2-20-2000

Cabot, Jane Fenderson oral history interview

Don Nicoll

Interview with Jane Fenderson Cabot by Don Nicoll

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee
Cabot, Jane Fenderson

Interviewer
Nicoll, Don

Date
February 20, 2000

Place
Portland, Maine

ID Number
MOH 179

Biographical Note

Jane Fenderson Cabot was born on April 30, 1943 in Biddeford, Maine. Her parents were Janet (Hazelton) and Charles Fenderson. Her mother was a homemaker, and her father was a store superintendent at the Porteous, Mitchell and Braun Department Store in Portland, Maine. Jane lived in Biddeford until her family moved to Saco, Maine, in the late 1940s. Her family was fairly political, influenced by her uncle Paul Hazelton, who was a Bowdoin College professor, and a campaign manager for Ed Muskie. Cabot graduated from Thornton Academy in 1960. She then attended Mount Holyoke College, graduating in 1964. During her last two summers at Mount Holyoke, she worked as an intern in Ed Muskie's Senate office. After her graduation from college, she returned to Washington to work in Senator Muskie's office. Her positions included Secretary, Research Assistant, and Special Assistant. At the time of this interview, she was Executive Vice President of the public issues practice at the M. Booth Company.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlantic City; Civil Rights discussions in the Muskie office; Bobby Kennedy at the 1964 Convention; Hubert Humphrey election at Mount Holyoke; physical description of Paul Hazleton; Paul Hazleton as an academic; Muskie's Senatorial staff in 1965; descriptions of the Senate offices and procedures;

Housing Bill of 1965; interactions between Jane Fenderson and Ed Muskie; Indian issues of the 1960s; Office of Economic Opportunity; New England Senators Council; Campobello Commission; Senate staffs of the 1960s operating within the changes in society; staff sizes; Muskie's Vietnam dilemma; the Women's movement in Washington offices; salary structures in Washington, DC; Alaskan Native Claim Settlement; Model Cities; maintaining the office with a limited staff as Muskie gained national attention; Muskie's relations with other Senators; debates with Henry "Scoop" Jackson over environmental jurisdiction; 1966 elections in Maine; scheduling for the 1966 elections; personal dilemma in sticking with Muskie over Vietnam; relation between Muskie and Margaret Chase Smith; rifts at the 1968 Maine Democratic Convention; King assassination; the DSCC fundraiser on the night of King's assassination; 1968 Chicago Convention; Mayor Daley at the Chicago Convention; and the mood of the vice presidential nomination.

Indexed Names

Ashcroft, Janet (Roede)
Ashcroft, John David
Baker, Howard H. (Howard Henry), 1925-
Billings, Leon
Boggs, James Caleb, 1909-
Brooke, Ed
Brown, Ty
Cabot, Jane Fenderson
Califano, Joseph A., 1931-
Colson, Charles
Conley, Gerry
Cooper, Dexter
Cory, Gayle
Curtis, Kenneth M., 1931-
Cutler, Eliot
Daley, Richard J., 1902-1976
Dole, Robert J., 1923-
Eastland, James
Ezold, Nancy (O'Mara)
Ferris, Charlie
Flanagan, David
Fosdick, Dorothy
Fulbright, J. William (James William), 1905-1995
Goldwater, Barry M. (Barry Morris), 1909-1998
Gorman, Leon A.
Graves, Earl G.
Hamer, Fannie Lou
Hansen, Don
Harris, Fred
Hart, Philip A. (Philip Aloysius), 1912-1976

Hazelton, Paul
Henry, Aaron
Hildenbrand, William F. “Bill”
Hoffmann, Joanne Amnott
Hoffmann, Nordy
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978
Humphrey, Muriel
Jackson, Henry M. (Henry Martin), 1912-1983
Javits, Jacob K. (Jacob Koppel), 1904-1986
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963
Kennedy, Robert F., 1925-1968
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 1929-1968
Kyros, Peter N., Jr.
Kyros, Peter N., Sr.
Lander, Charlie
Lewis, Bill
Linton, Ron M.
MacNichol, Alexander
MacNichol, Genevieve
Mansfield, Mike, 1903-2001
Martin, John
McCarthy, Eugene J., 1916-2005
McClellan, John L. (John Little), 1896-1977
McEvoy, John
McIntire, Clifford
McIntyre, Mabel
McIntyre, Thomas
McNamara, Pat
Miller, Bill
Mitchell, George J. (George John), 1933-
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996
Muskie, Jane Gray
Nicoll, Don
Nicoll, Hilda
O’Leary, John
Peabody, Endicott “Chub”
Pitts, Virginia
Porteous, Bob
Poulin, Sandy
Randolph, Jennings
Ransome, Lorelei (Williams)
Ribicoff, Abraham, 1910-
Roede, Ann
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (Franklin Delano), 1882-1945
Roth, Bill

Royce, Richard
Shepherd, Bob
Smith, Germaine C. "Gerry"
Smith, Margaret Chase, 1897-1995
Steinbrenner, George
Stockford, Chip
Violette, Elmer
Walker, David H.
Webber, Edwin "Ike"

Transcript

Don Nicoll: It is Sunday, February 20th, the year 2000. We are at 9 Highland Street in Portland, Maine, the home of Don and Hilda Nicoll, and we are interviewing Jane Fenderson Cabot. This is the second tape in the series of interviews with Jane. Welcome, Jane. In our first interview we went up pretty much through 1964 and your time as an intern in Senator Muskie's office. Before we continued, I wanted to ask you if there were any items that you wanted to elaborate on from the last discussion.

Jane Fenderson Cabot: One of the things that we didn't touch on I think in the last interview was the summer of '64 and the presidential campaign warming up and the Democratic convention in Atlantic City. Johnson was obviously running for reelection, there was a lot of speculation about his vice-presidential candidates. I don't remember all the machinations except what I read in some of the Johnson histories about what was going on and how he played one person off another, promis-, or seeming to promise one person and then another the vice presidency but I didn't, I don't, I just know that through history.

What I do remember very distinctly is a trip that I took along with a train load of young Democrats from Washington up to Atlantic City. I think it was the, in fact I know it was the last day of the convention which had been, in fact, a very interesting one from the point of view of the civil rights disputes that were going on in the seating, and the whole argument that went on over seating the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. And that really was, that captured a lot of what was going on in the country in those times where the old traditional Mississippi Democrats led by the Johns, Dennises, and Jim Eastlands on one side, and then the other, the Freedom Democrats who were, as I recall, an integrated group. And I think Aaron Henry was there, Fannie Lou Hamer who made an enormously powerful presentation to the Democratic platform committee. And that was sort of the backdrop of a lot of politics that summer.

DN: Do you remember much discussion of that in the Muskie office?

JC: I think we were all aware of it but specifically, no, I mean I think we were all very much taken, sort of. It was the beginning of the very conscious civil rights movement that I had begun to get interested in in college. And college students in particular were, you know, for the freedom rights in the south and an awful lot of things with northern students going down into Mississippi and some of the deep-south states working on voter registration and other projects. I

had friends who went down, although I didn't.

And anyway, backtracking, we went, we took this large train from Washington's Union Station up to Atlantic City for the day. And as I recall, as we were walking from the station in Atlantic City to the convention hall, we ran into a huge outdoor rally with Bobby Kennedy who was running for the Senate from New York. And I remember just standing, I have a picture of him as a matter of fact, standing on top of a car roof talking to a very large crowd of mostly young people, because that's who we were. I mean there was this train load literally, of young students walking, so it was mostly young people and he stood and we were very excited.

DN: Were these young people who were working for the summer in Washington?

JC: Yeah, it was organized by the DNC as I recall and we were able to sign up. I think we, I know we had to pay our way on the train, but the tickets and everything into the convention were free. And I think they emptied out congressional offices and all sorts of federal agencies of all interns. It was hundreds of people literally going up.

DN: Which day of the convention was it?

JC: I think it was the last day. As I recall it was the Thursday. It was certainly the day . . . What they did is they were building a crowd for Johnson and I, we saw Johnson's acceptance speech, we saw Humphrey's acceptance speech, and, but they were sort of completely overshadowed by Bobby Kennedy's appearance that night. He got up with, the highlight of the evening was supposed to be the president's acceptance, but the highlight of the evening was really the presentation of a film that had been made honoring President Kennedy. And Bobby got up to introduce it and the convention went wild. And as I recall, it was an ovation that went on and on and on and on. Nobody could stop it. People were literally standing on chairs just applauding, and it was an, it was sort of an outpouring. It was everything that people hadn't been able to express in that kind of setting. It was overpowering, I remember that. I remember we were all standing on chairs, people were crying, people were yelling, people were applauding, and then, as I say, it was very hard to bring the convention to order.

I'm sure it was, in a way, very embarrassing to President Johnson who was sitting on the platform along with every other Democrat in the world. They finally did bring the convention to order and the film was showed, it wasn't a long one, shown, it was not a long one, maybe ten minutes, fifteen at the very most. But it was the emotional, sort of, it was a, also cathartic I think. People hadn't, Democrats hadn't been able to get it out. Anyway, I don't remember Johnson's speech at all.

DN: Do you remember Humphrey's speech?

JC: Vaguely, but I don't remember. I mean, I remember Humphrey was always a more entertaining speaker anyway, than Johnson. And I think the traditional role of any vice presidential candidate is to set the scene for the presidential candidate, and I'm sure he did that in his usual sort of long-winded way. I don't remember a thing that either one of them said.

DN: When you were in Atlantic City, did you see Senator Muskie or any of the Muskie staff?

JC: I don't remember if I saw him. I don't think I did, although it's possible. I have a vague recollection of walking into a suite somewhere, yes, I think I did. I think, Atlantic City was pretty tawdry in those days and it was sort of a peculiar place to have a Democratic convention. And I think it was probably the last one that anybody would have thought of having there. Yeah, I think you had, I think I visited the Maine delegation and it was on a boardwalk, and I recall it wasn't a very big place. And I don't remember if he was there, or, I just remember it was a delegation place and they were staying there, but I don't remember any specifics at all.

DN: Then you went back and back to normalcy in the office.

JC: Finished off the summer in the office, finished doing those addressograph plates that I talked about and continuing on the negative research. I think it really was negative research on Cliff McIntire, that we were looking into voting records and just sort of making sure that we knew every single vote he had ever cast and, you know, how they stacked up vis-à-vis Muskie's record, and they were really quite different votes. He was not at all, they were not politically on the same side.

DN: When you went back to college that fall, was it hard to get into the academic routine again?

JC: Yeah, it was terrible. That summer, the year before I'd had a wonderful summer but I was able to ease back in to school. This was my senior year after, in '64, I didn't want to go back to college. I had been living on my own in Washington that summer with a group of other classmates and friends, and the last place I wanted to be was South Hadley, Massachusetts and on a bucolic college campus. I really wanted to be out in the real world. I remember resenting going back. I finally settled in but it was very hard.

It was also the middle of the presidential campaign and I really would have loved to have taken part in it. It wasn't exactly a difficult campaign, it turned out to be the great landslide, the Democratic landslide of 1964, but there was a lot of excitement on campus. Hubert Humphrey came by in October, it was sort of late October as I recall, and he was running true to form. We expected him in the morning and I think he showed up about four o'clock in the afternoon. There's an outdoor amphitheater at Mt. Holyoke and it seats several thousand people and it was very exciting because it was a huge crowd that turned out for Humphrey.

And we sort of came and went during the course of the day as we would get updates on his schedule, and I think it was literally an unscheduled stop. I think he was making the rounds of the college campuses in western Massachusetts that day and he'd been over in Amherst. And there was a lot of doubt as to whether or not he'd come over to South Hadley, but when they heard about the huge crowd that really was sitting there waiting for him he did show up. He came with Chub Peabody who was then the governor of Massachusetts. And Muriel was with him, and I don't remember who all else was in the retinue, but it was very exciting. And the campus, it was a, like most of the country, overwhelmingly a Johnson-Humphrey crowd that year.

I remember later that fall a couple of the, a Goldwater son and a whoever, was it [Bill] Miller who ran as Goldwater's running mate, one of the Goldwaters and a Miller daughter came through the campus. Obviously it was much lower key. There is sort of an interesting sidelight to that. Two of the Goldwater, and really there were very few Goldwater supporters on campus, and one of them, or two of them were the Roede twins who were a year behind me, they were identical twins, Ann and Janet [Aschroft] Roede. And they were big Goldwater supporters and they escorted these, the son and the daughter around. The footnote that I want to say is that one of those twins, and I can't remember which one it is [Janet], is married to John Ashcroft of Missouri, and who was thought to be a presidential candidate earlier this last year, but isn't. But anyway, so she obviously stuck to her stripes all these years.

DN: Now, was there any major event other than the presidential campaign and the Humphrey visit that you recall in connection with your Muskie connections during that school year?

JC: Well, yes, I came to the inauguration of President Johnson in 19-, January 1965, and I came to the office to see you and to visit my friends from the summer. And it was at that time that you asked me what I was planning to do and of course I didn't have a plan in my head at that point, and suggested that perhaps if I wanted to come back to work on a full time basis after graduation I could. And I was thrilled because that's absolutely what I wanted to do. I had toyed around with graduate school applications. And I remember thinking at the time, this is sort of silly because I don't have an idea in my head how I would pay for graduate school. And I did apply, I went through the motions of applying at graduate school, really hoping that I would get a job in Senator Muskie's office, which is what I did.

DN: Did we talk at that point about what you might do?

JC: Yeah, I think you did, it was sort of a little bit open-ended but you suggested that I would be working with you and doing some basic research and actually what it turned out to be, filing. But it was a little bit, I knew that I would be working probably in the same, outside your office and doing something related to either working with you or helping with research and doing a little bit of this and a little bit of that. And in fact, I think the job originally was called research assistant.

DN: Before we get into your joining the staff, I wanted to go back to your Uncle Paul who played a very important role in your life and also in the life of the Democratic Party in Maine. Could you give us a description of Paul Hazelton? What did he look like, how did he act?

JC: Paul, as a young man, when he worked, when he would have been working with, on the Muskie campaign in '56, that was before he grew his beard because that's one of the things I remember most about him in his middle and later years. As a young man he did not have a beard. But he was sort of not tall, he was probably about five-eight or thereabouts. He was, he sort of ranged from being a little bit on the stocky side to, when he would go on diets, be relatively slight. He was, like most of my family, tended to put on weight so he had to watch that. He had very blue eyes, which are one of the things that I remember most about him. He had a, because of various football injuries through high school and college, he had sort of a,

somewhat of a smashed in nose, it wasn't exactly Greek. I think it might have been a lot better as a younger person, but it really was damaged.

He had, his, he had a wonderful way of listening to people, and he also loved to talk, and those two qualities don't always go hand in hand in the same person. He was a wonderful, I think because he was a teacher, he knew how to listen to young people in particular; everyone, but in particular young people and that's the way I related to him obviously. He was interested in what you had to say and what you were thinking, and at the same time he never stopped being a teacher. He talked a lot, I think talking, words, ideas, he ruminated as he talked. You would have a conversation with him and there might be a very long pause, and then he would come back with an allusion or a reference that you might have to stop and think about it for awhile.

He also loved to get in a car and ride around Maine. I might have mentioned this before I think, I don't know whether it had to do with partly the campaign experience, but he was, he loved Maine, he loved corners of Maine. He would go to places that no one else would know about and know a little bit about that place, or who had voted or who was the Democratic postmistress in this town.

He balded at a relatively young age, he grew bald, I guess balded is a word, wrong way to say it, but he did grow bald relatively young, and then he, as I say he grew a beard when he was probably around, oh I'd say forty, or maybe even younger but forty probably, and that he kept all his life. It was probably, it was trimmed fairly neatly. Paul, one never knew what Paul was going to have on, sometimes, I mean he was fairly absentminded professor looking. He would frequently, he got a little bit snappier as he got older, but he would frequently wear a plaid shirt with a tweed jacket with a striped tie or something like that.

DN: Did he recall for you, at any time, his experiences in that '56 campaign?

JC: Oh yeah, he did. I can't remember specifics, it was, I was young and it was an awful long time ago, but it was because of everything that he had to say, he was a, that I became interested in politics. I think I really absorbed the passion, the interest, the interplay of ideas and personalities that make up politics. The excitement of being a Democrat in Maine in those days, we were really literally building a party. The sense of, 'Oh my goodness, what have we done? We've suddenly become a force'. All of that I absorbed and he talked about.

DN: Now, that fashion carried over for you and you went to work for Senator Muskie in the summer of 1965. How long after you graduated did you head for Washington?

JC: Well, I've always looked back on that and laughed because I had some feeling that you wanted me there and therefore I cut my trip to Europe short, which of course was not a necessary thing to do, but I felt I needed to be there. I started work in August, having as I say taken about five or six weeks trip to England and the Continent, which was the first time I had been overseas, that summer. And I remember starting work and the first thing I did, the first week, was to compose a form letter having to do with the riots in Watts. This was the summer that Watts blew up, it had just happened. And we were getting stacks of mail on the subject and you assigned me to write the form letter and I did. And I remember that being my very first real assignment and I

slaved over that letter and was very proud of it.

DN: You said earlier that you had primarily been a file clerk at first.

JC: Well that was, that's sort of a joke, although that was one of my responsibilities was to take care of the legislative files. I did a lot of answering mail, I mean that was much of what the job was. I would, we occasionally would divide it up so that certain people would have certain areas that we were responsible for.

DN: Could you recall how the office was organized in those days?

JC: You were the administrative, you, Don, were the administrative assistant and as such oversaw everything. The executive assistant by then was Chip Stockford, George Mitchell had left I think earlier that year to come back to Maine. Bob Shepherd was the press secretary. Did he come then or did he come a little bit later?

DN: He came later.

JC: He came, I'm sorry, yeah, he did, I can't remember, who was the press secretary that year? When did Bob come? He came shortly thereafter.

DN: Yeah, he came by 1966.

JC: Sixty-six, I was just going to say, because he was definitely there in '66, but I can't remember who did it in '65. Was he still doing -?

DN: I think Chip was press secretary and executive assistant.

JC: Okay, maybe that was it. Anyway, so the executive assistant was among other things the person who sort of oversaw a lot of Maine projects and case work, as I recall. Obviously whoever was the press secretary, that function was fairly closely defined. The, Joanne Amnott [Hoffmannn] had by this time been married to Nordy Hoffmannn, she had been the senator's personal secretary when I first was there as an intern. And that job had been taken over by Gayle [Cory], I believe somewhere in that trans-, I'm not sure exactly when the transition took place, but Gayle was essentially doing that job when I came back.

So there was sort of the front office when you, where public, where the public would walk in, there'd be a receptionist and generally, I think, the senator's secretary assistant sat in a partition office behind the front desk, and there might have been one other person out there. And then the next office, and this was 221 in the old Senate office building then, it's now the Russell Senate office building, the second office in the suite was Senator Muskie's office and it overlooked the park. I don't even know if it has a name, where the Taft fountain is. The third office adjoining the senator's was where you were, you had the back part of that office. And I shared the office with, at that time, in 1965, Nancy O'Mara Ezold who was your assistant. And then in the next, fourth office in this row, we had five, a suite of five offices, in the fourth office would have been, I think by that time the front part was Virginia Pitts and the back part must have been Chip

Stockford.

And then in the back office, the fifth office in the suite, we would put various and sundry clerks, the press secretary's office was back there, and there might have been one or two other assistants. That was where we tended to put a lot of bodies, back there. It was also where the copying machines were, and these were, this was pre-Xerox, we were using old thermafax machines, and we still had old mimeograph, I remember those terribly messy blue ink. It's very hard to describe to young people these days what, how primitive the equipment was that we used, especially in view of what we have now. It was obviously pre-Fax, it was even pre-Xerox.

We did have electric typewriters but they were not self-correcting so every, we used a very complicated system of multiple colored carbons and as I recall you had an original, each of us was responsible pretty much for typing our own correspondence. You would put in the original, the top, the very nice white United States Senate stationery, and then you had this set of carbons that went by and I remember there were three, there was a blue, a pink and a yellow, maybe even a white, four carbons. And each one had a specific place where they were they were supposed to go in the files. And among my jobs in the beginning which, of course I hated, was filing the legislative, trying to keep the legislative files in order.

And that was everybody's bane, nobody liked to file although of course it was important when you were looking for something. And again, when you think about how much different it is now where everything is stored in a computer and you've got all your files right there, this was, we're talking about paper files that were deep, deep, deep and you would have to dig, dig, dig to get something. And hopefully it would be where it, in the proper folder.

DN: As you went through the business of writing form letters and handling correspondence, what were the issues that were most on your plate during that period?

JC: I mentioned the odds and ends of things of the big national issues. Although Senator Muskie was hardly a national figure at that point, there would be certain things that every senator would hear about, and I mentioned Watts being one. Civil rights would have been another big issue on everybody's mind at that time. There were, I think that was, 1965 was the voting rights act. There were just monumental bills, the housing, there was a big housing bill of 1965. I believe that was the one that led to the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development if I've got my history right. But anyway, the housing, there were just big national issues.

Muskie was on the housing committee, housing subcommittee which was part of the banking and currency committee in those days, I think it still is. So we would get a lot of housing related, nationally related mail from lobbyists and others. By this time he was, I think I'd mentioned also that he was chairman of the subcommittee on intergovernmental relations. He was also, by this time, chairman of the subcommittee on air and water pollution. And although most of the correspondence having to do with that legislation would be handled initially at the subcommittee level, a lot of it came back to us for either signature or, you know, review and everything and frequently got rewritten. We did rewrite a lot as I recall, and edit.

Leon Billings came on at about the same time I did, I think he came on in the fall of '65 as the senator's staff person on the subcommittee on air and water pollution. Leon was a brash young man we had known as a lobbyist with the, hmph -

DN: American Public Power Association.

JC: I was going to say, American Public something, Power, thank you, APPA, yeah. And he had joined the staff that fall, so he came on. As I say we were more or less contemporaneous. Leon is from Montana and always was fun to work with.

DN: What were the -?

JC: Oh, by the way, I always enjoyed this. All of us from Maine always called him Leon and he was known by just about everybody else in the world as 'Le-on' and that was a big distinction, and I remember Muskie calling him Leon. It was, we all did, it's very funny.

DN: As Leon Gorman would be known today.

JC: Yes, yes.

DN: You mentioned Leon coming on the public works subcommittee staff, do you recall the working relationship with the different subcommittees with which the senator had a connection?

JC: Sure, Ron Linton, was it Ron Linton was on the, was he the staff director or was it Dick Royce? They were both involved.

DN: Well Leon -

JC: I'm really getting confused on who was where. I know Dick Royce was the Public Works Committee and he was, senator from West Virginia.

DN: Jennings Randolph.

JC: Thank you, Jennings Randolph's person, and -

DN: Ron Linton was the chief clerk when Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan was chairman of the Public Works Committee.

JC: Okay, was he there in the beginning?

DN: He was there at the beginning, he started in '63.

JC: Yeah, at the beginning, okay, yeah, yeah, and then -

DN: Then -

JC: Royce came on.

DN: Royce came on with Jennings Randolph.

JC: Okay, with Jennings Randolph, that's right, because I remember Ron a lot better in those days coming in and out a lot. Working relationship, I think it was close. They came in and out all the time, we, there was a lot, any time there was any legislation obviously it was much, much more traffic and much more in and out than when things, when the legislative season was not so heavy. There was a lot of paper flow, a lot of memoranda, a lot of telephone calls between you and the staff people assigned to Muskie or who were actually his staff, in the case of intergovernmental relations.

Intergovernmental, IGR had a little bit more formalized structure as I recall than the public works, the air and water pollution, it was really more Leon and one or two people, and IGR had a whole staff operation. David Walker had been staff director when I was an intern. I think in '65, somewhere along the way I think [Edwin] Ike Webber came on, I can't remember if it was '65, '66 back then. But they had a chief counsel, they had a whole clerical staff. That subcommittee though was much more, in some ways, less legislative and more oversight, I would say. I think more legislation came out of the air and water pollution subcommittee. Muskie was also chairman of something called the subcommittee on international finance I believe, of the banking and currency committee about that time and had been holding hearings on the 'balance of payments' crisis, which were sort of esoteric and not exactly his thing as I recall, but they were interesting hearings.

And as my job evolved, I had a lot of, a lot of to and fro with the subcommittee staffs and tended to edit transcripts as things would evolve. I eventually became the editor of all of Muskie's, his part of transcripts, when we'd have hearings they would come back to us, we would look them, we would straighten them out. He was not very difficult to straighten out, his syntax was quite superb, but occasionally just for clarity's sake we would have to do it occasionally. We would have to really edit other people's, and I did an awful lot of editing as we went along down the way.

DN: In the editing work, were you interacting with Senator Muskie directly?

JC: Not a lot, no. No, not really. He was, Senator Muskie was a very, in many ways, hands-off person. I mean he was hands-on when he wanted to be involved in legislation, but he left most of the management of the office to you and to others that he trusted. Occasionally I would get involved in writing, he would edit letters occasionally when they, he obviously did not sign a lot personally, but we would make a value judgment somewhere along the way. If it was a personal friend he needed to know about or if it was an important issue that he needed to read, or if it was a new, some sort of a new important letter that we were sending out, he always would review.

And he would sometimes take those letters and sit on them for weeks at a time. And that became a huge issue for us, you and I, in trying to figure out how to keep the paper flowing in and out of his office. And I got so that I would go in and shove, I had developed a system where I would

take things from the bottom and move them to the top hoping that he would act on them, and in fact that usually, it usually meant if he wasn't acting on them he didn't want to. He either didn't want to face it, or it wasn't something he wanted to deal with, or it was like don't bother me with this. You never were quite sure, he was nonverbal about it. You just knew that he wasn't dealing with this piece of paper.

But occasionally something would attract his interest. I remember writing a few letters to kids, students who would be writing in asking him what it, you know, what he felt about an issue or what it was like to be a United States Senator. And you would try, one would try to answer, to write a responsive answer to, or at least I did. And I remember writing some letters that he would then really rewrite in a much more thoughtful way, and those were always fun. It was fun to see how he would react to something on paper, and it would stimulate something in him and he'd rewrite what he wanted to say. And I always enjoyed that a lot, it was fun.

DN: Did you get to interact with him on some of the legislative issues other than the correspondence?

JC: Not in the beginnings, but obviously as I got a little bit more seasoned I became, I got to interact with him a lot more as I went along. But not in the very beginning, no.

DN: Did you start to specialize soon in your legislative work?

JC: I think so. I think that, I took over, and again I'm not exactly sure what dates and when it, it all sort of gradually evolved, and we would take a look at things and see who was doing what from time to time and what needed to be attended to. As I say, I quickly took over doing a lot of the editing of the transcripts from the subcommittees, I remember that, all of them. They would just come to me and I'd try to get them out quickly, because they needed to go get printed.

I think I took over things like Indian Affairs at some point, and some relatively minor legislative issues. And then I might oversee a couple, we would take it by committee perhaps, committees that he was not on, other committees, judiciary. I didn't do judiciary, but I mean we'd break it down into those kinds of ways. I did, because of the situation of Maine Indians and the fact that they were state Indians and not federal Indians, and the distinction that that had for all, and the implications it had for legislative matters at the federal level, we had to pay a lot of attention to Maine Indians, and for many different ways.

As the, let me circle back because I just remembered something. You asked about legislative issues in 1964. Another big, huge one was the office the OEO, Office of Economic Opportunity Act, we did a, we spent a lot of time on that. And this, the way the legislation would have been written, Maine Indians would not have qualified. So we had to sort of look at every single important piece of legislation in those days to make sure that there was a specific provision to include state Indians. And those were Indians in Maine, Massachusetts, I believe Connecticut, and some of the southern states, most of which, and it resulted because many of the treaties predated the federal constitution. Or in Maine's case, it might have had something to do with the separation from Maine and Massachusetts. In any event, they were special cases and we had to make sure that they were all included in federal legislation. That usually meant a separate

amendment. Sometimes you could deal with it through the report process, when legislation was being reported out of committee to make sure there was a provision in that, that indicated that the legislation would also cover state Indians. Anyway, we all had to take, and I remember having, being very concerned with the Indians over the years.

DN: Was it characteristic of the office to monitor legislation for its potential impact on Maine? And corollary question, were Maine issues translated into legislative proposals?

JC: I think yes and yes. Certainly anybody would have, we would obviously have to consider what the implications of any legislation were on the state of Maine. When I was an intern I remember hearing an awful lot about ARA, that was the Area Redevelopment Administration which was something that had been developed, I believe, in the Kennedy administration. And then it sort of, I think, got translated other ways in various, but economic development was something that we paid enormous attention to.

Obviously I think much of what Senator Muskie, much of what motivated Senator Muskie and his interest in the environment came out of his experience in Maine. And all of the air and water pollution legislation that he developed was very much with an eye to how it would affect Maine, not just obviously Maine and everywhere else, but it was very, very important to him and to all of us to think about its implications in New England. We had a lot, there was a fairly active, and Don, you're going to have to bring it up for me, but the whole New England senator's council where all the senators, it was a bipartisan group of senators, all the New England states, would meet on issues of impact to the region. And I think you were, what, secretary of that at one point?

DN: Secretary.

JC: Yeah, and so -

DN: Do you remember who I succeeded as secretary?

JC: I believe it was Chuck Colson.

DN: That's right.

JC: Yes, I do remember that. Anyway, the New England senators probably still are, but certainly back then would get together on issues of importance to the region, economic development being one. Oil, I remember, I mean even back then we were talking about heating oil and the importance of it to New England. Anything having to do with pollution. There was the rivers, what was it, the water, something to do with river compact in New England. I don't know, there were an awful lot of regional things that we would get involved in from time to time. And I think that was something that you were always concerned in so therefore I would end up knowing a lot about it and getting involved on the side.

Something else that both you and I did a lot, always on, was Campobello, and that was something that was I think dear to both of us. And, overseeing it, shepherding the budgets

through, the appropriations process of Congress. That was always important because it was a separate line item in the federal budget and we always had to make sure, I remember that was one of the first things we looked at when the budget would come out, when the president's budget, would be to make sure that Campobello was in there, and it was. Getting ready for meetings, having very long conversations with the first executive director of the Campobello commission who was Alex MacNichol from Eastport I believe? He and his wife, Gen, Genevieve, were the, I believe, the executive secretary or something like that, and what was she, secretary of the, or sort of unofficial or official, I think they were both paid.

DN: No, she was secretary to the commission (*unintelligible phrase*).

JC: Commission, and he was the executive director of the park.

DN: And superintendent of the park.

JC: That's right, yeah, yeah, in the early days. Anyway, we spent an awful lot of time on that shepherding it and watching it, answering questions, I mean really, really, really did.

DN: A little footnote for historians who may be reading the transcript of this interview or listening to it, Genevieve MacNichol was secretary to Dexter Cooper who was the engineer who developed the proposal for the Passamaquoddy Tidal Power project back in the '20s and '30s.

JC: I don't think I ever knew that, Don, that's interesting, yeah, yeah.

DN: It's an important connection back to the Roosevelt administration. The, you mentioned the connection between Maine issues and legislation and talked about how it worked. Was there much connection between the members of the staff who were working on cases and legislative proposals or legislative work?

JC: Yes and no. They would do their own thing and they handled military cases, they handled social, any number of immigration cases. And how they would occasionally get involved in legislation was if there were special bills that needed to be introduced on specific, there were private bills then, I suppose there still are, where you could petition for the relief of a specific individual, whether it was immigration or something like that. Usually it was immigration, as I recall. They would have, because of their experience dealing with problems of social security and everything, they would frequently have very strong opinions about bills and we would seek those, or they would give them, and I think that would go, obviously, to the senator for his, for him to sort of figure out and deal with.

I wanted to, I, this is jumping ahead a bit but before I forget it I want to talk about one specific interaction I had with Senator Muskie on a bill, because it always stuck in my mind and I always was amused by it. This was some years later, it was probably in '70 or '71, and I was, at that point we were much more delineated in our tasks, in legislative tasks. And I was still responsible for Indians and, on a national scale as well as Maine, and included in this purview were the Alaskan natives at this point. And there was at this time the huge land settlement, the Alaskan Native [Land Claims] Settlement Act that did so much to pour money into Alaska.

And I remember writing a fairly detailed memorandum to the senator about a series of votes that were coming up on the Senate floor about the bill. We had obviously been lobbied by people about it, and it was a, you know, civil rights and an Indian, a Native American issue. And I took the memorandum over to him, or he, I think I took it over to him on the Senate floor, or it may have been something he'd read already, but I remember having to deal with him directly on it and he was grumpy and he didn't want to think about it, he didn't want to talk about it, he didn't want to deal with it. And he said, "Why am I supposed to be interested in this?" And I remember looking him straight in the eye and saying to him, "Because it's the right thing to do." He didn't say anything else, he just garumphed and he went off, but I was very happy that he voted the right way.

DN: He didn't debate you.

JC: No, he did not.

DN: Okay, we're going to turn to the other side.

JC: Okay.

End of Side A, Tape

Side B, Tape One

DN: It is the 20th of February, the year 2000, this is the second side of the tape, second in a series of interviews with Jane Fenderson Cabot. Jane, on the other side of this tape we were talking about your working relationship with the senator, in part on legislation and correspondence, etcetera, and we also talked about the relationship between different members of the staff. I'd like you to talk a bit about how a senate staff in those days, and the Muskie staff in particular, related to, operated within, the context of the dramatic changes that were taking place in American society. We had the civil rights movement, and then spinning off from that in a sense the women's rights movement, and then the gay rights movement. How did those affect the staff itself, and how did Senator Muskie react to those developments?

JC: In the early days, and I'd say, I think when I say early days from my context, I would say up until 1968 and then everything changed obviously. But until 1968 we were very much a Maine based staff in Washington, and obviously in Maine. That wasn't at all surprising given the fact that senate staffs in those days were allocated, the budget for senate staffs was allocated on the basis of population, and so larger states would get a little, would get larger staffs. But compared to what they are now, they were very small. I think we had somewhere in the neighborhood of sixteen to twenty people in the office, on the staff in Washington at those, in those days. So we were basically from Maine or had Maine roots, not everybody. We would frequently have secretarial support from just the Washington area, but most of the professional staff had Maine roots in the early days.

The top management was completely male, it was sort of a given, nobody really questioned it in

the beginning. When I came in as a research assistant in 1965, that was probably among the top professional spots for a woman. The case workers were women. The person who supervised them was a man, and that was just a given.

As, you mentioned the civil rights movements of the sixties. We were all, I think, very much in sympathy with what was going on in terms of the black-white divide in the country. Again, we were less directly affected in terms of our own working relationships because we, in those days I don't remember having an African-American on the staff until Lori [Lorelei J.] Williams [Ransome] was hired in, I think, early '68 to be your assistant, Don. And then at about roughly the same time we had a file clerk whose name was Gerry [Germaine C. Smith], and I think it was Smith if my memory serves me right, that may be wrong, but that sounds right to me, who was hired at the same time as, or more or less the same time, as a file clerk. And that, so then Gerry and Lori were African-Americans on the staff, but no others. So we didn't have, I think the first professional African-American on Senator Muskie's staff was probably [Tyrone] Ty Brown who came on as a, as the staff director of the intergovernmental relations subcommittee in about 1970 or '71.

Now what, two movements actually that did have an impact on the staff, one which you mentioned. One which you didn't mention was certainly the anti-war movement as it developed in the mid to late sixties, had a direct relationship, I think, to Senator Muskie's increasingly uncomfortable position inside the Democratic Party, as President Johnson ratcheted up the war in Vietnam. And that's a sort of separate discussion so I'll leave that, because it did impact the staff and it particularly impacted, I think, the younger staff. I remember being terribly uncomfortable and terribly, trying to be loyal but at the same time hearing a lot of my friends getting increasingly anti-war, anti-Johnson when I was trying to sort of maintain a loyalty to Muskie, and Muskie himself trying to remain loyal to Johnson. So it was a very funny kind of thing.

But what did impact us, in terms of social revolutions, was the women's movement as it developed in the later sixties. As I mentioned, all of the top management was male in Muskie's office, it was sort of a given. It was pretty much standard across the board in the Senate in those days, although there were a few exceptions. I remember one of the outstanding exceptions of a woman in a top job was, Dorothy Fosdick was a top aide to Scoop Jackson and she had a rather, you know, important background, particularly in foreign affairs. But by and large most of the senate offices were run by men and that was accepted. As the women's rights movement developed steam in the country, it also began to be felt in the halls of Congress. Very timidly at first, and then increasingly as we all felt a little bit more of our oats a little bit more assertively.

I remember early, and probably this would have been the late sixties, there was a very conscious movement in, among women in the senate. And we organized more or less, and I don't even remember how, whether it was, it was a very much an informal organization, I'm sure. We wanted to be allowed to wear pants to work, pant suits were in style then and it was just something we wanted. And so there was *a* day, I remember very well, where we organized, all of us, and we wore slacks or pants to work. And nobody in our office cared, and I don't think Senator Muskie even noticed. That would not be the kind of thing that would particularly catch his attention. But Senator Ed Brooke of Massachusetts down the hall, whom one would think

would have been sympathetic to something like this given his own background, he was the only African-American senator, wouldn't allow his women to wear pants. And we all got a big kick out of it and it was rather a, the talk of the senate offices at the time. But that was a small and a symbolic, a symbolic move.

More to the point I think was our feeling that we didn't get equal pay for equal work. If you looked at the salary structure, again the men got the top salaries and we didn't. I think a lot of us were very timid for a long time and not the most assertive people. It was a comfortable place to be, we had wonderful jobs, we were married to our jobs, a lot of us, but we suddenly began to realize that we had, we needed to speak up a lot more. I think, again after '68, Muskie himself was under more pressure to hire a few, hire more professional women and that did happen in the campaign as we went along.

There was also a very, very famous conversation that some of us overheard where they were talking about a candidate for some job on a subcommittee staff and they were going over the pros and cons of various candidates. It was, John McEvoy I know was involved in the conversation, and Muskie was in on the conversation. And they said "Well let's do so and so, let's hire this person because she's good and we can get her for less." And that was very much what was going on in those days.

DN: Did it change over time?

JC: Did what change over time, the?

DN: Not the attitude of the staff members, that is the women staff members, but the attitude of the senator and his male senior staffers?

JC: Yes and no. I think some staffers were a little bit more open than others. I think some of the men, no, I think there they, there maybe was a certain amount of lip service paid to it, but I think that it was, it's, you know, it takes a long time to break down old habits. And as far as Senator Muskie is concerned, I think he was probably always more comfortable in the company of men. That, I think, was more generational and also just part of his own personality. I think he related well to a few women on his staff over the years that he had, you know, because he relied on Gayle for so much. He had a good relationship to her, but that was, didn't mean that he looked on her in any way as an intellectual equal. Not that she was. But I mean it was very much, he was, he related to people in a lot of different ways but intellectually was, if he respected one's intellect then that was, I think, central to his relationship with a lot of people.

DN: How did you feel that he related to you?

JC: Over the years increasingly, I was, he, I was one of the family over the years. I spent a lot of time, simply because I was with him for so long I knew the family well. I spent time with the children at various times. I occasionally would stay with them when Jane and the senator went on long trips. I was sort of in the background, I could, he yelled at me a lot so I always felt that was a good sign because if he yelled at you he, it was not a bad sign. There was a time where Gayle Cory went off to New Hampshire for a period of time, where I took over some of her job

and increasingly did an awful lot of stuff with him one on one. Some of it personal, some of it sitting in on telephone calls taking notes, you know, being the, sort of the channel for some of his back office conversations with some of his informal brain trust. This would be in the period from '70 to '71.

I remember one of the funniest things that ever happened. He came in early one morning in the summer, the family was in Maine so he tended to come to work quite early those days. And he strolled, he came striding through the door, "Good morning," he said. "Jane, get into my office right now please." And I thought, "What is going on?" So I grabbed my pencil and pad of paper and trotted into the office, sat down. And he was staring out the window as he frequently did, just sort of staring out the window and you never knew, weren't quite sure if he knew you were in the room yet but he did. And he finally turned around and he said, "I think the chinch bugs are back." And I said, "What?" I didn't know what he was talking about. Well, he was talking about his lawn and whatever chinch bugs were. I didn't know how to spell them or anything, and I was supposed to deal with these chinch bugs. It was not a heavy legislative matter we were talking about.

DN: When it came to legislative matters that you were involved in, did you feel that he was dealing with you as a professional or as a -?

JC: Yeah, I did, I did. I think that my, as I gave the example earlier of the Alaska Native Claim Settlement [Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act of 1972] bill. If one, if he knew I was dealing with that bill, he respected the fact that I did my homework on it and gave him the pros and cons and, you know, who was doing what. He tended very much, when there were votes in the Senate on matters that did not touch on him personally or on something that he was personally involved in or Maine related, he would very much rely on the advice of the Democratic leadership, Senator [Mike] Mansfield, Charlie Ferris. Frequently he'd ask me to call and check on, you know, "What did the leader want?" The leader relied on Muskie for a lot of legislative lieutenantship in those days, and as he became more senior he became increasingly important to Senator Mansfield, and Mansfield, I think, relied on him a great deal.

One of the first experiences you were very deeply involved in, Don, was the Model Cities bill, model cities legislation which you really negotiated with Joe Califano as I recall, and Muskie. And Muskie really carried the water on that, and I don't need to get into that much because you know much better than I do, all of that. But that was an example of how Muskie grew in the Senate and how his leadership skills were honed and his legislative judgment and skills, his skills in getting difficult legislation through the floor, through the whole process was valued, were valued.

DN: How did something like that affect the office as you recall? What was it like being in the office in the midst of the model cities legislation for example?

JC: It was exciting for one thing, it was very busy, there were an awful lot of phone calls. The whole tempo picked up. One had the sense we really felt we were sort of at the center of things and that everything was a life or death kind of decision. There were many calls from the White House, that was always, you know, you knew, there was sort of a little frisson of excitement

when you'd get that call. And I remember you used to go down quite often, you were back and forth to, with Joe Califano and some of the people who were working on it at the White House. So it tended to, everyone knew what was going on, everyone was aware. I mean, it didn't mean that people knew about the details of the legislation, but we certainly were aware that, what was happening. There were lots of messengers coming back and forth with big, great big, you know, legal size pouches full of re-drafts. And it was a very exciting time, it was always fun.

DN: Did, during this period, did you ever hear the senator talk about Lyndon Johnson or working relationships with people on the Johnson White House staff?

JC: No, I mean I remember his, not personally, I would hear second hand. I know that Mike Manitas was around a lot too, I think he was a senate liaison person in those days and he would come in and out a lot. Muskie was not the kind of person that talked, he was not a gossip. The last thing in the world you would expect to hear from him was much personal comment about another, certainly a public figure. He was pretty reserved in what he would say, certainly in front of junior staff, which I certainly was in those days. I would hear things because he would sometimes come in and out, but he really kept those kinds of things to himself.

If you wanted to find out what was really going on you'd talk to Jane. And you'd get, you know, through her prism what was going, what he would think or what they did or what they heard. But he was not given to small talk or gossip or really personal comments about other people. He would talk in terms of issues, he would talk in terms of . . . I always had a sense that he understood what motivated people, that he had a sense of other people's weaknesses or what would, if somebody was a particularly venal person or something like that, that he'd understand, he understood it. But he didn't, he didn't, he wasn't given to petty conversation like that.

DN: How did he relate to different members of the Senate and, two kinds of responses on that. One, were there individual members of the Senate that he seemed to react to strongly for or against? And second, how did he relate to people on the other side of the aisle, that is Republicans, or Democrats who were very different from him in their positions, notably some of the folks from the deep-south?

JC: I think, well let me try to go through specific recollections or observations. I think perhaps his closest friend in the Senate, certainly by the time I was there, was Phil Hart from Michigan. They came in I think, the same time. They just did a lot, they spent a lot of time talking to each other on the Senate floor, they tended to vote the same way. I just was always aware of a special relationship with Phil Hart. He had at one time been very close to Gene McCarthy. Again they came in at the same time, they were both sort of leading lights in the party, but that relationship soured in 1968 or before through any number of whatever, quirks of McCarthy's. I always thought he was sort of jealous of Muskie's prominence after his faded.

He had a good working relationship with the chairmen of his committees. Not that he particularly liked either Jennings Randolph or John McClellan of Arkansas, who was a really deep south, hard bitten former segregationist, but he got along with them well on a working relationship, they were very, there was a great deal of mutual courtesy. Senatorial courtesy is a real thing, and I think that's probably one of the ways that made it work in the old days. There

was a lot less grandstanding then, than there is now. I think that one of the disadvantages of having so much instant communication and television sound bites, and the television studios where they can beam forth every night back home, is that they didn't grandstand as much those days as they did then, as they do now.

I think he had a, I don't know that he particularly liked [James William] Bill Fulbright, I don't really know that but I, some things that I can't, I don't know, I just had that feeling, but I think he respected him. He, he had a good working relationship with Republican colleagues like Bill Roth of Delaware who was the ranking, or had, eventually became the ranking member of the intergovernmental relations subcommittee. He worked, he and [Senator Jacob] Javits frequently ended up on the same side of issues and cosponsored a fair number of things together. They were on the, which committee were they on together, they were on at least one committee together?

DN: Banking and currency.

JC: . . . banking and currency together. So they were, they did, Javits was not an easy person to deal with but he was very active and he was always on the right side, or at least usually always on the same side as Muskie on legislative issues. I actually remember working with Javits on several different things. He was frenetic, he had a very frenetic staff. And I don't know how but I used to, I remember having a lot of dealing with Javits in the Senate cloakroom, sort of last minute. What do, you know, what's Muskie doing on this and, you know, those kinds of questions back and forth. I'm trying to think of other Republicans that he got along with. I'm blanking on Public Works, who was it on Public Works, Don?

DN: Caleb Boggs.

JC: Yeah, I was just going to say, I know it was someone he dealt with very well. Caleb Boggs was also from Delaware, that's funny, the both of them were. He was a very nice man and Muskie and he got along well, and I think the fact that they were able to get along well was one of the reasons we got a lot of legislation out of that committee. He had, Boggs' staff person was Bill Hildenbrand back then and he and Leon and you all had a good working relationship. Bill Hildenbrand later became Sergeant at Arms?

DN: Secretary of the Senate.

JC: Secretary of the Senate, thank you, I couldn't remember that, yeah. He didn't like Bob Dole, certainly not in those days. Bob Dole, when he came in as a relatively junior senator was a very highly partisan, detestable figure. He actually sort of mellowed over the years. But I remember having a very strong dislike, and I think, I must have, I wrote . . . I remember I gave Muskie a very bad pun. Has anybody talked about Muskie's puns? He loved puns, and they were usually bad. But anyway, if you could come up with an equally bad one he loved it. And I remember one time, and I wish I could remember what it was, I came up with a pun about Bob Dole which he thought was very funny. And I think he repeated it to several people, but I don't remember what it was.

DN: Lost (*unintelligible phrase*).

JC: Yeah, it was lost, it was lost, yeah.

DN: Did, Howard Baker?

JC: Howard Baker, oh yeah, of course, Howard Baker. He got along well with Howard Baker, they liked each other, they dealt well with each other. Howard Baker was fairly partisan but fair. I don't remember who Baker's staff person was, I'm vague on that. I don't remember.

DN: Scoop Jackson.

JC: Ah, yes, [Senator Henry] Scoop Jackson. Well, he did not, they did not get along well together. Scoop Jackson was a leader in the Senate, he outranked Muskie in seniority, he'd been around longer. He obviously too, had presidential ambitions and they ran against each other certainly in the primaries in '72, '71. They also had jurisdictional problems on certain environmental bills, environmental issues that came up because of Jackson's chairmanship of the Senate Interior committee.

And I don't remember any of the substance, but I certainly remember the histrionics of a meeting that Jackson and Muskie had in Muskie's office late one evening. And I believe it was over the National Environmental Policy Act and it had to do with who had jurisdiction, and they were really fighting over it. And this had been building up I remember over, I don't, I really don't remember the details, I just remember the atmosphere. But, I was sitting in my office which was next to Muskie's office and you could literally hear, it was almost as bad, you could almost hear the walls shaking because they were screaming at each other and the noise, I had never heard Muskie in full roar quite so much as, not with another senator certainly. And they were really going at it tooth and nail, it was a very tense meeting. Others can tell you the details, I just remember being on the other end of the door.

DN: Well, let's shift gears a bit. We'll come back to the subject of legislation as it evolved over the years, but 1966 was a year, was an election year in Maine, Senator Muskie was not up for -

JC: Oh yeah, he was not up but we were certainly involved.

DN: Yes, what did you do during that campaign?

JC: What is the statute of limitations? My husband, who was the former chairman of nation-, national chairman of Common Cause, frequently repeats this story because he thinks it's amusing. In 1966 there was an important series of elections in Maine. There was the gubernatorial election and the senatorial election for Margaret Chase Smith's seat, she was running for reelection, and two important congressional seats. And I remember at some point in the summer, late summer, being asked if I would enjoy spending an extended vacation in the state of Maine starting after Labor Day. It was suggested to me strongly by my boss, who is now sitting opposite me, that I could be helpful, it would be very helpful if I could come up and help

coordinate some of the schedules between and among Ken Curtis who was running for governor, Peter Kyros [Sr.] who was running for Congress in the first district, and Elmer Violette who was, had the somewhat thankless task of running against Margaret Chase Smith for the Senate. That sounded pretty good to me so I took an extended vacation.

I essentially stayed in Maine from Labor Day through election and worked in, with John Martin who was managing Elmer Violette's campaign, and Bob Shepherd who, at that point, was Senator Muskie's press secretary. He too took an extended vacation. And we worked out of the old Sheraton Eastland Hotel which at the time was still connected to what was the Congress Square Hotel. They were, Congress Square was an older building I believe, and they somehow, the corridors, you sort of wound around and got from one to the other. And I think we were actually, physically, in the old Congress Square part of the hotel. And we spent those six weeks or so from September to November, Bob churning out speeches and press releases for various candidates, and John and I working on scheduling and other matters for Elmer and Peter, primarily. And then coordinating as we did, Ken Curtis had a full fledged campaign staff and so we had less direct, we worked with them but we had less direct impact on what they were doing. We were really scheduling Elmer and Peter.

And one of our, there were two things about that that I remember that were very funny. One was that my father at the time worked at Porteous, Mitchell and Braun in downtown Portland, right across the street, and his, at that time the younger Porteous was Bob Porteous and he was chairman of the Maine Republican Party. He obviously knew me fairly well, and I would, and especially in the early days when we weren't working terrible hours, you know, long days, I would go back and forth from Saco to Portland with my Dad and I would meet him at the store. And frequently Bob Porteous ran into me and he'd say, "You still on vacation?" So I really, you know, I had to be pretty careful about that.

And then later on as things heated up and we got closer to the election, Don Hansen who was then the political reporter for the *Portland Press Herald* was snooping around, that's the only way to put it, he was looking into the campaign operations of various candidates. And he came by, he kept sort of threatening to come by and we never were quite sure when he was coming, but I do remember one time he did show up. And I had to spend a couple of hours in the bathroom, locked in the bathroom, while John Martin and he, he gave, he interviewed John Martin and I literally was in the bathroom while that happened. Bob Shepherd had a few similar experiences trying to explain his presence up there too, so I mean it was a little, a little irregular but it was fine.

Toward the end of the campaign Bobby Kennedy, who was a great draw, came up to speak on behalf of the unified slate. By that time it was a lot easier for me, for both Bob and me because Muskie, the Senate had, Congress had adjourned, Muskie had moved up to Maine for the duration. So for about the last ten days to two weeks we were out in the open, everything was okay because we were technically then working for him again, or doing things for him. Anyway, Bobby Kennedy came up in those last two weeks and it was my first experience with a, an advance person. I didn't really know what the heck an advance person was in those days, I mean I sort of knew from the presidential campaign but I never really dealt with one.

And Bobby Kennedy's advance person was a young man by the name of Earl [G.] Graves. And Earl Graves is now the publisher of *Black Enterprise* magazine, he's been a very, very successful entrepreneur publisher. Anyway, in those days he was a very young brash, good looking African-American, came up to Portland, and he started ordering me around. And I didn't realize that was my role, was to be, you know, his lackey, and I remember really, really resenting it. Now, of course, I understand that I was the, sort of the person that was the coordinator and so that was technically what advance people do with local staff. But I didn't appreciate it or like it and I remember resenting the hell out of him.

But anyway, Bobby Kennedy did come and he spoke at City Hall to a big crowd and it was a big exciting thing, and more to the point, we had a great victory. Ken Curtis was elected governor, this was his second run. He had lost by a very small margin either two or four years before, I can't remember what. I think it was two years, I think this was the first four-year term. Anyway, he won. Peter Kyros was elected to congress to represent the first district. Elmer Violette ran a terrific campaign and that was really, his main goal was to be, to run a very good and respectable campaign against a very formidable institution and he did. He ran a terrific campaign, although not winning.

DN: Tell me about the campaign managers for Peter Kyros in the first district.

JC: Well, Peter, Jr. was one and I guess John, what was his name, Flaherty?

DN: O'Leary.

JC: O'Leary, I was going to say Flaherty. John O'Leary was the other, and they were about sixteen at the time, or at least they, let's see, how old were they? They were not in college, I know that, so they -

DN: They were sixteen.

JC: They were sixteen, yeah, they were definitely.

DN: There was a third member of that group who was in college, David Flanagan.

JC: Oh, that's right, Flanagan, David Flanagan. And then, okay, and that's when I first met Gerry Conley, Gerry was around a lot, but he was more a friend of John's I think because John was in the legislature. And yes, Peter, Jr. and David Flanagan and John O'Leary, yes, yes. What a group.

DN: That tells us something about the difference really in attitudes toward roles of congressional staff members in those days.

JC: Yeah, yeah, I mean you could never get away with it now. It was really very accepted those days. Even though we were aware that we had to be careful because you didn't want, it would have been politically embarrassing had it come out that I was up there and that Bob Shepherd, who had a much more visible role with Muskie, although I was pretty well known at

that point generally because we, politically, people knew who was working, who worked for Muskie. But it wasn't, it wasn't something that hadn't been done very many times in the past and it wasn't anything that we felt was illegal. It probably was, I don't know. Cutting close, but anyway, it was a long vacation and I enjoyed it.

DN: And it gave you some experience getting ready for 1968.

JC: It did, indeed it did, and in fact that was my first scheduling. I didn't realize that it was, what a precursor it was to my later political escapades, but it was my first political scheduling.

DN: During this period you've alluded to the fact that Senator Muskie was faced with a lot of pressures related to the Vietnam War. And he was on the one hand a very important senator on the domestic legislation pushed by the Johnson administration, on the other hand, and some that he was pushing himself in the air and water pollution arena. He was getting pressure from staff and getting some political pressures on the whole issue of Vietnam, what do you remember about his reactions to the debate over U.S. involvement in Vietnam. What examples can you recall of his responses as they changed over time?

JC: I believe in the winter of 1966 he was, he and Jane were on a trip to Eastern Europe I believe, or Germany, and they suddenly switched gears and he went to Vietnam on what later became called the Mansfield Mission. And that was a fact finding trip that Johnson had cooked up at probably yet another point of escalation in the war in '66. Mike Mansfield was hardly, I don't think he was a hawk. He was certainly a fair-minded person and he was the majority leader of the United States Senate. In any event, he took a delegation, a small delegation with him to Vietnam, after which, including Muskie, after which they came back and wrote a report. I don't remember the details to the report but it was on balance, it was on balance sort of neutral, I think? I mean, I'm not even sure what it said. I just remember that it, they tried very hard to be even handed.

Muskie's arguments tended to be very legalistic. He wasn't, I felt he was always trying very hard to balance what he felt was a responsibility to support the, his commander in ch-, the commander in chief with I think probably increasing, as you say, he had a lot of increasing, increasingly as the war went on, old friends in Maine and elsewhere, you know, who had very much, who were very much anti-war, pushing him, pushing him, arguing with him. I don't know about the staff so much. I don't know what you said to him privately, Don. I remember, as I think I said earlier, I was really uncomfortable. I was really, I felt, not that I felt ever that I would quit over something like this, but I just remember feeling squeamish about it. And I couldn't believe that he didn't feel squeamish about it as we got deeper and deeper into that quagmire.

But he held his counsel, whatever counsel he gave was done private-, whatever opposition that he expressed was done privately. And I do know that he wrote a letter, a fairly strong letter to Johnson after, I think, the Tet offensive in 1968, (Is that the right time?) expressing grave doubts about the war and urging a different course. But it was never made public and that was very much his, his interpretation of his role was to maintain a public support to the extent that he could, while pushing privately for cease fire and moderation. It didn't necessarily serve him

well after ‘68, but that was what he, that was the role that he played up until he ran for vice president.

DN: During that period, there were the pressures of the war, there were very substantial initiatives by the Johnson administration, and Senator Muskie himself was pursuing a number of legislative initiatives. How did that affect the work load in the office, and the way people worked together in the office?

JC: The work load was always heavy, but it became heavier as he took on more and more of a prominent role. The staff didn’t increase because we were pretty much capped at what we could hire, so that the burdens grew greater. I remember everyone worked long hours. A typical day was probably nine o’clock in the morning or earlier depending on what time people chose to get to work, until seven, eight, sometimes later at night. Certainly I remember I would never get home before seven o’clock, never, ever, and it was usually later than that.

The work, one of the problems that developed was that we just weren’t able to keep up with our correspondence, and that really was an administrative burden, and we tried various experiments. I decided that it was absolutely insane for you to read every letter that went out of that office, so I took that over, and then it even got too much for me. I mean, it was just a huge burden. And on the other hand, it was the days before spell check, you, typos happened, you didn’t want anything going out over his signature that wasn’t grammatical or spelled right. And so there was just a paper load overload, paperwork overload, because obviously if you’re busy doing, running model cities legislation on the floor, you’re not worried about correspondence. Telephone calls, that was always, that was just overwhelming, burden. You would get the calls for Muskie that were not directly, other senators or related to something that he was personally, personally involved in. And the burden of dealing with constituents in Maine, people who expected to have his ear, at the same time that you again were dealing with the White House, trying to get Model Cities legislation. It was a huge pressure cooker, and it got worse.

In 1968 as, after Johnson declared, or announced that he would not seek reelection. And by that time I guess Bobby Kennedy had just jumped in or jumped in right afterwards, Gene McCarthy had already challenged him in New Hampshire. Hubert Humphrey jumped in, it became pretty evident pretty soon that had, if Humphrey had a free hand, if he got the nomination that Muskie would be his choice. We knew that but we couldn’t say much about it. We couldn’t say a thing about it. The pressures grew. It was exciting, but it was, it was a pressure cooker.

DN: How did the senator react in that situation?

JC: I don’t remember that he reacted anything, I don’t remember anything specific. He was, he sort of went along as before. I think that he, I think he, I think he felt the pressure on Vietnam, very much so. And I think that there was an, I think there was a pro-Kennedy faction in Maine. This is, Bobby Kennedy was assassinated in June of 1968. The Maine convention as I recall, was it before then, in May?

DN: It was in March.

JC: In March, was it that early? I'm sorry, I didn't realize it was that early, so it was very definitely a pro-Kennedy faction. He was trying to stay neutral, Muskie that is, as I recall, and I don't think that that was a particularly pleasant convention. I wasn't there, I only remember, I don't want to say anything because I don't remember all the details but I remember it was not a fun convention. I think, was Humphrey the keynoter?

DN: Yes.

JC: Yes, he was, he was definitely the keynoter, and was that when he told Muskie that he'd be his choice if he had a free hand, or was that later? That, somewhere happened along the way, anyway.

DN: Yeah, it was still up in the air at that point. He strongly indicated that Ed was high on his list.

JC: Yeah, and then didn't the word come at some sort of a private dinner at the Mus-, at the Humphrey's apartment in Washington that spring sometime? I just have that in my mind.

DN: There were a number of contacts, and as you've indicated the, Ed Muskie was not one to talk about private conversations.

JC: No, no, he did not talk. This is all what I got, not from him . . .

End of Side B, Tape One

Side A, Tape Two

DN: It is February 20th, the year 2000, we are in Portland, Maine and we are interviewing Jane Fenderson Cabot. The interviewer is Don Nicoll, and this is the third tape in the series of interviews with Ms. Cabot. Jane, you were talking a while ago about the 1966 campaign in Maine and Senator Margaret Chase Smith who was opposed by Elmer Violette that year. What was the relationship between Senator Muskie and Senator Smith?

JC: Very correct. Senator Smith had a very large national reputation she made largely on the basis of her vote of conscience against Senator Joe McCarthy back in the fifties. She was the only woman in the Senate for many, many years. She was an icon in Maine and much the same as Ed Muskie was in the process of becoming at that time, she was much his senior. For many years she was the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee and therefore had a great deal to say about military appropriations and certainly authorizations.

She was also a very difficult person, very un-, sort of touchy, touchy in the sense of you were never quite sure whether, how she was going to react to something. She had a very difficult personal aide, General William ["Bill"] Lewis with whom you had a very touchy relationship, as I recall. And yet, yet Muskie and she always maintained as I say a very correct, if not cordial, correct relationship.

I remember once having a very, my mother having a very funny experience having to do with Margaret Chase Smith and Ed Muskie. Margaret Chase Smith's summer home was at Cundy's Poi-, either -

DN: Cundy's Harbor.

JC: Not Cundy's Harbor, actually on the point, it's called either east or west. I mean it is Cundy's Harbor but it's, beyond Cundy's Harbor is this point of land on which there are beautiful houses built and that was where her home was and, summer home anyway. And there was a, something that came up having to do with Campobello. And I believe, and I may be wrong about this, but it was either the Queen Mother, or someone, some major person was coming to Campobello. It was a fairly last minute thing, and it must not have been the Queen Mother, it was someone else, but Muskie wanted to make sure that Senator Smith got a personal invitation to this event. And nobody was around, for some reason, and I don't even know why, it had to be delivered in person, this invitation, or verbally in person.

And Gayle Cory called my mother who, my parents were living, spending the summer at our cottage in Cundy's Harbor, and said, "Would you please do this as a favor to Senator Muskie, go down and find Margaret Chase Smith and deliver this message personally to her?" And so she got directions, and it was, you know, go, drive down this dirt road and look for a certain stone pillar and entrance and it's a low one-story house on the edge of the water and so forth. And my mother finally found it. And she was not absolutely sure it was the right house, but she walked down the driveway to the front door, and it was a screen door and it was open. And she said as she walked up to the door, she heard this very familiar Maine twang in the background and a clink of a bottle being dropped, saying, "Well there goes another dead soldier." And she knew she was at the right place, it was Senator Smith's voice.

Anyway, Bill Lewis came to the door when she knocked and she explained that she was coming as a favor to Senator Muskie to deliver this personal invitation, to make sure, that he was particularly concerned that she knew that she was invited to whatever this event was. And that was the end, and he thanked her very much and that was the end of that. But my mother has always gotten such a kick out of that story.

In any event, as I said, that, I think, is a good example though of the correctness of their relationship. He was very concerned that he not step on her toes and that any time that it had to do with Maine and Maine matters, the welfare of Maine, that they work together, even though they very seldom voted together on other issues. So, as I say it was a, he I think always, whenever you would mention her name or some shenanigans that she was up to, or Bill Lewis was up to, he'd get sort of a funny smile on his face. He wouldn't say a whole lot, oh, he'd say a few things, but he certainly knew the score but he was also very correct.

DN: Did you have any regular dealings with that office?

JC: Not, not a, no, really, considering the fact that we were, you know, should have worked closely together, it was again a very formal kind of relationship. I think it mostly went between you and Lewis or between, directly between the two senators. Once in a great while I would, I

remember taking messages or taking things over for her to sign every once in a while, or to look at. Again, it was a very, very formal relationship.

DN: As we move through the sixties, were there any legislative issues that come to mind other than model cities and the air and water pollution legislation that were important in the pre-1968 Democratic National Convention period?

JC: Well, we talked briefly about civil rights, that was certainly important from a national point of view, although I don't remember that he was, he was, took a particular leadership role one way or the other. He was always involved in housing legislation. I remember a lot about Section 201 or Section 20-something housing, Section 8, I remember all these things, they were very important, but, just sort of the intricacies of housing. This, post '68 I remember an awful lot coming up, pre '68, let me think if I've missed anything. I'm sure I've missed a lot of things but, in my own memory. I talked about the Indians, I talked about OAO.

DN: As we approach the 1968 Democratic National Convention, were there any events in the springtime, before that August convention, that stick out in your mind as important and dramatic involving the senator?

JC: Two or three things. You mentioned and you jogged my memory during a break about what it was about the 1968 Maine convention that stuck in my mind as being unpleasant. And that was the fact that I do remember, even though I wasn't there, that Muskie was trying to hold the line in terms of keeping the delegation neutral. And he was, there was a movement to run him as a favorite son and both Ken Curtis and Bill Hathaway, the governor and congressman from the second district, were Bobby Kennedy supporters. And that created a great deal of unpleasantness for Muskie as I recall, it was fairly embarrassing. But I wasn't there so I can't, this is just all hearsay.

But this does lead into something I had personal experience with and remember very clearly, and that was the Democratic senatorial campaign committee of which, which he chaired at that period, which did put him into a national light in terms of certainly raising money for senate campaigns nationally. There was the either annual or biennial dinner of the congression-, joint congressional campaigns, the Senate and the House, big fund raising dinner at the Washington Hilton. President Johnson, I believe, was supposed to attend, even though he had just, this was in early April so he had just made his bombshell announcement that he wasn't going to run for reelection. And we were at the Hilton, all of us, because we were staffing and as guests. And Hubert Humphrey walked on and announced that Martin Luther King had been shot. At that point I don't believe we knew he was dead, but that he had been shot in Memphis, and of course that was just, there was just a hush that went over the crowd. And Humphrey spoke for him very shortly and very succinctly and the dinner broke up.

And then of course from that, the terrible riots around the country erupted following the assassination, what turned out to be the assassination of Martin Luther King. And Washington was one of the hardest hit cities, and I remember watching smoke go up in various parts of the city. I don't remember exactly what day King was assassinated, I think it was a Thursday, but by Friday the city was in flames, or various parts of the city, the H Street corridor. Even

downtown, parts of downtown and out 14th Street and U Streets northwest. And I remember we were just, it was horrifying, absolutely horrifying. It was early spring, I think it was pre-daylight saving time so we were still, it was still getting dark fairly early. Going home and just seeing smoke all over the city, and then all weekend. We were really under almost semi-marshal law, but we were under the curfew so that we couldn't go out after, from dawn to dusk.

I lived in Georgetown at the time and because we couldn't, because of the curfew we couldn't go out, I was, we were having, playing bridge at a neighbor's house next door. And, during, I think it was Saturday night, and we heard this incredible rumbling, rumbling, rumbling noise and we went to the door to see what was happening. And we saw troop carriers going by our street, right by our houses carrying troops that were guarding the city, it was National Guard troops I guess, that were being sent out to some of the armories on the outskirts to stay overnight. But it was just a horrifying experience.

And I remember in the Senate, there was a very conscious kind of politeness between the races. As we went through the cafeteria lines, most of the, or many if not most of the workers behind the counter were black. And I remember just this sort of awkwardness and the, everybody being sort of polite but a very strange atmosphere for a while, while we were going through this awful time in Washington. And of course meanwhile it was not the sa–, the only place, this was happening in places all over the country. Washington was one of the worst, Newark was terribly badly hit, New York, all sorts of places. Anyway, that was a dreadful spring.

DN: I want to take you back to that dinner. Do you remember specifically how the dinner ended?

JC: After Humphrey made the announcement?

DN: Yeah.

JC: No.

DN: Remember the MC who was a business leader I believe -

JC: George Steinbrenner?

DN: No, it wasn't -

JC: No, he was involved, though, do you remember that?

DN: He was involved, yeah.

JC: Yeah, he, he was definitely, I remember it was maybe his father, but the Steinbrenner family, they were still in Cleveland at the time. But no, who was the, I'm sorry, I don't remember.

DN: I don't remember the name of the man, but he was from the south and he had for some

reason been selected as the MC, and he had introduced Vice President Humphrey for his remarks, and then he continued as if the dinner was going to go on.

JC: Oh, I don't remember that, Don, that's really, and so but it, finally somebody, somebody -

DN: And Senator Muskie got up -

JC: And finally did he dismiss -

DN: - and declared the meeting over.

JC: Okay, yeah, I don't remember, isn't that funny. I might have gone out of the room at that point, but I don't remember that piece of it. It was a horrible evening.

DN: Yes, horrible sequence after that. What was the mood in the Muskie office as the country moved toward the summer and then the convention in Chicago?

JC: Anticipatory, I guess is the best word. I remember being very, very aware of, because of what I heard and what I read and everything, that Muskie was a clear favorite potential vice presidential candidate. By this time Eliot Cutler had joined our staff. He'd been an intern the previous year and he came on, he'd just graduated from Harvard I believe, that spring, and he joined the staff in the summer. And he and I, as we got more and more excited as the summer went along, he and I used to go over to National Airport and watch planes take off and talk about how much fun it was going to be if we got into the campaign. So we were clearly very aware of what the potential was, and very excited about it.

DN: Did Senator Muskie himself seem excited about it?

JC: No, no, from him we knew nothing. He was as tight mouthed and uncommunicative as norm–, as usual.

DN: What about your immediate boss?

JC: Yes, you were pretty, well, I mean I knew, most of what I knew came from you and I think you were trying to keep the lid on everything too. I think you were trying to calm us down so that we didn't, you know, either overexpose ourselves or get terribly disappointed. But in any event, it was serious enough, and we took it seriously enough that we staffed up to go to the convention. And under the guise of the Democratic senatorial campaign committee several of us were dispatched to Chicago for the convention, and it was a larger group, I think, than normally would have gone with Senator Muskie to the convention.

DN: Who was in that group?

JC: Well, I went, Sandy Poulin who was then his secretary went, you were there. At some point Leon was there and I don't know how he managed to get out there but he was certainly there. I'm trying to think who all else I remember in the immediate surroundings. Was Charlie

Lander out there then? I think he was, yeah, and. There was Charlie, you and I, and Sandy and Leon, Nordy who was there as, Nordy Hoffmann was the executive director of the senatorial campaign committee at the time. I'm sure he was, Don, because he was handing, I remember him handing us out tickets and badges and all sorts of things like that. And that's, those are the people I remember most clearly, there may have been some others, but, was Bob Shepherd there or not? No, I don't think so.

DN: I don't think so.

JC: I don't think he was there. He was back in Washington.

DN: And what was it like?

JC: Well, on the one hand I've always described it to people as the most exciting three or four days of my life, and on the other hand the most appalling. This was Chicago, 1968, it was the confrontation between the anti-war, many of whom were students but certainly not all. The force, the anti-war demonstrators and the Chicago police, there were hundreds if not, no, thousands of people who had gathered in Chicago to protest the war and to try to bring some sort of pressure on the convention. Mayor Daley, this was the first mayor Daley, was in firm control of Chicago and the police. And every day it got more tense until finally there were just out and out semi-armed clashes between the demonstrators who were in Grant Park out in front, along Michigan Avenue in front of all the big hotels, including where we were staying which was the Conrad Hilton. And, that was the main convention headquarters for the Democrats, and I think Humphrey was certainly in there.

McCarthy was still running, he was a factor. George McGovern, I believe, sort of came in as a surrogate for, after Bobby Kennedy had been assassinated in June. There was great bitterness, confrontation, division, it was just a terrible time to see a party sort of splitting apart at the seams. It was pretty clear that Humphrey had the nomination sewed up. And it was also pretty clear that the anti-war faction was not going to come in line, and there were lots and lots of attempts to try to smooth it over but it didn't work. When Abe Ribicoff, senator from Connecticut, got up to nominate McCarthy, I think, he was jeered from the floor, led by Mayor Daley which was a dreadful, it was . . . This was the days where television was really right in there and you saw, if you were not there you saw it on television. You saw this very distinguished elegant senator nominating his colleague, and then you looked down on the floor and Mayor Daley was jeering and mouthing terrible things, which were quite apparent what he was saying even though you couldn't hear it. It was ugly.

And meanwhile out in the streets kids were getting beaten over the head by police, police were getting rocks and dung and baseballs with nails in them thrown at them. I mean, it was very much a two way thing despite what people on the left said. It was a police riot but they were provoked. We were inside the hotel a lot of the time because of the ugliness outside, you really couldn't go out a lot.

I remember on Wednesday night, or maybe it was Tuesday night, it was before the nomination process so it might have been while they were still going through the platform, and there were

terrible debates over the platform of course. We were having a lobster dinner that someone had arranged for Muskie, and we were sitting up in his suite waiting for the lobster to be served and the windows were open. You could hear, we were maybe up on the tenth or eleventh, we weren't way up, so you could hear the roar of the, "dump the hump", "dump the hump", that was one of the big things we kept hearing. And all of a sudden, I remember very clearly, Leon Billings went over to the windows and started slamming them. And what had happened was that, that was one of the first tear gas attacks had gone off then and the gas was beginning blow up and coming in and he had smelled it ahead of the rest of us. And then we went out, and of course we were all looking out and watching this below. You couldn't, it was hard, we were high enough up so that you couldn't see things totally clearly, but you certainly were aware of violence and clashes and tear gas and sirens and it was awful.

In any event, the Thursday of the convention came, Wednesday? What night was it? Well, whatever day it was that they chose the vice presidency.

DN: Thursday, I think.

JC: Thursday I think it was, yeah, and we were just getting more and more nervous, all of us. Senator Muskie disappeared. Were you with him, Don? Yeah. And I believe you were in Mayor Daley's office, were you not, for part of that day?

DN: Not in the office but in a suite in the hotel.

JC: Oh, okay, well, I always had pictured it in his office. In any event, it had sort of come down to as I recall Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma and, who was also chairman of the DNC at the time I believe, and Senator Muskie, and you just disappeared. We didn't really know where you were. I was with Jane Muskie and we sort of were trying, she was very nervous and sitting in the suite not knowing what to do. Various and sundry people floated in and out. I remember Mabel McIntyre, Senator Tom McIntyre's wife came in and spent a good chunk of time with Jane that day, but there wasn't a whole lot we could do, we were just on tenterhooks.

And then finally, somewhere around noon time, maybe one o'clock, early afternoon, we got the call. And he came flashing back in and he was about as calm as he ever was, or about as excited as he ever was, I don't know which. But he arrived back and we were all very excited, but then we had the daunting task of putting together an acceptance speech in a very few hours. Obviously some thought had been given to this, it wasn't a total bolt out of the blue, but nonetheless now faced with the reality: that speech had to be put together pretty fast. And you and several others started to work and the rest of us started piecing it together on the floor, as I recall. You'd get it, Sandy would type a piece, and we'd start mixing and matching paragraphs and then he'd rewrite it and it went, it was a fairly intense exercise.

At one point I was dispatched, I remember I, you told me to go call the office and all the suite, the phones in the suite suddenly went dead just about that time, when he came back. And so I left the suite to go back to my own room to make the call back to the office to let them know, trying to beat, let them know ahead of time before the press found out. And I raced back and made the call and they were thrilled, they'd, I mean they were, obviously they were waiting for

the call. And I, in the short space of time I also placed a call to my mother in Maine. And she said, "What do you mean?" she said. "Are you sure it's true?" she said. "I haven't heard it on television yet. " I mean, I'm having to spend thirty precious seconds trying to convince my mother that I was giving her, you know, an advance alert.

Anyway, but in the maybe ten or fifteen minutes that I was gone, I came back running down into the Muskie, into the corridor where his suite was, and these two men stood out and blocked my way. And I said, "Excuse me." And they said, "Excuse me." Of course the Secret Service had arrived in that fifteen minutes. And that was the first, my first encounter with Bob Lilly and the detail that was put together. So I introduced myself and they were very kind to let me through. But of course that was a new experience for all of us, was dealing with the Secret Service detail and twenty-four-hour protection and all of the niceties and procedures that we had to learn to live with at that point. All of a sudden it began to sink into us that this was real.

And in any event, you finished the speech, he finished editing the speech, probably he was writing on it as he went into the hall, I'm sure; that was what he would do with major speeches. And we had to, the riots were continuing outside, the Service was, of course, very concerned with security. And I remember leaving with, there were just, not a lot of us in the group, but getting to the convention hall by sneaking out of the Conrad Hilton Hotel through the kitchens, through a totally back way, and into a motorcade and being driven into, underground, into the convention center. I was on the floor, that was fun. I got to watch his acceptance speech. You got me some credentials so I spent it actually with the Maine delegation on the floor, and that was extremely exciting.

DN: What was the, I'm sure the mood was excitement among the Maine delegation. Do you remember any specifics about their responses?

JC: Oh I think that, no, they were all very excited. I remember spending, I was with John Martin, he was in the dele-, and we were out, I mean in the delegation and everybody was thrilled. But, I think at the same time everybody was pretty appalled at what had happened and what was still going on. So that there was, what should have been a totally joyous occasion for the Muskie people was thrilling, but it was tinged with the reality that we had a very, very hard campaign. We were way down, I don't even remember, twenty some odd points behind coming out of that terrible convention, the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. And so I guess, I was, I was on an adrenaline high that night and I don't think I really gave a whole lot of thought to the implications of what was happening on the outside. I certainly was aware of it but I was too excited at that point, personally, to think about it.

We went from the convention hall to, the Maine delegation, to a party at the hotel, wherever. Maine generally, in those days, used to be sort of out in Skokie and I'm not sure exactly where the hotel was, but it was a fairly long way away, it was not one of the major hotels along Michigan Avenue. In any event, we went to the Maine delegation for a celebration after the acceptance speeches, and the Muskies were there obviously and everybody was very excited. But again, it wasn't, nothing, there was no real reality sunk in.

The next day, after sort of obligatory rounds to the DNC and various things like that, the

Humphreys had invited the Muskies to go to Waverly for the weekend and we all piled on to a huge motorcade to go to O'Hare Airport to pick up the, there were two planes I think but whatever, however many planes. We ended up on the same plane with Humphrey, that was exciting. And we flew out to Minneapolis, the Muskies went off to the Humphrey's home and the rest of us stayed holed up in a hotel in Minneapolis for the weekend. And then we all again, I think, as I recall the senator was on Meet the Press or one of those Sunday morning talk shows just before, from Minneapolis, before we flew back to Portland. And we had an Eastern Airlines plane pretty much to ourselves, and we flew back into Portland. And, I believe, I've always said this and I think I'm right, that we were the first 727 to ever land at that airport, but we were one of the first and it was the new airport. And we arrived in Portland in the sort of late afternoon after the week of the convention.

DN: The, let's see, in Waverly as I recall, we went out to the Humphrey's place from Minneapolis for a preliminary session on the campaign. Do you remember doing that?

JC: No, I didn't go, you went, I did not. I was not, no, at that point, it seems to me that somebody had flown out to, Bob Shepherd I believe, flew out at that point, somewhere along the way he was with us by then, and I'm not sure. Did George come then or not, was he there? I can't remember. He -

DN: I don't think George was there for that weekend.

JC: He didn't start but he came somewhere along the way, yeah.

DN: Later he came in.

JC: Yeah, and then, I didn't go, I just, we didn't really have, we just hung out, we didn't really have, I didn't, we did not, Sandy and I did not participate in that, we just sort of hung out and it was very cold, I remember that, in Minneapolis. But when we went back to Maine there was sort of a week as I recall of literally, it was supposed to be vacation for him which of course it wasn't, but he did get some golf in. And I spent a couple or two or three days at the cottage, at the house in Kennebunk beach, just fielding phone calls and basically hanging out, helping, (excuse me) and you know. I have a notebook full of notes from then, it was very funny, I will get it out at some point and share it with you. I mean, who was calling and the kinds of calls and, from the sublime to the ridiculous kinds of telephone calls, because his phone number was well enough known so that we were getting odd calls as well as important calls.

DN: I think I went back to Washington at that point, and started the negotiations with the Humphrey team.

JC: That sounds right, yeah.

DN: Well I'm going to stop here because this is a good break point and then the next time we can pick up on the actual campaign itself and how that was organized and what you did during that campaign.

JC: Yes, that was fun.

DN: And some of the people who were involved in it directly.

JC: Good.

DN: Thank you.

JC: You're welcome.

End of Interview