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#### **Bill Haine Oral History Interview**

Steve Hansen, Interviewer

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Steve Hansen (SH): Okay, this is Steve Hansen. I'm talking with Senator Bill Haine, and today is May the

### Bill Haine (BH): Fourth

**SH:** Fourth, thank you, thank you, Senator [laughing]. Why don't you start out and just tell us a little bit about growing up. When were you born and where and something about your childhood?

BH: I was born in 1944 in August. My father was in the navy during that time. I was a furlough baby, actually they called us. My mother took the train out to Virginia Beach to meet my father at a furlough. Came back pregnant with me, and I was born in August of '44. He didn't see me 'til forty five, but I had it, I was one of four sons, the second of four sons, and had an idyllic childhood, actually. Late forties, early fifties, late fifties, Alton was an interesting place, not afflicted with crime. It was part of a post war boom. Almost everyone had a job. If you were a young white kid like me you had an idyllic childhood. The schools were segregated, Humboldt School up, I went to St. Patrick's School, and we had African American children in our school in every grade. No one thought a thing about it. The Catholic Schools were always open to everyone, and the public schools however, the grade schools and the middle schools were segregated. Humboldt School was all white. Washington School off of Milner was all white, and you had Lovejoy School, which was the African American school. Over on, used to be on Union, I think, that ended in the late fifties, early sixties. But my father was Supervisor of Shipping at Owens-Illinois. As I said, I went to St. Patrick's Grade School. My brother Jim and I, older brother, were stamp collectors, which introduced me to a foreign country's history. There was a little stamp store on State Street near St. Peter and Paul's Church that we'd take the bus to. You could get on a bus at eight years old and take it anywhere. No one thought a thing about it. And that introduced me to history, all these foreign countries, these fascinating stamps, it was a great window. In fact I found out some years ago that F.D.R. was a stamp collector...

#### SH: Yes, right.

**BH:** ...of some note. But we love stamps and I gave my collection to some young guy, and they had a house fire burned the whole thing up. Sad thing, and Jim, my brother Jim, had a similar experience, and we'd exchange stamps. I'd recommend stamp collecting. I know it's arcane, but it introduced me to a, as I said, history, geography, current events. I still remember these stamps from around the world, and these historic figures in... My mother and father had as all upscale parents, upscale I mean, they weren't wealthy, but they wanted to be educated. They got the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and every year they'd

come out with the Book of the Year, and the Book of the Year had the entire year, and I would go cover to cover with that book.

**SH:** I remember that well and during, because we grew up in the same period where you'd have door-todoor salesman selling encyclopedias, and my parents must have been similar to yours, they aspired for their children to be educated and that, you know, is the great American Dream. We bought World Book and I couldn't wait to get to that next year, and thumb through the book.

**BH:** And there was, and there was a thin book called the Historic, Historical Digest, just thin book that would come out every year, every six months, it would come out, and I remember reading fascinating histories of the Old West, the Civil War, the modern era. It still sticks in my mind, the story of New Jersey and Boss Hague, how he ran New Jersey in the twenties, thirties, and forties. Took over in the twenties. They finally threw him out in the late forties, he became kind of a tyrant. I first read about Pendergast, Kansas City in this book, a similar figure to Boss Hague. And a guy, the mayor of Memphis or Nashville, a major southern city, named Crump. And there was a famous blues song. Crump had a regime that tolerated vice, but only up to a point. And there was this famous blues song, I remember, Mr. Crump don't like it. That was the refrain. If you go on about doing things, but don't do this, Mr. Crump don't like it.

SH: Is that how you got your interest in history? (06:45)

**BH:** I think it is. No question about it. I loved it. I loved reading history and the current events. I would deliver the *Post-Dispatch* and the old *Globe-Democrat*. The Post was an afternoon paper and the Globe was a morning paper, so I would I'd collect the *Post-Dispatch* over in Middletown off of Central, and I remember reading, every day I would get the paper, unfold it before I deliver it, and look at the Fitzpatrick cartoon. Do you remember Fitzpatrick?

# SH: Yes

**BH:** Great cartoonist, and then Bill Mauldin, one of my favorite cartoonists, political cartoonists. And then I'd go downtown, take a bus downtown frequently, and then the bank. The old First National Bank for the Riverbender is they'd have the newspapers set out. You could buy the Tribune, the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, there you just put the money in the pot, and I'd look at the front page of the Trib, they'd have their cartoon on the front page, you gained a lot just looking at these political cartoons. The Trib was the best because it was in color.

SH: Yes. Right. And did you, when did you go to college?

BH: 1963. St. Louis U, yeah.

SH: And did you always know? Or was this an expectation of your parents that you would go to college?

**BH:** Oh, yeah. All of us, all of us went to college, all of us went, and I went to St. Louis U, Jim went to Purdue, my brother Tom went to St. Benedict's now called Benedictine in Kansas, John went to SIU when it was in Alton, the old Shurtleff campus, now the Dental School. Then he quit and joined the Marine Corps, went to Vietnam, came back and went to Florida State. That's why I joined the army because John

was in Vietnam, I figured I want to be part of this adventure too. So I joined up. They had a two-year enlistment program, so I joined up.

**SH:** And how did you decide you wanted to go to law school? (09:13)

**BH:** I just, I felt it was the road to political involvement. I really did. I don't know whether I was enamored with the practice of law. I don't think I was. I wanted to be a political figure, participate in political office, always had that on my mind, and I went to law school, came out of, came back from Vietnam, took the law boards two weeks after I came in country did pretty well and was admitted.

SH: Was that at SLU as well?

BH: Yeah, 1969.

SH: It's interesting that you had an interest in politics from an early age.

**BH:** Very early age.

SH: Was your father or mother...

BH: No

SH: ...political?

**BH:** My mother was, she was an election judge, Democratic election judge, and she was very, very, she had a very astute perception of current events, and she would debate us. Dad was completely, my father was apolitical, came from a Republican background in Wisconsin. He was a La Follette Republican kind of, and his grandfather, my great-grandfather, joined the Union Army at fifteen, fought in the Civil War, wounded twice, came back, was head of the G. A. R., the Grand Army of the Republic, in Wisconsin, and was Republican County Clerk, so he had involvement, but dad was completely apolitical. I don't know whether he ever expressed a political opinion, although he liked Eisenhower. That was far as he went.

SH: Did you talk politics around the dinner table?

**BH:** Oh yeah, mom would encourage, and dad would tolerate almost any opinion. He had no, since he had no particular opinion himself, he encouraged us to debate because he didn't have any party line himself. You know, we could express anything that we wanted, and we did. I remember my brother Jim upbraiding a great-uncle who married one of my grandmother's sisters because he was expressing racist views at the dinner table, and my brother Jim, we were in high school, upbraided him at the table for using the n-word and being a racist, and isn't that interesting.

# SH: Yes

**BH:** And I kind of joined in, my father liked it. My mother was kind of shocked because you had young people critical of older people, but my father kind of liked it. I don't think he cared for this uncle [Hansen laughs] personally, I really don't. [Haine laughs] He thought he was a blowhard, but... so he liked it. He

told my mother later, he said, "We shouldn't be critical of George," and I remember my father saying, "Well, he was out of line, you got to let the boys express their views." Keep in mind, we're fourteen, fifteen, and calling this man on the carpet, who's, seventy

**SH:** It's interesting. To what do you contribute, where is the source of that? That, uh, racial liberalism come from?

BH: I think my mother and father both, dad never tolerated the n-word. Never. He was from Wisconsin. It could have been that Civil War background. He actually, there's a family anecdote. He took up as Supervisor of Shipping. He was given control of the refractory furnaces, repairing them every summer at the glassworks by Mr. Levis. He trusted my father to do it correctly, and dad had a lot of respect for an African American named Conley. Bill Conley. Fact, I met his sons years later when I was State's Attorney walking across the courtyard in Edwardsville, they recognized me. They were there for his estate, he had died with some money. Very dark young men, strapping young men. But Bill Conley was a bricklayer. His family helped lay Alton streets. Most of Alton streets, by the way, were laid by African Americans. They were bricklayers. So, Mr. Conley, and they were all dismissed in the thirties when FDR came in and the unions, the craft unions, took over the bricklayers, and they were all white. That's a fact. And, so Mr. Conley, dad gave him the contract to do the, this was in the fifties, the refractory repairs, and the bricklayers came in and threatened to put a picket line around the glassworks, and it got up to Mr. Levis, the CEO, and he said, "Well, that's up to my father," so the bricklayers met with my father and they said, "You've got a non-union group doing your work on the furnaces," and dad said, "They're all bricklayers," and he said, "But they don't belong to our union," and dad said, "Well they're bricklayers, they're local, why don't you let 'em in your union," and the response was, "We don't have any openings," and dad said, "It's because they're black, isn't it? You shut 'em out," and he said, "They're gonna do the work." Dad was considered to be pro-worker by the union, the machinists, the flint glass workers, the guys in the mold shop, machine shop, I had a former head of the machinists, tell me, this is twenty years ago, that my father was the most pro-worker boss in the whole Owens-Illinois system. So he had a great rapport with the guys in the plant, and they told the bricklayers they weren't, they were gonna cross, so it collapsed, and Conley got to work. But dad was a stickler for fairness. It offended him that they could have been denied work that they were good at. I mean these were bricklayers. They laid the brick streets. When Conley was a young man he was laying brick streets in Alton.

## SH: Interesting

## BH: Yeah

SH: But when you graduated from law school, then, did you go straight into private practice?

**BH:** I was a clerk for George Moran, Appellate Court Fifth District. The old man, who became kind of a political mentor. He was quite a character, and then went to Horace Calvo. And then I went to the Assistant, he became a judge, became Assistant Public Defender, served two and a half years as public defender and it was a fun job. Had a lot of trials, every day was, hell's a popping, and then in '78 I went in private practice with Randy Bono in Wood River. It's a matter of fact, we're here at the Simmons firm, I filed the first asbestos case in Madison County with Bono. Isn't that ironic?

#### SH: Yeah. Interesting.

**BH:** Yeah, I started this whole, and then got out before the, of course I made money, thanks to Randy, but the guys that really hit it big were John Simmons, Randy, Gori, Goldenberg to some extent, Hopkins to some extent. And Jeff Cooper. Jeff worked for me as assistant state's attorney. He went on to make millions. Simmons worked for me. Randy, as assistant state's attorney. It's funny, all these people that are now judges and millionaires, worked for me as state's attorney. Both the candidates for U.S. attorney, currently, I can't tell you who they are, but I know, work for me, so....

**SH:** How does it, excuse me for interrupting and going off on a tangent here, but what why is it that Madison County is known as a judicial hell hole? Why is it there's so many class action suits filed here? (18:34)

**BH:** Because we had good juries, good judges, smart judges. The defense lawyers want the asbestos cases filed here, the companies do, because they're all set up to do it. The judges know what they're doing, the lawyers know what they're doing, on both sides, and you have a system that adjudicates cases. That's what it's all about. If you file the case in Hoboken, the judge probably wouldn't know what they're doing, even though it's the home of the plaintiff or the defendant, and so the case would be more expensive, and you have to get a local lawyer. They don't know what they're doing. So the system's just set up. You had some good judges years ago that helped set it up. Charlie Chapman, who's now deceased, was the first asbestos judge. He was a brilliant guy, and then following him Judge Byron, a number of others, just knew what they were doing, and the lawyers knew what they were doing. Hepler's firm, they all know what the marketplace is. The St. Louis defense firms was come over. Armstrong Teasdale, some of the other ones, they know what they're doing. And, but, to me it's a political football that is used to denigrate the plaintiff's bar, which I find really troublesome. It's a phony attack. This county, as a matter of fact, was a place of lucrative law practice for centuries. When, when the county was first established the county seat was the focus of lawsuits, litigation, that's Edwardsville. That's why you have so many law firms in Edwardsville. Alton had a city court. There were only like six or seven of them in the state outside of Cook. It sat downtown in city hall. A city court had original jurisdiction for every matter except for treason and murder, had original jurisdiction with the circuit court. So you could file a multi-billion dollar case in the Alton city court, and the Alton city court handled admiralty, shipping, insurance. You had some insurance companies that started in Alton. Some of the structures still stand in Middletown that are now homes. They were insurance offices that sold insurance to farmers, merchants, shippers. You had insurance for coal mining, limestone mining. And then the factories grew up, all that entailed litigation. That's why in Alton, when I first started out in the practice of law, you had so many law firms around city hall, because you had a city court. And they abolished that in the mid sixties with the blue ballot, the city judges became associate circuit judges and then later they became circuit judges. They were elected every four years. The city granted, city implemented a city court in the 1920s, and that's why you have all these law firms surrounding city hall in Granite. The city court was a major focus of litigation. Some of the big cases were tried in a city court. Lincoln appeared at the Alton city court on numerous cases. It was a major court, and you had all these lawyers. To be a city judge was the pinnacle of a lawyer's career. And you had some first rate lawyers, John Coppinger, whose family is still in Alton. I knew Mr. Coppinger senior. His grandfather was the first lawyer. He was president pro temp of the Illinois senate in the 1890s. John J. Brenholt, a Republican lawyer, represented the Bibb family in the Bibb lawsuits, trying to

integrate the Alton schools. He was a Republican state senator, prominent lawyer. So the idea that this county's become litigious is ridiculous. It's been litigious for two hundred years. And Mark Twain once said, "The town that can't afford one lawyer can always afford two," [Hansen laughs] which means if you have a plaintiff you need a defendant and that means they both need lawyers.

SH: Turning back to, to the political discussion, you said the Judge George Moran was

BH: political mentor.

SH: a political mentor. What other political mentors did you have?

**BH:** Judge William Beatty, the late federal judge, he was quite shrewd. The... Don McLean of the county board, an old man that had been around, filled me in with all these political, he knew where all the bodies were buried. He was an amazing old man. Moran, and going back to the sixties, a guy named Bob Miller, Bill Parker, IBEW, DA and his son, young Bill, who's now in his 80s. Young Bill got me to run for committeeman and arrived in 1966, which I won. In those days people fought over committeemen positions for control of the party, 'cause the party was very powerful.

**SH:** Talk to me a little bit about the party. I was going through the historical society library, and I was looking at Evelyn Bowles' collection, and a lot of newspaper clippings about, looked like all this Democratic Party maneuvering. I couldn't tell how much of it was infighting, how much of it was just maneuvering to set up, and there's this, Madison County has this reputation, didn't it, for having a very strong Democratic Party machinery, and I don't understand how that worked. (26:08)

**BH:** It developed from the fact that we had all these industries, and the unions, these were unionized industries. They were developed along the corridor, beginning in Alton, going south to Granite City, Niedringhaus built Granite City, Henry Niedringhaus, out of nothing, it was all bottomland, and they needed water for the process of making that steel, and they took it out of the ground water. So you develop thousands, they were immigrants, they came to Madison, Venice, Granite City, from Eastern Europe, Ireland, and in Alton, the glassworks brought in many people from the rural areas to work, and they became union. Although the glass workers were originally republican, as a man named Arrington started the Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, his son became Republican president pro temp of the senate in Illinois. Passed the first income tax under Governor Ogilvie. Russell Arrington. I had lunch with him.

# SH: I remember him.

**BH:** He was the, his father started the Glass Bottle Blowers' in Alton. There's a monument to him at St. Patrick's Cemetery. If you go out towards St. Ambrose and you take a right into St. Patrick's Cemetery, there's a huge stone monument that says Arrington on it, and it was paid for by the Glass Bottle Blowers of America. My late grandfather, James Moran, an Irishmen who came from Ireland, joined the army. And then came here to blow glass, learned the art of glass blowing. He was a deputy to Arrington. He was a Democrat, Moran was, because the Irish were all dems. But you had this, this ferment of union-based employees. So you had a ready-made base for voters. You had to get 'em out and educate 'em, and so they developed a classic machinery to get people to the polls, just as in Chicago, Tammany Hall in New York,

it was on a small scale. And then early on, it was the gamblers that paid for the votes. You had those, there was a state's attorney named Bill Burton in the forties, who ran the party, and was state's attorney, was chairman of the party. Very powerful man and ran the party with an iron fist and allegedly took hundreds of thousands in payoffs from brothels and gambling dens throughout the county that served these immigrants. And Burton was finally driven out in the late forties by a group of reformers led by George Moran, as a young lawyer. Moran and Beatty started this revolt in the party, but, and then the trial lawyers came in, because the control of the judiciary meant a lot to them. The plaintiff had the burden of going forward, if the judge was not attuned to that, they could ruin a plaintiff's case from the start. So the control of the court brought in lawyer money to the party, and that just contributed to this Democratic machine where you could beat the party, in those days, but it was rare. There was a guy in Alton, his home is at Henry and 6th, big frame home, wraparound porch. John Lauer, German, he ran the party in the thirties. Very powerful individual, ran Alton, had committeemen. He owned a ice and coal company. Klinke, he married Klinke's daughter, and k-l-i-n-k-e, and John Lauer was a huge Democratic figure in the county. Tolerated Burton, they all divvied up spheres of influence. The Democratic Party decided who worked at the racetracks. Illinois had two race tracks, Fairmont and the one in St. Clair County, and so they divvied up who would get these jobs, taking the bettors' money. There were many jobs, Secretary of State jobs. The jobs at various state institutions, county, were all patronage. The, oh, some of the other, Eastside Levee District, which was always a struggle for control of that patronage fieldom. So the parties in each county were rivals. But they were Democratic parties.

**SH:** There's, something indicated in Evelyn Bowles's papers that suggested that, if you got elected or you got a patronage job that you had to pay, you gave a contribution back to the...

BH: A lug

SH: ... the party. A lug

BH: That's right. Absolutely. You paid the lug if you were elected before you ran...

SH: Before you ran

**BH:** ...and then you were slated by the party, you, the party supported you. Now you could, again, you could beat the party.

SH: Excuse me for a, but how did you get slated? Did you

BH: You went before the central committee

SH: To the committee

**BH:** Screening committee, and they'd screen you. They ask you questions, then they decide who to slate, and they would all do it on, basis on friendship, on political, if that person could win. Evelyn refused to do it, and she beat 'em. 1972 or, I'm sorry, '74. I was fresh out of law school and, I remember my mother calling me saying, "We're all for Evelyn Bowles," and they were angry that the party slated the Township Assessor Von Dee Cruse of Granite City, later became mayor. And Evelyn beat him, because Evelyn had

a following of her own with the election judges, and she had worked as chief deputy to Miss Hotz, Eulalia Hotz. So she had her own base, and the Democratic women all went for Evelyn, and they dumped the party. [Hansen laughs] And that was rare, that was rare. It was rare to beat the party. And sometimes the party would go along with people because they didn't know how to fight 'em. Mick Henkhaus won '78. I don't think they cared for Mick, but he was pretty formidable at that time. He kind of lost his base over the years, but at that time they just went along with him. I was slated by the party in '88 as state's attorney because a lot of the old party guys didn't like the incumbent, Dick Allen.

SH: Oh I remember him.

**BH:** Yeah, and he was a disaster, frankly as state's attorney, but these were political reasons they didn't like him. They felt he was, I just don't want to... He's dead, and there were a lot of problems with Dick.

**SH:** Backup for a second, so you started to say before I interrupted you, about five, ten minutes ago, that you decided to run for committeeman.

BH: Yes, '66.

SH: '66, and you, and then what were your next steps from committeeman. (34:19)

BH: Well, I went in the army. I joined the army, so I resigned. Came back, I lived in St. Louis when I was going to law school in '69. And I was involved in St. Louis politics. I got involved in ward politics in St. Louis. Fact a guy running for state rep, who's a professor in France now, he's retired, he wants us to come over and visit George went to St. Louis U. Otte, O-t-t-e, brilliant guy, married a French woman. Got involved in his race. In fact, some of my early associates included Tim Wilson, the judge in the police shooting. Tim and I are old friends. I got involved in, Anna and I belong to the West End Food Co-op. We lived at the old Coronado's, we were married in '71. And the West End Food Co-op, I couldn't tell anybody I was a combat veteran from Vietnam 'cause half of 'em were communists, and you had a group of Trotskyites. [Hansen laughs] I'm serious! And the old KDNA, Double Helix Corporation, had their little community, they belonged. They later became KDHX, the Double Helix Corporation. They were Jeremy Lansman's, he founded that. It was an underground radio that, and I used to, we used to support 'em. They were great. There still are. In fact, I still send money to 'em. But, so I got involved in St. Louis politics. As a matter of fact, people ask me about the Trotskyites, they felt the communists were, um, sissies. They didn't want to really do it. So the Trotskyites were the true nuts. The radicals. And they had this little group. They all belong to this food co-cop. I mean, it was the damnedest thing you've ever seen [Hansen laughs], and we could feed our families on hardly anything. But I learned to deal with some, all kinds of different people in this group. And they were all good people. They were just way, way out there, left wing. Man, shit, I was pretty liberal then. And I thought, shit, I'm ultra right wing compared to these folks. But they were great workers, ya know. We all contributed to this thing. And you could feed people for a week on like twenty bucks with this food co-op. It was amazing, but, and of course they were against the war and all this stuff, it was just an incredible era. A really vibrant era, the Kent State shooting, the tragedy at Kent State. And they had all the shutdowns, and people playing guitars, and then the hard hats coming up Lindell Boulevard, for the war. I mean it was just constant ferment, the sixties

rolling into the seventies. Nixon and George McGovern. It was an amazing time, an amazing time. And then I graduated, went over to Madison County and resumed my involvement in Madison County politics.

## SH: And did you become a committeeman again or? (37:59)

**BH:** In '76, we bought a house in Middletown, and this was a pretty good precinct too. The old man, his name was, what was his name? He was, owned a small construction company, pretty good committeeman, old establishment Democrat. I met some interesting people that were friends of John Lauer, one of 'em was a former alderman whose wife was an election judge. And I went to see this old man, Henry was his first name, I can't think of his last name. He lived over on Garden Street, big old house, and he had diabetes, they had amputated his leg, and I said, "Are you gonna run for committeeman?" I went to ask him, and he said, "You know, I was thinking about it, but, so do you want to run?" I said, "Yes, sir, I do, if you don't run." I put it that way. I could've beat him, I think, but I didn't want to do it because he was well-regarded. And he said, "Why don't you run, kid? I'll be for you." So I got elected without opposition. And I was well-received because I didn't push the old man out. That's important to do, it's all timing. It's all timing. You can win, but if you win in the wrong way, takes you time to get ingratiated with folks. You're considered a hot head, or difficult to deal with. And then your influence is not as much as it would be, and I've always tried to maintain that balance, even in the senate. If you disagree with someone, you should never kick 'em around, 'cause you're always gonna need 'em, at some point. And I think a lot of people forget that now, their politics has become a zero-sum game. If I win, you lose, and that shouldn't be. There should be always some face saving, and I've tried to maintain that over the years, especially in the senate, which is more collegial. When I was state's attorney I did the same thing with defense lawyers, you always try to do what you can to accommodate, they have to make a living, although you can't give up the principle that their client must be punished. And most of them understanding that, a few didn't, but with those guys, you have to fight it out.

SH: And so was being slated for the state's attorney the first county-wide? (40:55)

**BH:** I ran in 1980 against the party. Three-way race: me and Dick Allen and Nick Byron, he was the incumbent. And I came within three hundred votes of winning. Dick Allen accused me of being a stalking horse for Nick Byron, which was not true, 'cause I almost won. I won everything in the north end, and Bono and I got involved in it. Randy helped me a lot, as he did over the years, but...

# SH: Randy who?

**BH:** Bono, Randy Bono, a brilliant lawyer, brilliant, and brilliant judge too. He was a great judge. But when I got involved in it, it was a, people said I was nuts. You're crazy, you never, you're unknown. I almost won, so I had a base automatically. And Don Weber, very conservative guy, good trial lawyer, good prosecutor, but he made mistakes 'cause I think his ideology got in the way of his judgment. And I say that in all fairness. Don was first-rate prosecutor. I hired him later when I was state's attorney, but he lost. He won that year Reagan won the county, Don got in by a close vote, and then lost in '84 to Dick Allen. I didn't run then, 'cause we were doing too well in the law business, and then in '88 I really wanted to be back in political office. I was on the county board, but I wanted to break into the big time, the state's attorney.

**SH:** So you served on the county board. (42:39)

**BH:** Elected in '78 through '88, yeah. It was very productive, I founded Madison County Transit District, which does all these buses and bike trails. That was, I was on the county board, Nellie Hagnauer, the old boss, put me on there because I helped craft a compromise to implement a quarter-cent tax, which was unpopular because it was associated with Bi-State, the St. Louis bus company, which was, um, just absolutely incompetent in those days. They've improved somewhat over the years. But in those days, they were really, there was constant bad press. So I hired Jerry Kane in the early eighties, and we started our own operation, with Nellie's support. Nellie Hagnauer, the chairman of the board. And got into all kinds of good stuff. So I had a pretty productive county board era.

SH: And so in '88, then you were elected...

BH: State's attorney

SH: ...state's attorney

BH: Served 'til 2002

SH: Were there any special cases that you remember that were particularly significant or interesting?

**BH:** We had the Sims case off the bat. The woman that murdered her two babies. One in Jersey County, which she got away with, and then one here which she didn't, we nailed her on it. I had a number of other terrible murders. Had a first-rate staff, first-rate staff, they were just outstanding. Some of them are judges now. Kyle Napp, for example, I hired Jennifer Mudge, she was an up-and-coming star. She's now a big star. It was a great, it was tension, but and then we had some controversies, political controversies, within the building. They were all Democrats, except for Shimkus, who was treasurer, who got elected in '90. And we, I had some difficulty, we had a police shooting, white police officer shoots an African American. That was a difficult situation. We got beyond it by being very frank, we had a grand jury made up of a number of African Americans that I put, I asked the state police to come in and take over the case, and the detective in charge was an African American, took every step to make sure that this was done openly. And it passed. And then you had the group of black men beating to death this white guy in Alton, Skelton, you remember that, the late nineties?

SH: Yes (45:42)

**BH:** That was a very racially charged, they had to put a lid on that. And that worked out too because we were fair with the dispositions. Initially, there was an effort by some people in St. Louis to stir up racial animosity, but it didn't pan out, and it's just a number of other cases that were very challenging. A case, an old case going back to '76, an abduction, rape, and murder of a waitress at a little place that's still there on Main Street in Edwardsville. That case came back near the end of my tenure. Susan Jensen, the first assistant state's attorney, ran into a lady in Glen Carbon at a party who was the mother of this woman who was abducted, raped, and murdered. She was an elderly woman and said she heard the guy they suspected died in prison. And Susan mentioned this to me, and I said, "Well, let's find out." So it turned out he was in Florida in prison through a contract with Alabama, and he was scheduled to be released. It was an eerie

thing. And so we brought in a detective from Edwardsville. It turns out the state police and the Edwardsville police had kept the DNA they took from the woman's body in 1976. And it had corrupted, but there was a new test developed a couple of years before that could use it, and this guy was the guy.

## SH: Wow

**BH:** Isn't that ironic? And we filed the charge. I got a call from Arkansas newspaper reporter, a woman, who said, "I can't believe you filed this charge." I remember, I kept talking to her, and I said, well, I explained to her how we hand out, I said it was almost like a message from beyond, and she said, this man, she chronicled his history in the last twenty years. He murdered a family in Arkansas, he was a, he had red hair, and he was demonic, and he murdered his ex-wife and her child by a previous marriage and was suspected of an abduction, rape, and murder somewhere else and was doing time in Florida on an attempted abduction. Same M.O., and that's when he was scheduled to be released. He had five or ten years in Florida and was going to be released like within sixty days, and we nailed him.

## SH: Wow

**BH:** And we'd have asked for the death penalty, but at that time the death penalty was not extant. They tried him right after I left the office, and found him guilty. I think Kyle Napp tried that case. I'm not sure, she's now circuit judge. But this reporter said he threatened her because she wrote about him and said, "When I get out, you will die," and she said, "I've been scared to death ever since and I know he would have killed me."

## SH: Wow

**BH:** That's what she told me. And they printed these big headlines in Arkansas. He murdered this whole family in Arkansas, and got away with it. In fact, a jury acquitted him. The county attorney, the prosecutor, was so distraught, he resigned. He resigned because he, his office. The jury got confused over the evidence, and they walked him, and this guy was so distraught, he quit. That's what she told me, isn't it incredible? Said this, and these big headlines quoted me, and he's now doing, I think, Chuck Romani, our judge over here, gave him, like, 150 to 250 years, because he's eligible for parole after eleven years under the old code, isn't that an amazing story?

## SH: Yes, it is.

**BH:** And I founded the, as state's attorney we did the first protocol for domestic violence. One of the first in the state. Founded the Child Advocacy Center. Soon as they bought that Wood River Township Hospital, I went in to Kyle Napp, who wanted to do that. And said, "We're in business." Worked out the funding, did a protocol from dealing with the mentally ill. There was an Alton police chief, and I got mental health hero awards for that, I remember. Kind of nice. But had some progressive steps for the office.

SH: You first ran for state senate in '02?

# **BH:** '02

**SH:** Evelyn called me in '01, said she was getting out. I should consider running, and I said, Evelyn, I'm in, because I wanted to get out of state's attorney. I told the party people I wasn't gonna run again. I told Mac Warfield, the chairman, I was gonna quit before that, and they didn't want me to quit. They wanted me to run one more time and then find some way to get out. Then I backed the county executive plan, which frankly really pissed off the party elders, but I didn't go negative on it, and it lost, which was a blessing because I wanted to run for county executive, but it lost. This is much better for me, so along comes Evelyn resigning, or retiring, and the party endorsement.

**BH:** Can you compare and contrast what it was like to campaign for state's attorney versus campaign for state senate?

SH: Different issues. I ran unopposed for state's attorney. In '96 and 2000 I was unopposed, so I had a good office. For a lawyer to run for state's attorney, they have to think they can win; otherwise, no lawyer is going to get involved in it. When I ran in '88 against Dick, a lot of lawyers just ducked. They weren't sure I could win against an incumbent of my own party. Because state's attorney so powerful, a lawyer doesn't want to alienate him unless you think they're vulnerable, you don't run. So I had a pretty good gig going as state's attorney, so the difference was I would get opposition as state senator because it's a more partisan. Statewide, you have state issues: the income tax, all these other issues, play a role. Labor issues, tort issues, all kinds of stuff. So you, so it's a different mindset. I had opposition in '04, a guy really worked. I did very, very well, and then in '12 I had opposition, none in '08 because Obama was running. I guess they didn't feel it was the right year, the Republicans, so no, I had a pretty strong base. In '12 they felt I was vulnerable. I voted for the income tax, which had to be done, frankly the state can't go insolvent, gotta fund higher ed, K-12. It's ridiculous, and we're a low-tax income tax state. So I voted for it, and got a ton of static, and then my opponent thought I'd be vulnerable because I got a big state's attorney pension, which I earned. And that was the law, it's not like I gilded the lily or gamed the system. I just signed up for my pay and my pension. The state authorizes the pension, not me, as state's attorney. So they felt I was vulnerable. Kirk Dillard, a prominent Republican senator, told me that, he and I were good friends, he said, "They think they can get you." I said, "Yeah, well they got another thing coming." And I got almost 59 percent of them, I got almost 60 percent of the vote. 59 point something. And if Pat Quinn wasn't governor, I could have probably got 65 percent, according to pollsters. 'Cause Pat was very unpopular.

BH: Yes.

SH: How do you campaign? What are...?

BH: You go door-to-door

SH: Do you?

**BH:** Oh, I went door-to-door every day, had a young guy, Jacob Kaplan, who's now a big shot in the Cook County Democratic Party. Cullerton sent in... I raised a million bucks myself. They sent in a young gal, who sat with me while I made these phone calls in the morning for money, which I hated, I hated it. And then, I just hate asking for money or stuff. I really do. To my own detriment. Bono used to say that.

And then in the afternoon we'd have a staff meeting. He sent in three guys, Steve Moore, who was a craftsman of sound bites, who told me what to say, what not to say. Put me on film, he said, "You know, you talk too goddamn much," that's what he told me. [Hansen laughs]. "You gotta keep it real simple." He was great, and then Steve Campbell, the number one guy and then just Jacob. Jacob and I would go out every afternoon, all over the district. I'd hit the doors. He had an app, and we didn't go to hard D's, didn't go to hard R's. The hard D's are gonna vote for me, according to the polling, the hard R's aren't gonna vote for me no matter what, no matter what I do! So we went to the leaners, just the leaners, and that means we went all over the county. I went from Elsah all the way down to Fairview Heights, every day in the afternoon. You don't go in the morning. People are waking up, and they're doing things, and you don't go at night. You go 'til dusk every day. And I kind of like going door-to-door. I met people, served on my past grand juries. I knew I was doing well by the reactions. We knocked on the door in Granite City, Jacob was standing out there on the street. I knocked on this door, and this old man came to the door, and he said, "It's Bill Haney! Ma, it's Bill Haney!" They called me Haney in Granite City. [Hansen laughs]. There must have been some guy named Haney that was big in Granite years ago, because everybody called me Haney, and his wife came out. I said, "Well I'm just here asking for your vote," and this old man said, "Well you know what? Senator Haney, you get too much money on your pension," he told me that. I said, "Yeah, I probably agree with that, although my wife doesn't agree with that," he laughed. He said, "Well we've always voted for you. You were a great state's attorney, and you're a good senator, we've always voted for you. So we're gonna be with ya again." I walked out, and I told I Jacob, "How do ya like that, Jacob," and he said, "Good stuff, good stuff." And I knew, that's why I knew I was winning. You can tell if people are angry.

## **SH:** Yeah (58:36)

**BH:** If enough of 'em are angry, going door-to-door, and you have to go door-to-door. You can't, there's no substitute for it. Because you get a flavor, and you can't go door-to-door inefficiently, knocking on every damn door, because you're just wasting time. This app that they had was just superb, and the politics... I went door-to-door when I first ran for committeeman, when I ran for county board, always went door-to-door, but Jacob's and Campbell and the party's app made it more scientific and it maximized your time, 'cause keep in mind you're going district-wide, and you went in a sampling of neighborhoods. The mayor of Granite City called me up one day and said, "Hey it's all over town you're in Granite City going door-to-door." I said, "Really," I said, "Ed is that true?" He said, "Yeah, people have said, 'We saw Senator Haney going door-to-door.'" [Hansen laughs] That's what he told me, because it gets around.

## SH: Now how many days would you do this?

**BH:** Oh, six, seven days a week, every day, unless was rainy. I remember it was 105 degrees we were going door-to-door and I was wiping, I didn't want to appear too sweaty, [Hansen laughs] so I had water, because you don't want to look sweaty.

## SH: Right, right.

**BH:** And then I'd go to restaurants and work the room. I see some people that knew me. We went out to eat all the time, Anna and I, and I would go to these places, and people were extremely friendly. I'd see some people, and then I'd be introduced at that table, and then work this table, that table.

SH: How many months would you do this?

**BH:** We did it from June all the way up until the election.

SH: Wow

**BH:** And you have to do it. If people don't like to do it, they shouldn't run. And then we'd have ads, the money went to ads. TV ads, radio ads. Primarily TV, you really have to... [sees someone] There's Elizabeth Heller! She's great, you know her? Attorney Heller? She's good. But yeah it's real work. I lost weight. The worst areas were Collinsville, the hills, Alton. I didn't do Alton too much 'cause that's my base. I won Alton three to one. But Collinsville, those back areas are really hilly, and Elsah, I went back into Elsah. Man, that's tough.

**SH:** Talk about your experiences being senator. What's your observation about different governors and your colleagues in the senate? (1:01:22)

**BH:** Oh my colleagues are great, by and large. They're really good people, and they had their different views, both parties. There's only one guy in the senate that annoys me. I don't want to go into it, he's Republican, but I don't think he understands persuasion. But it's been a great reward, the give and take. The Illinois Senate committees are great. You have a real give and take. It's a free system, it's the American system. I really am offended at how the legislative branch has been ill treated by Blagojevich, Quinn, and now Rauner. Quinn cut off our pay, because, and I can take it, but a lot of people can't, because we wouldn't vote for some damn thing he wanted. I don't know what it was. And then Rauner had his comptroller, Munger, cut off our pay for something. And it's just not right. The founding fathers, the legislative branch was the primary branch, because it formed the laws and had open access. You can't get in to see the governor, unless the governor allows you. The legislature's open and accessible. And Blagojevich had basic contempt for the General Assembly too. I got tired of him. And I take great pride in being in the senate. I get tired of the attacks on Madigan and Cullerton, in both parties. It's just, it's an attack really on the American system. You know, I told some reporter some years ago, where else do you have chief executives cutting off the pay of legislators who don't vote their way? Venezuela, you know, someplace like that, or Cuba. Damn it's ridiculous. But I love the process. I love it, and I, doing the politics now with my cancer issue. I can't do that anymore, going door-to-door, all the events. It isn't just door-to-door, you've got to go to all the events, you gotta go to the Memorial Day stuff, the Veterans Day stuff, the parades. You can't say no, otherwise they'd figure you don't care, and I don't want to do that anymore. So it's time for somebody else, and somebody younger, like Rachelle. She's young and vigorous, and wants to do it. That's the way I was. It's like that, who did I say this to, got a big laugh... When I first started out, I was young and strong and runnin' against the wind, like Bob Seger sang, now I'm like Jackson Browne, I'm running on empty. [Both laugh]

SH: That's pretty good, that's pretty good. Is the Democratic Party, what used to be the machine, has that

BH: It's changed

SH: Is it changed because...

**BH:** Demographics

**SH:** ... the voters have changed?

**BH:** Yes, demographics have changed. The county's more Republican now. Mark Von Nida by the way is doing an excellent job as party chairman. He's tops. But the demographics have changed. It's more difficult. We're a swing county now. Trump carried the county. I mean, that is unheard of forty years ago

SH: I think he carried it by twenty thousand votes.

BH: twenty-two thousand

SH: twenty-two thousand

**BH:** Yeah, Reagan carried the county, narrowly in 1980, that was rare. But, I don't think Eisenhower carried the county. I may stand corrected, but I think Stevenson carried the county in the fifties. But, man. So it's more difficult now, you don't have that base. It's all TV ads, negative campaigning more so. There's always been negative campaigning, but... Now the negative campaigning is, we make up things. We say, "Bill Haine voted for his pay increase." Which I've never done, but they say that if I voted for a budget with the pay increase in it, I voted for the pay increase. You have to vote for the budget for pete's sake, you know. And the pay increase is now the law. This is some years ago. Or they had an attack on Dan Beiser, that he took, he gave money to a child molester for state representative. When they took the fact that he gave money to Madigan's political operation, who gave money to a guy named Farnham, a state representative, that Democrat who was viewing child porn on his state computer. But that was after the election, nobody knew that at the time. Do you see what I'm saying?

SH: Yes

BH: It's just made up. I was shocked at that. Just made up!

**SH:** So what's going on with Madison County, with the, you referred to the demographic changes, which have been profound. Has that goes along with the economic changes that have occurred? (1:07:35)

**BH:** Yes, and Edwardsville, SIU, frankly, has drawn, and the school district, has brought in people that are more independent, voters, more Republicans. And these subdivisions are grand, the bike trails. All these things contribute to a quality of life that's attractive, and they bring in a different type of voter. The highways. We have a great highway grid, thanks to me and Jay Hoffman and a few others pouring all this money in under Blagojevich, frankly. And SIU, I've spent a lot of my waking hours in Springfield trying to get money for SIU, dorms, and all these things, and that brings in more people. But they're independent voters. And Troy, Maryville, Edwardsville, all these areas have boomed, they're destination spots.

SH: And contrast that with what's happened with Alton and Granite City.

**BH:** Alton is more static. Alton, Godfrey, Granite is too. Although Alton in the last few years, Alton seems to be jelling, a lot of young families are moving in buying these houses, because it is a, it's a historic place with a lot of interesting neighborhoods. And the quality of life, we're twenty minutes from the airport, in Alton. Twenty minutes from Lambert. And people find it to be attractive so there's something going on in Alton that's different than the past few years. Granite is more of a worrisome situation because they're so dependent on that steel mill. Whereas Alton was on the rocks 25, 30 years ago with the closure of its steel mill, which came back. John Simmons helped it come back, as well as the glass works going under. But Alton seems to have gotten beyond that, they're now in that post-industrial age, so to speak. So

SH: How do you think they got past that?

**BH:** They just hung in there, Alton just hung in there, and we have conservative neighborhoods, conservative people, they just, they don't want to move. But now you have some young families saying, hey, these homes are cheap, per square foot, compared to St. Louis County or St. Charles County, and they're coming over here to buy, and I see it all over you. You know in Middletown, you walk around, or Christian Hill, up State Street, there are all kinds of young people walking around, with kids. I didn't see that five, six, seven, eight years ago. So it's interesting.

SH: You mentioned SIUE as a factor in the county change and the road system

**BH:** No question

**SH:** Infrastructure that has brought people and boosted the economy. Are there other factors? Was there a role that banks played, did capital start coming in from St. Louis that didn't come before?

**BH:** Well, I don't know, I'm not facile with that, Steve, but I'll tell you what, the CORE project at ConocoPhillips was a huge shot in the arm. We were hitting the recession, and suddenly they were putting four billion into that plant. Four billion dollars! And they hired like, somebody told me the building trades, 39-hundred craftsmen came in from all over to work on that corporate project.

SH: Wow. But what about the levee system was that important do you think?

**BH:** Yes, without the levee system, the CORE project wouldn't of gone. And Granite City Steel put 750 million into its coker, its new system. Without that, when they put that plan in the mothballs without the investment some years ago, they'd have closed. They kept the plant open because of that investment they had put in. So they'd of closed it outright. That's one of my, I think one of my biggest, my most satisfactory achievements is the levee repair, getting that done in record time. And it's coming to fruition, we'll have certified levees up and down. Our bottomland is one of the few industrial areas in the nation that is going to be flood proof. Five hundred year floods, in record time, and I think we shocked the Corps of Engineers and FEMA by getting that done, and I don't mind saying, I did everything I could get it done. And I worked with Frank Watson, the Republican leader, 'cause the industries were pressuring Frank, and the farmers too. They would have suffered with decertification, and Frank put Repub-I lost

Democratic votes because of the tax, and the fact that I created a new entity: the flood protection board in each county. And that took the power away from the levee board. But you know, these historic Alton, Wood River levy, and the MESD, the Metro East Sanitary District levees system. 'Cause frankly, it was over their head, and it politically it would have been disastrous. I wouldn't have got it passed, and Frank wouldn't have been for it. But when I created this board in this bill, the statewide association of levee districts was opposed to it strongly. They felt it was a power grab, and they have a wide influence, 'cause they're all good ole boys or patronage. They work on these levees, so I had to fight them tooth-and-nail, but with Frank's votes, I could lose the Democratic votes. And he put him on. Frank, without Frank, it wouldn't have gone.

## **SH:** Interesting

**BH:** Yeah, and he wanted Tom Long on the board. I suggested Tom Long to him. He said, "Who's gonna be on these boards? Is it your usual suspects?" That's what he told me, I'll never forget it. I said, "Senator Watson, who do you want on the board?" He was thinking, and I said, "What about somebody like Tom Long," who's a Republican lawyer of some note, former party chairman, and Frank said, "Yeah he'd be good." I said, "Okay, excuse me." So I went out, I called Alan Dunstan, said, "I want your word you're gonna offer this position to Tom Long, three member board." I said, "Alan I want your word. The bill depends on it." He said, "Okay, you got my word." I went back in and told Watson. I got Dunstan's word to the appointment. He said, "Okay," and then Dunstan appointed Pennekamp, Jim, and Ron Motil, good lawyer from Collinsville. Ron's still on there. I don't think Pennekamp is, but Tom's still on there too. Tom Long and Ron Motil. They've done an excellent job, and the first, I put Les Sterman. I had 'em hire Les, who helped with the bill. Les helped me formulate the bill. He's East-West Gateway Director. He's now running that U City loop trolley, trying to get that up. He's a great guy.

**SH:** You've had a very rich and distinguished career, what are some of the, besides the levee system, what are some of the things that, when you look back, you're particularly proud of? (1:16:05)

BH: Oh gosh, I was a chief sponsor of the medical marijuana bill, which caused a stir. Now, Missouri's doing it, I heard. You know that? They're doing it. Got that passed. Well just a number. My tenure as insurance chairman, I created a balance, so that you didn't ruin the market. The medical malpractice thing was a huge controversy. Simmons and Bono help protect me from the trial lawyers in Chicago who were furious that we were doing this medical malpractice reform bill, which was later dumped by the Supreme Court because the docs insisted it be, you didn't have any give in it. You couldn't, the nonseverability clause, which was, I told him, "You're making a mistake." They thought they'd box in the court, and you can't box in the court. But it still changed the tenor. A lot of the provisions were implemented by court rule. Changed the whole tenor, and Randy and John, they didn't do medical malpractice, but Randy never liked the bill, but he backed me. So, so did John, but, oh and it's just a number of others. I got a bill passed early on. Steve Davis, who was then my representative for Beiser, told me I'd never get it passed. So did Holbrook, Tom Holbrook, this creates a surface water protection district for the Metro East. Evelyn tried to get it passed and Tom Holbrook years ago, and they could never get it passed. I got it passed. Which means you could, they could implement a tenth of a cent tax, and do surface water containment, which they should do, but they have a legitimate de jure, a containment district appointed by the county board chair. Before that it was all ad hoc. Now they have a legitimate authority, even without

the tax. Blagojevich signed that into law. He signed into law the levee district too, even though he said he'd never signed a tax increase. But Jay, Jay gets the credit for that. He pressured him into doing it. [Hansen laughs] Rod never published a thing about it, it all his great local. And that thing just boomed, and they're all union labor, and that's the thing, if you, if I take care of my union, if my union factories are benefiting, they hire union people. That's why I've always found myself pro-business and pro-labor. As long as the businesses hire labor people, I'm with 'em. Hundred percent.

SH: You know for the past, you and I are of a similar age...

### BH: Yeah

**SH:** And for the past fifty years, we've seen huge change in America, but also, Madison County. You alluded to the economic change that occurred, demographic change that occurred. Are there other ways that you could characterize what has happened over this, you know when you think of the sweep of time, and the magnitude of changes?

BH: Communications. In fact we have to deal with the fact that we have too much news, too much communications. And I think people are beginning to pull back. Read more. The big issue for me, again, I told you this before we started recording it. You know, in my formative years, I grew up in a country that was, one third of the country was under apartheid, like South Africa was, a brutal system. The African Americans were excluded from the mainstream of life by force and coercion, by the force of law, and that has flowed into this current era. The Black Lives Matter movement, the suspicion of law enforcement. W. E. B. Du Bois wrote about this, about the law being, he said, "The sad thing is, the Africans," as he said, "Need the law to enforce order in their communities, but they're suspicious of the law because it was used against them." He wrote about this before World War I, in his book. That's still true today, the legacy of racism affects law enforcement, and the people's perception of law enforcement, and I think racial issues are the biggest problem we still have in the country, and we have to address it. White people have to be more cognizant of the legacy of racism, and black people have to be cognizant of how that racism has maybe made them more unsafe by corroding their view of what good law enforcement can be, and the, like these monuments, I mean damn. Why would we have a monument to Robert E. Lee? I don't get it. My great-grandfather was in the Union Army, he would've considered Lee a traitor. And I'm a Grant man, [Hansen laughs] and a Sheridan man, or Sherman. But Lee, and these confederate monuments are, I just think it's... And they had this monument down in New Orleans to the White League, which massacred black people after the Civil War. They massacred 'em, shot 'em down as they attempted to meet and organize politically. I mean, and they had a monument to the White League. And then in Memphis, you had Nathan Bedford Forrest, who founded the Ku Klux Klan and was as ruthless a man, he was a brilliant general. Sherman actually wrote that Forrest was the only confederate general he worried about. But he was utterly ruthless and racist to the core. And I saw that monument. Have you seen that monument in Memphis?

## SH: No I haven't.

**BH:** ...well they finally took it down. My wife and I saw it a couple years ago. We went, we bid on a trip to Memphis, to be at the Peabody Hotel for Beverly Farms. And so we went over and saw this. This was a

huge figure on a horse, done by a French sculpture, a magnificent piece of art. You ought to see it, it's stunning. And it's, even the stirrups, these are all bronze, and the hands. It's just unbelievable, but this guy was absolutely... No one we'd want to have a statue to, in my opinion. I mean, and Memphis was segregated ruthlessly until the sixties. It was just an incredible place, but Forrest, as a historic figure, is no one to, you know to have a monument to.

SH: Do you feel like, more easy mix of the races today than...

**BH:** There is a little bit more, but there's also more tension, and I think it's on both sides, but mainly the burden is on white people to see the legacy of some of these actions. The system of human bondage was inherently evil, and the reason why Lovejoy was murdered here, not too far from this spot, was because he told the truth about it being evil, and they didn't want to hear about it, because they knew it was evil, and they were profiting from it, so they didn't want to hear about it. That's why they, that's why they shot him. If truth means nothing to you, you don't care. But if truth goes to your heart and you know it's true, and you're profiting from the evil, you want to get rid of that truth teller.

**SH:** What do you see as, other than the issue of race, what other issues do you think that we are gonna have to confront?

**BH:** Oh, how to have an economy that is, that lifts all boats again, like the forties and fifties. We were in an idyllic period. I was growing up for as the economy. One reason why the crime rates were low, everybody had a job. White people, black people, everybody could find a job. Now it's more difficult, and also what to do about the disintegration of the family. I have no thoughts on, I don't know how to address that, but I think the family unit is in great distress, and you have more out of wedlock births, which caused, I think, terrible problems for the children involved. There's a growing number of distressed children. I heard about it at a hearing in Springfield, the great number of increasing percentages of children who are admitted to hospitals with mental problems. And this psychiatrist testified in front of our committee. He teaches in Chicago, practices in Chicago in the big hospitals, and he said, it's an ever increasing rate, and I think it's because of the disintegration of the family unit. It was a bill to provide wraparound coverage for children with mental problems, how to pull that off. But that's the big challenge we face too.

SH: Well, you know, I wanna thank you again for sitting down and...

BH: Thanks, all I did was blather

**SH:** [Hansen laughs] You know, it's gonna be great, like, 25, 50 years from now, when some historian's going to be going through the archives and they'll be able to search about any number of the topics we've talked about. And they'll be able to get a great insight into what life was like a turn of the century.

**BH:** Well, let me tell you one of my political anecdotes, my political, little skeleton things. I won't tell you all of 'em. I know a lot of them, from Don McLean and Judge Beede, and others. In 1958, George Moran senior got a wild hair to decide to run for probate judge because it was a part time job. And you had a lawyer up in Alton named O'Neill, an uncle of Judge P. J. O'Neill, who was judge years ago. A

friend of mine, he's long retired. O'Neill, Moran, and then there was another Irishman from Granite City who ran named Dufner. So they all ran for probate judge. And it was a nasty race. O'Neill won. Dufner and Moran split the Tri Cities. They were both from Granite City, Madison, Venice area. So, O'Neill won. It was a close race. Moran came in second, Dufner third. And it was Beede who told me this, Judge Beede. So for some time after that, George Moran was really down in his cups. He got beat. And this was his first race outside of committeemen for an office, public office. So he was in a tavern the saloon in Venice, and Venice was mainly Irish then. And the mayor, who was kind of the dictator and mayor of Venice, was a dentist named Dr. John Lee, had a dental office of Madison and also ran the bank, allegedly had control of all the slot machines in Venice, right across the McKinley Bridge from Missouri, which was a blue, what do?

## SH: Blue laws.

**BH:** Blue laws, no gambling, no nothing. So they come over to gamble in Venice, and they pay a toll too, on top of it, to the city, it was a toll bridge. So Dr. Lee had all this cash. In any case, George, George's wife was named, Cecilia Rogan and his, her sister was George's longtime secretary, Mary Catherine. [unclear] She was just a wonderful person, and so was Cecilia. Ceil they called her. So George was in this saloon, and he was really down in the cups. So Dr. Lee saw him and went over, and George was drinking, and Dr. Lee put his arm around him, and said, "George, you've been really down in the cups the last month, because of that probate judge race, right?" And he said, "Yeah, doc," he said, "I can understand getting beat, you know, I knew going into this with both of us from Granite City area, we'd split the vote and O'Neill could win. So it isn't that. It's just that in Venice, here, I mean, I knew all these people. My wife's from Venice, big Irish fam- we all went to St. Mark's in Venice, and I just can't understand our own people voting against us. We lost Venice." And Dr. Lee patted him on the back and said, "George, if it makes you feel any better, you did win Venice. We stole it." [Hansen laughs] Honest, they stuff, these are paper ballots. They changed the ballot box, and stuffed it with Dufner votes. [Hansen laughs] And Beede said, "George, felt a lot better after that." He could understand them stealing the election more than he could understand his own people voting against him. Now that's politics.

**SH:** That's great. Well thanks again for speaking with me, and I guess I'll see you this afternoon at the reception.

BH: Oh I gotta get going. I gotta get a haircut, otherwise I'll look like Buddy Holly.

Unknown Third voice: Thank you again for your time.