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Bustin-Hatheway, Beverly oral history interview

Stuart O'Brien

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Interview with Beverly Bustin-Hatheway by Stuart O'Brien

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee

Bustin-Hatheway, Beverly

Interviewer

O'Brien, Stuart

Date

September 8, 1998

Place

Augusta, Maine

ID Number

MOH 043

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Biographical Note

Beverly (Miner) Bustin-Hatheway was born February 14, 1936 in Morrisville, Vermont. She grew up in Sebago Lake, Maine. Her parents were Don and Della Miner. Don was a "Jack of all trades" and Della raised sixteen children. As a child and adolescent, Beverly played sports, taught swimming at the Kiwanis Club, and managed the Standish Spa (drug store/soda fountain).

She went to Washington, D.C. in 1955 and worked for the Veterans Administration for two and a half years as a secretary, then returned to Maine and married David Bustin. She came from Republican upbringings, but switched to being a Democrat when she married, and managed David's campaign for the state legislature. She worked for Senator Muskie as a field representative. She graduated from Thomas College with a Business Education degree in 1970.

She served in the Maine Senate in from 1979 to 1996, and later worked as a labor union staff representative. In 2007, she was Register of Deeds for Kennebec County, Maine.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: Senate campaign of 1964; how Muskie's offices were run; housing legislation work; Vietnam War; Clean Air Act; Clean Water Act; Privacy Act; labor philosophy; her Maine legislature work (1979-1996); political awareness; Maine politics changes; Colby College sit-in; her interview with Muskie; drives with Muskie; Muskie and

Mitchell; friendship with Jane Muskie; Muskie's shortcomings; Muskie's political philosophies; Monk's campaign; and Muskie reconnects with people.

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Transcript

Tuck O'Brien: Tuck O'Brien interviewing Mrs. Beverly Bustin-Hatheway, 165 Cony Street, Augusta, Maine, September 8, 1998. If you could, could you please state your full name and spell it just for clarity on the machine.

Beverly Bustin-Hatheway: Okay, I'm going to give it the way I was known when I was working for Muskie, and that's Beverly Miner Bustin, and Beverly is B-E-V-E-R-L-Y, Miner is M-I-N-E-R, and Bustin is B-U-S-T-I-N.

TO: Okay, where and when were you born?

BH: I was born in Morrisville, Vermont on February 14th in 1936.

TO: Did you grow up there?

BH: Only for the first couple of years, then we moved to Cabot and then we moved to Maine during the war years because my father was a welder with the Kittery Naval Shipyard.

TO: What were your parents' names?

BH: Don and Della Miner.

TO: And did they, were they very political people?

BH: Absolutely not, they were, my father only went to the fourth grade, my mother got married and pregnant when she was fifteen, and she had sixteen children.

TO: Sixteen children?

BH: Sixteen children.

TO: Wow.

BH: My father was "a jack of all trades, master of none," as he was fond of saying, but he was an excellent welder, mechanic, diesel builder, painter. He painted the White House Motel out in the White Mountains a couple of times.

TO: When you moved to Maine, is that where you went to elementary and grammar school, middle school and high school?

BH: Yes, Sebago Lake, Maine. We moved immediately to Sebago Lake, Maine, in a two-tenement apartment which we took over, of course, because we continued to have kids. They had the first eight in Vermont and the second eight in Maine. And we went right there at Sebago Lake and then Standish High School. "Rupe" Johnson was a very well known coach there, baseball coach and made baseball bats for the world around.

TO: Where do you fit into the picture with the sixteen kids? Were you in the middle?

BH: Yeah, I'm the sixth one down from the oldest. We all know our numbers.

TO: Really. Are your siblings scattered at this time?

BH: No, we're all still in the southern part of the state except for two. One's in Ohio, the older, one of the older brothers, and the sister that was born just after me is in California.

TO: Wow, and do you see them for holidays and stuff?

BH: We used to, they've both gotten up in age so it's a little harder for them to travel, so they've just in recent years have stayed home.

TO: Getting back to your time at Standish just briefly, were you involved in extracurricular activities or anything?

BH: Oh, yeah. I played basketball and softball, I taught swimming for the Kiwanis Club, I managed the local restaurant, we called it the Standish Spa, S-P-A. You're too young to know what those were, but they were a combination drug store and counter, you've probably seen them, and so I did short order cooking and waitressing and managing, you know, closing down the cash register, closing down the store.

TO: And do you see your political ideals as developing at that time, or were you still pretty . . . ?

BH: I think that I was pretty apolitical. It would surprise a whole lot of people, and I'll reveal it now is that when I first registered to vote was during the Eisenhower years and I was in Washington, D.C. I registered to vote as a Republican, thinking that I needed to vote for Republican to be able to vote for Eisenhower.

TO: What were your aspirations at that time?

BH: I, coming from a poor family.... You can readily understand that I was not going to be able to have any scholarships or do anything. I did graduate third in my class, but it was a class of twenty-three from Standish High School, there was like ninety-nine students in the entire high school. But, so I made the determination that I needed to take a secretarial course, the business course, and at that time they tracked students. You had to choose a course and you couldn't go outside of that. When I took my test that they administered there every year, the principal, "Rupe" Johnson that I mentioned, the baseball coach that was well known in Maine, called me into the office and he said, you should be in the college course, you should be taking college subjects. And I said, well that's fine Mr. Johnson. But I need . . . I know I'm going to college and I know that I'm going to have to work my own way through college and I know I'm going to need a skill, and if you will let me take my college courses along with my skill courses, I would be glad to take them. He says, no, we couldn't do that. So I never did take any college courses. But as soon as I graduated from high school I had taken the civil service test for the feds and I got a ninety nine point eight grade and of course they wanted me, and I of course had made the determination that I was getting out of Sebago Lake as soon as I graduated. So I put down that I'd go anywhere in the United States, and they wanted me in Washington.

So I went to Washington and I worked for the Veteran's Administration for two and a half years, and then went to school at the D.C. Teachers College. And at that time it was, that was right in the integration years and they were integrating the two colleges, the white and the, at that time they called them Negro colleges. And the Negro college interestingly enough was called Miner Teachers College, and the white college was called Wilson. So I held, I quit my job at the feds, and the reason that I had worked for the feds was because I knew that I could establish residency

within a year, it would only cost me seventy-five dollars a semester to go to school.

TO: You worked for the VA as a secretary?

BH: Secretary, yes, project development. I actually worked on the Togus stuff, I kept numbers for them and everything. To this day I can still type numbers without looking. And so I went to D.C. Teachers College. I actually worked as a secretary for the president of the college and I carried the notes back and forth on the trolley between the department of education and the president's office to get this integration of the two colleges done, because who would suspect a lowly girl from Maine carrying messages back and forth.

TO: Now, what year is this?

BH: This was in 1955, '56 I believe. So I went just a few, a year and a half there. And then the guy I was dating in Maine, he was insisting that I get back home, so. That was David Bustin, who is currently the mayor of Hallowell and that was very, did a lot in politics himself. So I came back and went to Nasson Teachers' College and then got pregnant, and so, you know, the story goes, until I graduated from Thomas College with a business and science degree.

TO: So you slowly worked your way, you finished teachers' college and slowly worked your way through and . . .

BH: I didn't finish teachers' college, I ended up going to college as a married student, and got my degree when I was thirty-four years old.

TO: From Thomas [College]. And that was a business degree?

BH: That was a business degree, business education.

TO: Now, had you started to develop strong political ideals by this point? I'm sure when you were working in Washington you were surrounded by politics.

BH: I was but I was just a young kid, you know, enjoying herself and trying to work toward getting my degree. I mean, I worked for the National Education Association, I worked for the Council on Cooperation and Teacher Education, had more money than the kids, the guys that were, the gals that were working full-time. But I was working to support myself to get through college, so I didn't develop anything politically at all. The political push that I had was through my husband, David. He had determined, even when I first started dating him at age seventeen, that he was going to be the governor of the state of Maine. So he already had all of his ideals, and at that time Muskie was running for governor and Muskie was his big ideal, I mean, he just thought Muskie was absolutely great. I don't know if he's down on Don's list but he probably ought to be. So I of course had changed to Democrat as soon as I got married, because David was a very strong Democrat, and my family really are Vermont Republicans, there are very few Democrats in my family, they're mostly Republicans. So what I did, he then, as soon as we moved here in 19-, lordy, lordy, 1963? Sixty-four? Somewhere around there. He immediately ran for the Maine legislature actually.

TO: Where were you living, what town?

BH: Right in Augusta, yup, right over on Colony Road, and he got beat the first time by what turned out to be our best friends, Charlie [E.] Moreshead and Jan Moreshead, and they moved in next door to us actually. But the next year he won the seat and he was a rep for I think it was eight years, I think it was eight years.

TO: Through the sixties.

BH: Through the sixties, and early seventies.

TO: So through Reed and Curtis' administrations.

BH: Yes.

TO: Okay, and at this time that's what really exposed you to politics, Maine politics.

BH: Yes, it really did. And then he and I got divorced and it was the year that I got divorced that Charlie Micoleau, who was Muskie's administrative assistant at the time, and who really had urged us to get involved in politics here in Augusta, because he and Judy lived here and we had become good friends with them, and he's the one, he's the responsible one for getting me involved. And he knew what a worker I was because I actually managed David's campaigns, I did all of the . . . get out the vote, and all the grass roots kind of stuff that you probably know everything about. And so, and Judy worked with me, Judy Micoleau.

TO: So let's talk a little bit about your time organizing David's campaigns. What were the issues, like what, tell me a little about the political scene during that time? I'm sure you, the first time he ran, Reed was governor.

BH: Well that, interestingly enough, I mean, you know that right now I'm a union staff rep, so I handle forty-four contracts and I do collective bargaining agreements and all of that. Interestingly enough, when David was in the legislature, he was also working for the Maine Teachers Association, which is now the Maine Education Association. He was the second in line, the associate executive director. And they allowed him to run for the legislature and, you know, they worked out an arrangement for him. And the big issue then was collective bargaining, and it was during those years when that collective bargaining agreement law was passed and solidified. So that was one of the big issues was the collective bargaining that I remember when he was in the legislature.

TO: Was he instrumental in . . . ?

BH: Yes, very instrumental, very instrumental. In fact, in the years now since I'm working at it, I found out that one of the most controversial parts of it was constructed by he and the MTA.

TO: So at that point, what was the law before that, collective bargaining was, it was, there was

no (unintelligible phrase).

BH: There was, each state has to pass their own collective bargaining acts, so you have the national, you know, under that but you didn't have a Maine labor relations board, that didn't occur until the seventies.

TO: Wow, it seems really late for it to have occurred in Maine, considering all the mills and the AFL and the CIO back in the fifties.

BH: Yeah, you, yeah, and I'm not totally familiar with all of the history. I just know that he worked very hard on that particular bill and it got passed.

TO: So how many children did you have?

BH: I have two.

TO: From the first marriage?

BH: From the first marriage.

TO: So you got divorced, you met Charlie Micoleau . . . ?

BH: Well, Charlie Micoleau we met when David first started in the legislature so I already knew him, he used to come from Washington and stay at our house. And he came one time and I had, David and I had just decided to split that weekend, and he came that Monday night. David had left the house and I said, well Charlie, you might want to reconsider staying here tonight, because he also knew the Moresheads and he would have gone right next door. He says, what happened? And so I told him, and so of course he stayed next door. He didn't want any controversy. So it was, I went to work for, after I graduated from college, I went to work for the Plus Gray's School of Business, which is now the Casco Bay College, and I was the director of the school, satellite school here right in Augusta and trained work incentive students, you know, welfare mothers and fathers to get off welfare and train for their skills. That's what I did for four years. And then they decided to shut down that school and I went to work for Family Planning here in Augusta at the hospital.

TO: What year was this?

BH: Oh my goodness, don't ask me those things. I haven't thought about this for years. That would have had to be, oh, I know, of course, it was when Muskie was running against Monks, Bob Monks. It was 1974 I believe.

TO: Now, had you ever met Ed Muskie at this point?

BH: Oh yes, many, many times.

TO: Oh, you had.

BH: Oh yeah, knew him well.

TO: So let's talk a little bit about that. When did you first meet Ed Muskie?

BH: Oh, I can't remember the first meeting of course, but Muskie was always at all of the Democratic conventions, we always attended the Democratic conventions. He was at most of the fund raisers that he could ever get to and we attended those. So on a personal basis, I didn't really connect with him other than as a constituent and a Democrat running for office. And of course I walked him around downtown or arranged for it with David, or any of those kinds of things. But I didn't have any what I consider a personal connection to him.

TO: Mostly business or political relationship with him.

BH: So it was 1974 when I took the job with the Family Planning Association and then Charlie came to me, this was during the time when all of the Senate and the House in Washington were worrying about whether they had a balance of females and males, you know, it was during that movement. And Nancy Chandler and Pam Scarcelli were hot to trot with Muskie, making sure that he hired women in power, not little secretaries or clerks or whatever. And I don't know whether that inspired Charlie to ask me to apply for the job or not, and I said, Charlie, I don't know how to do that stuff, I'm a business education teacher, what do I know about that. And he said, Beverly, as far as I'm concerned you're the best person for the job here in Maine. And I said, well Charlie, I'm a single mother now, I've two children, I've got to think about this, I can't be away from them overnights, etc. Research how much I would have to be overnight so that I can plan, you know, to be able to take care of my kids. And so he did. Well, three months later, because I put him off that long and they were willing to wait that long, he arranged an interview for me with Muskie. And I went up to Bangor airport, International Airport, and sat with him and interviewed with Muskie then and got the job. That was in '74.

TO: So how was that interview?

BH: Well, it was very interesting because of course Muskie was hiring his first woman field rep in Maine and I said to him, the interesting, he was, I mean, I love Muskie to death. To me, he's like a father figure to me. Everybody told me, oh, it's going to be hard for you, he has a temper, you're not going to be able to handle it, etc., etc. I said, "pffft, piece of cake." I grew up with a father that had a terrible temper, you know. And to me Muskie was just a lamb, frankly. I think he used his temper to his advantage, not because he intended to, not because he lost control, only because he used it as an advantage.

TO: That's interesting because when I probe people to try and get, you know, talk about Muskie's weaknesses or what they thought were, you know, that hurt him politically, everyone always talks about his temper. And you think that that was something that . . .

BH: I think he used it.

TO: ... he used it.

BH: I think he used it.

TO: You think that was a misconception of peopl

BH: Yeah, and I'll tell you why as we go along. But during that interview what I said to him was, well, Senator, how are you going to feel about me, a woman driving you, because you've always had men drive you. And he said, well, my wife drives me all the time. So it wasn't going to be a problem for him. I don't know whether I was more nervous or he was more nervous, but he ended up burning his slacks with his cigar, so. I don't know whether he was more, if he was more nervous hiring a woman or I was more nervous being interviewed by Muskie. But it went, I called, and I'm a very candid person as you will find out through this interview, and Charlie Micoleau said, "You be sure and call me as soon as you get back." So I called him and I told him all the things that had gone on in the interview. And he said, "Oh God, Beverly, you'll never get the job now, you've been too candid."

TO: What kind of questions did he ask you?

BH: Frankly I can't remember any of the questions. You know, I suspect that it was simply, you know, how do you think you're going to handle the job, and I said I've never handled a job like this; I like people, I've worked in politics, I know quite a few people around the state so I don't think I'll have any problem, you know, stuff like that. And I was concerned about driving him in the car and considered myself a decent driver, and, you know. And, I think it was more my, he and I just talking to get to know each other rather than he interviewing me about a job. He just wanted, I think he just wanted to see if he could be comfortable with me as a woman, you know. And I don't know if you know Jane Muskie at all, but she's a very candid, straightforward woman. So I suspect that his being used to Maine women and particularly his wife, that it wasn't hard for him to figure me out at all.

TO: So when did you find out about the job, soon after?

BH: Oh yeah, soon after. It wasn't, it was, Charlie called a couple or three days later and said, you got the job. I don't know how, but you got the job.

TO: Where was your office?

BH: Right in Waterville, right over the bank, right on the corner.

TO: So Charlie Micoleau was Ed Muskie's chief administrator?

BH: Administrative assistant, yeah, AA we call them.

TO: The position that Don Nicoll had held prior to 1972.

BH: Right.

TO: Did Charlie take over in '72, was that the transition? You don't know?

BH: I don't know when he took over.

TO: So what was your job? What did you do?

BH: I was staff rep, I handled seven counties for him, covered seven counties, I did what all the other field reps did. I held town meetings, what we called town meetings and we would just go into different towns and sit there in the office and advertise that we were coming. And anybody who wanted to come in and talk to us we would talk to them, and handle their cases, and put them back to Washington and get settlement if we could, and all that stuff.

TO: Full-time job?

BH: Full-time job? Oh, God, yes, more than a full time job. And then when he came into the state it was your job to drive him around and take him around to all the schedules. It was also your job to work with Washington in setting up the schedules, working with all the federal and state agencies to resolve constituent complaints about different agencies or different things. Work on projects that involved Maine.

TO: So you more than Ed Muskie were the

BH: Eyes and ears.

TO: his eyes and ears. Like you got, if some-, now do you remember any specific complaints that turned into bills that ended up in Washington, or was it more just little stuff that was easily handled with a couple phone calls?

BH: No, no, there were quite a few projects. You're asking me things that I haven't thought about for years.

TO: Take your time.

BH: Well, I can give you one example. I don't know about turning into legislation, but I can give you one example in that, the first, well, I could start back if you want me to go in sequence.

TO: Sure.

BH: When I first started working for him, he was in his campaign, after he had run for president I believe it was.

TO: And lost in '72?

BH: Yeah, I think so, yeah. So, and Bob Monks who was a millionaire, a multi millionaire, was running against him. So we had here in Maine concocted, or his staff in Washington, whoever, had concocted the thing that we would have all of these Dutch treat meetings with Muskie, and

we'd set up, like in my area we set up at the steak house in Winthrop

TO: What'd you call it?

BH: Steak house.

TO: No, no, no, the Dutch

BH: Dutch treat, so everybody paid their own way. It wasn't a fund raiser, it was just to meet with Democrats, let Muskie get some idea of what he needed to do, try to strategize for the campaign, all of that sort of good stuff. And that was the first time I took Muskie around. So here I have this huge long table at the steak house, all the Democrats in Kennebec county and surrounding counties there, and I'm sitting way up at the end, because of course I've worked in politics for a long time here so I know everybody at the table. Nancy Chandler and Pam Scarcelli are sitting like about in the middle, and Muskie's in the middle and he's facing them, and we're all chatting and all having a good time

TO: Now those two ladies you just mentioned were, what were their roles?

BH: Nancy Chandler at one point was the National Committee woman, and Pam Scarcelli was a very active Democrat and she does housing development now.

TO: How do you spell Scarcelli?

BH: S-C-A-R-C-E-L-L-I, I believe. She has a different name now and I can't remember what it is but she divorced and remarried. Anyway, they were taking Muskie on about having women in power. Now I didn't hear that conversation because I was way up on the other end. All of a sudden I hear this booming voice, "Well what about Beverly?" and he throws his hand out like that and I go, "Ohhh," you know? "Do you think she has no power?" Well anyway, he just took them right on and it ended up that Pam ran into the ladies' room crying. I said, "Oh brother," here I am, I'm brought up with seven brothers and eight sisters and you didn't cry, you know. If you wanted to take on your brother, your mother said, don't expect me to defend you. But she'd say to the brothers, "You don't hit women," you know. And so she kept that balance, but we understood that if it's our fault we were going to get it, all right? So I follow Pam into the ladies' room and I try to calm down that situation. So then we start going out to the car and he says, "Well I probably shouldn't have done that." And I probably surprised him but I said, "No, Senator, I think you should." Because of course I was going on my background. And I said, "When women want to take on men like that, they ought to be able to take on the men like that and not dissolve in tears because of it." And I said, "I don't know all the issues involved but I do have some suggestions." He says, "Well what do I do about it?" And I said, "Well, I have a suggestion for you." He says, "What's that?" And I says, "Let me call them up, we'll arrange a meeting tomorrow. You're going to be in the office anyway, sit down and talk to them and try to get it straightened out." And he did.

TO: Now, in situations like this, can you paint a picture of what Muskie was like, ah, arguing the issues with people? When someone challenged him, how did he respond? Was he very

forceful . . . ?

BH: Very forceful, I mean that was Muskie's aura, he's a lawyer you know. I mean, if somebody's going to challenge him, he's going to defend, that's just the way it's going to be. And Muskie has a booming voice and he also has that Maine thing of: you back him up against the wall, what do you want him to do? You know? I mean, I'm a Mainiac, I understand that. Or, I'm actually born in Vermont but brought up in Maine and I consider myself a Maniac. And I understood him, I understood exactly why he was doing that; why wouldn't he? If you want to talk to him, and talk to him saying look Senator, I have this problem and this is what I think, he would talk back to you that same way. Well anyway, the two women did come and we did have a good conversation. And Muskie explained to them what he intended to do with hiring women and putting women in power, etc., etc., etc., and it all smoothed over. So, I think that he, because, maybe I think I understand Muskie better than some of the others understood Muskie, but I just knew him as the man from Rumford, Maine and I knew the Rumford people, you know? I had been doing that kind of work, so I just treated him that way. That he was a man who had a lot on his shoulders, who had a lot of decisions, very, very smart man, and if you wanted to get something from him, then you needed to talk to him on that basis, you know? You needed to be equal. He was more than willing to make you equal. I had, I never felt that Muskie was a chauvinist at all, although other people may have thought that, but I never thought it. So I think that he just came to respect that.

TO: How often did you see him?

BH: Well, just about every weekend that he was in my area; drove him all around.

TO: But I'm just trying, I'm curious about how in the . . . We don't have too much information about Muskie post presidential campaign of '72. How often was he coming back to Maine?

BH: Oh, God, quite often. At least twice a month, maybe three or four times, but at least

TO: A month.

BH: Oh yeah, quite often. And then when Congress was out, of course he was back here all the time.

TO: And at that point he was living in Kennebunk full time when he was in Maine?

BH: Yes, yup.

TO: So you, did you spend a lot of time in the Kennebunk house?

BH: Yeah, actually, not a lot of time in the house, but I actually had, I actually started the first lobster bake for Muskie, only it was a fund raiser at Muskie's house when we had

TO: Is that the same, is it the continuation of the same thing that they still have?

BH: Yeah, they decided to have it that way

(Both speaking at once.)

BH: Yeah, yeah, basically, that's what it is. I had a friend of mine who had worked for the Pilot's Grill and knew how to make baked stuffed lobster, and she did the baked stuffed lobster for me and we had quite a few people all around the house.

TO: This was just a fund-raiser?

BH: Yes, the fund-raiser, yup. It was an interesting story, though, that goes along with one of them, I don't which one it was.

TO: Now the year for this, it might be '76, '75?

BH: I don't think it was that early, I think it was more like going into '78 maybe.

TO: Okay, now we're talking about a time frame when I was alive, so.

BH: Oh, okay, that's cute. But anyway on one of these, and there was no reason for Muskie to respond the way he did, but Jane, I was of course doing my thing staffing Muskie, and there was Jane and Muskie and I. And Muskie had just come downstairs and Jane was talking to him. I can see the telephone stand right there in the hallway. And she said, Ed, I just sent this check for, I mean it was a large amount of money, to the IRS to pay our quarterly taxes, and she said, don't you think that's awful steep? And he says, no, Jane, I don't because if I don't send it then they can't use it to help people who don't make that kind of money. And to me that's the essence of Muskie. He didn't have to say that with me there, he didn't have any other audience, he simply was replying to Jane.

TO: How did they interact, was it, did they have a very casual, were they very casual with each other or always very formal?

BH: No, no, not formal at all. No, no. It's just family. They were just regular, a Maine family as far as I was concerned.

TO: What's a Maine family?

BH: A Maine family just, you know, you go, you do what your job is, Jane's job was to be the mother and the, you know, keep the family together; Muskie's job was to be a Senator from Maine, you know, or a governor from Maine, or whatever. And Jane just, I always admired her because I felt I fell down on my job with raising my family and accepting what my husband was doing in politics, where she didn't. And so I always admired her for being able to step aside, raise her family, and help Ed become what he was. So I had a great deal of respect for her, have a great deal of respect for her.

TO: What was your impression of the Manchester incident in 1972 when . . . ?

BH: Oh the, I wasn't on staff then.

TO: I know you weren't, but you were on staff later and it seemed to really have been like a major turning point in Muskie's political career as far as that, it kind of was, he peaked it seems, and then he kind of just leveled off after that. Did that ever come up in conversation, did anyone ever talk about it?

BH: Oh yeah, we talked about it a lot. I didn't talk about it specifically with Muskie, or maybe I did, I can't remember. Because we had a fairly informal relationship, you know, it wasn't just formal with us. But my thought always was that he, at that particular point when all of that was happening, he needed some women staffers around to say, Senator, I know you want to defend your wife and as a woman I really appreciate that, but guess what? This is politics and you need to tone it down. Somebody needed to grab a hold of him because at that point it was his temper, it was his emotion, it was his defense of Jane, I mean that's what it was. I think I actually did talk to him about this, but I'm not recalling the conversation. But I'm getting it, but he was defending Jane. He's very staunch about that, he was, and he just was not . . . Again if you know Maine, he was not going to have anybody malign his wife, he simply was not going to do that. And somebody needed to be there who was strong enough to say, Senator, sit down for a minute, before you go out there sit down. And I often thought, jeez, I wish I'd been on staff a little earlier because I'd have set him down, whether he liked it or not.

TO: Your perception of Muskie before you took the job in '74, I mean, you'd known him for a few years in political circles, did it change after you got to know him better, did you . . . ?

BH: To the good.

TO: To the good.

BH: No, I mean I always respected him and I always liked him and always approved of his politics obviously because I'm a very liberal Democrat, but I never really knew him well enough, you know. I mean casual, 'hi Ed, how are you' kind of thing when you're at a fund raiser or whatever, or can you get Beverly to do this or that for me, you know, when I'm in town. Because I always was doing all of the campaigning stuff here in the county. But then I got to know him on a personal level and found out he really was the man I thought he was.

TO: You talked about being a liberal Democrat. I've found it tough to get someone, anyone to define Muskie's political stance, like his platform. Do you think you could take a stab at it?

BH: Well, I mean, just take that incidence of the, paying the IRS for his taxes. I mean, I don't know anything that could convince anybody of how Muskie felt about what the world should look like as to distribution of wealth, etc., etc., than that. I really don't, because there's a lot of, I could name you a thousand five hundred and fifty people that would have responded differently to that and said, yeah, isn't it awful, I mean, we can't afford that, why is the federal government taking so much from us. Not Muskie. If we who earn it don't pay it, those who don't earn it can't get it. And that is absolutely, to me, defines Muskie. I mean, you can go as an offshoot

from there into everything else. But to me he was a liberal Democrat. He had to tone it down a lot because you couldn't get elected in Maine if you didn't tone it down. But, you won't be able to interview Dick McMahon, but Dick McMahon is the Waterville person who was best friends with Muskie, who drove him all around the state. And Dick has set in my office more often than not relating all these stories. Throughout Maine, when he was running for governor, this old rattle trap car, staying at people's houses and you know just running for governor and Dick had him around doing all of that. I mean, this was just a very basic grass roots man who happened to have a great deal of smarts. [He] was brought up in Rumford, Maine, by a mother and father who expected the best of him, and he gave it. And he got all of those principles from them.

TO: Did you ever meet any of Muskie's family? Not his immediate . . . not his children or his wife, but as far as . . .

BH: Sisters and brothers and brother-in-laws, absolutely. I drove him, I mean I took him to those places. We stayed overnight there at those places.

TO: Now, he never drove himself?

BH: Nope. We drove him all the time.

TO: Was that just part of being a Senator?

BH: That's, well because he was either reading scripts, you know, reading speeches, working on doing his work, whatever he was doing he was always . . . I mean, it's very tiring to drive, it's not as tiring to ride, and so that's the usual thing throughout is that you drive the senators and congressmen around.

TO: Now, if he was in Portland there would be, there was another field representative down there that would do it, and if he was in Presque Isle I'm sure there was someone else that would drive the car . . .

BH: Yes, yup, yup.

TO: What was his family like? What was your interaction with them (unintelligible phrase)?

BH: Unfortunately, I think most of them are dead.

TO: Yeah, yeah, it's exactly right.

BH: And I'm trying to recall their names, but he had a . . . Lucy and her husband who lived in Peru, Peru is just outside Rumford, and she was really his favorite. He loved visiting there, they were right on a pond in Peru, and I've forgotten what pond it was, but they just always loved to be right there and he loved to be there with them, so that's generally where I took him. And then I took him to visit his other family, oh God, what was that place called in Rumford, it's up that way. Anyway, it's a specific place, the way, it's in Rumford but you name different places and that was another sister that lived up there. Who else did I . . . ? I think that was it. I think those

were the two that I remember the best. There was a third one and I can't remember that one as well, but there were three of them I think that we visited at different times. But mostly he stayed with Lucy and her husband, I'll probably remember his name later.

TO: And when you went up there you'd stay there, too, or would you drive back?

BH: Or I'd stay at a motel or I'd drive back, yup, depending on how long he was going to stay or what we were having to do the next morning or whatever.

TO: I think you said your area was seven counties?

BH: Seven counties.

TO: Seven counties, and which, where'd it go?

BH: Oh, God, you want me to know those. Kennebec, Somerset, Oxford, Sagadahoc, Androscoggin, Lincoln, Knox, have I got them all? Pretty near.

TO: What about Waldo?

BH: Waldo, yup. It's the central area.

TO: The middle chunk of the state.

BH: Yeah, chunked out.

TO: All right, so let's see, let's talk I guess a little bit more about issues that you dealt with or Muskie's, what issues were most important to Muskie specifically during your time as his assistant, field rep?

BH: Well, I think I can do it better by giving you the stories, you know. In one of the stories, one of the first things I handled as his field rep was, the Kennebec River was coming in on the banks and there were houses in Waterville built right on the banks. And this one person's house was going to fall in the river, and Spike Carey happened to be the mayor, Spike Carey is a very well known Democrat. He happened to be mayor of Waterville at the time. So I used him with Muskie trying to get this guy reallocated to a house and we managed to do that, because his house was literally falling in the river, so we got into the HUD I think it was or something, we got him able to be able to finance another house a little ways away. I at the time did not know that this man worked for Keyes Fiber. This is in '74. So, and one of these things, I was taking Muskie around shaking hands at Keyes Fiber. And we went all through that whole vast plant, and all the way along people would shake his hand and say thank you for helping so and so out. Well, this is the same guy. And Muskie, I always felt he was so gracious. Muskie would just turn, he said, well, I'm sure it was my staff Beverly who did it but thank you, you know. And we went through and we did that whole thing and they were just so appreciative of his having saved this family, you know, getting the house.

So then we came out and one of his very good friends stood there waiting for him to come out of the plant. And he said, Ed, I want to talk to you for a minute. And he said, do you realize that Monks is making some pretty good headway here in Waterville? And so they talked for a little while. And as we're going down the steps, Muskie always did this to me, as we're going down the steps he says, did you hear what that guy said? I said, yes, I did Senator, I've been wanting to have five minutes of your time to tell you what I think about this campaign. He says, well what's the matter with now? Stuck his foot up on the railing outside and asked me. And I said, well, Senator, I have to tell you that what's happening is that the people in Maine do not feel that you're the man from Maine anymore. He says, what do you mean? I said, you don't look them in the eye, you don't shake their hands and look them in the eye at the same time, you don't give them that Muskie smile. They feel like they're being shunted off. I mean, I only said this because this is what I hear, you know. He says, well what do you want me to do, then. He said, I've just gone through four hundred hands here, what do you want me to do? And I said, well, you know, you may have to arrange and go door to door, you may have to hold coffees on streets, etc., etc. He says, well what do you want me to do, you want me to go do that or do you want me to go through this plant and do four hundred hands? And I said, well Senator, you called this ball game, now play it. Well, Dick McMahon, the guy I was talking to you about, was taking him from me to the next stop of going down south. Dick got back and he says, don't you ever do that to me again. I says, what's the matter Dick? He says, he raved at me all the way. I said, did he get the message? He says, I think so.

TO: Someone related a story like that to me that had to do with bumper stickers in the '54 campaign for governor and the poor guy, I think it might have been Dick McMahon again who had to bear the brunt of it because he was the one who had to drive him around. Some other person was like getting Muskie all fired up at these stops and Muskie would get back in the car and just yell at him, yell at him the whole way up and then he'd get out and someone else would say something wrong and he'd get back in the car and yell at the poor guy again.

BH: But you know, I noticed after that that Muskie started being the man from Maine. People wanted him, I mean this is how he did it, he'd take your hand and he'd shake it, put his hand on your shoulder and he'd look right at you, and you'd feel like he had brought you in, you know. But what he was doing, because he had run for president, I mean, you get to that with ba-ba-ba-ba, you know? He was doing that same thing, in Maine it just wasn't going over.

TO: So do you think he lost, the presidential campaign kind of made him like more of a national figure and he kind of, maybe the people of Maine felt that that like took him away from them and made him more of like a Washington player? Like, how did he stop being a man from Maine?

BH: Because you have to, I mean when you, Maine people expect I think more of their politicians than what you do when they're a presidential candidate. We can accept them when they're a presidential candidate doing that, we can't accept them when they're our own people representing us, all right? And so, and if you're going to run from Maine, you'd better be, you'd better understand Maine people and you'd better be willing to talk to them and, you know, as Muskie always was. But because he had gotten into that national kind of thing which definitely takes you away from, I mean, just like politics takes you away from your family, that takes you away from your family of Maine. And he just had to understand that he was no longer running

for national office, he was running for a Maine office, and he needed to get back to that and somebody had to snap his garter. And I never backed off from snapping anybody's garter.

TO: That's interesting, because you're one of the very few people I've met that seems to have had no problem with confronting Muskie with stuff. Most people said that that was the one thing they didn't do.

BH: No, didn't bother me at all.

TO: And he must have respected you far more because of that.

BH: I felt a very close simpatico with him and obviously Jane could feel that, Jane and I were, you know, she could call me up right now. I used to drive Jane around, too, sometimes. She could call me up right now and ask me to do something and I'd do it for her and she'd know she could.

TO: So he got back his man from Maine simply by just, did he spend more time in the state for the rest of the campaign or did he just change the way he shook people's hands?

BH: I don't know, I have no idea. I mean, I cannot imagine that I was the only one telling him that; I was just one of the ones. And because he had already learned to respect me, he may have taken it harder or whatever, I don't know what. But anyway, here was this woman who he had known as a twenty-one-year-old saying, Senator, shape up, you know. I mean, he couldn't really ignore that. He might be able to ignore some other staffer in Washington saying this and this and this and this, and I'm sure the other staffers have different stories to tell. I'm just telling you what I did here in Maine, you know, and I don't know how he took it. I just know that I noticed that when he was with me after that he showed that Muskie warmth.

TO: Who was the campaign manager in that campaign, do you remember?

BH: Maybe it was Mitchell.

TO: Maybe Mitchell?

BH: It may have been George.

TO: When did you meet George Mitchell?

BH: When did I? Oh, it's just that we've always all been around politics in Maine and I would not remember when I met George, it would just be that he would, just like everybody else, he would be around.

TO: I'm going to flip this tape here.

BH: Okay.

End of Side One
Side Two

(Beginning of side two unclear due to recorder malfunction. Managed to get most of it except short pieces where indicated.)

BH: You were asking me about issues.

TO: Issues, yeah.

BH: And I'm trying to think what they are, I've been a politician myself for sixteen years now and it seems to me the issues all roll into one another, and it's hard for me to remember which year was which issue. In the legislature we're fond of saying it's the year of the child, or it's the year of the schools, or it's the year of this, or it's the year of that. So I can't imagine it was much different. I know that health care was an issue back then, obviously the economy was an issue, or becoming an issue, but mostly I dealt with the hands on nitty gritty, social security, veterans' administration, that kind of, housing, HUD was a big issue then, getting housing started.

TO: When was HUD instituted?

BH: I can't . . .

TO: It was right before that (unintelligible word).

BH: I suspect so . . .

TO: Muskie was instrumental in getting that through.

BH: Yeah, yeah. Oh, and oh, the Clean Air and Water Act of course, that was in 1970, and the Privacy Act was in 1974, Ed was very involved in that. The Clean Air and Water Act was a continuing thing during that time, that was when that was being developed.

TO: Muskie had a reputation as being very into conservation, did you see that in working with him?

BH: Oh yeah.

TO: Was it a main issue (unintelligible phrase)?

BH: Oh yes, yes. That brings up another story, too. It's not really a conservation issue but it makes me think of it. You know the Hesper and the whatever, those hulks that were deteriorating in Wiscasset, in the bay there? And they were just laying there. Well, there was a big, at that time there was a big push to conserve those, to preserve those for, you know, history, say. And so they had approached me at Muskie's office, I of course got my directions from Washington, what should we do, etc., etc. We decided, the staff, that we were going to write a letter to Congress or wherever it was that the letter had to go to ask for the funding for this group

to be able to preserve these two wooden hull boats. Well, I was driving Muskie to some event and going across the bridge coming into Wiscasset, and he said, look at those things, he said, somebody ought to get rid of those. And I said, Senator, don't say that too loud, you've just written a letter asking for funds to preserve them.

TO: So is this how that stuff often worked? You . . . ?

BH: You would just take care of it and, if it fell in line with his policy. And of course Washington, knowing that he was a conservationist, would have said, yeah, go ahead Beverly, see if you can get the funding for them. (Unintelligible phrase).

TO: Did you ever see any difference of his conservation stance, kind of in conflict with, you know, the Maine economy was generally struggling, and . . .

BH: Well, Dickey-Lincoln was the big thing I think at that time. I think the Dickey-Lincoln, (unintelligible phrase) do you know about that?

TO: No.

BH: Dickey-Lincoln was a dam that, or the river that we wanted to dam up to do hydro power, it never did pass, but Dickey-Lincoln was a big thing that Muskie's office was involved in.

TO: Against or for?

BH: I believe it was for it.

TO: There was another dam I think
(*Few unintelligible lines about other dam.*)

BH: That didn't make it either, as far as I know.

TO: Now that kind of stuff was generally decided in Washington?

BH: Yeah.

TO: So how did your office, could you just explain a little bit, what are the logistics of running a, of being a field representative, some (unintelligible phrase) and issue, anything, would that, if someone had a problem, would call in or wrote a letter to your office and then you would forward it?

BH: Well it depends. Sometimes they went to Washington, sometimes they came here. I mean, you have to under-, every time a (unintelligible word) changed, (unintelligible phrase) occasionally, so did the needs of either the staff or Muskie, or whatever, and how you, what kind of money you wanted to spend, I mean what kind of money you wanted to spend (unintelligible phrase) and so a representative had a bunch of money and they can distribute it whichever way they want, whether they throw a whole lot of it into Maine or they throw a whole lot of it into a

Washington staff, depending on what you're doing as, you know, I mean, when you became in leadership (unintelligible phrase) in Washington than he spent in Maine. So it depended on how many staff you had in Maine and what you did. So the way that it was usually handled was that if I got one of those issues that was handled in Washington, you bumped it to Washington and they handled it. And if I needed to staff something or I needed to take him to a meeting with a bunch of people, I'd get a staff there, or I might even have one of the staff people assigned that project from Washington with him, you know, but I'd still be there to drive him around.

TO: How many offices did . . . ?

BH: It changed, for us, at first, when I first came on there were only three of us. I mean, three or four, myself and (unintelligible phrase).

TO: When did you switch . . . Muskie . . . ?

BH: I had worked for Ed Muskie for four years, and I was approached by (unintelligible phrase) for an open seat in the state senate. (Unintelligible phrase).

(Tape readjusted.)

TO: All right, so I think, before we lost too much, we were talking about 1979 when you decided to run for the legislature. So could you just tell us a little bit about that time period?

BH: Well, that was after I had worked for Muskie for about four years, four or five years. And my last child, my daughter, was going on to college and, graduating from high school, going to college. I had decided that I had done enough constituent work and I wanted something different.

The . . . Stan Sproule who was the mayor and the state representative was running to replace a twenty-year Republican veteran, Bennett Katz. And none of the politicians around, Mitchell, Dan Hickey, none of them wanted to take a shot at running for the Maine senate to fill Bennett's seat because it was considered a Republican seat and nobody, no Democrat could win it. And of course I didn't care because I was making a choice to go on to Washington to work in Muskie's office or do, and get my masters in education, or continuing to work for him, or that I had this choice. They asked me to run and, just somebody to put on the ballot as usual. And so I decided that I would run, giving no thought to winning at all, except that, what I didn't say before was except that I'm considered a very competitive person. Who wouldn't be in one of sixteen? And if I get into something and say I'm going to do it, I'm going to do it right. And so that's what I did. I had already been helping my ex-husband with his campaigns. I'm the one that did the door-to-door, I did the grass roots, I did the registration enrollment and the "Aget out the vote", and all of the absentee ballot and all of that. So I already knew all that stuff. And I had people more than willing to help me. They wanted that seat bad, and I had a great crew. And we ended up winning. So of course then I had to figure out how to... When I had asked Muskie if I could run, what he had said was, yes, you can run Beverly, and you can still be employed. Just take your vacations to do your work. You know, you had the federal, follow federal guidelines to do it. So I said fine. He said, but if you win, you have to quit. So that was okay with me, not

figuring out that I would ever win.

So I won and that was the . . . The same year that I won was the year that Jimmy Carter named Ed Muskie secretary of state, so. And that's when Joe Brennan, who was then governor, named Mitchell as the new senator from Maine. Mitchell allowed me to stay on because he knew I needed money in order to run for the legislature. The only thing that Mitchell wanted me to do... We had agreed that we would keep his politics and my politics separate. You know, what he did in Washington was what he did in Washington, what I did here was what I did here. And I tried my best to be able to not cause him any embarrassment and, but we were both liberal Democrats, so. Actually, Ed Muskie I thought was more liberal Democrat than George Mitchell was. So, um, that's what we did.

TO: So can you tell us again about the sit-in?

BH: Oh yeah, at that time Colby College, a bunch of Colby College students decided that they were going to storm the Muskie office in Waterville, which they did. And before we knew it we had mucho, a lot of students, sitting in Muskie's office doing a sit-down because they were protesting him being secretary of state, because of his, I believe it was Iran Contra stand.

TO: Now, this was Muskie/Mitchell/your office for state senator? All those things just, the office in Waterville was all those things rolled in to one?

BH: No, no, no, that was the Muskie office. That was it.

TO: But at this time were you, you were working for Mitchell, though.

BH: No, that hadn't occurred yet, the switch hadn't occurred yet, it was still Muskie's office.

TO: So you yourself were in the legislature until 1996.

BH: Yes.

TO: What do you think were the biggest changes that occurred in the legislature over those sixteen, seventeen years?

BH: Well, I think that the old politics went out and the new politics came in, and I'm not sure that it's all to the good. And I think that it happened because, one, life has become very stressful; two, the Maine legislature passed a law that said that if a law firm sent one of their people to the legislature, that they could not have anything to do with state government. They couldn't lobby, they couldn't have contracts, they couldn't do any of those things. So they had to divest themselves of all of that. So that discouraged the lawyers from coming to the legislature. And that left what I call your hungry young people and your retired old people. And that's not totally true. There are a lot of us like me that were there, and I didn't consider myself old at the time, that stayed because we were hooked. You know, I thought I was doing some good. [I] Shouldn't have stayed as long as I did, but I did.

And then we've also passed campaign finance laws. They wanted me to do what I called a loyalty pledge, I would pledge to run a clean campaign. And I said, I'm not signing that. I run, all my campaigns are clean. I don't have to sign a pledge to run a clean campaign. And I never did. I never would do that. I considered it a McCarthy era kind of thing, you know, and I just wouldn't do it. There were just two of us in the senate that wouldn't do it. And all of that sort of stuff that kept coming down. And then the term limits which said that you couldn't run for, you can't go for longer than eight years in Maine. Maybe that's good, maybe that's bad, but it certainly got rid of me. I just wasn't willing to run for the house and play the game that they wanted you to play. Because what it is in Maine is that you can run for the senate, you can go your eight terms, and then you can go and run for the house again, and then you can bounce back. I mean, what does that do? It doesn't do anything. And I was . . . And I think that that has helped that, lack of having a party structure is not helping out. The one of not wanting to have a convention, kills party participation. All of those things are leading to people acting independently, by themselves. In some respects, that's a whole lot of good. I always thought I operated by myself anyway, although I had the party structure to lean on. And I always thought that was good. But I guess for those people who don't have that strong constitution, it's hard for them to stand up to it all.

I remember one time when Joe Brennan, I was working for Muskie at the time, Mitchell at the time I remember, and Joe Brennan wanted me to vote on an issue. Well, he had not called me down to his office, he had not asked me to vote his way, he'd not done anything. I had taken a stand opposite him. And he, so he called me down as the bell was ringing to take the vote. Gerry Conley, Sr. was the, my leader at that time, minority leader I believe it was. And he said, "Beverly, the governor's called you to come down, you've got to go down." I said, "Gerry, I'm not going down while you're calling the vote here." He said, "We won't vote on it, you go down and talk to him and I won't let them vote on it until you come back up." So I went down and Gerry was good to his word, he didn't let them vote on it until I came back. And so Brennan got me down there and I, Brennan and I are very good friends, I mean, I didn't know him that well at the time but I do now. And he twisted my arm, he wouldn't let me say a word, he just told me what his position was. I went back upstairs, I voted against him, and got the guy next door in the seat to vote against him. And one of . . . A guy I was dating was working for him at the time, and he told me many years later that, what Brennan had said, "You tell that bitch I'll never go to another one of her fund-raisers or anything." And when I was told that I said, "You go tell him that he's going to need me more than I'm ever going to need him," and it came to be true.

And so I was that type of person. I mean, if you wanted me to work with you, then you needed to work with me. And I, and maybe people today don't feel that they can have that kind of independence, I don't know. But I feel that it's changed to the point where you don't feel that you can have that independence, and you don't have the party structure to back you up. You just, you're just out there by yourself.

TO: You also said before that there is less time for people to get together and meet with their constituents, and the traditional coffees, and going door-to-door, that also . . .

BH: Yeah, because now you've got two parents in a family working out. They don't have time to do the things that we could do, as mothers who didn't work. And, I did work quite a bit but

not that much when I was, when David and I were together. And you don't have people at home so that you can give the coffees. On Saturday morning when we used to give coffees, everybody's busy. Everybody's busy so that they don't have the time to help pass out your literature, or they don't have this, or they don't have that. I mean, I'm so busy myself I can't give the kind of time to candidates that I'd like to give, you know, because I'm the support of this family. So I just think that it's changed, the pressures of everyday life, having to work two paychecks to make a family go. All of that is very detrimental to being able to do the kinds of things that we used to do.

TO: And you also said that it affects Maine more than some other states because state, civilian legislature is

BH: Citizen legislature.

TO: Citizen legislature

BH: Is a part time legislature.

TO: ... is part time.

BH: Yeah, you don't get paid a whole heck of a lot, and, but it's a twenty four duty anyway, year round, and nobody understands that, they just look at you as part time there and you don't get enough money to support yourself and you have to have another job, or you're just going to have to be one of those people starting out that figures this is a good way to get started, or become very dedicated, or you have the retired people who have the living, the money to live on and be able to do the legislature and it becomes a second income for them, that's about it. You know, they can't, if they're on social security they can't make more than nine thousand some odd dollars a year anyway, so.

TO: I also asked you before about what you attribute your success to. Could you go back over that?

BH: I think it's the same thing as my success in being hired by Muskie is that I'm well known for being a candid, straight talking person. I mean, if you ask me a question and you want a straight answer, then you go ahead and ask the question. If you don't want a straight answer, you'd best not ask the question because I'm going to give it to you. It's just the way I was brought up in my family, that's how all of us speak. You're going to know what's on our mind. I've polished that a little bit, but you still get what's on my mind and I'm still known that way. So, I think that's the way I was with people. I, when I went out to campaign, if people asked me to do this thing or that thing, I'd tell them what my stand was. If they didn't like it, they didn't have to vote for me. And in fact I said that to some of them. And, well, I said the only thing I can promise you is good hard work, I cannot promise you anything else but good hard work. And that's all I can do, that's what I'm in control of. And they always accepted that from me. We know you, Beverly, you know, they always . . . And I had done hard work for Muskie all over the county, so they already knew me. I mean, I had people who I had helped, literally helped them with their houses or their social security or their kids, or whatever. So, I mean most

of the people I don't even remember because under the confidentiality laws, the privacy laws which went into effect in 1974 when Muskie was there, you couldn't reveal any of that anyway. So I trained myself to just forget them, you know, once I'd done, I just don't want to remember them. I have no business revealing any of the names.

TO: Do you think that grass roots campaigning like Muskie used in '54, going, a lot of going door-to-door, cocktail parties, coffees, just for your constituents more than fund- raisers still does, will work in Maine?

BH: Absolutely, absolutely. If you can, it's harder to get people to hold coffees, and so it's much more important that you figure out when they're going to be home and that you go door-to-door. Of course when you're doing a national campaign or you're doing a state wide campaign, that becomes very difficult. But what I did . . .And just being in the Maine senate, you have thirty five thousand people that you've got to contact somehow. And if you're in the legislature, in the house of representatives, you only have like seven thousand. So you have a sight more to meet, so you can't meet all of those. So what you do is you organize it to the point where you have other people, surrogates, going out for you. They're passing your literature around. They're telling you how to contact me if you want to talk to me personally. But at least they know I'm interested enough to send somebody to their door and say, "Hi, I'm working for Bev Bustin, how can I help you?" kind of thing. So, and then they report back. And that's the same thing that I think the national people have to do, and we lose sight of that a lot. How else am I going to get you, I mean, if you're too busy, you're raising children, you've got a family, you've got to take care of business, how else are you going to meet me unless I come to your door? Unless I figure out when you're going to be home and come to your door.

TO: Yeah, I mean, I've learned just from people holding lectures at Bates, people running for office that, you know, most people that go are either students who are interested in, and apathy's pretty high among college students, or elderly people who are retired and have the time to come, you know. And that's just a very small niche of the society.

BH: And that's why you have to go to their door.

TO: Okay, so, how would you characterize Muskie's success in Maine? You talked about him being the man from Maine. Was there anything else you could tell us to illustrate why he was so successful for so long through changing times in Maine, from 1954 to '86 at least?

BH: I think that because he, and I really think that I shaped my politics with Muskie and Ken Curtis. I mean, that's how I feel that I shaped my politics was with them. And it's because he hit a chord in Maine, he made you feel like he was concerned about Maine and that that was his first concern. He also had a knack for balancing things off, and I'll give you a story on that.

In Skowhegan, Maine we were holding a town meeting and Muskie was with us. It was his town meeting. Slews of people there. And this old man, older man, well, he was quite old, stood up. And it was, that was the time when the boat people were coming in and Muskie had taken a stand on that of letting them come in. Talk about what his issues were, that was one of his issues. And he [the old man] was protesting that we were letting all these boat people in. And

Muskie just looked directly at the audience and he said, and looked directly at this man and he said, it's all well and good, and I understand your point, but if you're the man standing on that shore watching those people go down in that boat, what would you do? He said it exactly that way. That was why he gained the reputation that he gained. Because he said these . . . Basically without saying a whole lot he was saying these are moral issues, everybody has to decide them for themselves. I've decided because I'm the man standing on that beach watching that boat go down, that I can't do that. I've got to let those people on that shore. And he said it in those few words, even though he was known for going on and on and on and on. It was very effective.

TO: What do you think Muskie's biggest contribution was to the state of Maine?

BH: I think the Clean Air and Water Act was one of the biggest contributions. I happen to think the Privacy Act was one, too, because that, he was the . . .

TO: What was the Privacy Act?

BH: The Privacy Act is the one where you have to have a release form. If you want me to do something for you and it involves contacting Social Security Administration or the Veterans Administration, whatever, I have to get a release form for you that says, this gives you permission to release any and all information in my files to Senator Beverly Miner Bustin. And the agencies cannot release it unless they have that piece of paper. That's the Privacy Act.

TO: Now, is that easily, does that apply to like credit agencies and people like that, too, or just politicians?

BH: Credit agencies come out under something different, but yes it does to a certain extent, yes.

TO: That's interesting. Well, that's pretty much all the questions. Is there anything else you want to, any other stories you remember that are particularly poignant or anything else you'd like to ...

BH: Thought I had some, I don't know if I can remember them all now.

TO: I know it's really tough just to come up with questions off the top of your head . . . What was your relationship like with Ed through the '80s and into the '90s until his death?

BH: The same, the same.

TO: Still really close to him.

BH: Still the same. He could ask me . . . There's a favorite saying with Muskie staffers and even Mitchell staffers: once a staffer, always a staffer. Whether you're working for them or not, you're still a staffer and if they call on you, you go. You go and you do what is asked.

TO: The staff is just that loyal, huh?

BH: Yup.

TO: Now did you know, did Muskie make any enemies when you were working with him as far as people that worked for him or even just in general?

BH: Oh, I'm sure, I'm sure there were lots, but I wouldn't particularly know them. I can give you another story, though, in Thomaston, Maine. He was speaking at a town hall. And this was after he had won reelection in '74, and he was just doing an overall thing. And then, I'll never forget the woman's name, Rose McClure, older woman, asked him a question. I don't even know what the question was. But Muskie took it defensively and he just lambasted this old woman and everybody was appalled at the, in that hall. They couldn't believe that he was attacking this poor defenseless woman. And again, Muskie comes down, we go out the steps and he said, probably shouldn't have done that. And I said, that's right, Senator, you shouldn't. He said, what? What do you mean? I said, let's get in the car and we'll talk about it. So we got in the car and he says, well? And I said, Senator, that woman was asking you a question expecting a statesmanlike answer. You went on the defensive and you did not give her the statesmanlike answer. In the eyes of the people of Maine today, you are their elder statesman, and you're not acting like it, and you didn't act like it then. Never, ever did that again, in front of me anyway. I don't know if he did in front of anybody else. But he began getting that statesman reaction rather than the defensive reaction, you know? When you talked about it before, about people thinking that he reacted that way because he went on the defensive, and I explained about his, you know, the lawyer's stance, etc., etc. But this was just something that was way out of line, and I told him. He took it. I don't know what he did afterwards, but he took it. I'm the one that drove him, so.

TO: What do you think Ed Muskie's biggest shortcomings were as a politician?

BH: He could be very gruff. People wouldn't understand him. He was very deliberative in making his decisions so he was very slow. I mean, one of the big complaints was, is he ever going to make a decision? You know? But he was very deliberative about that.

TO: Looking at seven sides to every issue?

BH: Yeah, just about, just about. And that was it, and he was hard to move around because once he got going you couldn't stop him, if you didn't have a speech. One of the things, I remember taking him up to Rumford one time, heading up to the Jay Mill. And it was in January and we had to stand out shaking hands and it was like at, before dawn practically, and he was just freezing. He says, don't these people ever think before they assign me to these things? Don't they know how cold it is? And it was damn cold. And so I'm sure in Washington he was a bugger, but when he got into Maine he wasn't that bad. Another time when we were riding up by, I think it was Bethel way or somewhere beyond Rumford, and he had a speech to give. I've forgotten where. But he was reading this, the staff had written, he was given a speech and he read it through and he says, he just looked at me and he says, don't these people ever read their history? I can't give this speech. Heaved it in the back seat and gave his own speech. That's when I have trouble stopping him, because he would just go on and on and on. But he was just appalled that they hadn't checked their history before they wrote a speech for him. So he was a

scholar of the first order, and he wanted everybody else to be one.

TO: What were the biggest differences between Muskie and Mitchell?

BH: I thought Mitchell was more uptight than Muskie was. Mitchell's my age, Muskie's older than I am, or nearly my age. So I had more of a peer kind of thing with Mitchell. And interestingly enough, I hope you don't publish this since he's still alive. Mitchell, I thought, was more chauvinistic than Muskie ever thought of being. But we're not talking about Mitchell, I could tell you stories about him, but we're not talking about him.

TO: We're not talking about Mitchell.

BH: No.

TO: Now, you often hear like the names of the major players through Maine history and Maine politics. And, you know, Margaret Chase Smith and, at least in this century Margaret Chase Smith and then Muskie and Mitchell, and one or two others and so they're often, like, compared. I was just wondering, as someone, one of the experts on Muskie and Mitchell, their political stances were very similar? Both liberal Democrats?

BH: Yes, yeah, they were. I tend to think that Muskie was more liberal than Mitchell was. I was trying to think of some liberal thing that was going through my mind on Muskie, and now I've forgotten it.

TO: I know there are some more stories that I have not tapped into, I'm just trying to (unintelligible word) a great question to bring those out. How would Muskie, how much, how important was religion to Ed Muskie?

BH: Very important. That's another story. That's right, you did, we were in Skowhegan, was it Skowhegan? Yes, Skowhegan, Maine again. And it was Saturday night and he needed to do his church duty. And so I went, I'm not Catholic but we went to church Saturday night, and he did not have any money in his pocket to give for the offering. So I gave him five bucks out of my pocket to give to the offering.

TO: And he always, church was . . . ?

BH: He always made sure he did his church duty, yes, absolutely, absolutely. Very religious person.

TO: How often did you go down to Washington?

BH: As little as possible since I'd already lived there for two and a half years, I already knew what it was all about. And you were required to go down at least once a year, and I think that I managed to do that, but

TO: Why required?

BH: Just to, for Maine staff to get to Washington staff and be able to have some simpatico with them.

TO: Okay and that was hopefully paid for by the?

BH: Oh yeah, yup. But it still, I mean, you had so much work to do in Maine, that took away . . . I mean if you did that it took away from what you had to do in Maine. And I always had to balance it all, and I didn't feel like I wanted to spend the time going down to Washington. Thought it was a useless exercise.

TO: The big paper and Central Maine, the power company, are two of the bigger industries, if not the two biggest industries in Maine. How did Muskie relate to them, as far as, in terms of their demands on him and his stand on conservation and being supportive of labor?

BH: Well, I think that that's why he supported, if I'm not mistaken, he supported Dickey-Lincoln. I don't know about the Big A. But he tried to balance the conservation aspect with understanding fully about the importance of the paper industry in Maine. I mean, if you look at any published report at that time and even after, you will find that that was the kingpin, that was the linchpin for Maine were the paper companies.

TO: Even still today.

BH: Even still today, I think, although it's getting less and less that way. But it was the linchpin. And he worked, he tried very hard to work closely with them to both do the conservation, I mean . . . You're making me remember, but during the Clean Air and Water Act, trying to get all of that through, he was very careful about, I'm remembering something he said to me later on . . . He was very careful about making sure that the industry could keep going but still phase in the Clean Air and Water Act. I remember working up in Rumford with the plume site. I don't know if you know what a plume is, but that's when the, you have a smokestack and it creates a plume of polluted air, really. And the Clean Air and Water Act controlled that in what you had to do and they happened to have one up in Rumford that I had to handle very delicately for him. But he was adamant that that be handled, you know, but it be handled so that everybody, it wouldn't become a burden to anybody, but it would be, the job would be accomplished. So that's the way that he approached most of it. I'm trying to remember, once Mitchell got in, and Mitchell really was the architect of that Clean Air and Water Act while he was working for Muskie. And then Mitchell redid a whole lot of it when he was in the senate. And there was one particular phase, and I think it was on autos if I'm not mistaken, air emissions, auto emissions. And Mitchell was doing what Muskie had very carefully not done because he knew how detrimental it would be, and Mitchell had turned it around.

TO: How do you think Ed Muskie would judge the King administration? Angus King. Do you think he would think he did a good job?

BH: Actually I think King worked for Muskie at one time. An intern, he interned in Muskie's office. And I think Muskie thought highly of King. I don't know how he would have thought

about King as an independent governor. But I suspect that he would approve of a whole lot of his policies. He would not approve of his stance, what I consider his stance against labor.

TO: Okay, speaking of labor, this is a great way to wrap it up, because that's what you're doing today, how did Muskie influence your views on labor? What were, what was his role in making you ...?

BH: Well, as I told you, he's, he wanted everybody to have a living wage. He lived in a mill town. He knew what mills did both as far as emissions are concerned, as far as quality of life is concerned, and as far as the working man is concerned. I mean, he grew up next door to that. So, I mean, it wasn't very far away from that mill where he grew up. So he was very, very aware of labor's position and labor's need to make a decent wage, and very adamant. I'm sure that that shaped me. And, as Curtis was, I'm sure that shaped my thinking. But also in college I, you know, I started reading my history about Samuel Gompers etc., etc. and it just, I don't know. I can't tell you, it just seems to be in my gut. I mean, nobody at the legislature can tell you. I was in a union, no I wasn't in, I was in a union when I first went to Washington because of the Veterans Administration, but I wasn't of course when I worked for the senate staff. And that's about the only union that I had ever really been in. So it wasn't because I grew up in labor. I grew up as a poor child of a family, of a Republican family that struggled very hard to make ends meet, you know? And so I just think that the labor thing was ingrained in me. I have a hundred percent voting record in the Maine senate. And it's not because labor taught me how to do those things, it was because it was in my gut and labor happened to be there to back me up. So I can't really tell you. I think it was like osmosis almost. But the reason that I liked working for Muskie was because of his position on labor.

TO: What are you doing today?

BH: Talking to you.

TO: I don't mean today today, I mean these days.

BH: Oh, what I'm doing today is I'm a staff rep for the American Federation of State and County Municipal Employees. I got that job in 1991, I'm the senior rep actually in Maine, and I handle forty four contracts, I represent some eight hundred to nine hundred employees. And I have to do everything for them. I negotiate their contracts, I file their grievances, I do their arbitrations. So, what I should be doing is fixing up a couple of contracts right now.

TO: Well, actually, that's all I have so, unless you have anything else you wanted to add, thank you very much. Great.

BH: Well, it's interesting. I'm sure there are other stories but I don't know what they are.

End of interview