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Coffin, Frank Morey oral history interview

Don Nicoll

Stuart O'Brien

Rob Chavira

Interview with Frank Morey Coffin by Don Nicoll, Stuart O'Brien and Rob Chavira

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee
Coffin, Frank Morey

Interviewer
Don Nicoll
Stuart O'Brien
Rob Chavira

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Biographical Note

Frank Morey Coffin was born in Lewiston, Maine on July 11, 1919. His parents were Ruth [Morey] and Herbert Coffin, who divorced when Frank was twelve. Ruth raised Frank alone on Wood St. in Lewiston. She came from an active Democratic family, her father was Mayor of Lewiston from 1907 to 1912, and eventually she became a Democratic State Committeewoman.

Frank graduated from the Lewiston public schools, and then went on to Bates College, graduating in 1940. While at Bates he debated under Brooks Quimby, and majored in economics. He then went off to Harvard to continue his education. He started in the Harvard Business School while waiting to be drafted. He served in the Navy Supply Corps, and after discharge returned to Harvard to get a law degree. He graduated in 1947. He then clerked for U.S. District Court Judge John Clifford Jr. before his admittance to the Maine Bar.

His law career began in a Lewiston office, and quickly grew. From 1951 to 1954 he served as Corporation Counsel to the City of Lewiston, and in 1953 he joined the law firm of Verrill Dana in Portland, Maine. At that time, he became interested in the Maine Democratic Party. Along

with Lewiston area Democratic activists, he worked to reestablish the two-party system in Maine. He became Chairman of the Maine Democratic Party in 1954, and worked to field Democratic candidates for every major office for the 1954 ballot. He also created the first permanent staff position within the Maine Democratic Party.

His party building included writing a party platform using public input and surveys. These efforts led to the election of Edmund Muskie as Governor of Maine. In 1956, Coffin stepped down from the chairmanship to run for United States Congress. He was elected, and served from 1957 to 1960, when he stepped down to run for Governor of Maine. He was defeated in that race. After his elected service, Frank was to be appointed Ambassador to Panama by President John Kennedy. When Kennedy was assassinated, Lyndon Johnson refused to make the appointment because of disagreements he had with Frank during his Congressional career. He was appointed to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris in 1964. In 1965, President Johnson appointed Frank to the United States 1st District Court of Appeals. He became chief judge in 1972, serving in that capacity for eleven years. He became senior member in 1989.

Frank Coffin has received numerous awards and accolades, and is a highly regarded figure in Maine law and political circles. In 1942 he got married to a Bates graduate, Ruth Ulrich. They had four children.

Scope and Content Note

Interview covers several topics, including growing up in Lewiston; ethnic relations in Lewiston; family political history; activities in high school and Bates; reasons for attending Bates College; staying on campus during college; professors at Bates; debating under Brooks Quimby; post-graduate education; Navy service; beginning a law career; corporation counsel to the City of Lewiston; appointment to the State Democratic Committee; becoming Chair of the Maine Democratic Party; relationship with Ed Muskie before 1954;organizing the Maine Democratic Party; fielding candidates for 1954; working to get Ed Muskie elected; TV media in 1954; Don Nicoll's role in the Maine Democratic Party; personal relationship with Ed Muskie; boat trip in July 1955; Muskie's fishing hobby; reasons for running for Congress in 1956; gaining Franco-American support in 1956; Congressional issues, 1956-1960; trade issues; Kennedy's coattails; Muskie's activity in the campaigns; lobster monopoly case; the Organization for Economic Development; plans to become Ambassador to Panama; confrontations with Lyndon Johnson; appointment to the court; Muskie's efforts in Coffin's judgeship; and Muskie's contribution to Maine politics.

Indexed Names

Beauchamp, Ed
Benoit, Harry
Bertocci, Angelo Philip, 1907-2002

Bertocci, Peter Anthony
Carroll, John Murray
Carter, Jimmy, 1924-
Chambers, Whitaker
Clauson, Clinton Amos, 1895-1959
Clifford, John, Jr.
Coffin, Frank Morey
Coffin, Herbert
Coffin, Ruth Morey
Cohen, William S.
Colbath, Ken
Collins, Susan, 1952-
Corliss, Edgar
Cote, Al
Couture, Paul
Craig, May
Cross, Burton
Damborg, Peter
Davis, Ross
Delahanty, Tom
Donahue, Charlie
Donovan, John C.
Douglass, Paul
Dube, Roger
Dubord, Dick
Dubord, Harold
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (Dwight David), 1890-1969
Ford, Gerald R., 1913-
Frankfurter, Felix
Freund, Paul
Fullam, Paul
Gagne, Louis Philippe
Gardner, George
Gignoux, Edward Thaxter
Gould, Raymond R. N.
Gray, Howard
Gray, Jack
Griswald, Irwin
Guite, Roland
Hand, Leonard
Harding, Ken
Harding, Lap
Harriman, Averill
Hayes, Fred
Hiss, Alger

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 1841-1935
Isaacson, Irving
Jalbert, Louis
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973
Katz, Milton, 1907-
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963
Lessard, Al
Letourneau, Gene
Lindsay, John
Lipez, Kermit
Malenfant, Ernest
Marcotte, Roland
McCarthy, Joseph, 1908-1957
McGillicuddy, Dan
McGovern, George S. (George Stanley), 1922-
McMahon, Dick
McNamara, Pat
Mitchell, George J. (George John), 1933-
Moran, Edward Carleton Jr.
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996
Muskie, Jane Gray
Myhrman, Andy
Nelson, Charlie
Nicoll, Don
Nute, Floyd
O'Brien, Larry
Oliver, Jim
Payne, Fred
Quimby, Brooks
Rayburn, Sam
Reed, Jim
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (Franklin Delano), 1882-1945
Rusk, Dean, 1909-1994
Sansoucy, Armand
Sawyer, Jimmy
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, 1917-
Shriver, Sargent
Smith, Margaret Chase, 1897-1995
Snowe, Olympia J. (Olympia Jean), 1947-
Stevenson, Adlai E. (Adlai Ewing), 1900-1965
Sweet, Paul
Thurston, Paul
Vernon, Percy
Walker, Leon
Webber, Don

Williams, G. Mennen "Soapy"
Williams, Maurice
Wilson, Woodrow, 1856-1924
Woodbury, Peter
Zerby, Rayborn

Transcript

Frank Coffin: ... so it went something like this, Don would say, well, Congressman, what do you think about the current milk control situation? Well, Don, and...*(laughter)* we were so bad we finally wiped it out and had to start over.

Don Nicoll: We were afraid the people in Maine wouldn't wake up for three years.

RC: Will you start by stating your full name and spelling it?

FC: Frank M. Coffin, I-T, spelling "it." Want to start over again?

RC: No, that's completely fine.

FC: F-R-A-N-K, M, C-O-F-F-I-N.

RC: Where and when were you born?

FC: In 149 Wood Street, Lewiston, Maine, July 11, 1919.

RC: Is that where you grew up as well?

FC: Yes.

RC: Where are your parents from?

FC: Where did they come from? My father was born in Providence, Rhode Island, and my mother was born on Pine Street in Lewiston.

RC: Now, growing up in Lewiston, did you note, growing up, the distinctions between religions and ethnic groups such as the French-Anglo contingencies in Lewiston and so forth?

FC: Yes. What's you question?

RC: Was that any source of tension for you as a young man, is it something that was very blatant in front of you?

FC: No, to the contrary. I look upon the ethnic diversity of the Lewiston I grew up in as one of

the greatest atmospheres I can remember. I had Greek friends, Irish friends, French Canadian, Lithuanians, Poles, and they all, it seemed to me that the town then, and I think still, is very basically harmonious. You have a tradition of Franco-Irish rivalry but I think that doesn't cut so deep as sometimes people make it sound. No, I think it's a very friendly city.

RC: How did this diversity contribute to you ideologically later on? Growing up in a place that was so diverse?

FC: I don't know that I, I know, I suspect it helped my political orientation because I think we were a blue collar general profile of America, of immigrants, working class people, but not wholly. We had some wealthy people as well. It was a pretty classless kind of place.

RC: What are your parents' names?

FC: My father was named Herbert and my mother Ruth.

RC: And what did they do for a living?

FC: My father was a cafeteria operator in a shoe shop and he also did some catering, and for a short time he had his own restaurant in addition to these. And my mother was a homemaker.

RC: And what were their political affiliations?

FC: Father was from a strong Republican family, his brother was a congressman from Illinois, and my mother was equally strong Democrat coming from, her father was I think the first or the second Democratic speaker of the Maine House after the Civil War. He came in a year or so before Wilson was elected president. And my grandmother was in the legislature as a Democrat and my mother was a member of the Democratic state committee.

RC: You mention that your father comes from a deep rooted Republican tradition. Was he indeed a Republican as well?

FC: I don't know. You have to underst-, my family, my parents divorced when I was about twelve years old and for a long time my father and I had very little, didn't see each other at all until I was in college. No, I don't think he was, he was certainly not ideologically strong. Of course I always felt he was a strong, he would do anything for me.

RC: Did your mother try to instill her political values in you growing up?

FC: No, no, there was no, she was not political in that sense. That is, I don't think she had to. I read and I grew up in the days when, Mother was on the state committee when Roosevelt was first elected and, oh, I was a youngster at the time, probably thirteen and fourteen, thirteen. Something of the excitement of those days penetrated and, but I don't, there was never any conscious attempt to brainwash me.

RC: Perhaps growing up though in that environment, do you think maybe it made you feel more comfortable in politics?

FC: I suppose so. I always looked on it as an honorable profession. My grandfather, whom I didn't know all that well, he died when I was about twelve. But he was a very respected lawyer and his clientele were the mill workers and he would, his fees were very small but there were many of them so he survived. But he was, he and his partner, who was Dan McGillicuddy, who was a congressman, I respected them and their way of life.

RC: What were your parents' religious affiliations?

FC: I'm not sure that I know it. My father's was, well, later in life I know he was a member of the Congregational Church in Auburn. Fred Hayes' church. And Mother and her folks were Baptists, they were what we used to call Free Will Baptists.

RC: What was a Free Will Baptist?

FC: Oh, I think an ornery, independent kind of person that wouldn't take guff from many people. No, they were a pretty liberal group in those days. They were of course, had been against slavery and they had to be distinguished from the southern Baptists, these were sort of a rare New England breed.

RC: You mentioned that growing up you saw loyalty in being a politician, you thought it was a respectable profession. Before high school, what did you want to be when you got older? Is that what you aspired to be, seeing people around you doing that?

FC: I don't know what I wanted to be when I was in high school. I know that in college I jotted down the things that I would like to be, which included being a minister, being a journalist, being a diplomat, and then being a lawyer.

RC: Stepping back a second, in high school what were your extra curricular activities and so forth?

FC: I was, let's see, I was in the band, I played the clarinet, or tried to. I was in the drum and bugle corps. I was editor of the school newspaper. I was a debater. One of the great illusions of my life was that I would be an athlete, so I went out for football, which was a predictable disaster. And then I also tried, I was assistant manager of baseball for a brief time, until the coach suggested that perhaps I would do better off practicing on the clarinet. So I withdrew from my, what would have been a brilliant career as manager of baseball. I didn't know much about the game and I would come out, and these were tough guys on our team, and I'd put, I'd just dump the bat bag on the ground and the bats would cross. And I didn't know that that was a bad luck sign for any baseball player in those days, and they would chew me out. So baseball and I came to a parting of the ways.

RC: What was the name of the high school you attended?

FC: The name of the high, Lewiston High.

RC: Lewiston High School? Had your political ideas in high school developed yet? Did you have any conscious sense of politics in high school?

FC: No, I can't say that I did.

RC: Were you a good student?

FC: Yes, (*unintelligible phrase*), I was valedictorian.

RC: Did you choose to attend Bates because of its proximity to home?

FC: You know, I often think that young people today have so many opportunities that one of the great ordeals, the times that you two have just come through, is to pick a college. There wasn't, I wasn't conscious of much to choose from. I didn't go blindly to Bates. I thought I would look elsewhere and I remember I considered Dartmouth, but my grandfather had gone to Bates and my mother had, and gradually I came to realize that this really had, there was no reason not to go there. And my mother made a very wise decision and I think in retrospect it couldn't have been too easy for her because she did not have a source of income. My parents were divorced at that time, she had to count her pennies, but she insisted that I stay on campus, and that meant a world of difference, even though my home was only four or five houses down from the campus. I roomed in Roger Williams and in West Parker and it just, it meant a world of difference to me. I just had a great time.

RC: So your mother and father got divorced when you were twelve and you were raised from that point on by a single mother?

FC: Yes.

RC: Was that a very common phenomenon at that time?

FC: Darned if I know. Not as common as it is today certainly. No, I don't think it was terribly common.

RC: Do you think that influenced any of your political ideas later on?

FC: No.

RC: Not at all?

FC: I can't identify any.

RC: Why do you think that your mother insisted that you stay on campus at Bates, despite the

fact that you lived so close?

FC: I think she was a very wise person and she realized that growing up in the household with her and with her mother, because her father had died by this time, it was a pretty matriarchal group, so she felt that probably a good change would be a fine experience for me. And she was right.

RC: You know, a lot, I know I experienced this and maybe Tuck did as well, going to college for the first time was a big culture shock. You know, even if you live relatively close to it. However, you living right down the street, it must not have been that much of a change for you, Bates.

FC: Well, oh sure it's a change. I mean you can, on the outside you can look at college students and I would always go up at the end of the academic year and lie under the hedges and watch the Greek play that they put on at graduation time, and I would know some of the students as I'd go up to the barber shop to get my hair cut. But this, I could have been an observer from Mars, and that looking at the outside and being part of it from the inside are entirely different things. I think it was just as big a culture shock for me as it was for you.

RC: Did you go home often?

FC: No, I didn't. No, every few weeks, sometimes five or six weeks would go by. But then, often times I'd go down, I know over Thanksgiving, Mother would be sure to invite friends of mine who stayed over on campus. And so many of my classmates have memories of coming down to 149 [Wood Street] and having a good Sunday dinner or something like that, Christmas, not Christmas time but Thanksgiving time.

RC: What extracurriculars did you become involved with at Bates?

FC: Well, again, being rather slow witted, I could not quite see why I couldn't be a football player, so I went out for football. But after two years even I could understand that that was not in the cards for me, so then I ran indoor track, the mile and outdoor track and cross country. I was a debater. I did not overlap Ed Muskie. He had graduated the year I graduated from high school. I came to Bates the fall after he left. But I was a debater also, I was president of the student council, treasurer first and then president. Let's see, what else did I do. I was on the Bates Student staff for awhile, I was on the, I wrote for the College Buffoon, I wrote for the literary magazine, the Bates Garnet. And I was a proud member of what we called the yacht club. That's, Lake Andrews was our, was just a little pool in the meadow in those days, but we pretended to be a yacht club.

TOB: Now it's a little hole. There's no water in it right now.

FC: Oh, why?

TOB: They drained it.

FC: Why?

TOB: They're filling it again. They took about six feet of muck off the bottom.

FC: Oh yeah, yeah, it's a beautiful ...

TOB: It's going to be really nice, they're going to put an artificial wetland around it, amphitheater.

FC: Oh, I think filling Lake Andrews is, that's such a beautiful back yard, front yard really.

RC: What was your main course of study at Bates?

FC: Economics.

RC: Why'd you choose to ...?

FC: Well, you would have thought it would have been political science, and I started out government and political science. But the economics professor, Professor [John Murray] Carroll was such a wonderful guy and I was attracted to him and his teaching, him as a person, and also the subject matter I felt would be useful. And I think it was, I think I thought it was more useful that what I was reading and studying in political science at that time.

RC: College is definitely a confusing time, and it's the time when you begin to develop an idea of who you are and what you want to do. And often times that's not actually what you end up doing. What were your aspirations while you were at Bates?

FC: Well, I've told you that I had, first, I think all I can say is that I was on the liberal arts side, I was not a scientist. And I wanted to do something in terms of teaching or writing and after I began to major in economics, I thought I would like to get a graduate degree in economics. And while I did well, graduating with the, I guess the fourth *summa* in the college, I realized that I was really not an academic type and I think my professor also said that he didn't think that academia would be the place where I would be happiest. I think as I began to get experience working with and leading the student council, that, this is my first experience of working with a group, and, on a program, and in fact devising a social program, in a way a political program, not a partisan political program but with objectives that we should try to work for and persuade the administration to follow. This attracted me very much and I did well in it. And I think that sort of helped gravitate me to the law and probably to precondition me to an interest in politics.

RC: You said that in high school you don't really recall being conscious of political atmospheres and ideologies that were going against one another. In college that changed? Other than just student council, ideologically did you . . . .?

FC: No, in the college, it's interesting because I was in college during these horrible years of

‘38, ‘39 and ‘40 when the western world was falling apart. You know, England was being blitzed, France was to fall in this, right after I graduated from Bates in the spring of 1940, and we students were torn. We were by no means unanimous that everybody should enter the war. In fact, students as a whole dragged their feet and came around only in the latter days to realize that this was a war that they should get in on. There was great distrust of Britain and there was a great pacifist move that attracted many of them, so there was this kind of tension and debate. This dominated the political scene and the domestic issues were hardly visible.

RC: Did you decide to go to business school because you were told that you didn’t belong in academia, as you were telling me?

FC: No, no, I didn’t. I went to law school first and then when Pearl Harbor came, law school really shut down. And so what I thought I would do was to try to get into, pending, waiting to see what would happen to my draft number, or enlistment in either the Navy or some other branch of the service, that I would get some business training. And indeed I ultimately wound up in the Navy supply corps which had a business orientation and in fact, the Navy supply school was at Harvard Business School. So I took what was called an industrial administrator degree at the business school, and then from business school went into the Navy and then did not finish law school until after the war.

RC: Now you say law schools shut down. Do you mean literally?

FC: No, but almost. That is, the only people left would be a few students who were 4Fs, that is physically deferred. It was a skeleton crew. And in those days I’m sorry to say, there were no women in law school. They were not admitted to Harvard until I think fifteen or twenty years later, 1958.

RC: Before joining the Navy, at Harvard, who were some of your influential professors? Who was a standard by which ...?

FC: At Bates?

RC: At Bates and at Harvard.

FC: Well, the Bates people were most influential. I just cannot say enough to, too much about the respect I had for a, I had some wonderful people. Ray Zerby was the head of religion, Andy Myhrman in sociology, Paul Sweet in history, Angelo Bertocci in classical civilization, Peter Bertocci, his brother, in psychology. These were magnificent people who not only were masters of the discipline they were teaching, but very broad gauge liberal humane people with a broad interest in life and in culture generally, and they to me were an inspiration. They collectively were my role model. And I just got a letter from Angelo who is in his nineties, he sent me a card and I had correspondence earlier this summer with Paul Sweet, my history professor.

DN: Is Paul around?

FC: Yup, he's still around. I just finished two books that he had written, he gave them to me a long time ago but it was only recently that I read them thoroughly and I thought the world of them and wrote him.

DN: Where is Paul now?

FC: He's in Grand Rapids, Michigan, emeritus from Michigan State University. Is that Lansing, or ...?

DN: Michigan State is Lansing.

FC: Lansing, that's where he lives. So those professors, and I may have left out one or two, but that's still a good covey of first rate people. Our minister in the United Baptist Church in Lewiston, Percy Vernon, was another person who always remained a role model for me. And in law school, I had several, Paul Freund, who only recently died, and Milton Katz, both of those men were my law school professors but we were also members of the Examiner Club, a Boston dining and discussion group that gets together once a month and I had the privilege of being with them for a half century after I got out of law school. And my favorite was George Gardiner, a professor at law school who was not very well known but he was just a wonderful man and taught contracts and he was my first client when I set up to practice law in Maine. He had some property on the coast and I had, file number one was George Gardiner. So I, he had been, he had, if you, in history if you remember the flag salute cases, the Supreme Court had the Gobitis case in the early '40s or late '30s and [Justice Felix] Frankfurter I think wrote the opinion and said that the children could be expelled for not saluting the flag. And three years later the Supreme Court reversed itself in West Virginia vs. Barnett. Everybody but Frankfurter changed their mind and they said, no, this is freedom of religion and we'll protect it. In that earlier case, the counsel was my friend Professor Gardiner and he fought the valiant fight, he just was ahead of his time, so he was a good one. I guess I've said enough on that score.

DN: Excuse me, Frank, three names you didn't mention this time around at Bates I want to ask you about. One is Pa Gould and the other was [John Murray] Carroll, whom you've mentioned earlier, and the third was Brooks Quimby.

FC: Carroll I should have mentioned. I mean, he obviously was a role model for me. And I guess Brooks I should mention but not as, particularly as a role model. I mean, I respected him very much as a very keen debate coach and a person who just threw himself heart and soul into coaching his students and seeing that they did the best possible thing that they could. So I have a great of respect for him. And Pa Gould, I respected him as a, as just an individual who was rare then, and even rarer today, a professor who got into local government. That is, Pa Gould was a participant in local politics; he was on the Republican side, which my family and I were not, but he was a very good influence. And he did not consider that he was better than the people who were out in the trenches slogging it away and fighting political issues. So I respected him, but he did not, as a teacher, did not reach me quite as much as Professor Carroll.

RC: Moving up a little bit, when Pearl Harbor was bombed, were there stipulations made for

college students in that they didn't have to go away to the war?

FC: No, stipulations? How could there be?

RC: I believe there were also in the '60s, weren't there? If you were in graduate school? Deferment?

FC: Oh, well, each draft board, it was up to each selective service board to give deferments and I think there were general policies and for awhile we were deferred, just because we were in graduate school. But then those, after awhile that, they were limited deferments and the deferments would be maybe for, used to be for a full semester and then maybe for a few months.

RC: So were you eager to go into the Navy, or were you, were you apprehensive about going in the Navy or were you eager, or how did you feel about it?

FC: Oh, by the time I went in I'd investigated so many things. I may not have investigated many colleges but I was interested in the Coast Guard because I like boats. And I was thinking of myself as being on a small craft, submarine chasing or, and so I even took a night course at BU in Boston in trigonometry and algebra, both of which since left no measurable mark on my mind. And then I was thinking of the FBI at one point, and thinking of the Air Force at one point. And then naval ordinance attracted me particularly because I thought business school would blend into that, but those were very rare opportunities. Naval intelligence I was interested in, but finally it was the supply corps where there was a much greater need for people of my particular background.

RC: What were your responsibilities as supply officer?

FC: They were, I was on a rusty old Hog Islander that was built after WWI and it was shaped like, it was square bottomed, it was like a big orange crate. And we had about ten officers and a hundred men and we were out in the Pacific for two years as the first mobile aviation supply ship. We were a floating department store and we would issue wings and wheels and engines and instruments to Marine air groups, to carrier groups and to Navy flying units. And so my responsibilities were partly to supervise the inventory and issuance of those supplies. And I was also the paymaster and I had to keep track of the money and pay the men and the officers and render my accounts.

RC: Did being in the military in the time of WWII, did that fit your political ideals? Did you have any qualms about that?

FC: I didn't have any thoughts about it. I mean, this is what we did and, I just remember being very envious as I would read about, in '45, of the United Nations meeting in San Francisco and a person who was perhaps a little bit older than me and having a brilliant career helping the secretary of state, being very much in on the drafting of all the important documents, and I said, oh, if I could only be doing that. His name was Alger Hiss, and as you may know, later on he was involved with Whitaker Chambers and the "Pumpkin papers" and Joe McCarthy was

convicted of perjury and served time and only recently died. I think he went through life protesting his innocence but for most of my life I have not envied Alger Hiss, this was just a brief moment. But, no, I didn't think how it would affect me. I knew all of my contemporaries were in the same situation.

RC: In spite of that momentary envy, would you say you enjoyed your time in the military?

FC: In a weird way I did. It was, if you've ever seen the movie *Mr. Roberts*, this was my Navy. We were behind the front line, we would follow the Marines, that is, they would make landings. And I was always in the western and south western Pacific, in central Pacific, but not until after the Marines had secured the islands and the atolls. And we'd show up and start an aviation supply depot and would act as the depot until one was built. So you might say life was boring but I found that there were many things I liked about it. I enjoyed living on the ship and I enjoyed my men, we had a great bunch of people to work with. We had a lot of fun. We put on a show on the boat which I directed and we had people coming in with variety acts, we had people singing and acting and we just had a great time.

RC: When did you meet your wife?

FC: At Bates. She was two years after me and I met her really during her freshman year. I met her before she started her freshman year because her roommate, as it happened, was the daughter of a woman who grew up on lower Wood Street, near Sabattus Street, and went to Bates and was a great friend of my mother. So my wife came along with her roommate to pay tribute to my mother, and that's when I first laid eyes on her.

RC: When did you get married?

FC: This was in '38, four years later in '42.

RC: Were you in law school at that point?

FC: Yup, well, I just about end-, I had ended law school, I had ended business school, and I was about to begin my Navy career. So I wasn't in uniform when we married, we were married in the chapel on a very cold day.

RC: The chapel at Bates?

FC: Yes.

RC: Oh, wow.

FC: And I went, from there I went to probationary duty at the Kittery Navy Yard, Portsmouth Navy Yard, in the supply department there.

RC: How long altogether were you in the military?

FC: What?

RC: How long altogether were you in the Navy?

FC: Four years.

RC: And were you separated from your wife the whole time?

FC: Yeah, well, the two years that I was overseas, yes, but there was about a year before we went, when I went to Portsmouth and then we went to supply school, and went to aviation supply school in Florida. That was almost a year. And then two years we didn't see her, and then technically I did not leave the Navy until sometime in '46 but came home in late '45.

RC: Then you tried, did you go to finish law school? Was that your first priority?

FC: Yes. By that time it was. I had written my wife from the South Pacific that I'd been reading *Somerset Maughm* and I thought that a fine life would be to stay there and write the great American novel in Tahiti or someplace. This did not somehow appeal to my wife and I scotched that idea. The world has lost a great American novel.

RC: After you finished law school, did you come back to Lewiston to set up a private practice?

FC: Yes, I did.

RC: And tell me about the steps you took in order to make (*unintelligible phrase*).

FC: I must say at this point, though, this doesn't seem to have too much to do with Senator Muskie.

RC: That's true. Your life, though, being associated with him, to us provides a context for his peers.

FC: Well, it's not much of a context. I think the context comes later. But anyhow, your, I did go back to Lewiston and I was looking around Boston and I interviewed some firms, law firms. And then a lawyer in Lewiston had said, he offered me the use of his office if I would pay the rent. He wasn't using it at the time. He was doing, he was receiver for Poland Spring House, which was a big summer resort, not, some of which is still visible out at Poland Springs, but not much. But in those days it had a huge resort area that had gone not into bankruptcy, but in receivership, and that was keeping him busy. But I could use his library and his furniture if I would just pay the rent. And to me that appealed and he said, "I think there's a place for you in Androscoggin County." And somehow that just attracted me and I told this partner of a big Boston firm that I thought I would go back to Maine and do this. And he shook his head sadly and says, "Well, I'm sorry," he said, "I thought you would have made a better lawyer than that." But I never regretted doing that, and that's, of course I never would have met this character, Mr.

Nicoll, if I hadn't come back.

RC: How did you end up at the Portland law firm?

FC: They had a very fine trial lawyer, Leon Walker, brilliant man, who had developed tachycardia and he could not, his doctors said that he should not be trying cases. He could work on research and writing briefs but he shouldn't try cases. So the firm, Verrill, Dana, began to look around for people that they might interest and they, two people they checked with: one was Don Webber, who was the justice who later, recently died. He was a justice of the Maine Supreme Court, but he had been a lawyer in Auburn; and then the other was the dean of my law school, Erwin Griswold. They asked him and he says, "Well, you've got someone in your back yard that might be interested." So they got in touch with me. And I talked with them and liked them very much. And so I was their trial department when I started, and just enjoyed my association with them. They were great. And it was probably a, ironically they were I think all Republicans, but they were broad minded and they didn't mind the fact that I was a Democrat. And I probably had more freedom to spend a few years later as chairman of the party, working with Don and others, than if I'd been completely a solo practitioner, because there would be other people tending the store while I was away. Other people doing some research, writing a brief that I would not have to write, that I could argue.

RC: How long were you there in Portland?

FC: About four years, from '52 to '56.

RC: How did you become corporate counsel for the city of Lewiston?

FC: Well, first of all I became a member of the school board, I think while I was still a law clerk, and there I had the help of good friends. Tom Delahanty was a, I'm sure the name is familiar to you, but he was a lawyer in Lewiston and I had clerked for his father-in-law, Judge Clifford, whose...My office as clerk was behind my back, that is, this is where, the next room over was where I came in 1947, so I really haven't traveled far; just one foot you might say. But Tom I think was influential in getting the then mayor Armand Sansoucy to appoint me to the school board. And then after that I was corporation counsel, I guess this was when, I don't know whether Sansoucy was mayor or Roland Marcotte.

DN: It was Malenfant (*unintelligible phrase*).

FC: Well, but I don't think, I think I had been corporation counselor and I think he kept me on aft-, I'm not sure that . . . .

DN: That would have been Sansoucy, then.

FC: I think Armand San-...

DN: Or Eddie Beauchamp.

FC: No, Eddie was not mayor when I, I think . . . .

DN: It must have been Armand, then.

FC: So I don't know how I was, how I came to be, I can't tell you exactly how I was appointed corporation counsel, but I had a track record, at least they knew me. I had been on the school board.

RC: And what were your responsibilities?

FC: As corporation counsel? Well, to attend meetings of the mayor and aldermen and sometimes other committees and to answer any legal questions they had. To collect from other towns money if Lewiston was taking care of paupers or poor people who were residents of these other towns. And sometimes to get involved in any big litigation, and two big litigations I remember. One was a terrible fire truck accident, a collision involving several fire trucks, Auburn and Lewiston, and several deaths. And of course suits by and against the city, and I had to be in the middle of that. This was a part time job, that is, I still had my own practice and I think it paid two thousand dollars a year.

And then one time on election day in '52 we had a blizzard. And this was, we couldn't have the election and because we couldn't have the election then, we had it a week or so later. You might think that that was just sensible, which it was, but the bond houses in Boston and New York wouldn't authenticate or approve of bonds issued by the city of Lewiston until it was proven and demonstrated that this was a legal election. So I had to devise a lawsuit and bring it as soon as possible before the supreme court of Maine to establish the fact that, yes, when we had snow five feet deep and we couldn't have even a plow leave the public works parking lot, it was all right to postpone the election as long as you gave sufficient notice. So things like, it was a fascinating experience for me.

RC: When and how did you become state chairman of the Democratic Party?

FC: There again, I'm not all that sure of what happened. We had, I had first of all, and now we are getting into the Muskie era. I had, see, I'd lunched, we had picnicked with the Muskies in the fall of '53 but he was national committeeman and I was nothing, but we agreed. I had been a keynote speaker in 1950 in Bangor at our, at the, I guess Lewiston had a Democratic convention. But that was sort of a one shot appearance and nothing followed from that. Then in '53, in the fall of '53, I suddenly read in the newspaper that I had been appointed chairman of the pre-convention platform committee.

RC: You read this in the newspaper about yourself?

FC: Yeah, and at first I was infuriated, this was a real character that Don will tell you about, Jimmy Sawyer, and he had announced it. I don't know why he announced it or why he got my name, who put him up to it. Anyhow, I decided to accept it and with two colleagues who I

deeply respected, Jim Oliver of Portland and Roland Guite of Ellsworth, and at this point Don and I got together. Don had been interviewing me on radio and I had said, well, now here's a chance to do something. So he and I figured out a questionnaire that we sent out to people all over the state, not just Democrats, asking them what they thought should be done in agriculture or recreation or various other fields. Anyhow, the platform committee and the platform were great successes. I mean, that made the news and then we gathered in Lewiston in '54 for our . . . .

TOB: (*Interrupts to flip tape*).

End of Side One, Tape One
Side Two, Tape One

FC: We gathered in Lewiston in perhaps March of '54 for our convention. Averell Harriman was our speaker and at this point I had become a member of the state committee, that is, ready to be elected. I had spoken to Democratic groups that year and I know some people like Jalbert had said, well, it's time for you to fish or cut bait. Maybe you in a better way said something like that. I talked to, I don't know who initiated the conversation, but I think it was Irving Isaacson and I talked and Irving was assistant county attorney, and I think he talked to Eddie Beauchamp about making me more active and putting me on the state committee. There was only one man and one woman from each county were on the state committee, maybe that's still the case, I don't know.

And so, but there were several prominent Lewiston Democrats, Paul Couture and Albert Cote among them, who had been mentioned as candidates for this job. Albert Cote was an old high school classmate of mine. And it's hard to imagine, but, because they had worked in the trenches for quite awhile in the Democratic party and to ask them to give up this spot, and Lord knows the Democrats didn't have many spots of any prestige and being a committee member was something. I still don't know how it happened but they said, look, if you want to be on the state committee, be our guest, we're not, we'll back you, we'll support you. It wasn't that they wouldn't oppose me, they would support me for it. So I got on the state committee and then once on the state committee your namesake Friar Tuck, Dick McMahon, who was also on the state committee. I have a feeling that he talked with others. And before we knew it the, he'd let me know that I was to be the next state chairman. I don't know what Ed Muskie had to do with this either. He and I have never talked about the precise events. I'm not even sure that he would remember, but I'm sure that whatever happened was, Dick was so close to him that he knew about it.

So after the convention I guess I knew that, at the convention, I would be the state chairman and I called the first meeting of the state committee a little bit after that at the Cascades Restaurant here, south of Portland. But then we, our job at this point was to look for candidates and as you probably know, Ed Muskie was thinking of running for Congress, that was his, we would build a ticket really with him running for Congress, one and three, and then we'd try to get an older person to run for governor. You want me to pursue this, or?

RC: Sure.

FC: All right. I may be skipping things ...

RC: Well, let me ask you a question first. Had you had any association whatsoever with Muskie before '54?

FC: We'd had that picnic in South China, China Lake where he was recovering from his back injury, and he had written and invited us to dinner and we went up and we had a, we barbecued some steak and just talked politics. And we both agreed that we would keep our eyes and ears open and see whether there was any way in which we could help the rather moribund Democratic Party. And the next thing that happened was this platform development. But aside from that, he had asked me to be, when he was head of, heading OPA in Maine, the Office of Price Administration, he asked me to be his general counsel and I couldn't do it at that time. I just felt I should stick to my business in Lewiston. And I don't think we'd met physically, I think we just knew each other via, from Bates and from being Quimby alumni and he knew who I was and I knew who he was.

RC: That being the case, what was your impression of him? Even so, I mean, not even having physically met him but just ...?

FC: Oh, of course I'd seen pictures of him. I don't know that there was a, I just liked him immensely. I mean, we had fun together, you know, we each had a weird sense of humor and we loved to play with words, only he was pretty bad, actually, but, no he was awful with some of his puns. But we did have fun and it was a mutual respect and so I've never regretted that. I think he's the, I don't know any public man who has such a consistently good record. I don't think I could find any area or any big issue on which I thought he was wrong.

TOB: Ever?

FC: Yeah, I can't, not any big issue.

RC: You tell me you were appointed to the, as state chairman of the Democratic Party committee. What did you run for with Muskie in '54? If my research is correct, you ran with him for ...

FC: No, no, I was state chairman. I was not running for office at all. But as state chairman, and we had, with our first, one of my first steps as state chairman was to get authority to raise money to hire a permanent executive secretary, executive director, which this man [Don Nicoll] was foolish enough to accept. And he, with several children and a good radio job, at least a steady one ...

RC: I heard you coaxed him pretty well.

FC: I don't know about that. He didn't need much, well, my goodness, he came on, we had, so

we sent out a postcard throughout the state and asked for pledges and I think we had promises of a thousand dollars or so come in and on the strength of that Don signs up. Well, so we ran the, we really ran a good part of the campaign of five candidates: governor, senator and three congressmen.

RC: Now at this point you were telling me Muskie is still one of the three congressmen. He hasn't been chosen for governor yet?

FC: Well that's, by the time that we had the campaign he was the gubernatorial because shortly after the convention we... I remember talking with elders of the party like Henry Benoit, a fine clothing merchant in Portland, Harold Dubord in Waterville, Carl Moran, who was a former congressman in Rockland, and we, and Paul Thurston in Bethel, and we were ...

DN: Edgar Corliss.

FC: In Gorham?

DN: In Bridgton.

FC: Bridgton. But I don't know that we asked him to be governor. But anyhow, a number of these older statesmen, and they'd served well in the past and run... Either they had been elected like Moran, or they had run very good campaigns like Harold Dubord, who came within a ghost of beating a Republican senator long before there was much of a party organization. But nobody wanted to do that, so Ed Muskie finally decided, which I think he probably preferred to do anyhow. I mean, but he was willing to run for Congress but I think he was very happy to run for governor. So we had governor, and then we had one of Don's professors, was he, Paul Fullam of Colby, wound up as the senatorial candidate against Senator Margaret Smith. And Paul had, and we had, in the first district we had Jim Oliver, who had been a Republican congressman and now was a Democrat. And we had Tom Delahanty in the second district, and Ken Colbath, the head of the, who owned a music record store in Presque Isle. That was the ticket finally.

And the great time came when we had, we felt we didn't have Paul Fullam because at first he was interested and then he was diagnosed with a severe heart problem and he refused to run, and so we then, then we tried, at this point I can remember this was just a few days before nomination papers had to be filed. And I think it was, the papers had to be filed on a Monday or Tuesday and this was on a Thursday before that, and we had no candidate for Senate. And I can remember calling this druggist or grocer in Gorham ...

DN: That's Edgar Corliss. I was wrong before.

FC: Okay. And we called Corliss because the word, the only thing I knew was he had the reputation of being an honest man, and so I said, well, Edgar, we'd like to have you run for Senate, yes, the U.S. Senate. Well, he says, I have to give that some thought, I'm going out and take a walk around the corner, around the block, I'll call you back. And so he went out for his walk and in the meantime Ed Muskie called me and he says, Frank, we're in business, and he

said, Paul Fullam has signed on, he will run. And so at that point we let, we sent out, you still had to have, you know, a couple of thousand names on the papers. We sent the word out and by Monday or by filing date, we had two or three times the number of papers we needed. It was just a fantastic display of spontaneous enthusiasm over the weekend, and at that point we thought maybe this campaign would do something. We didn't think that anybody would win, but we thought it would be a great building experience.

TOB: Do you remember the conversation when Muskie decided to run for governor? Do you remember talking to him when he decided that he was going to run?

FC: No, I'm sorry I don't. And I don't know whether it was a conversation with me or whether it was with McMahon or somebody else. I just don't have that, do you?

DN: I think one of the things about that period and those situations is that you had several people dealing Aon the fly" with problems or things to be done and you'd have these quick cryptic conversations, and then Dick or Ed or somebody else would go off and take care of it. And then there'd be a cryptic conversation, like Ed's calling and saying, we're in business. So one could never put down the dialogue that showed lengthy conversations about how are we going to do this.

TOB: You just said that Ed Muskie would rather run for governor than congressman. Why do you think that was?

FC: Well, I think that he had no desire to leave Maine at that point. He had been in the state legislature, you know, he'd been well grounded in Maine problems. I think he also probably thought that as governor, which is the case, he would have a chance as the top leader to do many things which, as a legislator, particularly as a house member, your wings are considerably clipped.

RC: If my research serves me correctly, he had no chance of winning.

FC: Your research indicates he had no chance of winning what?

RC: Well, that was the, governor. That was the general consensus among everybody in the state, and so what do you think happened? How was he ever able to persuade Republicans to cross over?

FC: Well, what I think happened, while we did a lot of coordinating and fund raising, we did not go with all of the candidates very much. I guess we did, I did go to a number of things and would speak with Ed Muskie and other candidates, but he did a great deal of campaigning on his own. And the story we get, I don't know how, this is not, this is from hearsay, but, I really am quoting Pete Damborg and maybe Muskie himself. He had been to Rumford to visit his father and then he was to go to Rangeley to talk to a sportsmen's group and he was just so moved thinking of his father and where he had come from and what he was trying to do, that when he got to the sportsmen, he didn't give his prepared, whatever he was going to talk about, whatever

substantive issue. And he gave a very heartfelt personal talk about what growing up had been, his father's tradition and what this country was doing for him and what he wanted to do. And I guess this, according to this reporter from the Portland paper, this really moved the audience tremendously. And then from that point on he had increasingly found himself as a very charismatic extemporaneous speaker. And I have no doubt now that he could feel his power as he went on from audience to audience. Exactly when he discovered it, I don't know, but I don't think he had it at the start.

I remember when we kicked off the campaign in Gray on his birthday when he announced that he was a young middle aged man because he was then forty. It was a very small group and I have no memory that he was particularly moving in the talk that he gave. But later on he certainly was. So I think he's always felt that he could feel this in July, that he had a chance. And external indications were present also. For example, not only independents would rally to his cause, but some very traditional Republicans would say to him that they were for him. Of course he got some to even head a Republicans for Muskie committee. But even apart from those people who were very prominent would be a lot of other solid Republican citizens who were fed up with what had been happening in the state. So he could feel that. And so he was, I was the surprised one on election night, I think far more surprised than he was. Because the New York Times the next morning quoted us as exchanging the word *incroyable*, you know, unbelievable was what we, what my statement to him was. But I think he was able to sense it.

RC: What kind of role do you think the media, especially electronic media, television, played in this success of the campaign?

FC: I think a lot. In those days we were so fortunate. We, I think our electronic budget was about two thousand dollars and you probably have read the figures that we could buy a front page ad in the Lewiston or Portland newspaper for maybe fifteen dollars, and we could buy fifteen minutes of prime time, say seven p.m., television, fifteen minutes for a hundred dollars. And those days were days when television was still so new that people would watch. And you couldn't imagine, very often, them watching a political candidate these days unless he were perhaps the president, but even then it would air, he'd pick his time very carefully. So they would listen and we could, this gave us time for quite a number of maximum appearances over the Portland station, Mt. Washington TV, and Lewiston, and then, I don't know, did they have a TV in Bangor?

DN: Yes.

FC: And so, well, it's one thing to get, to buy, have enough money to buy it and another thing to have people watching. But the third thing and the most important thing is that he was very good on TV. He was very impressive. He was physically always very impressive and that, and he talked well over television. And unlike appearances outside of television, he was disciplined and he could stop when thirteen and a half minutes or whatever he had to do, and stop very gracefully with sort of a completed thought. So he did well on television. Contrarily, his opponent and the, those associated with him didn't do very well on television. They looked sort of stuffy and patronizing.

RC: After the election, what were your responsibilities as chairman? After the campaign?

FC: Yeah, well, the responsibilities were really not as, the immediate responsibilities were not as chairman but they were as part of the kitchen cabinet of Don [Nicoll] and Dick McMahon and Tom Delahanty, Irving Isaacson, a few others. And we realized, first of all after the election, this was a September election and so Muskie was in great demand all over the country and he was on talk shows. But he also had to face the fact that he was going to be governor in a very short time. And what the devil did you do to run the state? And how do you prepare a budget message? And how do you prepare an inaugural address? And what is your program going to be? So we would go up to the Blaine House, well, it wasn't the Blaine House yet, we would, where did we meet in those days?

DN: For the kitchen cabinet meetings? Well, we met sometimes in your office in Lewiston or the party office, and sometimes we met in Ed's office in Waterville, his law office.

TOB: When you say the office in Lewiston, do you mean the office on Lisbon Street or the office on Main Street?

DN: We didn't move into the office on Main Street ...

FC: Until I was a congressman. No, I guess ...

DN: No, no, it was '56, '55, sometime in '55. But that would have been the little office on, well sometimes the little office, the party office on Lisbon Street and sometimes Frank's law office on ...

FC: Also we must have met in hous-, homes like Tom Delahanty's. Of course later on when he was governor we did it in the Blaine House, through his second term. But anyhow, we did an awful lot of thinking. And I was lucky enough to, I had represented governor Fred Payne as a lawyer in a liquor commission investigation and during those days I had relied on one of the governor's friends, Maurice Williams, who was in the finance department, to prepare data and charts, and Maurice agreed to work with Governor Muskie to advise him and to, I guess, was he designated the head of the, commissioner of finance at that point?

DN: No, he became Ed's administrative assistant.

FC: Right. So he gave us the technical financial know how to know what we reasonably could promise, what it would cost, and where we would get the money. And then we also found a very good reporter who would become his press secretary, that was Floyd Nute. And so they, we added to the staff. I guess that's all of the staffing at that point that we helped him with. Then the party, we realized that we really had to, we in a sense had been lucky, but we really wanted, had to build organization, we had the Maine Democrat, the newspaper that we published, and we got an Addressograph machine from a local banker and that enabled us to have mailing lists, and Don worked on building ...

TOB: What's an addressograph?

FC: That's the latest thing now. Well, it's a machine that pre-dates computers. But it just has, you type out addresses and they form little, type little masses of type for each address and by pressing keys you can print the address on an envelope. You feed the envelopes ...

DN: And there's sheet metal that you stamp out so that it would print.

FC: So you could, instead of hand writing an address or typing it, you just have your, you feed all of your stamps into this machine and then set it going and it will send out three hundred addressed envelopes or whatever you need.

TOB: Now, who was the editor of the Maine Democrat? Who was in charge of the publication?

FC: Don. As the executive director. And that was quite an effective sheet in terms of party organization. I don't know that we ever, we never, party organization is something I think has never been perfectly achieved anywhere and we certainly had a long way to go. But we, compared to where we started from, we had, in many areas, quite effective organizations, and we... See, when Muskie was elected governor he was accompanied by very darn few Democrats in the legislature. And it wasn't until, oh, two years later there must have been more, but even then the newspapers would say, well this is still just a one man victory. After I was elected, a two man victory. And they would point to the great disparity in the House and Senate, and you would never have predicted that in not too many years, the Democrats would have more registrants than the Republicans.

RC: So after the election, Muskie having to lead the state now, you both worked extensively on just getting the party organized and what he was going to do and so forth?

FC: He worked on what he was going to do. He didn't have time to work, I think the party was really up to us, what we were willing to do. He of course was tremendously important. If we had dinners or something, his presence was a, you know, a must really or a great drawing card. And he would support us. And he would listen to us if we had any suggestions for appointments, but basically we didn't even have to do much there. He knew, I mean, we had similar thoughts.

RC: When he became governor, how would you characterize his political personality, after he became governor?

FC: Well, I couldn't see any great change, but he never was a, he was never vocally an intense partisan. That is, he knew that to survive he had to appear and be reasonable to independents or more particularly to Republican leaders that he had to deal with. And so he was always an equable, he was equable and civilized, courteous, good humored in his dealings. He was cautious, always cautious, but he had a good sense of timing. And I would occasionally get dissatisfied because I would want him to take action sooner rather than later, but in retrospect he

probably was wise in his sense of timing most of the time.

RC: Was the relationship between the two of you purely political, or did you ever have lunch or supper with him?

FC: It was mostly on the political side. I wasn't, I'm sure that I wasn't his closest friend by any means, but it went beyond the political, he would... I remember one occasion he came to our cottage on the seashore in South Harpswell in the course of campaigning. And would stay overnight with us, and he's been to my house, I've been to his house, we, of course, very fond of his wife and children.

You asked me earlier whether, you seemed to be appalled at, that on no big issue did I find I disagreed with him. Well, there was perhaps one, which was Vietnam. Not that I always disagreed with him on that, but I, perhaps, of course I was not in the, I was not in a place where I had responsibility as he did. He could not very quickly come out and criticize the president. And I can remember one time at our house when my daughter and he had a real knock down argument about Vietnam and it was pure Muskie. He was standing up for the policy and only later on did he change his mind on that. But he, but we did have a good personal relationship.

I guess, well probably Don was closer to him than I. He certainly worked with him as administrative assistant. It's hard for me to realize that this period we're talking about loomed so large in my life, but my political life was only about six years, from '54 or late '53 through '60. And after I, certainly after I became, then I, after '60 I was in the AID agency where I didn't see Senator Muskie very often, and then I was in Paris and I saw him, when he did come over he was, visited us once and we had a good time together. And then as a judge, I would very seldom see him, I had no occasion to. So it's hard for me to realize that I'm talking only about, about only that six year window and yet I feel close to him and have been close to him, and that's why I'm emphasizing, he is a public man, that's what our relationships mainly were.

RC: Even in the small brief moments when you did see him or go over to his house or he came over to your house, were there notable distinctions between his public persona and his personal persona?

FC: No, I don't, I can't say so. You might say that on occasion, if he'd let his hair down and really be indignant or angry at something. But there was no difference privately or publicly, there was, he could blow his top publicly as well as privately. And private conversation, he... I've always thought he would be a good judge because you come up with a proposition or a reference to an individual, and he'd be very judicial. He would think of things that you hadn't thought about and this, he would do this publicly. But privately he would go through the same kind of thought process. Now, maybe this means that I don't know the real Ed Muskie privately but everything I've seen would indicate that there was no change between his public and private persona. I really think that to him, that, in his own mind, he was always the senator or the governor. I really think that he did not view, he viewed himself as only one person.

RC: Perhaps those are the most trustworthy politicians, when the personal is political.

TOB: Did you ever go hunting or fishing with him?

FC: No, I'm not a hunter or really a fisherman. The closest we've come is going on the Sea and Shore Fisheries boat with the warden Thurlow, with Don, Floyd Nute, Dick McMahon and the governor. When he was a new governor we just had, this must have been the summer of '55 or something.

DN: July of 1955.

FC: And we went, well, we went out to Vinalhaven or North Haven, Stonington. We just had a ball in that, went down Eggemoggin Reach, this is mid coast Maine and it's a beautiful sailing country.

TOB: What kind of boat?

FC: It was a power boat, it was the warden's boat. A big boat.

DN: It was their research boat.

FC: And we just had great, we saw, what was it, a Gilbert and Sullivan opera at one island, and we'd come back to the boat and just have a ball. And then, we didn't have to worry about the boat, the warden took care of that, but there... It was just a wonderful feeling because here was this young crowd, the governor being the oldest of us at age forty, and we'd worked our heads off and now we were, had a little time of living high off the hog. We had this wonderful boat and we had two or three days off the coast of Maine. Unfortunately there were not very many times like that.

TOB: Now, was it just the men or were their wives and children along, too?

FC: Just the men.

DN: It was a working trip, theoretically, and we spent probably a third of the time talking issues and state budget program strategies.

FC: Yeah, of course, and we found out a good deal about the warden service and the marine, the issues on the coast. But, so I never fished or hunted and I know he did go, he was a great sportsman, he loved it.

TOB: Who would he go with? Who in the crowd was into that kind of thing?

FC: Well, this reporter who died recently, Gene Letourneau ...

TOB: A couple weeks ago, right?

FC: ... yeah, at a very advanced age, I think he would go with Muskie on occasion. I think Muskie went with Jane's brother Howard Gray?

DN: I don't think it was Howard, I think it was Jack [Gray] who would go hunting. I may be wrong about that, but Howard I don't think of as being ...

FC: He probably went with Al Lessard. I mean, I wouldn't be surprised if he ...

DN: And he had several friends in Waterville who were avid bird hunters that he'd go bird hunting with. Dick Dubord was another one.

FC: Yes, I bet Dick would be a, and Dick would be good at that.

DN: We need to probe that one with Mrs. Muskie.

FC: And he would, I know when he was a senator he would go down on the eastern shore of Maryland and have some sort of outing with some ...

TOB: He got into trouble once.

FC: Yeah, what was that?

TOB: He and another senator I believe, the senator from Maryland, took some birds in a, from a sanctuary by accident, and the warden caught them and fined them.

FC: Aha.

TOB: In Augusta, after work or to have like a late night bull session, where would you meet? Was there a specific restaurant or someone's house where the group would get together after Muskie was in the Blaine House?

FC: Oh, after Muskie moved into the Blaine House, it was the Blaine House. That is, we would work, we'd work very late, we would have a drink and we'd relax and we'd also tell stories and it would be a good time. And then we'd come back to Lewiston. But, no, it wouldn't be a restaurant. But that was a lovely upstairs room.

RC: In '58 you ran for the second district congressional seat?

FC: In '56 and '58.

RC: What between being a chairman in '54 and '56 prompted you to want to run?

FC: We had a situation where we talked about the French - Irish tensions in Lewiston. I'm not sure that it was a legitimate tension, but there was a certain tradition there. And the two people who wanted to run for Congress in the second district were Tom Delahanty and Eddie

Beauchamp. And they were both wonderful people but I think that neither one wanted to withdraw in favor of the other. But each of them was willing to withdraw in favor of me, and so... I don't know what else happened but the idea was attractive to me and so I, can you remember anything about that?

DN: Well, I remember that in 1955 you and I went to Washington to explore raising money for congressional candidates. We went to see Lap Harding and Ken Harding in the congressional campaign office, and we went to see Mr. Sam [Sam Rayburn], the Speaker. And after about an hour of walking around on the marble floors of the House and in the office buildings, you declared that you'd be damned if they'd ever catch you in that place.

FC: I don't have any memory of that.

DN: We came back and you were actually not very eager to run at first, and then in the late winter of '55, early '56 it began to look as if there was nobody else who could run for that seat and avoid a terrible split in the party.

FC: It was a problem for me because I would have had to, had to leave my firm and that was the source of my livelihood. But nevertheless they carried me for quite awhile.

TOB: On leave of absence?

FC: Well I, no, I would practice. That is, I did continue to try cases during the campaign, you know, when I could, Lord knows how I did it as I look back on it, but, so I, it wasn't a leave of absence. I was just doing my work, probably not as much as I should have been doing but I was trying all the cases that came along that needed to be tried. So, anyhow, they, both Eddie and Tom were very good and have always been very good friends of mine and they could see me as a candidate without any rancor, and they helped me in so many ways. Tom especially. So I started to, so I ran and I was going to run against Charlie Nelson, a sitting congressman who had been there for quite awhile. A very bright intelligent man, but he was somewhat eccentric. And the story I've heard is that May Craig, the indefatigable Washington reporter for the Gannett papers, she was a real personality with her funny little hat. She was on Meet the Press for many, many years. Was it Meet the Press?

DN: Yeah.

FC: And she got Charlie at an early morning hour and he was very disgusted and short tempered and he says, "The hell with this, I'm not going to run again." And so she published that and I guess Charlie had painted himself into a corner. And so in a sense that was a setback because we thought that perhaps he might be very vulnerable. And so they picked, the Republicans picked just an excellent man, Jim Reid, whom I had known, he was a good friend of Governor Payne. When I was defending Payne I got to be friends with him [Fred Payne] and remained friends with him for the rest of his life. But Jim Reid was a good, able, top lawyer from Augusta and so that was a real fight and, but a fair one. It's the kind of campaign that you seldom see these days. When I had finally won, just to show you what kind of a man he was,

Jim's son was in Europe and Jim cabled his son and said that I had beaten him but not to worry, that I was a good man.

TOB: On that note, let me change the tape again.

End of Side Two, Tape One
Side One, Tape Two

DN: ... who always spoke from the heart.

FC: Yeah, well, this is probably the best thing that could have happened to me, to have the primary vote, and have this particular one. Because here I was, a smart aleck chairman, a lawyer, and here I had a, Roger Dube, a person of Franco American extraction who could, of course could speak French, and he came from the lower wards. He ran a Sunset Motel in Auburn and Roger did not, was not very strong on issues. But as Don says he would communicate with people and he would gesticulate and he, although he slapped the lower part of his belly when he said, AI speak from the heart", nevertheless he did come across as a warm person. And I learned not to take anything for granted. In fact, friends said, now don't underestimate this man, he's got something that you'd be well advised to watch and profit from.

So I had to campaign hard and I would, I had good friends in the Franco American community, particularly Louis Philippe Gagne who was, had been a mayor of Lewiston. And I would write talks to the French citizens, citizens of French descent or Canadian descent, and he would translate them and then I would speak to the citizenry in my fractured French. But I had to work hard and communicate with my constituency and I was, it was just great when the primary vote was in and all of the lower wards, all of the Franco American wards voted for me. And they were always a staunch support for me and, even when I ran for governor. It wasn't their fault, they did their best.

RC: Did Muskie support you in your campaign?

FC: Oh sure, oh yes, he would campaign, we would campaign together, which was not always an advantage because people would see him but they'd have a hard time seeing me who came up to his belly button, maybe. But we campaigned, we would share the platform together and we'd sit through countless evenings. And Jane Muskie and I have often laughed over how we'd squirm when he would open with the same jokes and we knew what was coming. But he was very forthcoming.

RC: What were the central issues you were dealing with at the congressional level once you became congressman?

FC: Well, I think one of the tougher issues which I think we handled well, I don't know how we would have done today, but it was reciprocal trade. And we were for the reciprocal trade bill, basically toward freer trade which meant a real challenge to Maine textile mills and shoe shops. And it would be very, it was easy to demagogue on the other side of that issue, just as you can

for NAFTA today, and labor was an important part of our constituency. But we, through Charlie Donahue, who was in the Dept. of Labor in Washington, and Ross Davis, too, we would . . . .

DN: He was in the Department of Commerce.

FC: ... we would develop position papers and speeches and articles on reciprocal trade, how, both how it would advantage the country generally and how trade assistance, or job retraining then should be pursued, which is still a pious hope. I don't know that anybody's mastered the job retraining part of free trade. And how really to take employees who no longer have a job at a textile mill in a community and gear them and enable them to find reasonable work in that community in some other occupation. But we did our best at doing it, we borrowed from foreign experience, where it happened elsewhere. And so it was not a major factor against us. It could have killed us. I was on the foreign affairs committee which I wanted to be on, which is weird in a way because that's not, doesn't pay off in terms of: what do the people in Central Maine care about Afghanistan? But we did keep in touch with our people, we had newsletters, we had the radio programs. And, let's see, was there any other big issue in '54? I mean '56. Fifty six was the, I remember the foreign elements, there was the Hungarian revolution had just happened and there were refugees.

RC: How did the televised debates go? Between you and Reid?

FC: Between me and Reid? We didn't have more than one, did we? Just one.

DN: I think there was only one, yeah.

FC: And it, I'll tell you how that went. I think if I were a Reid supporter I would say Reid won because he did not fall flat on his face. I did not demolish him. I mean, here I am the lawyer, the debater, you know, supposed to be pretty good on my feet. Well, I certainly didn't demolish him; I gave my views, he gave his, and I'm sure that the audience would say, well, gee whiz, Reid can hold his own.

RC: What events led up to your making the decision to run for governor in '60?

FC: The fact that the angel of death called Clinton Clauson to heaven. We had elected Doc Clauson as governor, just a good down to earth ordinary fellow. And we would joke about some of the things he would do, but he was a, he was a good common type of fellow and was doing fine. But he died. He died at the, what was this, this would be late '59? Must be, just before the '60 campaign.

DN: He died in late December of '59.

FC: And I think I felt that we had worked so long and so hard for a Democrat to be governor, to carry forth our program, that this should not go by default. Well, it wouldn't have gone by default, we would have had other candidates, but I thought that I would be the strongest as it... And I should probably never have done it because '60 was the year Kennedy ran. And although

we did better than Kennedy, it wasn't a good year for Democrats. It was also the first year that you didn't have the big box, you had to . . . .

DN: You had individual checks.

FC: Yeah, and, oh, you did have the big box. No, we abolished the big box.

DN: There was both the abolition of the big box and it was the first time we had an election in November.

FC: November, at the same time as the presidency, so Maine went heavily for Nixon.

TOB: Was it a backlash against Kennedy that Democrats everywhere had a harder time?

FC: It wasn't a backlash, it was just, you know, the Maine people, when there are so many Protestants they, or hard shell Baptists, that they couldn't stomach the idea of a Catholic. They could take a Catholic for governor, Muskie had shown them that. But here they really, we've heard stories of ministers just fulminating from pulpits, and the type of people who voted on election day were coming out, not from graveyards particularly but people of a very elderly conservative stripe. And so it was not a good year.

DN: If you looked at the votes in that election from the Bible belt areas of the state, the vote went up, and the vote in those areas was overwhelmingly anti Kennedy.

TOB: Didn't Kennedy call you after the election? I read this in a newspaper report, that he called you after the election and he said something to the effect of, I'm sorry my coattails dragged you down.

FC: Well, what I, I don't remember that but it sounds like him. But I do remember that he called from West Palm Beach because he wanted, this was very good of him because it was shortly after, a day or so after election, and he, the same time he called Sophie Williams of Michigan and George McGovern of South Dakota because he wanted us all, who had fought the good fight and been defeated, to play a part in his administration. But when he got on the phone to me he says, "Well, Frank, we really got out the vote, didn't we." And I said, yes, Mr. President, but it wasn't quite the kind of vote that we-. So he always had a great sense of humor.

RC: How at all was Muskie associated with your campaign for governor?

FC: How what?

RC: How and in what capacity was Muskie associated with your campaign for governor?

FC: Let's see, he was, he was not running. He campaigned with us very loyally whenever we wanted him to do anything, and we were with him a lot. No, we never felt that he was, you know, playing cozy or afraid of risking his own credit. No, he was fine.

TOB: To take a step, a little step back if we can, and talk a little bit about your work for the lobstermen to try and get that, get the bill passed, I'm just trying to find the number of it here but I'm sure it doesn't really matter any more. During the 1957-58 lobster controversy in which the justice department indicted Leslie Dyer and the MLA?

FC: I had nothing to do with that.

TOB: Right, at the same time, a little after, you were in Washington and, this was really subsequent to this, trying to get a law put through that would exempt lobstermen ...

FC: Really? I'll be darned.

TOB: ... from the monopoly ...

FC: From the anti trust laws.

TOB: Right, the same way that the farmers were.

FC: My good friend Ed Gignoux had presided at that case in Maine, and he had to find them guilty, but he, what he fined them was whatever their costs of court or something very ...

TOB: It was a thousand and then, he fined them a thousand dollars and he suspended the (*unintelligible word*).

FC: Yeah, yeah, he went as far as he could to say in effect, you guys should never have been indicted, you know, in a criminal manner. I frankly did not remember that I had the good sense to do that. That is, good sense from the Maine point of view. I'm not sure it was sound policy to try to exempt this or that group.

TOB: Well, my question is that, I have a list here of all the bills that you introduced in all the congresses you served in. What, how did you, do you feel you introduced a lot of bills, would you take advice from Muskie about introducing bills, did he introduce a lot of bills during this time?

FC: I, of course I got there before he did. I did not consult with him before introducing bills, unless, I won't, there may have been some bills that were important to the state of Maine where he and probably the whole delegation would do something on potatoes or some Maine oriented issue. We did not follow a policy of introducing, of getting our name on a lot of bills. I think we were very selective in the bills that we did put in. And I know when I ran for governor, I was disturbed, far more disturbed than I would be today by the charge of my opponent that I'd been in Congress four years and I had never gotten one of my bills passed into law. Today, of course, that would be a virtue. I'd say to all these people who want government to be small, I'd say, I'm your congressman.

But seriously, what we, I did see a lot of the things that I worked for in my committee in foreign affairs, I shaped a lot of our legislation there, or our decisions on foreign aid for example, or creating the development loan fund, and that's where you have power, within your committee. So I don't, I admire you for your pertinacity in getting all the bills but I forget what they are now. But I do think that we were not major signers of bills. I remember Paul Douglas once, a good friend of mine in the Senate side, wanted me to co-sponsor a truth in lending bill, or a truth in labeling. And I felt at that point that there were enough things wrong with that bill that I couldn't sign it, that is, I, if I'd been, I might have been too persnickety. But I remember just holding myself apart and not going on as a signer until certain things were done to change it.

TOB: Now, you spent two years in Washington at the same time that Ed Muskie was. What was your relationship like during this time? Did you see him a lot more because you were both in Washington? You said you didn't, obviously you didn't work together, from what it sounds like, on getting very many bills introduced, but were there other Maine delegation business, did you see him often?

FC: Oh, sure. It's hard for me to remember, but even though he was in Washington, I don't think we saw each other too much. His life as a senator was indeed very pressured. Most, I can remember though during the summers when we were in Washington, and my family was in Maine and I guess Ed's family probably was also, things were a little bit more leisurely. And I can remember eating dinner with him and Pat McNamara, Senator McNamara, and having a good time and seeing more of him.

TOB: Now, where did you live in Washington?

FC: Where did I live? On the third alphabet at Ingomar Street, that is, it's in the District, it's out near Chevy Chase, Maryland.

TOB: You have a house?

FC: Yes, we had a house that I, today I would hate to tell you what it would sell for. Well, he had a house there, too, and of course real estate in Washington is ...

TOB: Did you live in the same town?

FC: Not the same, Don lived in Washington two streets away.

TOB: Right, but I mean (*unintelligible phrase*).

FC: Well, not too far away.

DN: Well, actually our house in Washington was after you were defeated for governor and we moved into the District. We lived out in Maryland when you were in the House, because we'd come from Buckfield and we didn't want to move into the city ...

FC: Where did we, flew kites or something at your house once? Big back yard.

DN: At the, in the big playground just down at the end of the street.

RC: Going back, forward, to after your defeat for governor, you served on several committees. One of them was the Organization for Economic Development. Can you talk a little bit about what your responsibilities were?

FC: That's not a committee, that's an international organization situated in Paris, sort of the successor of the organization that ran the Marshall Plan right after WWII, reconstructing Europe. And the organization for, OECD had a committee, the Development Assistance Committee, and I was the U.S. minister accredited to that committee, the representative of the U.S. and also the State Department. But this was sort of, you could call it the Arich country" club. All of the developed countries, including Canada and Japan, were members of this DAC, the development committee. So I was not an ambassador but I was head of this office and my job there was to work with, strangely enough, my chief partners would be our former foes, the German and Japanese ministers, trying to get all the countries to increase their developmental aid to underdeveloped countries. A lot of countries were in those days extending credit but at high interest rates and short repayment periods. And so we wanted to increase the quality of real aid by getting them to do more grant assistance or low interest rate or long term repayment. And so to do that was really a job in jawboning and holding meetings and getting foreign ministers involved and gradually increasing the commitment. And I could speak with great authority there to them because the U.S. was doing very well in foreign assistance in terms of percentage of its gross national product. Today I couldn't, I would hardly deserve to sit at that table, we are doing so badly, and we're fifteenth, we're way down the list of countries in terms of giving in proportion to our GNP. But then I could say, this is what we should do and they'd listen to me and we'd make modest progress.

RC: You served on the Development Assistance Committee leading up to when you were nominated and then appointed municipal justice. Before that . . . .

FC: Before, nominated to, appointed what justice?

RC: Municipal.

FC: No ...

DN: Court of Appeals.

FC: You've demoted me several stages.

RC: When did you serve on the loan development organization?

FC: Oh, the Development Loan Fund, in Washington. Well, I told you when I was a congressman I helped write the legislation that created it. This was under President Eisenhower.

And I worked with Gerald Ford and John Lindsay and some other Republicans as a Democrat, we got bipartisan support for it. And then when I joined the Kennedy administration, my first job was managing director of this Development Loan Fund, and this was a very short lived appointment of about six months or less. We had a small staff of perhaps eighty or a hundred and we would make capital loans to countries like Nigeria or India. We had this very small organization, and the rest of our foreign assistance was done by the International Cooperation Administration which gave technical assistance. That is, public health people going into the field, or agricultural experts going into various countries. And that had a, that had five or six thousand employees. And under President Kennedy, he merged the two into the, what today is the Agency for International Development, both capital lending and technical assistance. So I, after I was, I served as managing director of the Loan Fund for several months and then got involved as head of the task force merging these two organizations into AID, and then after that was deputy administrator of that.

TOB: How did you get introduced to this job, to this role? Who appointed you to this position?

FC: To what position?

TOB: Well, first of all, the first one, the Organization of Economic Development in Paris?

FC: Well, I guess the real question is how did I happen to get into the Development Loan Fund to begin with, because after Kennedy had been elected president, one thought we had was being ambassador to Canada. I think what the president wanted me to do was to be congressional liaison, assistant secretary of state for congressional liaison. And that did not appeal to me at all. I mean, knocking on congressmen, on doors of people with whom I had served and trying to twist their arm and saying," vote for a presidential piece of legislation, please." So we spent a, I think a fairly unhappy time trying to figure out what to do. Sergeant Shriver was head of the task force, and at one point I talked with Secretary of State Rusk and ...

TOB: Who's we? You said we.

FC: Well, I'm still talking about Don. He wasn't with me any more, he was with Muskie, but I and people who, really people who I would consult and who would advise me, and that would include Don and Libby Donahue ...

DN: John Donovan.

FC: John Donovan, who succeeded me as chair of the state Democratic party. John was very close. So finally, though, because of my congression-, oh, and Adlai Stevenson once called from Libertyville and he wanted me to be his man in Washington, to be the assistant secretary of state for international organizations. And much as I respected him, I didn't particularly feel any empathy to being in that position. But I had worked hard for this, for foreign aid and I felt that's what I wanted to do and contribute. So that led me to the aid agency. Then, after serving there for several years... Well I, President Kennedy was going to name me ambassador to Panama and so at Palm Beach he even announced it orally and then was killed at Dallas a week later. And

then it was that I was tak-, I [was] diligently taking Spanish lessons and preparing to go to Panama. And what I had not realized was that I had mortally offended President Johnson a year earlier when he was vice president by saying. . . .

President Kennedy was trying to get through a type of financing of foreign aid that did not involve authorizations and annual appropriations, but rather giving the aid agency an authority to borrow money and spend and then account for it later, but within certain limits. And this was under a piece of legislation called the Government Export Control Act. We were at a reception at an embassy and the vice president had been lobbying against this. And I had been at a meeting in the White House with Larry O'Brien who said, now, let's all try to get this through because this is very close to the president's heart, it's the only sensible way to get a more stable conduct of foreign aid planning. And so I was conscious that this was important and also that the vice president wasn't very solidly on board. So we were in a little group and he says to me, "Well Frank, you've been in Congress, you know that Congress will never go for this back door financing." This was the pejorative word that he applied to it. And so with monumental miscarriage of judgment I say, "No, Mr. Vice President, you're wrong. Congress won't lose control of this because they have..." Then I went into this ultra technical discussion of this government corporation control act, showing how there was control only it came after the fact rather than before the fact. And that was that, I thought.

But the vice president harbored this and resented it. And when the time came for, when he came to his desk and saw that my appointment had yet to be formally made, even though informally announced by President Kennedy, he just refused, and I don't blame him. Panama was an important spot and he needed somebody close to him to report to. Actually, if I had gone, I think it would not have been a very successful mission because my job was to rewrite or participate in the rewriting of the treaty of giving us the right to control the Panama Canal Zone. And that did not happen until President Carter's term, you know, a good ten years or so later. So the Congress would not have been ready to buy it at my time, so I went to Paris as a second choice, but it proved to be a very, I think, a very good thing for my family and I think a good thing for me.

TOB: Johnson relented and appointed you.

FC: What?

TOB: Instead of appointing you ambassador of Panama, he relented and appointed you to the position in Paris.

FC: That's right, it was not an ambassadorship, not so important in his eyes.

TOB: Now, did Muskie have to go and persuade him to appoint you to anything at this point because he was irritated with you, or was ...?

FC: I don't think Muskie had to do anything at this point. Muskie did tell me, this is how I learned about it. We had these occasional luncheon dates and so I went up the Hill to lunch with

the Senator and the first thing he said to me as we sat down, he said, "Frank, what have you ever done to offend the president?" And I said, "I haven't got the faintest idea." And then only after he identified the occasion did I remember what had happened. Actually, I had great witnesses, because Arthur Schlessinger, Jr. was with me at the time when we, this happened, but even though he's a great historian, I've talked with him since and I don't think he remembers the... I thought he probably would go home and write it down in a diary, but he... Anyhow, I don't think that the, Don was important in those days, because we were talking about an ambassadorship to El Salvador and maybe Guatemala or something. Then when this came along, I remember that you were very strong on my accepting this.

DN: Well they, Johnson made it clear that he didn't really want to appoint you to anything. And Ed was equally firm that... and he told the president "that not to appoint you was highly unfair and if the president valued his presence in the Senate, as he had said he did, then he had to realize that Ed would not have been there without you." And at that point Johnson said, all right, we'll do something, and then the Development Assistance Committee, and that's, and you were reluctant about that initially.

FC: Yes.

DN: And we said you ought to do it.

FC: I was reluctant just because it wasn't an ambassadorship. Knowing what I know today, I'd much rather be a minister than ambassador, I mean, and much less truly ceremonial stuff to do.

DN: And the last chapter of that story is right up there.

FC: Yeah, that's when he really went to bat for me, my judgeship. This is Johnson talking with Muskie, and Muskie has written in there, this is a copy of the photograph that, so he said, this is the ...

TOB: Decisive moment?

FC: Decisive moment, regards, Ed. And this is when Johnson said to Muskie, he called him to the office to talk about some of the, housing act or some legislation ...

DN: Well the meeting was about the appointment.

FC: But in the meantime he was looking for all this legislation, so he said to Muskie, "You just hold my feet to the fire a little bit longer, Ed, and this will work out." So Ed knew that he was, that he'd won at that point. The president says to Ed Muskie, reasoning together, and then I was looking at that because up until recently my clerks had put some labels underneath it on April Fool Day saying that the president is saying to Ed, or Ed is saying, no, the president is saying to Ed, now this Frank Coffin, he's, all he does is learn, he's over there learning French, can't we find something useful for him to do at home. So, that was the magic moment. So he really did go to bat for me as a judge. The president certainly did not want to appoint me and got various

people to try to intercede with Muskie.

TOB: Was this your nomination for first circuit judge? Now, was becoming a first circuit judge, I mean, obviously it's a very desirable position, but was it something that you really wanted when you were in Paris? Was it something that you had in, or you had in mind before you went to Paris? Was it ...?

FC: I never thought of it, being a judge. But I was at a Colombo Plan meeting in London, which is a British commonwealth, association of nations and the U.S. goes. And got a phone call from, I guess Libby [Donahue], saying that Peter Woodbury, who was the New Hampshire circuit, he was on the circuit court of appeals from New Hampshire, and he had just retired. This is in December of 1964. And that my name was being mentioned as a possible successor along with others. And my immediate reaction was, oh, that would be so great because I had always had in my mind as a lawyer a role model such as Justice Holmes or Judge Leonard Hand and I had never thought about it. But when the idea was mentioned, it seemed to me that it was something I had always wanted, even though I hadn't thought about it. Well then, of course, then ensued about nine months of negotiating and waiting and I was, as it turns out, I'm glad I was in Paris. On Friday of this week I swear in Kermit Lipez, and his nomination has taken about a year and a half or more, and unfortunately he's been in Maine. And that means that he's been subjected to so much uncertainty and rumor and people calling him and I'd much rather ...

TOB: I asked Don a question earlier today about this. Does it still rotate between the states? So now, it could have been anyone from Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, or it has to be a jud-, someone from Maine.

FC: When?

TOB: For Kermit.

FC: It would have to be, it would, there's no law but it would have to be a Maine person this time, because we now have, in my day, I had... There had not been a Maine judge for twenty five years, and I think Rhode Island or New Hampshire, they shifted back and forth. We, because there are only three judges on the court, and so they had to rotate. But now there are six active judges so there is enough for one from Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico and actually two from Massachusetts. Plus the senior judges like myself, but the vacancies really are those that I've discussed. So it would be incredible, Senators Snowe and Collins would have to be found in the latter stages of Alzheimer's for that to happen.

RC: You say that Muskie really came to bat for you when you were going to be nominated first circuit judge. What do you mean by that?

FC: Well, as we've been discussing, I was not a favorite of President Johnson, and President Johnson was offended, he didn't think I would be judicial. And Ed Muskie would say that he's, as Don has indicated, that he's worked with me, has the utmost confidence in me, that the president has misjudged me, and that he has no one that he would proffer. I mean he was under

great pressure to put forward other names, names of friends of his, maybe some people who were closer personally than I was. But he just dug in and he was at his stubborn best.

RC: However, was he still out of favor with Johnson at this point, too. Didn't he ...?

FC: It didn't make, he was out of favor when he first came to the Senate. But he was so darned important in his own right on public works and environmental legislation, a key person, that it didn't matter whether he was in his, he was I think in his favor. I think, well, Don will know more than I, but I think he, Johnson was not a stupid man and I think he appreciated Muskie's merits and talents as well as needed him.

RC: I think we're running out of time. I'm going to ask you one more question. In retrospect, what do you think Muskie brought to Maine politics that hadn't brought before? What did he give people, what was special about him?

FC: I think what he did, he gave Maine people a sense of participation. They now, this was not locked up in the Republican primary. They had a say and it's been a very refreshing thing and it, to me it has changed the whole cast of Maine politics and improved both the Democrats and the Republicans. I mean, you have people like Senator Cohen and Senator Collins and Senator Snowe. And these are great people that have been brought out of the woodwork by this feeling that Muskie started by saying that you talk the issues, and you campaign hard and clean, and show you care about people, that's what it means. I think he's, you know, we've had a George Mitchell because of Muskie. I think it's a very deep thing that he brought about.

TOB & RC: Okay, thank you very much.

End of Interview

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