San Francisco Bay Bridge, well illustrated with considerable engineering detail. I don't have the third volume, though I was secretary of the State Highway Commission at the time Director Chas. Purcell came out with his plans for a second, parallel Bay Bridge. I rode with him, and the then Bridge Engineer Mr. Panhorst, when they held a press conference outling plans. I believe I have copy of a news report I prepared at the time, summarizing the undertaking. There was considerable opposition from Alameda, as I recall. They talked tunnel. The proposal failed to move, and I doubt if Mr. Purcell ever got over his disappointment. The "center of gravity" of traffic (Origin and Destination Checks) had moved less than a block, from a point on Market street to near Mission, according to my recollection and Purcell felt it was best to carry them across closest to their destination. Traffic wouldn't go through a tunnel and drive back any appreciable distance. Nor was he sure how mud in the bay and the tides would affect such a tunnel. Possibly a quake! Possibly I could get the final volume from Public Works.....and the Library already may have them all?

in 10 years

I have also a copy of the Biennial Report of THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945, TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, covering the end of the war in Europe and most of the war in the Pacific's final two years. Can you use it?

F.A.C.

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

May 21, 1973

Willa Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library - Rm 486
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Mrs. Baum:

A few days ago, quite by chance, I located the Final Journals of the 1933 Senate and Assembly. The two volumes have been missing for some years and can be quite helpful in reconstructing legislative actions we have been discussing.

They contain the roll calls on the Central Valley Water Act we have been discussing, (AB 259).

On May 11, 1933, it passed the Assembly and was sent to the Senate by a margin of 55 to 3 "Yes" votes. "No" Votes were cast by Assemblymen Frazier, O'Donnell and Stream, the latter from San Diego.

On July 21 and 25, the bill was amended in Senate, due partly I believe to contacts that were being had with the Bureau of Reclamation. On July 26 it passed the Senate As Amended, by a vote to 23 to 15 - 21 needed for passage. Roll call on Page 3428 of the 1933 Senate Journal. Returned to Assembly on same date for concurrence on Senate amendments. Vote was 58 to 11 - 41 needed for final passage. (Roll call page 4506 of Assembly Journal). Newspaper votes which I may have given you should be disregarded.

I also am sending to you photo copy of AB 259 which contains the various amendments. This was made for me through the office of Senator Howard Way. I believe the original $160 Million Revenue Bond issue, boosted to $170 Million, was to provide for power transmission lines to Antioch where there could be competitive bidding.

Letters from Van Barnard, Assembly member of the Legislative Water Committee, who ran for State Senate in 1930, may be interesting. Note reference at that time to power transmission. Moran, who won, was one of 15 to oppose us in Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Ford A. Chatters

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

May 26, 1973

Wilma Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library - Rm 486
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Mrs. Baum:

Yesterday, though under letter dated the first of the week, I mailed you a photostat copy of AB 259, the Central Valley Project Act, which includes all its amendments as it moved through the Legislature in 1933; also the correct votes as it went along.

This you may keep. I was unable to get copies of the bill from Legislative archives, and this may be better for it shows each move made, and when. You will find a final, complete and chaptered bill in Sec. 4 of the Speakers' Manual which I am sending also with the intention of having you keep it. I neglected to remove several statements such as "Must Be Returned", found on the cover.

For several weeks now I have had another kick-back with the "flu". The Warren transcript is next on the agenda!

Cordially,

Ford A. Chatters

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

July 17, 1973

Willa Baum and/or Amelia Fry:

Here's the second transcript at last! I'm not proud the way it looks, but I didn't have the ambition to retype any more than I did. As I noted the other day, many changes are due to the discovery of a number of record I did not know I had at the time of the interview. The material I am sending supplement, but in most instances, relate to the questions Mrs. Fry was asking. The Library may have all they find pertinent. The remainder you might return to me collect.

If you make an inventory of the enclosures, I would appreciate a copy. Might save hunting some time.

When this is retyped I also would like a copy just to be sure my hand writing has been deciphered correctly. A lot of it was written from an easy chair, and I am afraid my loss in poundage is commencing to show:132 lbs.

I am a little concerned about the bottom of page 86, used to show the responsibilities Jim Welsh had. I do not want anyone to assume that Warren was delegating a life and death matter. That was not the question. Many were being executed in those days. Someone in the future might misinterpret. Person in question would be executed anyway. If any chance of a kick-back on the Governor I would want to eliminate that item. What is your advise? I don't know how soon public.

I am sending some Whitaker-Baxter-Chatters memos which I wish considered SEALED but for your background info in reading the transcript. At least one may relate to previous interview. (I refer to the loose ones, not those which I have included as part of the manuscript.)

There's an insert on my relations with Gov. Brown. If Mrs. Fry wants to use it she may wish to place elsewhere, maybe nearer the end.

Looks like we had a little bugging even in those days!

Ford A. Chatters

—and for once there's more about me than of Warren. Someone you may wish to do a bit of eliminating!

F.A.C.

April 2

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

562-3705 - his son

March 14, 1974

Amelia Fry

209-562-3321

- 562-4955 -

784-1110 - Sierra View Hosp

Soppa

To a dozen or so relatives and close friends it has been ten weeks, or Christmas time, since most of you have heard from me.... Fact is, when I have addressed the envelopes for this mailing, that's my project for one day, more less. Of course there have been legitimate diversions such as getting together the necessary figures for an income tax return, soon due. They don't get any less complicated, with mine still including a capital gains schedule on the sale of the Gazette just ten years ago, Feb. 1, 1974, etc., and a return for Mabel's estate which involves four educational trusts. Of course I have to have a pretty good accountant.

That accounts for some extra-curricular activity, though I know you have your own tax problems. Have helped a bit on a campaign to send our 80-piece band, and about 20 others, to Lindsay's sister-city of Ono City, Japan. Takes about $40,000 for a chartered plane, in mid-April. Have helped write a little C. of C. literature, still winding down the Earl Warren oral history. Need a little money in the Bancroft budget at Sacramento for the fifth and last year. Made several calls there to help out. Am helping a couple high school seniors write a history of our Central Valley Water Project (a 50-year struggle). Bear in mind I am "fagged" after undertaking. Can't get my weight above 130-132. That's why I will Zerox a dozen or so copies of this when I get it finished, with some individual notations I trust. We five brothers, some 40 years ago, used to start a Round Robin letter but it often took six months or more to go the rounds. Zerox best!

Bob's wife Alice leaves tomorrow by plane to visit her parent's in Dallas. Don still is on the Lindsay police force and his wife Margie has a good position in the bank: Grandson John, 19, after a start at College of the Sequoias, was offered what looked to him like a good job and he took it, moving to Visalia.

March 24, 1974; Lindsay District Hospital

The paragraph above ended in the typewriter as you see it, and I haven't been back in the house since. I had Bob pick me up and take me down for a check, up at the Dr. for fear of having another flu or pneumonia attack such as I had 2 years ago. Anyway, we're getting underneath it after a week, and will stay here until they get things under control. It's a precautionary check-up which I suspect is wise. Pam is finishing this part of the letter and will have copies Zeroxed for mailing early in the week.

Ford A. Chatters POST OFFICE BOX 36 - LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

Donald and Margie spent last weekend with friends on the Coast near Santa Cruz, while they were gone, Kelly, age 9, stayed with her grandmother.
Alice has been to Dallas and has returned; all except her luggage, which was suspected to be on a plane for Chicago.

In the mean time, I recieved several items that might be passed on. Got a very good letter from our cousin Dermot in Glemsford. He has recieved our family history and apearently found it interesting. He spoke of his pleasure at meeting my friend, Roland Fitton in Colchester. I think I shall Zerox the entire letter and enclose it also. We have several good pictures of his home and his family. Roland's sister will be here in a couple weeks to spend a couple months in the U.S.A. and Canada.

I think perhaps I should close here and save some space for personal notes. I hope I get out of here in a week or so.

April 2 Dear Amelia:
Here I am in the Kimball Hospital, starting my third week. Congestion, Rent, Lungs. But with Help of "Bird" machine they are clearing up. Maybe you noticed I was having up things. I dreamed it was going to hit again. Had "flu" and pneumonia 2 years ago and guess I never got rid of my septum. Thanks for keeping me well posted. Glad to get your note of March 29 — and others. Ill mail a note also to Senator Way — then to a dozen relatives tomorrow. Trust all goes well from here on out! Maybe have for a week or so — master wont to regain strength.
Cordially,
Ford.

APPENDIX

Inventory of papers delivered by
Ford A. Chatters to the
Regional Oral History Office
November 17, 1972

1. Story of California Legislature - 1911 By Franklin Hichborn
2. " " " " - 1913 " "
3. " " " " - 1921 " "
4. The System - Re. SF Graft Prosecutions, 1915 " "
5. The State Water Plan, Commonwealth Club Journal, June, 1931
6. Brief before Federal-State Water Commission and Joint Legislative Committee on San Joaquin Valley & Statewide Water Problem of California. (I find no date - Probably 1930. Last figs. for 1929)
7. Report of the California Joint Federal-State Water Resources Committee to the President of the U.S. and Governor Of Calif.- 1930.
8. Hearings on Central Valley Project of California before the Committee on Flood Control, House of Rep., Washington, 1935.
9. Report of the Cqlifornia Water Resources Commission to the Gov. of California - June, 1932.
10. Report of the Joint California Legislative Water Committee dealing with the water problem - April, 1932.
11. Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly dealing with the water problems of the State - March 23, 1931
12. Bulletin No. 9 - Supplemental Report on Water Resources of California. Report to the Legislature, Sacramento, 1925.
13. Bulletin No. 20. Report on Kennett Reservoir Development - A report to the Joint Legislative Committee of 1927, on water resource
14. Bulletin No. 25 - To the Legislature of 1931 on State Water Plan - Dated 1930.
15. Mimeographed Press Report on Report of Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly - Submitted to the Legislature March 23, 1931.
16. Save The Back Country. Pamphlet by the Tulare Co. Unit of the State Irrigation Association. Printed 1929.
17. Water Pamphlet - Kern County Water Problems. By W. M. Wiley, Irrigation Engineer, Bakersfield - 1929.
18. Bulletin No. 132-65, California Department of Water Resources. "The California Water Project in 1965" - Appendix C, Statistics.
19. Bulletin 2 - Feasibility of State Ownership and Operation of the Central Valley Project of California - March, 1952,- Water Project of California, Earl Warren Governor.
20. Central Valley Basin - Our Rivers: Total Use For Greater Wealth. A departmental report relating to the Central Valley Basin U. S. Department of Interior - Bureau of Reclamation. Senate Document #113, 81st Congress, 1st Session.
21. Part III - Biennial Report of the Division of Water Rights, Dept. of Public Works, Sacramento, Calif. Nov. 1, 1924, By Edw. Hyatt.
22. State of California, Dept. of Public Works, Bulletin 34 - 1930 Permissive annual charges for Irrigation in the Upper San Joaquin Valley.
23. State of California, Dept. of Public Works, Bulletin 21-B. Report on Irrigation Districts of California for the Year 1931.

MATERIALS RECEIVED FROM FORD A. CHATTERS - July 24, 1973

State Income Tax Law (2 pamphlets)

Water Resources Material (7 pamphlets)

Lindsay Gazette, December 9, 1970 (one copy)

State Personnel Board Calendar, 1966 (one copy)

Pay Scales in the California State Civil Service, 1964 (one copy)

Information on the Textbook Case (one pamphlet)

Japanese Evacuation folder

Donahue Committee folder

State Personnel Board folder

Scrapbook of newspaper clippings

California Legislature Handbook: 1933

California Legislature Handbook: 1935

Manual-Legislative Procedure

The California Legislature

Political Ethics, Volume I and Volume II

California Blue Book, 1928

California Blue Book, 1932

California Blue Book, 1954

California Blue Book, 1958

California Blue Book, 1963

RESIDENCE: 230 SOUTH HARVARD
PHONE: (209) 562-3102

HAROLD G. SCHUTT
BOX 948
LINDSAY, CALIFORNIA 93247

May 13, 1974

The Bancroft Library
Oral History Project, Room 486
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

Attention Mrs. Baum and Mrs. Fry

Dear ladies:

Thank you for the letter regarding the death of Ford Chatters and our mutual loss. Because I thought it would be good for his sons to know how highly regarded he was by such a fine institution as the Bancroft, I gave Bob Chatters a copy of it.

The boys have asked me to go over his files of materials that they will not wish to save to see if there is anything of historical value that should be placed in some collection. Do you know if Ford gave you all the materials that should be in your files? Do you know if there are any other than the Warren materials that may be of value to you?

We are flying east on May 21 for two or three weeks but Bob said that will not bother them as they will go over the files in spare time anyway.

I'm sorry that we shall miss the annual meeting of the Friends, but if this trip is like most others, there will be a lot of things to do at the last minute.

Sincerely,

Harold

INDEX -- Ford A. Chatters

Adams, Bert (E.G.), 30
agriculture, growers, 55, 59
Alcoholic Beverage Control Board (ABC), 126-128. See also Board of Equalization
American Municipal Association, 4
Anderson, Alden, 32
Anderson, Dewey, 109, 133-135
Anglin, Cliff, 32, 40
Ash, Robert, 155
Assembly, California,
  Central Valley Project Act (Bill 259), 39
  Committee on Education, 133-135
  Interim Committee on State Finances (Donihue Committee), 116

Barnell, D. K., 42
Baxter, Leone, 36, 74, 75. See also Whitaker and Baxter
Beard, W. A., 34
Beeson, Jane (Mrs. H. C.), 142-143
Behrens, Earl ("Squire"), 63
Bennett, William M., 128
Bernard, Van, 26, 30
Bliven, Bruce, 8, 11
Blyth, Charles, 75
Board of Equalization, California State, 110-111, 114-125, 126-129
Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, California, 86
Bogardus, Professor , 11
Bonelli, William, 123, 127
Brown, Arthur, 152
Brown, Edmund G., Sr., 49, 53, 56, 151, 162, 180
Brown, Mrs. Edmund G., Sr., 180
Brownrig, , 151
Bureau of Reclamation, U.S., 31, 39, 48, 51-53, 54, 56, 58

California Newspaper Publishers Association, 8, 10, 95, 128
California Outlook, 11
California Water Authority, 28, 54
Capone, Al, 121
Carmen, Dr. C. A., 72
Carter, Armistead, 137
Central Valley Project, 20-28, 31-41, 43-48, 51-59, 107
Chapman, C. C., 56
Chatters, Carl, 3-4

Chatters, Ford,
army career, 9
family background, 1-7
and Highway Commission, 146-149
journalism career, 8-14, 24-27
as legislator, 99-125
and Personnel Board, 150-180
role in Warren campaigns, 62-63, 67-71
and water resources issue, 15-60
Chatters, Mable McConkie (Mrs. Ford), 9
Chatters family, 1-7
Christian, E. H., 150, 151
Civil Service, and California State Personnel Board, 161-163, 171
Classroom Teachers Association, 133-135. See also education
Clemens, Earle R., 28, 32, 54
Cleary, Charles W., 12-22, 28-29, 53, 141
Cloud, Dr. Roy, 134
Clowdsley, F. C., 108, 109
Coakley, Tom, 63, 66, 78
Cottrell, C., 113, 116, 121
Cowing, Ralph H., 152
Craemer, Justus F., 10
Craig, Edward, 104, 133
Cranston, Alan, 155
Crites, Arthur S., 28, 32
Crittenden, Bradford S., 20, 28-30
cross-filing (election), 100-101
Crowe, J. T., 37
Crutcher, Louis, 136, 140

Davies, Marion, 117
Davis, Mrs. Bonnell, 180
Davis, May Layne, 155
Democratic Central Committee, 131-133
Department of Education, California State, 134
Desmond, Earl D., 109
District Securities Commission, 42
Donihue Committee investigation, 114-125. See also Board of Equalization
Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 142
Downey, Sheridan, 131
Durbrow, William, 42

Edmonston, A. D., 50, 60
education, California textbook controversy, 135-141
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 131, 154
Ellsworth, Von, 109

EPIC (End Poverty in California), 104, 110, 116, 132, 134
Evans, A. L., 25
Evans, H. J., 32
Evans, Ralph, 116, 117
extraditions, 86

Farm Bureau Federation, 13, 28, 37, 170
Fauver, J. H., 36, 43
Field, C. Don, 116, 119
Fisher, Charles, 115
Fisher, John, 83-84, 93, 152-154
Fletcher, Ed, 135, 136, 139
Franchise Tax Board, California, 111-112, 113
Friedman, Leo, 115, 118, 119, 122

gambling, 121
Garland, Gordon, 61, 98
Geyer, Lee, 134, 135
Gilbert, W. F., 134
Gillette, King, 56
Gordon, Walter, 64-65
Gray, Dr. Robert D., 73, 152-154, 169

Hallack, Myron M., 7, 25
Harrell, Alfred, 67
Hearst, William Randolph, 116
Henderson, Cliff, 8
Hichborn, Franklin, 14, 103
Hillyer, Curtis, 136, 140
Houghton, Earle, 15, 37
Houser, Frederick F., 76, 78, 95
Hyatt, Edward, 20, 103

Ickes, Harold, 48, 50
irrigation. See water resources issue
Irrigation Districts Association, 23, 28, 29, 41-42

Japanese-Americans in California, and state Personnel Board, 164-165
Johnson, Hiram, 11-14, 66, 80, 100
Jones, Herbert C., 39
Jones, William Mosley, 104, 109
Judah, H. R., 10

Kasch, Charles, 136
Kasch, Edna, 135-136, 139
Kenny, Robert, 62, 101, 164
Keough, Karl P., 110
King, John Preston, 131
Knight, Goodwin, 88, 150, 161
Knowland, William, 12-13, 46, 63-64, 73, 108, 113, 115
Kroeger, Louis, 151
Kuchel, Thomas, 94

labor, migratory, 105-107
Lamson, David, 118
Lanning, Robert, 51
Leake, Paul, 111, 126, 128-131
Leask, Samuel, 155
Lee, John, 123
legislature, California state,
  Joint Legislative Water Committee, 26, 28, 30
  King tax bill, 102
  1933 sales tax, 103-104
  1935 income tax bill, 108-114
  Riley-Stewart tax plan, 99-100
Lindsay Gazette, 7, 24
Liquor Control Board. See Board of Equalization
Long, John B., 10
Los Angeles Examiner, 43
Los Angeles Times, 25, 34-36, 40, 44-46, 53, 140
Lutgens, Harry, 146

McAdoo, William Gibbs, 106
McCarthy, Ray, 67, 69, 91
McClure, W. F., 20
McColgan, Charles J., 112
McColl, John B., 36, 38
McCool, Dr. , 148
McGee, Richard, 83-84, 161, 171
MacGregor, Helen, 63, 65, 66, 78, 81, 83, 89, 138
Maddox, Ben, 21
Mailliard, William, 97
Mallary, Dr. Benjamin, 55, 73, 152, 154
Marshall, Col. Robert B., 22-25, 53
Martin, Irving, 66, 80
May, Professor Samuel, 154, 156
Mayo, Bill, 149
Merriam, Governor Frank, 136
Miller and Lux, 31

Mixter, Frank W., 30, 32, 38, 42
Moiteret, Tony, 13
Morse, Carlton, 155
Morse, Wilmer, 155, 180
Mount Whitney Power and Electric Company, 50
Mueller, Edwin A., 30

Nelson, H. C., 30
New Deal, 54-55
Nixon, Richard M., 142-145

Oakland Bay Bridge, 147-148
Oakland Tribune, 13, 179
Olson, Culbert, 33, 62, 74, 77-78, 97-98, 104, 109-111, 135-137, 139, 162
Olson, Dr. Emery E., 73, 152-154, 169

Pacific Gas and Electric Company, 20, 23, 38-40, 44
Palmer, Judge Harlan, 8
pardons, 86, 89-90
Parkman, Assemblyman , 113
Patterson, Ellis, 134, 135
Paulson, Mayor , 155
Personnel Board, California State, 150-180
  appeal procedures, 159-160
  board members, 163-164, 170-171
  cases before, 167-169
  and Civil Service, 161-163, 171
  hearing procedures, 157-159
  and Japanese-Americans, 164-165
  salary adjustments, 165-166
  and state colleges, 166-167
  and state legislature, 177-178
  and veterans, 169, 173-174
  Warren's policy, 160-161
  during World War II, 172
Pfaffenberger, Clarence, 8
Pickett, John, 14
Pierce, Dixwell L., 111
Powers, Assemblyman , 113
Progressive party, 11-14
Purcell, C. H., 146-147

Quinn, John R., 68

Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 42
Redwine, Kent H., 113
Reichel, William, 63
Richardson, Friend W., 21
Richardson, Rodney, 169
Richmond, Joe, 107
Riley, Joe, 113
Riley, Ray L., 124
Riley-Stewart Tax Plan, 99-100
Riparian Rights water law, 28, 31-32, 41
Roach, Hal, Jr., 117
Rolph, James, 26, 35, 38, 47, 48, 50, 103, 108
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 39, 46 - 48, 55, 101, 128, 130, 132
Rush, Ward, 99-100

Sacramento Bee, 150, 151
San Francisco Chronicle, 63
Santa Anita Race Track, 116-119
Scoggins, Verne, 65, 66, 78, 80-81, 83, 87, 89, 165
Sharkey, Will R., 30
Sharp, Kelvin, 154
Shasta Dam, 20, 21, 25
Shimasaki, Tom, 144
Shontz, Orfa Jean, 123
Siegel, Bugsy, 121
Silver Burdett Company, 137-140
Sinclair, Upton, 104, 105
Small, M. F. ("Pop"), 71, 94-95, 161
Smith, William K., 151, 153
Smith, Zetta Walker, 104-107
Southern California Edison Company, 21
Southern California Editorial Association, 8
Spurbeck, Ivan, 61
Squires, Elwood, 124-125
Stark, R. E., 56
Steinbeck, John, 106
Steinhart, Jesse, 95
Stephens, Roy, 93, 154, 162, 178
Stephens, Governor W. D., 16, 21
Stewart, Fred, 110, 114
Stone, Irving, 82
Sweigert, Bill, 63, 66, 78, 82, 83, 89, 91, 96, 169
Swing, Ralph E., 30

taxes, California state, 99-104, 108-114. See also Board of Equalization
Templeton, Sardis, 67-68
Tennessee Valley Authority, 54-55

Tinning, Archibald, 150, 152, 157, 170, 179
Tin Pan Alley bloc, 38
Traynor, Roger, 110
Tulare County, California, 15
Tulare Irrigation District et al. vs. Lindsay Strathmore Irrigation District, 26-27

University of Southern California, 8-9

Vasey, Beach, 83, 92-93
veterans, 169, 173-174, 179
Veterans Commission, California, 169
Voorhis, Jerry, 142

Wagner, Walter, 29, 42
Warne, William, 48-49
Warren, Earl, 11, 36, 60, 61, 73-77, 86, 90-91, 111, 120, 126, 129-131, 150, 160-161, 179
  appointments, 79-86
  election campaigns, 1942, 62-71, 95-96
  family, 71-73, 96
  as governor, 71-73
water resources issue, 15-60
Webb, U.S., 60
Weinberger, Caspar, 130
Welsh, Jim, 65, 78, 94-96
Werner, Helen, 122-125
Werner, Pete, 122
Whitaker, Clem, 36, 74, 75, 78, 94-96. See also Whitaker and Baxter
Whitaker and Baxter, 62-64, 75-78, 94-96
Whitmore, Charles, 99
Williamson, Ray, 113
Winder, A. Heber, 136
Wood, Will, 134
Work, Telford, 8

Yorty, Sam, 36-37
Young, Governor C. C., 26, 43
Young, Walker R., 50-51

Amelia R. Fry

Graduated from the University of Oklahoma, B.A. in psychology and English, M.A. in educational psychology and English, University of Illinois; additional work, University of Chicago, California State University at Hayward.

Instructor, freshman English at University of Illinois and at Hiram College. Reporter, suburban daily newspaper, 1966-67.

Interviewer, Regional Oral History Office, 1959--; conducted interview series on University history, woman suffrage, the history of conservation and forestry, public administration and politics. Director, Earl Warren Era Oral History Project, documenting governmental/political history of California 1925-1953; director, Goodwin Knight-Edmund G. Brown Era Project.

Author of articles in professional and popular journals; instructor, summer Oral History Institute, University of Vermont, 1975, 1976, and oral history workshops for Oral History Association and historical agencies; consultant to other oral history projects; oral history editor, Journal of Library History, 1969-1974; secretary, the Oral History Association, 1970-1973.