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# **Interview with John Martin by Don Nicoll**

Summary Sheet and Transcript

#### Interviewee

Martin, John

#### Interviewer

Nicoll, Don

#### Date

October 10, 1998

#### Place

Township 13, Range 8, Maine

## **ID Number**

MOH 052

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## **Biographical Note**

John Lewis Martin was born on June 5, 1941 in Eagle Lake, Maine. At the age of three, his parents moved from Eagle Lake to Brownville Junction. He grew up speaking French and English. Martin graduated from Fort Kent Community School in 1959 and afterwards spent two years at the University of Maine, Fort Kent, before transferring to the University of Maine at Orono (UMO). After his graduation from UMO in 1963, Martin stayed there to begin graduate work and also won a position in the state legislature the next year. His election (as a Democrat) caused some short-lived tension between Martin and his parents, who were Republicans. He stayed in the Maine House of Representatives until 1995 and was Speaker of the House for nineteen and a half years. During that period, he had a number of other jobs, including teaching at various colleges and high schools in northern Maine and serving as an aide to Senators Edmund S. Muskie and George Mitchell.

## **Scope and Content Note**

Interview includes discussions of: family history; legislative career overview; teaching and other early jobs; family involvement in politics; childhood experiences with ethnicity; social cliques at college; anti-French professor at UMO; political activism at UMO; influences before college; summer work after high school; Floyd Powell; influences at Orono; friends at Orono;

Democratic state legislators in the '60s and '70s; early memories of Muskie, dual membership in Young Democrats and Young Republicans; Chubb Clark's loyalty test; early work for Muskie; confrontation with Howard Hughes' aide; liaison work with Secret Service; Muskie's '68 campaign; '70 and '72 campaigns; impressions of other members of Muskie's staff; Dickey Lincoln and Allagash Waterway projects; and his work in Connecticut.

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# **Transcript**

**Don Nicoll:** It is Saturday, October the 10th, 1998, and this is Don Nicoll interviewing John Martin at the Moose Point Camps on Fish River Lake, Township 13, Range 8. John, would you start with your full name and your date of birth, please?

**John Martin:** John Lewis: L-e-w-i-s, Martin, 6/5/41.

**DN:** And where were you born?

JM: Eagle Lake.

**DN:** And give us a brief overview of your life and career.

**JM:** Brief? Um, when I was about three, my family moved to Brownville Junction for a winter. My father was involved in a logging operation. About the only thing I remember about that

operation was my running through the hovel with the horses. They had about fifty horses I remember, at least the number gets greater as, I think, I get older. But . . . . My mother was cooking, my father was sort of managing the operation. The following year we moved to Greenville, when I was four, and stayed there through the fourth, halfway through the fourth grade. I tell the story that when I left Eagle Lake, I couldn't speak French; when I came back to Eagle Lake in the middle of the fourth year, I couldn't speak, I could speak, I'm sorry. I could speak French when I left, lost it, and then when I came back, I could only speak English, which was obviously a problem. And so I relearned the language, so to speak, through the fourth grade. And there are still words that I use that are not typical of the valley. Graduated from what was then the Dirigo Grammar School, and then went to Fort Kent Community High School, which was then a community high school district. Actually community high school district number one, the first one created in 1948. Prior to that time, students from Eagle Lake could go anywhere to high school and the state. I'm sorry, the town, paid tuition to any location you wanted to go. And that was, I graduated from high school in 1959, the college course. Then I spent two years at Fort Kent, trans-, and decided I wanted to major in political science, transferred to Orono, graduated there in '63, stayed there for my graduate work, and left there in January of '64 after I won the representative race. So that I was, in effect, a graduate student when I was running in the election in '64.

**DN:** You were twenty-three then?

**JM:** Right. And my parents and a lot of my relatives who were registered Republicans could not vote for me in the primary. There was no Republican candidate, and so they wrote my name in. So I got the required number of votes and then you could do cross-filing. I turned it down because Ed Muskie was on the ticket, and so they put up a Republican through the process, and obviously won, won the '64 election. And then in 1970, well, in between, I worked obviously in Washington for the senator, on the Hill, off the Hill, in the campaign office, in Waterville, in the campaign office in Waterville across the street, back to the Senate payroll, back to Washington. And at that point decided that I was going to be a candidate for minority floor leader. I'm sure you remember Louis calling the senator ...

**DN:** Louis Jalbert.

**JM:** ... right, saying that I was using the Waterville senate office to campaign against him. Probably the toughest race I ever ran. Beat him by two votes; thirty-four - thirty-two. That was in '70. And then we put together a group of people, went looking for candidates. And we were able to find candidates who were willing to run. And we slowly built the margin up in '72 to where we were within five votes of the majority. And then we ended up with ninety-two seats as I remember, ninety-two, ninety-three. I've forgotten the exact number, in the election of '74. Part of that, of course, caused by Watergate. But having said that, it's been twenty-five years, twenty-four to be exact, and the House has never gone back to being Republican. And I was speaker for about nineteen and a half years, resigned, God, '91? No, '90. When the hell was it, '94?

**DN:** Ninety-five.

**JM:** Ninety-five, '95, and decided to run again. And then term limits came into play and I decided to run anyway. [I] came within, on write-in, came within about four hundred votes of winning the fall election. Which offers, even if I had won, I couldn't serve, which. . . . You know, that final Supreme Court decision occurred about three weeks prior to the November election. So Fort Kent was the biggest town, and that's why we just stopped doing the work, because there was no sense putting people through the paces knowing that I couldn't serve. And then decided in January this year to run. That's political, I guess.

**DN:** Now, over the years, you've mentioned your political career; you were also teaching.

**JM:** Yeah, when I got out of my first year in the legislature in 1965, I decided that I wanted to stay in northern Maine. And in 1965 when you looked around for jobs, there weren't any for a college graduate unless you taught. I was able to get a teaching position in social studies at Fort Kent Community High School in that fall, in '65, and stayed there off and on until '72. I would teach the full year when the legislature wasn't in session, because it was biennial session. When it wasn't, I worked in Washington or I worked in Waterville or whatever it was, and then I would come back and teach. And I was teaching either U.S. history or American government or state government at the high school. In 1970 after I got elected to minority floor leader, and '71 actually is when I started to serve. After I got done I realized that I really could not continue to teach at the high school and do justice to the students because I was away and was going to be away so much when I became part of the leadership.

At that point Dean Powell, who was Floyd Powell, then the dean at the University of Maine at Fort Kent, then Fort Kent State Normal School, Fort Kent State Teachers' College, called me and said, "I'm retiring and we need someone to teach a couple courses." So I went in and taught economics and American government. And teaching economics was really tough because of my graduate work, all my economics was governmental finance. I tell people there was real great deficit spending. So, but it was really tough, but anyway I did it. And I did that, and I can remember my beginning salary was somewhere around three thousand bucks.

And then eventually, in '75, I became, quote, a "teacher consultant", or the university consultant. That's the way we started to pay me. And then [I] became an adjunct professor, and then became a, oh. . . . and then I couldn't be anything else because there was a provision in the, when the university unionized, I had them insert in the contract that constitutional officers could not become employees of the university, basically to protect myself. Because, I didn't want anyone coming back at me and saying I was double-dipping. And that remained in the contract. Then that got wiped out, I got taken out. I then became, then the part-time faculty organized through ATHEM, and AFL-CIO became the representative. And subsequent to that I became an assistant professor of political science three-quarter-time. Five years ago, I became full-time under a regular teaching contract. As a matter of fact, I've got a tenure this year; had to go through that process.

And through this process, by the way, through, and the exact years escape me but somewhere around '91 to '93 I taught three semesters at Colby, state government. And I would drive up two days a week in the morning, eight o'clock in the morning, and would teach at Colby. I was getting five thousand dollars for that, which was one and a half times what I was getting at Fort

Kent for the same thing. That's when I realized that private institutions pay a lot better than public institutions. But it was a good experience for me because I, obviously dealing with a different group of students, some actually less motivated because they knew where the next meal was coming from, their parents. And it was always interesting to go outside and see them with Jaguars and other cars that even I could not afford, never mind my students at Fort Kent. So in effect I led a double career through all this process, political and educational.

**DN:** The early days, your father worked in the woods primarily?

JM: Right, and my father hated politics. My mother was a lot more political. She would, she was a ballot clerk, I mean, as long as I can remember. Very upset when, she was a registered Republican as was my father, very upset when I ran for the legislature, because she no longer could be ballot clerk because I was the son. She always was involved in supporting Margaret Chase Smith. And every so often when Margaret retired, you know, she'd be in Augusta or where I'd see her. And she, because my mother was still alive at that point, and she would say, "Your poor mother. How could you have done that to her?" But my mother became a Democrat. My father died a Republican. My mother became a Democrat when Bill Hathaway beat Margaret Chase Smith. Not because Bill Hathaway won, but because if the Republicans could do that to Margaret, she didn't want to be part of the party. So one day I walked home, I mean I came home. And she said, "I want an enrollment card." I said, "What?!" This would have been the election of, what, '72?

**DN:** Seventy-two.

**JM:** And it would have been '73, sometime in January. Yeah, she became a Democrat.

**DN:** Now, you had older brothers and sisters.

**JM:** Most of them apolitical, except for Paul, who the year before I ran for the legislature, he ran for selectman. And he served, I want to say four or five terms in that position. But that, short of that, you know, my connection with politics, other than my mother, was probably more with my uncle Claude who lived two houses, three houses down. And that's where I first met Ed Muskie, when the Democratic state committee met. And, I don't know if it was at that meeting or subsequent, when Ed Muskie was selected to be the Democratic nominee in 1958. And I still remember all the cars, because that meeting was held at the Camps of Acadia. And I remember the cars at the house, you know. And my cousin, Claude's son and I were eight or nine. And I remember seeing this very tall man, who of course turned out to be Ed Muskie.

**DN:** Now, your Uncle Claude was a member of the legislature.

**JM:** I had two uncles that served in the legislature; one was Michael Burns who served from 1919 to 1938, I think. And then Claude, somewhere in the '40s, four maybe, until probably '58 would be my guess. Yeah, he served, Mike Burns as I remember served for sixteen years, and Claude served for fourteen. And I represented the same district for thirty-two.

**DN:** The family's had a lot, then.

**JM:** It's been an interesting. And most people just don't think about it, I mean, you know, you just don't, I don't talk about it very much.

**DN:** And all three Democrats.

**JM:** All three were Democrats. When Mike Burns was there, he survived by owning a house and renting rooms to legislators. My aunt would board, they had a boarding house, and Republicans and Democrats stayed there, because there were only like fourteen Democrats. And when Claude was there, there weren't many more, like twenty-two, twenty-three. And he served with Ed Muskie, I do remember that. So actually, it would have been probably '60 when he got done. No, no, he did not serve with Muskie as governor. So it would have been prior to, well, he could have served when he was governor. Yeah, he would have, '54 ...

**DN:** In the mid-fifties.

**JM:** Yeah, '54, '56, yeah. I've got to put it together at some point. But I haven't, I have it somewhere. I just don't, I haven't focused on that for some time.

**DN:** I'd like to go back to your childhood and schooling and your perspective on the state as a child and young person growing up in a predominantly French community. What were your experiences?

**JM:** Well, when I left, like I said, when I left Eagle Lake, I couldn't speak really any English. For some time in Greenville I felt a little discriminated against, but that didn't bother me. I picked up the language very quickly and picked up friends who were next door, the Tornquists and the Sawyers, the Smiths and whatever, whomever, but. . . . and then we moved back to Eagle Lake and then obviously we were back to a homogenous. . . . And there were some French in Greenville, as there are today, but we only saw them when we went to church on Sunday. Because the Catholics who were living in Greenville were mostly people who'd come into the woods coming from the eastern part of Quebec down through Jackman, and eventually down to Greenville to work for Scott Paper.

And so, I guess when I was going through high school, again, we were very, in many ways very isolated because, at least I was. I ended up joining the college course and we were only, in my sophomore year, they split the scientific college and non-scientific college course, which meant if you were scientific you took trigonometry, calculus, physics, chemistry, etc. The others didn't. So that we ended up in a group of eleven. And we came literally, we had very little connection with the one hundred and ten other students in my class that graduated, unless they came from Eagle Lake. And even then because in Eagle Lake there were Bouchard, Parent, Michaud, Martin, at least five of the eleven came from Eagle Lake, two from St. Francis, one from Wallagrass, and a couple from Fort Kent. So, we never affiliated, frankly, with the Fort Kent crowd. So we never felt the animosity that was felt by other students against the out-of-towners, because we were it, I mean, we were eleven, we controlled the, outsiders controlled. Then I went to Fort Kent, and again that was very homogenous.

My first shock was when I went to Orono; one to find blacks that spoke French, to find minorities that, frankly, I had never dealt with, and all of a sudden be thrown into at that point five thousand students, which was the amount of student body at Orono at the time. And we pretty much developed an Aroostook club. Penny Harris, Penny Smith-Harris, for example was one of them, Mars Hill. So anyone that was from Aroostook, whether you were Catholic, French or anything else, we were very much bonded together. And every Sunday after they went to their Congregational church, we went to the Newman Center. We'd get together in the Bear's Den, thirty, forty, fifty, and that became the gang.

Then I went to graduate school, and we were only four. It was a brand new program in political science and there were only four of us, and that's really where, actually I got involved in politics at the university before. One of them was being involved in helping to fire a professor who discriminated against French students. And this really is funny because when I look back at it, I can't believe I even did it. I was gone, for whatever reason, and I came back and took the final. And when I took the final, I never got, well, back up, we were. . . . The lectures were in what is now Bennett Hall, about a hundred and fifty students. And he would spend about twenty minutes going through the list of students out of an hour and a half class, and he would murder the French names.

I remember one well because I was sort of going out with her. Her name was Michaud from Lewiston. And he would go "Michard, Machard, Michaude," and every time was different. And so finally one day I raised my hand and I asked him if he, to recognize me, I asked him if he needed help in pronouncing French names. And all hell broke loose. So we get to the exam, and we take it. And I'm going into the exam with a B-, my lab is an A-. I get my grade and it's a D for psych, psych 1, it was Psych 100. So I went to see him, and he said I couldn't see the exam. I went to see Dr. Nichols, who was then the chair of the department, and he said that I was a good young college student, I shouldn't interfere with the professor's grading system. So I thanked him and I went to see Dean [Joseph] Murray¹ who was then the Dean of College in Arts and Sciences. Big, tall, very distinguished looking, whitish hair, and basically said I'll check into it. And I went back and he said, "I'll change your grade to a C." And I said, "No, you just confirmed what I thought." So I went to see Dr. Elliot who, as you know, became president at George Washington when he left Orono. And I went to see him and I said, "I'd like to be put on the board of trustees agenda." Because then there were seven members of the board, just Orono; state colleges were not involved. And he said, "No, that's not a good idea."

So I called Claude, he called the president, the chair, who happened to be Bob Haskell, who Claude knew. So I showed up at the board meeting. And they asked for public comment, and I raised my hand. And Elliot says, I can't remember the exact words because it's been so long, something to the effect, "Oh, we've taken care of the problem." And Bob said, "Oh let the young man speak," which I did. And all hell broke loose after that and other people came forward. And it, you know, I mean, it resulted in overview and whatever else happened, and he was gone by the following year. Whether or not I was singly responsible, I'll never know.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Joseph Murray, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Maine, Orono, Maine, 1941-1966.

But, so I guess my first political, real political. . . . And that was followed with Herb Marster's and, when we were in graduate school, of trying to prevent the construction of Hancock Hall because the oaks were going to be cut on the Mall. And we did, we were front page <u>Bangor Daily News</u> for two weeks. The administration was wild. Of course we lost, but when it was all over the one thing, and they still have it, they created a committee, students, faculty, administration for the sighting of future buildings on campus.

So having, now the rest of that story, now I run for the legislature and I'm sitting on the state government committee. And Dr. Elliot appears in front of us. And needless to say, I had a great time. So, he never, and I saw him in Washington a number of years after that. He still remembered me. But, I mean, other than Claude constantly saying to me, "If you want to change things you have to be involved in politics and learning really...."

**DN:** Was Claude Martin a major influence on you in terms of getting involved?

**JM:** I don't know. I would assume so because I spent a lot of time there, you know. Because my father would be home weekends. But during the week I worked in the store, starting in the eighth grade.

**DN:** That was Claude's store?

**JM:** Yeah, so eighth grade, freshman in high school, sophomore in high school, junior, those years. Or I'd work at the sporting camps which he owned, the Camps of Acadia, so. And he was always very good to us, you know, pay us well and take us places. So, yeah, I'm sure, you know, the amount of influence- I don't know, but certainly it was substantial.

**DN:** Were there influences on you among your teachers, or ...?

**JM:** I can't, I would say the one teacher that had the most political influence on me would have been Josephine Gagnon, G-a-g-n-o-n, who was my eighth grade teacher, and also was a person that got me into 4-H. And so from the seventh grade all the way to graduation from high school, I was involved in 4-H. And the result of that, I mean, I won leadership awards which took me to Washington, trips to Chicago, Orono at least once a year. And remember, I'm just a kid, you know, so. But she was one of those individuals who devoted herself to teaching and 4-H.

**DN:** And the 4-H experience, I take it, was very important to you.

**JM:** Oh yeah, because it got me involved. She also forced me to read, because she was one of those, really probably the first teacher that I can remember getting boxes of books from the Maine State Library every month. I mean boxes; probably a couple hundred books. And we had to read a book a week, and she would have us discuss them in class. So you really couldn't get away with not having read. And that started actually with another teacher I had in the seventh grade who also, you know, obviously they were teaching across the hall from one another. And she would use the same system, not as many books though. I think we were reading one every two or three weeks or something like that.

**DN:** So you, in middle school, what we call lower junior high school now, were being pushed intellectually and in leadership roles.

**JM:** Yeah. There's no question that, you know, my friends, the mere fact that they were going to be taking those courses forced me in effect to, I think, excel, that I would not have otherwise have done. Latin, chemistry, trigonometry, calculus, algebra- two years of that, you know, all those courses I know I would've. . . . And of course the way the program was set up at Fort Kent at that time, you had one free period. And we would end up taking another course because we were bored in the study halls. So my sophomore year I took world history. My junior year I took, what the hell was it, something else. Oh, type, even though that was not something college students took. We all said we thought we'd need it, we had no idea why. So we took type. And my senior year, I think it's current events we took or something like that, just to fill up the schedule.

**DN:** When you thought about your future in those days, did you think that you wanted to get out of the valley, or. . . . ?

**JM:** No, the reverse. I had made the decision that, well first of all, we graduated a hundred and twenty-one in the high school in my senior class in 1959. When we entered my freshman year, we were closer to a hundred. After graduation, there were only five left in the St. John valley, of the one hundred and twenty-one. I was the only one in Eagle Lake. And as I look back, you know, I almost made that decision, too.

And I tell this story which is actually very factual. I had been accepted at Orono in February I think, sent my fifty dollars, scheduled to go. All my friends were going to Connecticut, from Fort Kent, from Eagle Lake rather. So I called Orono and canceled; that's why I ended up at Fort Kent. Graduation night, after graduation June 17th, I'll never forget it, Friday night, Saturday morning, I swear it was four o'clock in the morning, but my father woke me up by the toes. That would have been 1959, he was since retired. And he said to me, "What are you doing this summer?" And I responded by saying, "Oh, I thought I'd take it easy and go to Connecticut in the fall." The conversation, I don't remember for sure how it went, but he says, "No one's going to stay in this house and do nothing, so go, get up, there's a horse left in the barn, saddle the horse, take the bucksaw, go in the wood lot and start cutting wood." In those days, wood was cut in four foot and peeled. And in late June, it's great with the flies. After a week of that I decided that there had to be a better future, and I started looking around town for a job because I knew that if I had a job, not a problem.

I got a job at Claude Souci's store. Actually, I got a job, that's not true, I got a job working for a cousin who was working on Second Street putting in gravel so they could subsequently hot top it, or actually put asphalt in those days. So after I did that, Claude Souci's wife came up to me. And I was working, I'd been there probably four days, and the person, she said, "Would you be interested in working at the store? Because the person we had, just quit." And I said, "I think so." She said, "Well, come on over and see Claude." And so I went over, and he hired me. Fifty dollars a week, no, forty dollars a week, seven in the morning until nine at night, six days a week, and Sunday after low mass, which is nine o'clock, until five. But it was better than doing

pulp wood. And I worked there all through graduate school. When I left there I was making a hundred and fifty or two hundred bucks a week and running the place. So, you know. And the reason I ended up at Fort Kent was I could no longer enter Orono, it was too late. I tried, but. . . .

**DN:** Had you planned at that time to major in political science?

**JM:** No, no. I was, when I went to Fort Kent I, well, of course Fort Kent was a teacher preparatory institution and that's really what I was, you know. . . . And then I transferred because I really enjoyed, well, back up. When I entered college, I really thought I was going to major in math and sciences. After I did that for awhile I decided that I really, that wasn't my field. And I'd gotten political courses with actually Floyd Powell and I got interested in politics. And so when I transferred to Orono, I majored in history and government. And then when I graduated, they opened the, for the first time, the political science major for graduate school.

**DN:** Now, Floyd Powell was obviously an influence at several points in your career.

**JM:** Oh yeah, yeah, yes certainly for getting me involved or interested in politics, and then certainly finding a job for me.

**DN:** And you have the Floyd Powell Memorial Center in Eagle Lake.

**JM:** Right. We decided, as a matter of fact his wife, Mamie, was the first public health nurse, so we named one building the Mamie Powell, and the other building the Floyd Powell. Primarily because she was the first person who never took "no" from. . . . She was the first person, public health nurse in the area, but also she was the first person who would deal with a family that had a mentally retarded child or an emotionally disturbed child, and find resources, until the day she died. So when we built the facility for the mentally retarded, the board felt that they certainly were deserving of the honor.

**DN:** At some point I want to. . . . At Orono, who were your greatest influences?

**JM:** [Eugene] Gene Mawhinney, Bob Thompson, Bud [Walter S.] Schoenberger, those are probably the three.

**DN:** They were all political science instructors?

**JM:** Yeah. Uh, Jim Clark I guess would be the other one, who subsequently became president at Temple. Oh, one other, Herb Bass in history, diplomatic history. God, how can I forget him? Yeah, I would guess that's, I can't say the same for the educational department.

**DN:** What did they teach you that stuck with you the longest?

**JM:** Actually, probably challenging, challenges, dealing with them, I would say. Obviously I learned the material. But I think the, dealing with it, dealing of the challenge, getting involved, certainly especially true with Bud Schoenberger and Gene Mawhinney, yeah.

**DN:** Were there students there that have been a part of your life since your time at Orono?

**JM:** Other than valley, Herb Marsters. We are still close. He was one of the four political science majors, and, from Westbrook. He was a transfer from Pogo about the same time I was. I spent as much time, he was married, had three kids at the time. We were pretty much always together, and we got involved in politics and got involved in that stuff. And I can remember the night we sat up all night talking about really we ought to run for the legislature, him from Westbrook and me. And we, you know, we were all into it. A week later he'd say, "You know, I can't run with three kids, but you're different so you have got to run." So that was. . . .

I came home during the break in early March and went to the local hangout. And there were a bunch of old guys there, I still remember some sitting around the side. Philip Blanchette and Dumais, "old man" Dumais, Odeo Blanchette -- a whole gang who were, you know. . . . And they said, "Well, John, you're going to college, what are you going to do?" I said, "Oh, I don't know yet." And they said, "Well, you're probably like the rest of them. We're, quote, going to 'educate' you, and you're going to leave." So I'm back and I sort of thought about that. And a couple weeks later I came back and I walked in and I said, "I'll give you a chance," not, words to that effect but, "if I run, I win, I'll stay." Went back, Herb Marsters and I devised the first brochure on the university printing press, wrote the press release, sent it to the television and. . . . So I tell the story that, now I left town literally. I don't know if I went, I may have gone with Herb or I went to Quebec. I don't remember what it was I did, but I did something. And I was living on Grove Street with some sleepers, and there were a pile of messages when I, under the door, "Call home, call home," Because my mother and father knew nothing about this, because I knew that if I had said anything, of course they didn't know I was a Democrat, my mother would have been, you know. So I called and the operator said, "Will you accept a collect call from John Martin?" My mother said, "Yes." She said, "Why did you do this?" So, that was the beginning. That would have been April 3rd or something.

**DN:** Nineteen sixty-four. Now, Ed Muskie was running for reelection for the Senate. And that year, who was running for governor?

**JM:** In '64 it would have been Clauson. No, who the hell was running? Oh, Reed.

**DN:** Reed against ...

**JM:** Reed was in, right?

**DN:** Yeah.

**JM:** Sixty-two to '66.

**DN:** Oh, so there was no gubernatorial race.

**JM:** So there wasn't a gubernatorial race. And then you had, you know, then of course the Democrats put a slate together, and that's where Elmer and Floyd and Glen ended up being on the Senate. And in Presque Isle they convinced Jim Bishop, who was a very wealth-, I mean,

doing very well as a lawyer, who they promised that he definitely wouldn't win, and they filled the ticket. And in 1964 there were twenty-nine, prior to the election, twenty-nine Republicans in the Senate-, five Democrats. And after the election it was the exact reverse. In the house the Democrats only had like forty or fifty seats, and we ended up with seventy-nine and Dana Childs was elected speaker. Me and Levesque became majority floor leader, Keith Anderson became the assistant majority floor leader. Dana, I'm sorry, David Kennedy became from minority to, I mean, from majority, from speaker to minority floor leader.

**DN:** And in the Senate Bud Reed was the ...

**JM:** [Carlton] Bud Reed [Jr.] was the president, Floyd was majority floor leader, Elmer was chairman of Judiciary. Um, oh God, Chisholm from Portland was the assistant majority floor leader, female, Mary Chisholm, is that her name?

**DN:** I think that's right.

**JM:** Pretty bad. And Dick Glass was the Republican floor leader from Waldo. I mean, the only reason they won was there was no Democrat.

**DN:** And what committee were you on in that legislature?

**JM:** State Government. The following year I was Taxation, and then Appropriations.

**DN:** And in the 1966 election, Ken Curtis was elected.

JM: Right.

**DN:** But you went back to the minority at that point.

**JM:** Yeah, went back to minority. Stayed there until '74.

**DN:** What are your most vivid memories of that period in the legislature?

**JM:** The opposition to growth by the Republicans. But, the difference between now and then, Republicans were much more principled, were in my opinion a lot smarter, better quality, more honorable, not as ideologued, willing to work with you. And that started to shift in the '90s big time. The quality of the Republicans both in leadership and in the membership got progressively worse.

**DN:** Did you have mentors in the legislature?

**JM:** I tell people it was a seven hour caucus from Augusta to Aroostook, with me and Levesque, Floyd Harding, Elmer Violette, Glen Manuel, Leon Lebel. I would meet them in Presque Isle and we'd travel down in snow storms, or whatever. So, you know, I mean, we'd end up talking about anything and everything. And I learned a great deal about what was going on, because they would talk leadership business and they'd always say, "Now, you shut up about

this," and, fine. Then I roomed with Emilien at the Capitol City Motel for as long as he was there, and frankly that was. . . . And then when Emilien would always go back at night to work, I always went with him because I certainly wasn't going to watch television all night. And I would, basically that's how I learned the rules. Dave Kennedy, I would, you know, sit there and argue in his office with him. He was very good about it, I mean, you know. . . . And I think about it; I was the only sitting legislator ...

End of Side One Side Two

**JM:** . . . . actually, no, I can go one step further, I was the only legislator, former or otherwise, outside of Washington County went to his funeral. And I could not believe it.

**DN:** We're starting the second side of the October 10th, 1998 interview with John Martin. John, we were talking about your mentors in the legislature and the leadership drawn particularly from Aroostook County that you traveled back and forth to Augusta with. I'm going to drop back now and talk about your experiences with Senator Muskie. And you told me earlier that you first vaguely remembered him at your uncle's camps during a campaign.

**JM:** I think the house.

**DN:** At the house.

**JM:** And the state committee was at the camp. That's what I, I subsequently read that in the paper twenty years later, and I'm not sure that's where Muskie decided to run or whatever. I....

**DN:** Do you remember what time of the year it was in '58?

**JM:** I really don't. Could have been '57, because it was before he was a candidate.

**DN:** For the Senate.

**JM:** Yup, no, no, I'm sorry.

**DN:** Are you thinking of '53?

**JM:** Fifty-three, yeah, '53.

**DN:** He didn't decide to run for the governorship until '54 actually.

**JM:** I have to go back. And, you know, whenever the state committee met, I have to assume that would have been July. I don't believe that they would come up here in April, even then.

**DN:** Now, you have that vague memory of him; did you remember much about the 1954 campaign?

**JM:** No. No, very little. Remembered the '60 campaign only because I was at, you know. . . .

**DN:** You were a student then at....

**JM:** At Fort Kent. Yeah.

**DN:** Did you get active as a student in that campaign?

**JM:** In Fort Kent? No, not really. I didn't get active until I went to Orono.

**DN:** And your first. . . .

JM: Let me tell you the story about Orono, because at that point I really, I was going to both the Young Republicans Club and the YD Club meetings my first semester. Cy Joly came to speak and, I would have been a senior when that happened. And I can't remember, I was not yet twenty-one, so I was not yet enrolled. I asked Cy Joly what you had to do to run for the legislature. And he said, "Join the YGOP (?), and when you get to be about forty-five then you will be qualified to run." That was the last meeting I ever went to of the Republicans Club. Never for-, and you know, it was funny because Cy Joly, twenty-five years later, remembered that. Because I had gone to Thomas, he was president of Thomas for a little while, and I went to Thomas to do something, and he came over to say "Hi." And he said, "I remember you when you told me," he said, "I should have listened." Yeah, so.

**DN:** So you really got involved in politics on your own initiative and ...

JM: Oh yeah. No one asked me, really. I mean it was not as if someone said, "You gotta run, you gotta run." Matter of fact, when I ran, Chub Clark was given the job by the Aroostook County Democratic Committee in 1964, after I won the primary against the incumbent Democrat, to come see if I was really a Democrat. Showed up at the store, and as only Chub could do it, I was behind the counter and he said, "So you're John Martin." I says, "Yeah." "And are you a Democrat?" I said, "Yeah." "Now," he said, "you're not just, you know, you're not just going to go switch your party when you get down there." And finally, it took him a couple years to tell me the story, but, that would have been in June, late June, early July.

**DN:** And Chub was then working for Bill Hathaway.

**JM:** Yeah, yup.

**DN:** Now, you were elected in '64. Senator Muskie was already in his second term when you went to the legislature. Did you encounter him during the campaign of '64?

**JM:** Yup, and it happened in Presque Isle with, what happened was. . . . I had a friend of mine who was out of the service, Al Albert, Alvin Albert, Rita's brother, who was planning to get married to a girl from Holland and they, having trouble getting her across. And I remember going on the stage, and it's funny, I don't remember where in Presque Isle. And I introduced myself, told them who I was, and told them the story. And I don't know who he gave it to, I

don't know who was with him, you know. And probably, I'll never forget this because I got drunk. Fifteen days later there was a telegram to Alvin. And he showed up that night with the telegram saying she will be on flight da-da-da, arriving in New York, signed Muskie. He showed up with two fifths of BO. That's probably one of the very few times that I really got, you know, oh, God was I sick. He was more sick than I was because he was so happy, but, yup. So that was really my first, and that was during the campaign.

Then I went to Orono, back to graduate school, and I was, I'll never forget this one either. I drove the truck when Joel Eastman was in the back of the truck putting the signs as we were touring Piscataquis, Washington and Aroostook delivering the signs during the night, the big Muskie signs, because they wanted them out, whatever. And, I don't know, I volunteered and I got the job, the two of us, and up we went, up the roads.

**DN:** Was Joel a fellow student at that time?

**JM:** Yup, yeah, graduate school in history. Yeah, he was in history.

**DN:** And after that campaign, what was your next contact with the senator?

**JM:** Then I went, well, I mean I'm sure I saw him in various locations, you know, after the election and stuff. But the next thing that happened, the next thing in 1965 or. . . . John Reed and I and Floyd and Emilien and Elmer flew down in the state plane for Dickey-Lincoln. Remember you and I did. I mean, you wrote most of the speech I gave.

**DN:** That was your encounter with representative Bob Jones.

**JM:** Bob Jones. Yeah, yeah. And then obviously the senator was there and whatever. Then we go to 1966 when Elmer asked if I would run his primary campaign. And I ended up living in Van Buren at my sister's for about three months. And this was my ...

**DN:** This was when Elmer ran for ...

**JM:** Senate against Margaret. And the deal was, said or otherwise, that, the deal was, I, the only money I got from that campaign was my expenses if there were any, and my car mortgage. That was it. Won the primary, and then I moved to the Eastland. God, what a rat hole. And I lived in the old section next to Bubba.

**DN:** Peter Kyros, Jr.

**JM:** Yeah. My office was one room, my bedroom was down the hall. And same thing that I got except that I knew that if we did well that I was going to have a job in Muskie's office as my reward. I went to live with you in November. I was thinking about that the other day because I was thinking of, I saw Jane [Muskie]. Where was it? Oh, at the swearing in for Kermit Lipez. And we started talking and, talking about the Fitzgeralds and we got, you know. . . . And I still remember Christmas, two days before Christmas, Gail [Martin] and I left Washington. And we drove, stopped at my brother's in Connecticut, kept driving. And I dropped her off in Bath. Her

mother met us at McDonald's, if there was such a thing then, but it was somewhere. And then I drove to Eagle Lake and I picked her back up on the way down. So that was '66. Sixty-seven I went back to the legislature, and during that period, that's when I got an opinion from Dubord. Because the question was, could I work in Washington and at the same time be a state representative? And that opinion still stands. Republicans have used it since, to their advantage.

**DN:** What did you do in Senator Muskie's office?

**JM:** I was kind of young. But actually probably the bulk of it was with Virginia Pitts, military and Social Security. And I think that's where I developed my appetite or ability to do case work, how to do it, never take "no" for an answer. Because Virginia never took "no", as you know. Because I'd come back and say, "Well, the military says 'no." And she'd say, "Okay, it's good. Go back." So that was really the bulk of what I remember, you know.

And then came '68 and I went back down and then, I went down after school, teaching at the high school. I went down, and the Democratic convention occurred. I was the only male left in the office, and Hilda and I painted, while the convention was going on to keep us going at night. And the big event prior to the announcement that night, until you called . . . . It was like on Wednesday, I think, you called Wednesday to tell Hilda?

**DN:** (*Unintelligible phrase - both speaking at once.*)

**JM:** I forgot, but you know, the day before anyway, but the biggest event that I had to deal with was like. . . . I think was Tuesday of that week, when the one and only David Dupre had sent the letter under Muskie's name asking the files, the archives, from the FBI on JFK's death. Do you remember that?

**DN:** I had forgotten it. . . .

JM: And the FBI called. I was the only one, you know, because he was a college student. And of course I had no idea that, you know. . . . And so I'm the one that called you, found you at some point and you said, "No." So I called them back and said that the senator was not requesting those files, that it was a college intern and they should not be released. And I still, I mean, I can rem-, I mean, I've never forgotten that. But that was the most momentous event until Wednesday and Thursday. And then came all the rest of it, of at that point setting up an office on 17th and L Northwest. Interesting place, because we had two bank robberies while we were there, in front of us. For a kid from Maine that was kind of tough. Stole my stereo player from the car while it was parked in front of the building. It was a little unusual for someone from Eagle Lake to go through that at that point. But anyway, I ended up doing, as you know, being responsible to authorize payment for the advance people, doing the planes, being Charlie's contact ...

**DN:** That's, uh ...

**JM:** . . . . for the TWIX (?), Charlie Lander, for the TWIX machine and the telephones. And then the Eastern plane, jet, and the American, as I remember. Or was it United?

**DN:** United.

**JM:** U.S. United. And billing the press and others on the United plane. And I did that. And the one thing that I've always regretted. . . . Oh, and then at the end of course, you offered me to, the last political trip, to go to Minnesota. And I turned it down because I said, "I'll go after the election, after we win." So I never got to go to Minnesota that year. I came back a week before and set up the operation in Waterville. Immediately [I] got into trouble with someone who, because I immediately booked all of the hotels in Fairfield and Waterville. And when I went to the Fenway, they told me that someone from Muskie's office had, the Holiday, I'm sorry, had come in and they had taken ten rooms off my blocks of rooms. And I said, no, that wasn't going to happen because those were my rooms. So we went through that for awhile. As I remember, the person who did that was Deveneaux. Or, but anyway he was, they were for Howard Hughes, the guy from Waterville. I don't remember. . . .

**DN:** Maheux (?).

**JM:** Maheux, yeah, that's close. And he and I had a real confrontation, and I said that, I of course, I had no idea who he was. I mean, what did I care? That was one advantage I had because I was, what, twenty-five years old or so. I really had no idea who these national players were except the politicians, but certainly who gave money and who, what, whatever, I mean, that meant nothing to me. Didn't mean nothing that Howard Hughes wanted ten or eight rooms or whatever. So we fought that out and I said, if he wanted rooms, he had to call me. As it turns out it wasn't for Howard Hughes, it was for himself. And he wanted that for his friends and whatever, so I ended up giving him two rooms, I think. That's all he got out of that.

**DN:** So you really were the logistical manager in Washington and then at the end of the campaign in Waterville.

**JM:** I remember when the press called me in Waterville wanting me to convince the senator that he ought to have his election night in Portland. And, you know, I said, "You're talking to the wrong person. I think that decision was made by Ed Muskie, and I don't think it's going to change." And then the three of them pooled as I remember, to set up a live feed. But, so I remember that.

Yeah, I mean, I really was. It was a good experience in terms of the planes. And, oh, I was also the contact person for Secret Service. [I] remember a number of incidents, I'll just tell you one of them, that I remember Secret Service. . . . I got a phone call and this guy wanted to meet Ed Muskie. And I kept saying, he really sounded strange to me, so I said, "Well, just a minute." And Bob McLaren, right? Was that our contact? That's my recollection. And I told Bob that this guy wanted to meet Muskie, sounded strange. So he said to me, "Keep him on the phone as long as you can, we're going to try to tap the line. What do you hear?" I said, "Well, he's around a train station, I can hear the trains in the background." So this went on, I kept the guy talking about how he liked Ed Muskie and, you know, etcetera. And then Bob called and he said, "We've got him surrounded, he's at the Philadelphia train station. You can hang up now." I said goodbye to him, they picked him up. He was a releasee from the Pennsylvania State

Hospital. But that was a little scary, you know, at my age.

And, uh, but Secret Service were really good, I mean the, you know. And then during that campaign actually I rarely saw Muskie except when I was bringing you to the airport to take the plane, or if I went to the house to drop off papers. I was telling Ned the other day, not this last meeting but a year ago, my first real recollection of him, when I went over to bring some papers and Secret Service were running after him, trying to find him in the bushes.

**DN:** You saw the senator very little because you were in the Washington office while he was on the road.

**JM:** Yeah, because what happened, while you guys were on the west coast I'd stay up until three. Then I'd be in the office when the east coast started calling the next morning. And, because the contact for the advance people, not that I did the advance work, but I was their contact to pay, to pay for rooms, give them advances, you know. And then we ended up hiring two or three of the Kennedy girls, Kennedy women I should say, that were working for Robert Kennedy. Tannenbaum, Susan Tannenbaum, um, God, that's the only one whose name I really remember; I'd have to go back and look at it. But, and then we hired a lot of the advance people, Mike Casey, Rich Evans and those guys. And I still keep in contact with those guys.

**DN:** What was your feeling about the campaign?

**JM:** I thought we were going to win. That's why I didn't go to Minnesota, because I thought that things were moving in, you know, really. And I, I mean I still believe to this day if there'd been another week or so, they'd have won. I mean, I've always believed that.

**DN:** Did you, what were your impressions of Senator Muskie in the campaign?

**JM:** Well, actually, I think he did better than Humphrey. And I think he came across better, I think he was more, he came across more. . . . I think probably because Humphrey was carrying the burden of Lyndon Johnson, walking that fine line until Lyndon finally released him in, what, October? And I think Muskie was able to be a lot more free and be his own person than Humphrey was. That's my feeling.

**DN:** Nineteen sixty-eight was a tough year for the Democrats and it was a difficult year in Maine, around the time of our state convention. Were you involved in the struggles that went on there?

**JM:** Not very much, because I was really, I was in Washington during that time. Actually, I left, you know, about that time. So I really was, I went but I really was not involved.

**DN:** After the '68 election, in the '69 legislature, you were, was that the year you were elected minority leader?

**JM:** No, I was on the Appropriations and Emilien was still minority floor leader, yeah, that year. And I went to, the only two Democrats on the Appropriations that year were Louis and I.

And Louis didn't want me there but, we had a little, you know, it finally worked out.

**DN:** Now, as we move from '68 toward the 1972 presidential campaign, you were involved both in the Senate office and later in the campaign. And can you recall, did the office change much after '68 when you went back to work?

**JM:** Yeah, I think it did. I mean, I think that it was a lot more professional. And then I came back and did the Waterville office, worked there with Marge. And then came the primary and then we, and then I was responsible in going across the street, setting up that office.

**DN:** For the '70 reelection.

**JM:** Yeah. I became treasurer of the campaign and George's [Mitchell] campaign manager. I was in the office all the time, and George would come in, you know, from time to time. And then I saw, actually, the senator more that year because he would come to the Senate office. I would go across with George to go through money; who donated, who didn't.

I can remember how upset I was with George because a guy came in, I don't know that I want to say the name, but, I think he's dead now, but I won't say it for the moment, who gave me an envelope with five thousand dollars in cash in it and, for the senator's campaign, and said he didn't want it reported. So I put it in the safe, I told Marge about it and hid it. And then George came in and I told George about it. And he said, "Well, you need to talk to the senator about it." I said, "George, I'm just, whatever, twenty-seven years old here, I mean, I'm just a kid on the block. You work for him, you're the management, you know." He and I had a rather unpleasant conversation because I thought that was something he should have done. He didn't do it.

So I was forced, when the senator came back in, to tell him. I mean, I didn't know what to do with it, and he, supposedly this guy was a friend. I didn't know whether he was a friend or not, and Marge thought he was a friend. . . . But how good a friend, I mean, I don't know, how the hell did I know? So, George was there; he never said a word. So I told the senator the story. And he said, "Okay, you know what to do with it. Take it back." And that was the end of it. Not another word was ever issued, never said. So I drove not very far, ten miles, twelve miles. And, you know who it is? No? Turn it off and I'll. . . . (pause in the tape) . . . . But I found out that he was more scared of the senator than I was. I told him so, as I remember.

**DN:** I want to go back to a comment you made earlier. You said the office became more professional. In what way did you mean more professional?

**JM:** In Washington, you mean?

**DN:** In Washington.

**JM:** Well, other people were brought in that I, you know, I mean it was, that's about the time Madeleine [Albright] was working part-time, or doing some research. Let's see, who else do I remember from that period? Virginia [Pitts] was still there. Gail was still there. There were a number of secretaries. Jane, well, she wasn't really a secretary, was doing more research, and,

you know. All those people came in about that time, or just before. And it became more than, I think, a constituent office I guess is one way to put it. I mean, I think that you and Leon Billings and Walker. . . .

**DN:** John Walker, yup, David Walker.

**JM:** David, yeah. So I ended up working for him for a little bit before I came back to Maine.

**DN:** What, did you see any changes in the senator during that period?

**JM:** He was certainly busier. I think that, yeah, I think that, my impression, it's just my impression, I think that he grew with the issues. And I don't know if that was caused by the fact that Lyndon didn't put him where he wanted to be or his stubbornness or, you know, his, a lot of things. And I also think that his, I mean. . . . I can remember driving him to a meeting, I can't re, downtown. And he was banging his fist and whatever, and he got out and he said, "How'd I do?" I said, "You were really upset." He said, "No," he said, "if you lose control," no, "If you lose your temper, you lose control. But what they don't know isn't going to hurt them." So, I got a different, you know, I mean I started seeing him from a different point of view; realizing that a lot of it was manufactured for the sake of making a point. So, I mean, I think during that period I was, you know, driving him, I can remember driving him home, stopping at a light. And he'd say, "Why'd you stop?" I said, "There's a red light." He'd say, "So? I'm not driving."

But the funniest story about driving him, of course that was to go back to '68, I'm sorry, to '72, no, into '70, reelection. Charlie Micoleau was supposed to be his driver. And Charlie would always manage to be sick or be busy on weekends, because I think he was also scared of the senator. So John Delahanty became my substitute very often. So this weekend, I had to go. And so I went to Kennebunkport, picked him up. We were going to Camp Wauban. And of course southern Maine was really not northern Maine. So we got to this intersection, Jane's in the back, he's reading the paper. And I told him, I said, "Senator, I don't have a map." "Not a problem," says he. So we get to the T in the road and I don't know where to go. And he says, "Go right." And Jane says, "John, go left." Now, I'm stopped and the two of them are arguing about which way to go. I decided that Jane had paid more attention than he had and I went left. And he's saying to me, "Better be right. I'm going to be late, be your fault." I was so happy when I saw the sign, Camp Wauban, South Berwick. It was like, "Thank God."

**DN:** So you learned to trust his wife on directions.

**JM:** On directions, yeah. The other one was, the other story about driving him was in the valley. And we were doing Allagash to Van Buren to the Plain. And we got to St. Francis and we do the stop, and then he says to someone, "Where's Peter Harvey living these days?" Name out of the blue. "Oh, right up, oh, okay. John, let's go." "Senator, we don't have time." 'I won't stay long." Ten minutes, twenty minutes, thirty minutes. And then of course Fort Kent is waiting, and they've been waiting for like forty-five minutes. They're real happy to see me. And so he gets, he says, "I'm sorry I'm late, but John was driving. And he just wouldn't. . . . took the blame.

**DN:** Now during this same period, the '65 on, we were working on the Allagash waterway as well as the Dickey-Lincoln project, and you were deeply involved in that. I'd like you to recall what it was like working on that project, both in Maine and in connection with the senator.

**JM:** Well, my involvement started in 1965 with the report that was put together by the '63 legislature and reported in '64, which came to us when we were, all of a sudden the Democrats are in control, which was a totally different proposal than we ended up with. And Elmer was really the person that was the lead. I ended up being the House person, only because the chair was fairly old, was, Bill Eustis I think was the chair of the committee that was created. So Elmer at the last, end of the session created the committee that, to study the Allagash wilderness waterway issue, and to negotiate with the landowners because until that point there was no attempt to own land. The paper industry had pretty much controlled the previous committee, and so that was really the recommendation.

So we conducted the study at a number of hearings, and the only time I've really ever seen Elmer lose his temper was at the Tarantine Club in Bangor when we were meeting with John St.Clair (?) of Seven Islands, what's his name from IP, what the hell's his name, Maurice Wing (?), Great Northern. I don't remember who was Great Northern now, but they were all there. The biggest spokesman was Maurice Wing saying how much the land was worth. And I remember Elmer's finally losing it and saying, "If that's what your land is worth, we need to change the taxes you pay." Things got very quiet. And that was the beginning, I think, of their willingness to talk. Until that time, you know, we were getting absolutely no cooperation from them at all. And to John St.Clair's credit, he became the first to say, "As long as we don't lose the raw material, then I don't have a problem." And access, I mean, that was the big thing.

Then we started negotiating, then we put the report out and then came the legislation at the same time Muskie put in legislation. It was actually Udall who had put in the legislation, for Wild Rivers. And Muskie and you worked with Udall in the Interior and worked the deal that we ended up with-, a million and a half dollars in the bond issue, a million and half dollars of federal funds. And it went to the voters and was adopted without any problem. Part of it was the negotiations also to keep the area above Twin Brooks out so that if Dickey-Lincoln were built, we would not be affecting the waterway.

The <u>Bangor Daily</u> asked me two weeks ago, they did a series on the second Maine, the two Maines. And they said, "What is the single one thing that would have changed northern Maine?" And I said, "Dickey-Lincoln, cheap power, and we're paying the price for it ever since." And I also remember at the time when people started talking about the people that would be, well actually, it happened in Fort Kent I think, when someone was complaining about the number of families that would be displaced in Allagash. And we're driving back, I was taking Muskie back to the plane and we were talking about it. And he said, "You know," he says, "you know people have forgotten that all those potato farmers that have had to leave their farms didn't do it voluntarily." So he said, "Which is better?" So, and the point was well taken, I think.

In '60-, I want to say '66, I've lost track of exactly, but a group of us, the group in Fort Kent got together and they called me and asked if I would go to Connecticut to turn a couple congressmen around. So four or five of us from Fort Kent went down. Judge Daigle's father, Adelarde

Daigle, and, he's still alive by the way, he'd be one that you, that would be, he's in Florida most of the time. Bouchard, who's deceased now, came with me. We rented motel rooms in Weathersfield, Connecticut, outside of Hartford, and I set up shop. They ran the bar twenty-four hours a day. And I ran ads in the *Hartford Current*, the *Bristol Press*, the *New Britain Free Press* which said, "If you're from northern Maine, and you want to support your people, call this number and come visit." And we had, unbelievable. Then we raised local money and we ran full-page ads in the *Hartford Current* on congressman Gabowski, attacking him, and then the congressman from Hartford, Gabowski was from New Britain and Bristol. Who in the hell was from Hartford? So, one time I went to the New Britain Knights of Columbus, and Gabowski was the spokesperson. The Grand Knight for the Knights of Columbus was from Friendship, who proceeded to introduce me and asked me to speak before the congressman. And I proceeded to lace into the congressman on his position on Dickey-Lincoln, and how he was selling out to the utilities. There was about two hundred and fifty people there.

**DN:** How did the crowd respond?

**JM:** Oh, they were wild, I mean, they were with me. Most of them were from this area. And they were after him, after he was done speaking. The congressman from Hartford, when the press, then the press started getting involved. And they said, the congressman from Hartford, the name I've forgotten but it will come back to me, said, "I have never been lobbied by such a well-financed group." That was us! Okay? Our local money from Fort Kent. Two years later I went down. He ran for governor. I went to Bristol and organized against him and got Bristol to vote for Meskel (?), the Republican. Sent him a letter, told him that I was down there to get my people to vote against him, including the Democrats of New Britain and Bristol. And then all the material actually, for all the fact sheets, etc., was all coming out of Washington. And they were mailing it to my brother's house and I'd go pick it up at night. And we'd do the fact sheet, get them printed, paid for by the citizens of northern Maine, I think, I've forgotten. But that was all money raised in Fort Kent.

**DN:** Did either one of them change the vote?

**JM:** No, no, but we put a tremendous amount of pressure. It ended up with one guy getting defeated. Of course Meskel ended up being governor, but, you know, because Bristol was a big Democratic town. But Bristol is half from northern Maine. Not as much now, but then. Now people from Aroostook are going to Portland. At least they don't have to travel to Connecticut any more.

**DN:** Stay within the state. The battle in the Congress was one part of the Dickey-Lincoln fight. The other was a battle here in the state.

**JM:** And, well, it switched. I mean, at the very beginning it was the utilities fighting it and then towards the end the environmentalists got into it. But the, you know, it certainly wasn't the environmentalists who caused its defeat, in my opinion. It gave a cover for the members of Congress who wanted to vote with the utilities. That's my interpretation.

**DN:** I think we'll pause here, John, and then pick this up at another time. We're almost....

End of Side Two End of Interview