Interview with Stanley Tupper by Don Nicoll, Stuart O’Brien and Rob Chavira

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee
Tupper, Stanley

Interviewers
Nicoll, Don
Chavira, Rob
O’Brien, Stuart

Date
July 20, 1998

Place
Boothbay Harbor, Maine

ID Number
MOH 031

Use Restrictions
© Bates College. This transcript is provided for individual Research Purposes Only; for all other uses, including publication, reproduction and quotation beyond fair use, permission must be obtained in writing from: The Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College, 70 Campus Avenue, Lewiston, Maine 04240-6018.

Biographical Note

Stanley Tupper was born on January 25, 1921 in Boston Massachusetts. He grew up in Boothbay Harbor, Maine, the oldest of six children. His father, an alum of Boston University, worked as a lawyer. His mother was a housewife; both were Democrats. He attended public schools in Boothbay Harbor, and spent one year at Hebron Academy. He entered Middlebury College in 1939 as an English Literature major. He joined the U.S. Border Patrol in 1942 and attended LaSalle Extension University, in Chicago, Illinois. He served in the United States Navy from September 1944 to March 1946. He returned to Boothbay Harbor and served on the board of selectman in 1948 and as the chairman in 1949. He took a summer refresher course at Portland University School of Law and passed the Maine bar in 1949. He was Gov. Burton Cross’s Lincoln County campaign manager in 1952 and in the Maine House of Representatives in 1953. He served as State Commissioner of Sea and Shore Fisheries from 1953 to 1957, then as assistant State attorney general from 1959 to 1960. He served as a Republican in Congress in Maine’s District 2 from 1961 to 1963 and then in District 1 from 1963 to 1967. He was also a member of the Wednesday Group—liberal Republican members of Congress. Stan Tupper also served as Maine’s representative to the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission. Tupper resumed the practice of law in 1968 and, at the time of the interview, lived in Boothbay Harbor.
Scope and Content Note

The interview includes discussions of: Lincoln County Democrats; Lewiston Democrats versus other Maine Democrats; Boothbay Harbor board of selectmen; early 1950s Maine state politics; Frederick Payne; Burton Cross; Maine Sea and Shore Fisheries; John Donovan; Maine Fishery Associations; Maine fish industry; lobstering and property rights; liberal Republicanism and Rockefeller Republicans; Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission; price-fixing with Maine Lobster Association in late-1950s; Ralph Owen Brewster; Howard Hughes starting the Bangor Commercial newspaper; Payne vs. Brewster for Governor; 1964 congressional election between Tupper and Curtis; Tupper’s campaign against Roy Sinclair; his impression of the U. S. Congress in 1960s; President Dwight Eisenhower; terrorism; Margaret Chase Smith and Bill Lewis; Smith and the rest of the Maine delegation; his impression of Jim Day; Tupper’s first term in Congress; the clash between Smith and Gannett papers; Barry Goldwater and his views; Maine Republicans dislike for Tupper; the Wednesday Group. Muskie running for U. S. Senate versus Frederick Payne; Muskie for Governor versus Burt Cross; Muskie in Maine legislature; his Augusta law practice; losing the bid for mayor; Muskie as Governor, Ronald Green appointment; Muskie and Republicans; Muskie and fishermen; Muskie as a conservationist while Governor; campaigning for John Donovan in Lewiston; Muskie’s reputation in Congress; Muskie and the Maine Development Commission (while Governor); Tupper and Republicans for Muskie in 1970; Muskie and Clean Air and Clean Water Acts; and Muskie never answering mail.

Indexed Names

Aiken, George D. (George David), 1892-1984
Bradley, Ed
Brewer, Al
Brewster, Owen, 1888-1961
Chadwick, Raymond
Coffin, Frank Morey
Cohen, William S.
Cross, Burton
Curtis, Kenneth M., 1931-
Damborg, Peter
Davis, Sydney
Day, Jim
Donovan, John C.
Dyer, Les
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (Dwight David), 1890-1969
Ellsworth, Robert F.
Emery, Dave
Ford, Gerald R., 1913-
Formisano, Ron
Gignoux, Edward Thaxter
Goldwater, Barry M. (Barry Morris), 1909-1998
Green, Ron
Grossman, Alan
Halleck, Charles Abraham
Hancock, Frank
Haskell, Robert
Hathaway, Bill
Henry, Merton
Hughes, Howard, 1905-1976
Hussey, Leroy
Isaacson, Irving
Jefferson, Thomas, 1743-1826
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973
Johnson, Wayne
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963
Knight, John
LeMay, Gen. Curtis E.
Lewis, Bill
Lincoln, Abraham, 1809-1865
Lindsay, John
McIntire, Clifford
Mitchell, George J. (George John), 1933-
Morse, Frank Bradford
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996
Muskie, Jane Gray
Nicoll, Don
O’Neill, Tip
Oliver, Jim
Payne, Ella
Payne, Fred
Reid, Ogden Rogers
Reed, Jim
Reed, John
Richardson, Elliot
Rockefeller, Nelson A. (Nelson Aldrich), 1908-1979
Romney, George W.
Schnurl, Harold
Scranton, William
Sinclair, Roy
Smith, Clyde Harold
Smith, Margaret Chase, 1897-1995
Stanley, Dwight
Stevens, Dave
Steward, James
Tupper, Asa

STU: Where were you born?

ST: I was born in Boston. My father was a student at the Boston University School of Law at that time. Unfortunately, it’s always bad business to be born outside of the state of Maine.

STU: Did you grow up in Boston?

ST: No, no, I was there just for one year until my father graduated and he came back to Maine and so I always said that I was a native of Maine, I couldn’t say I was born in Maine.

STU: What part of Maine did you move back to?

ST: Boothbay Harbor, this has been my home for all my life.

STU: What were your parents’ occupations?

ST: My father was a lawyer for many years, and my mother was a housewife. My mother took care of six children, devoted her life to her children.

STU: So you had, there were six children in the family. How many brothers and sisters did you have?

ST: I had two brothers and then three sisters.

STU: What were your parents’ political affiliation?

ST: They were Democrats.

STU: Did they try and instill Democratic values in you?

ST: No, not really. They were very conservative. My father was a Jeffersonian Democrat, as he described himself. He rationalized and voted for all Democrats because he thought they were all good people, and he could find something about all of them that he liked. Now, my family, my grandfather was the only one of two Democrats that was ever elected to the state legislature, he was a state senator in this century, and the only one from Lincoln county, and there have been
two House, there have only been two House members in this century, two towns, one person was a member of the Maine House and another man changed his party and became a Republican, but he only served two years as a Democrat.

**STU:** Where’d you go to school?

**ST:** I went to Middlebury College, in Middlebury, Vermont.

**STU:** Before you went to Middlebury did you go to school in Boothbay Harbor?

**ST:** Boothbay Harbor. Spent a year at Hebron Academy.

**STU:** Were you active in student government and things of that nature?

**ST:** We really, Boothbay Harbor was such a small school, it really didn’t have any student government. I was interested basically in sports and getting by, just getting through. I wasn’t a good student, I was in football. I played four years in high school and played in college for a couple years.

**STU:** Besides you experiences at Middlebury, was there anything that predisposed you to politics, growing up?

**ST:** Oh, yes, yes. My grandfather had served, he never was defeated for public office as a Democrat in a Republican county, so you can imagine how popular he was. And he was later a judge, attorney general of Maine. I grew up, much of the time I lived with them because my mother had quite a few children of course and my sister had developed polio so they shuttled me off to my grandparents and I lived with them for five or six years. So, yes, he was very interested in politics and he was invited to inaugurations of Democratic presidents, so I grew up as someone believing in the Democratic party. But later I found that my father’s philosophy was not really that of most Democrats that I found. He was quite conservative actually, and my grandfather was quite conservative. They’d always talk about the Lewiston Democrats as if they were a different breed, but, yes, I think I got that from my father and grandfather. But my father ran constantly for office and he was never elected to anything except town offices, but he’d run, in bipartisan, nonpartisan elections, he always led the ticket and I thought, well, you know, this doesn’t do much good. If I enroll as a Democrat I’m never going to get elected in this Republican town, I’m not going to be able to start, so actually, looking back on it, it was dedicated, a lot of my, my enrollment as a Republican was to be able to do something, to be able to get elected. It used to hurt me terrible to campaign with my father and see him defeated by people that were nowhere near as competent as he was. He was a Bates graduate, he was, he went to law school, he was a professional attorney, he was very good, and he was once beaten by a felon from South Bristol on the Republican ticket. And these things hurt, as a young man it really hurt me, trailing around with my father. He’d have, I remember I kept on of his little cards that said, I’m not a politician. Well, that was true enough because he was not. He, I remember he told about one time, telling me about a man over to South Bristol, a very old man, he said that he said, well, Tupper, he says, I voted for Abraham Lincoln and I’m not about to vote for you. He was a, yes, in answer to your question, it had a big impact on me, a large impact.
STU: When did you enter Middlebury College?

ST: It was in 1939.

STU: What was your major course of study?

ST: It was English literature.

STU: Besides football, were you involved in any other extra curricular activities, such as debating?

ST: I was on the student council as an off campus member, principally because there weren’t that many. Most of them, I got in late so they, I was, I got a lucky break there so I got on. So I got a little interested in it, but not really. I was married very young, very young, and I had a child very young, my wife and I, my first wife, and so I got, after two years I was, I went in the U.S. Border Patrol as soon as I was twenty one. I took the examination.

STU: Nineteen forty one, about?

ST: Yeah, about ‘40, ‘41, ‘42, in that region. And, yeah, ‘42 or ‘43 I went in the Border Patrol. I had to be twenty one, I know. I hitchhiked over to St. Albans, Vermont from here and took the exam for United States Border Patrol and after six months I hadn’t heard from them and so I wrote a letter to the then senator, Pale think, no it wasn’t, can’t remember even the name of, White, Senator White, a long, long time ago, and I told him that, I asked him if he would look into the status of my application and then I said, postscript, I said that my grandfather Judge Tupper wanted to send his very best regards. Well, my grandfather would have been very, very upset with that. Well, the short story of that, I learned that politics does work because I was appointed within weeks. They looked it over, found that I was eligible I guess, or good enough to go, so they sent me down to El Paso, Texas and taught me the rudiments of Spanish, the Mexican type Spanish, and I spent three months there and then I went up to the Vermont border and then out to California. So I served for awhile in the Border Patrol and got interested in studying law and took LaSalle extension, there used to be a correspondence course in law, so I started in the Border Patrol and in all my spare time I’d study law. And finally I asked for leave of absence to study law so that I could advance myself in the immigration service. So I got a leave of absence and came back to Boothbay Harbor. At that time veterans of WWII, I’d served in the Navy one and a half, they could go, they could take the Maine bar exam if they’d had two years of college and three years as a clerk in a law office. So they gave me credit for one year with my grandfather, that I just lived with him one year, but they gave me credit for that, and he did teach me a lot of law of course, and then I took two more years with my father, and I was chairman of the board of selectmen and taught school and studied law all at the same time, and took care of a small family. Had to do everything to make a living. And from chairman of the board of selectmen I, in my twenties, I became very interested in politics.

STU: Now, when were you in the Navy?
ST: I was in the Navy in 194-, they drafted me out of the Border Patrol, I know. If I had been twenty five, I would have been, they wouldn’t take a Border Patrol over twenty five, so I was under, I was twenty two or three. So I served a year and a half and then went back to the Border Patrol after the war.

STU: Where were you stationed?

ST: I was stationed in Beecher Falls, Vermont and Indio, California, El Paso, Texas, Derbyline.

STU: I mean in the Navy.

ST: Oh, in the Navy I was stationed at, I went through Sampson, New York for three months and then they made me a brig guard, they thought the Border Patrol had something to do with law enforcement so I became a brig guard and gave prisoners their morning exercises for a month, and then they sent me to New York City as a permanent shore patrol. They gave me a coxswain rating so that I could serve as a shore patrolman. So I never saw a ship. I just, for a year and a half I was, basically I was doing train runs out of New York and patrol around New York City.

STU: I want to take a step back. When you were in Middlebury, you weren’t yet interested in politics. What did you aspire to be?

ST: No, if I’d thought about it, I probably thought I’d want to be a football coach. I didn’t give very much thought to it. I wanted to do something that didn’t require an awful lot of mental exercise. It wasn’t until I got really, I was a very mediocre student, very.

STU: In college as well as high school.

ST: Oh, yes. Lack of discipline. And I was out in Indio, California and I had a good friend that was, one night we had a patrol on, the Salton Sea sort of divides the highways, you know, we, to go to L.A., the Salton Sea is a big lake in Southern California, and we always tossed a coin, the patrols, two in a car, patrol car, to see who’d get the easy side, the Salton Sea side. Less traffic and so we’d won the toss, my partner and I went over on that side and the people were, the two that got the difficult highway that night, one was killed by a smuggler of aliens and the other man seriously wounded. So if I had been, if I, if that coin toss had been, if we’d been there, I would have been the one seriously injured because I wasn’t driving. But the other one was killed. So I thought, well there’s got to be a better thing to do and I got very upset, it took them a year to, they turned him over to California and they gave him the death penalty, they finally put the man to death. But I got thinking about law and I, so then I started taking this LaSalle course, and I liked law and I was very good. It was a, I became a student all of a sudden. I studied everything I could find and I came back here and I read every single syllabus, not always the case, but I read the syllabus of every case that Maine, since, from 1820 to 1949 when I took the bar exam, I had read every single case, and if they interested me I read the whole case so I, finally I became a student. Then I went to, I took a refresher course at, I guess it used to be called Portland University School of Law, we used to call it PU, and, evenings for one summer,
and I was the second highest on the Maine bar exam that year, without ever seeing the inside of a law school. So it shows what a very mediocre student can do once he gets interested in something. And if I hadn’t gone in the Border Patrol, and if it hadn’t been for this unfortunate incident of losing a friend by just whim, by fate, so that’s how it all started. What little success I had was probably just some driving in that direction.

**STU:** At this point were you just interested in politics from a legal perspective?

**ST:** I was interested in, when I got on the board of selectmen, I got interested in seeing how you could change things, you could do things. I come back into town and the first thing I did, I saw three constables that went to sleep nights, they had no police force, and this was in, you know, 19-, in the ‘40s, late ‘40s, you know, we should have had a police force here. And so I developed a police force, got the town to vote for it, got some WWII veterans as reserve officers and then three full time members and got a police car by one vote, people didn’t want police, you know. Just one vote, we got a police car, and we got them equipment. And I, and we had them, I got the town manager form of government and I got the secret ballot, Australian ballot for town meetings. I was able to do things principally because these older people I served with were very generous and wanted to, they knew I was interested so they let me do it. They supported me. And I got good advice from them, too. One old gentleman got me aside after one meeting, I was presiding that, and he says Stan, I want to give you some advice. He says, you’re gonna be a politician, but, he says, you gotta listen. You’ve got to listen to people and you’ve got to listen to things that bore you. Because when you’re interested in something it’s great, but when you’re not interested, you don’t have, you glaze over. So I tried to always bear that in mind, so I listened to an awful lot of boring things in my life. Because, and I suspect I bore other people, so you’ve got to really, you’ve got to be, to be in that business I think you’ve got to really listen to people. The people that talk and don’t listen, they don’t, they really don’t get them.

**STU:** How would you describe the Maine political scene in the early ‘50s?

**ST:** In the early ‘50s? Well, it was, there was, the Republican party was less conservative than it is today. It was conservative but it was possible for moderates to win and particularly for Congress. We’ve always had a sort of a, with some aberrations, we’ve had people like Dave Emory, occasionally we’ve found a conservative Republican but usually them people who would have been just as comfortable as Democrats, you know. Cohen would have been maybe more comfortable as a Democrat. I would have been. But I could have never been a Democrat, not coming from this county.

**STU:** What qualified you to be nominated for Sea and Shore Fisheries Commissioner?

**ST:** Well, I’d been an active chief warden of the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries and sort of a deputy commissioner. They didn’t have any title of deputy commissioner so they made me chief warden, acting chief warden, and then I was elected to the House, Maine House, and I supported Dr. Bates from Orono for the speaker, and Dr. Bates, when he won, he wanted to know what I wanted for a committee and I said Sea and Shore Fisheries, which was the, like the Department of Marine Resources now, and he says, God, Stanley, that’s one of the lowest committees in the House, he says, can’t I give you another committee? And I says, no, he says,
well then, I’ll make you chairman. So I was, I went into the House as, the first term, as House chairman of the committee on Sea and Shore Fisheries. So I did have some background when Gov. Cross, and I had been Cross’ Lincoln county campaign manager, I guess that shouldn’t be understated. That was a, in those days there was, the (unintelligible word) system worked.

STU: So that was in 1952.

ST: Fifty two, yeah, ‘52. I served, I was elected to the House in ‘52, served in ‘53 until my term was over by agreement with Cross. I told him I wouldn’t leave until I had served out that term, and he appointed me just as soon as the legislature adjourned. I was sworn in aboard a Sea and Shore Fisheries boat, vessel, down here in Boothbay Harbor with the executive council, the governor, and so that was a job that I really wanted. I remember when I was interviewed by Gov. Payne for the deputy commissioner, or the, it turned out to be an acting chief warden, but the, really the assistant to the commissioner, one man who I always thought had been a lifelong friend of mine, and old gentleman in town, had secretly told Payne that I shouldn’t be appointed because I drank too much and I chased women. Those are exact quotes. And Payne laughed, he called me and he told me, he said, Stan, I want to give you a lesson, don’t ever trust, don’t even trust people that, he said, because, and I couldn’t believe him. And he says, this is absolutely true, Stan, and he says, I didn’t pay too much attention to it because I knew you didn’t drink and he said, if you didn’t chase women, I wouldn’t want you for this job. Payne was an amazing man anyway, a funny guy.

STU: What was his first name?

ST: Frederick Payne. He was the man that Ed beat for the United States Senate. But he was a remarkable politician. He’d served as mayor of Augusta and governor for two terms and the United States Senate for one term.

STU: Now was he the governor before Burt Cross?

ST: Yes. Burt Cross was a man who worked up through the ranks, had no personality and I mean none whatsoever. He was a good man, still alive, but he had no real political sense. Once when I was commissioner we flew over Portland after a hurricane and I’d called on the governor to declare, get Maine declared a disaster area, the Maine coast, so we flew over it and we came back and landed and the press asked him what he thought, and he said, well, it’s not half as bad as Stan said. You know, you (unintelligible word) the people, you don’t tell them that there’s no problem. Well, he lost all the fishermen there. I took him out to Monhegan Island one time when he was running, when he first was running, and his grandfather had been a sea captain and he had some local connections in South Portland, Maine. He was an easy sell to fishermen, but, God, he went out there and we went, Dwight Stanley was then the, well, the man that was kind of king of the island, he was the top lobsterman, and his sons are now, but, he came in the, we went aboard his boat and there were a whole lot of fishermen, lobstermen that had gathered there and we were sitting in the boat, Dwight reached down in the cubby hole and got a bottle of whiskey, you know, and passed it to Burt and Burt didn’t drink, thought very little of people that did, you know, and he rubbed it off on his, it was an open bottle, rubbed it off on his lapel of his suit, and put it to his mouth and didn’t drink it, you know, and passed it to me and I took two or
three drinks just to make them feel better, but he lost every vote on the, you know, there’s not many votes on that island but he lost them all just because he didn’t know, everything he did was, I made a, he sent me up to Washington county one time to do a report on the economy. It was bad then, it’s bad today, and so I made a good report I thought, and a fair report. Well, Burt analyzed it and the press asked him what he thought and he said, well, he says, those people up there have got to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. Wrong answer. Wrong answer. But he, he was, he was always, ever since then he’s been telling about balanced budget, that he had a balanced budget. It meant more to him as his conservative Republicanism. And Ed wasn’t thought, you know, they didn’t think Ed Muskie was going to win but Ed was young, popular and liked people. Burt was very reserved and a real, looked upon as a very cool, cold Yankee.

STU: Between ’52 and ’54, what were your central responsibilities with the Sea and Shore Fisheries?

ST: Oh, I think that it was to enforce the fisheries laws of course, with the warden force, had a bigger warden force then than we do now, and to keep this laboratory going with, we had marine biologists that studied bivalves and crustacean, preswimming fish. And the third element was to promote Maine seafood. It was a sort of a three, you had the three hats that you wore. And I enjoyed it and I, it gave me an opportunity to see every Maine town, every speck of the Maine coast. I was able to get a plane for the Sea and Shore Fisheries, the first plane so we were able to fly over Maine, so I think I, I spent four years and I truly enjoyed that. I think I enjoyed that as much as anything, except the Border Patrol.

STU: How would you describe the relationship between the wardens and the fishermen and the lobstermen in this time?

ST: Well, I think at that time the warden force was probably better liked than it is now. I insisted that they didn’t flaunt carrying sidearms, you know. They’d have them, if there was a dangerous situation, but they didn’t carry them ordinarily. They, I put them into, I adopted a uniform similar to the Border Patrol, you might note that their uniform is still similar to that of the U.S. Border Patrol, except for the Stetson hats. And I really enjoyed it, it was a unique experience and I was young and I loved the sea and I think it helped me grow a lot professionally. Oh, I’d formed, you asked a question about my qualifications for commissioner, I also formed fishermen cooperatives as an attorney early on. I formed the first one here, I reorganized one at Pemaquid, Vinalhaven, Scarborough. Most of them are going still. This one here’s still going.

STU: Now, you (unintelligible phrase) that leads into my next question. Tell us a little bit about the formation of the fishermens’ cooperatives in the ‘50s. And a little bit more about what your influence was, why you got involved, and did Ed Muskie have any influence on these cooperatives.

ST: First time I ever met Ed in my life was at a, he served in the Maine legislature and he was back practicing law and I know he came to an administrative hearing in my office in Augusta. The first time I met him we got along fine, liked each other, and ...

STU: What was your general first impression of him?
ST: Tall, sort of Lincolnesque, you know, the usual descriptions. He was tall and lanky, and he’d just been, he’d been having this very serious back problem I think at the time.

STU: Yeah, he’s broken his back.

ST: Yeah, and, but I think we had lunch, I’m sure we did because I remember it was a long, quite a long time we spent and he wanted his, whatever he was asking for, we got that. He was very persuasive as an attorney, but he really didn’t, he never did much with the law. I don’t think he ever got involved enough. And he had this, after his back problem, I think he became more interested in politics. Never lost a race except that one for mayor against Squires. Imagine that.

STU: In person you gave the general description that everyone else did. So what did you think of him as, during the gubernatorial campaigns as a politician?

ST: Oh, I thought he was very good. I sensed that there was something happening. I didn’t think he would win, but I sensed that Burt was losing, it was his to lose, I mean, he was losing it because he was not comfortable as a politician. He wasn’t comfortable at all. I’d have to tell him a lot of, when he was first running, his first race we were able to sell him because he, you know, it was, he was running in a primary against Roy Hussey, chairman of the executive council who was a sort of a wealthy man and we downplayed, we made Burt man of the people type of thing, so we got by that primary. Then he won against, who ran against Burt that first time?

STU: Jim Oliver.

ST: Jim Oliver, yeah, Jim Oliver. So Burt, and then he come across a man who was young and personable and active and people were getting tired of Burt’s, you know, some of his uncaring, seemingly uncaring, he was not uncaring, he was a very caring man, and I think the world of Burt Cross. A gentleman and he put up with a liberal like me. But it was a change, complete change when, first of all, when he was elected, David Stevens and I were the only two Republicans to give Muskie their resignation. We offered him a resignation. And I remember this so well. And he asked us to come in, two of us together, and we thought, you know, he was going to say some nice things and leave it at that because we liked him, but we had supported Cross. There was no question about our loyalty to Cross. And I remember Ed saying, he says, look, he says, you’re the only two Republicans, and this, almost exactly what he said, he said, you’re the only two Republicans that had the grace to render their resignations and he said, I can’t get rid of the rest of them, they’ve got set terms, and he said damn if I’m going to accept yours. So if you, he says, I’d like to have you serve for awhile with me. So I thought, well, by God this is something. And David and I went out and we said, you know, this guy we’re going to enjoy working with. And Burt’s cabinet was never called before eleven o’clock if he had meetings, I mean Ed’s. Burt would have us there at 7:30, 8:00 in the morning and we hated that. Everyone who had a cabinet position in state government hated those early morning meetings. Well, Ed knew that and so he had a much happier group and he finally won over a lot of these Republicans that were too stupid to render resignation. So I served two years and at the end of
two years, my term was coming to an end, I said, Ed, you know, I really want to retire now, I really want to resign and I want you to accept it. And we discussed different people, you know, and he discussed if I was interested in various things, you know. Did I have any aspirations to be a judge and I assured him I did not. And he never offered me one but he made it clear that I, at least it would be considered if I wanted one, in municipal court then. We had county judges and, but that was nothing that I would ever be interested in. I was offered on once by a governor that, I think I could have been appointed but I had no real tolerance for sitting and listening to people over and over and over, you know. I saw what it did to my friends. So, no, I, and he appointed Ronny Green my deputy, and ...

STU: Did you have a hand in that? Getting Ronald Green approved?

ST: I would hope so, I don’t know. He thought a lot of Ronny and I did, but Ronald was sort of an apolitical person, he didn’t have any real political, he’d never been active in politics at all and he was a good commissioner. He served Ed and the other governors well. He’s still living but he has Alzheimer’s and, kind of a sad situation.

STU: You mentioned that Muskie, because of his personal nature, began to lure Republicans in. Ideologically, during his campaign for governor, how do you think he won over so many Republicans? In a traditionally Republican state?

ST: Oh, I think it was a dual thing. I think it was a, it was Cross’, the fact that Cross didn’t come across as a very endearing person, and the fact that he was very bubbly, very open and I think he was very free because he didn’t, you know, I don’t think that he felt, at the first anyway, that he was going to be anything more than perhaps running well. And near the end of it, but so, when you think that, when you have that frame of mind, I think you do much better. I don’t think he impressed anyone as being so hungry for it that he’d do anything to win, and as a result he adopted this attitude that we associate with Ed, except as Don knows too well, he could, his temper, when it did go off it was like firecrackers. I saw it a few times at hearings and things, in the, I can’t remember it was ever directed particularly at me. But I must say that when, John Donovan was a dear friend of mine, we became very friendly after he ran, and I remember that Ed was, when serving with him in Congress, I mean, he couldn’t have been more cooperative. Smith and I never liked each other, or couldn’t get along, and so Ed was, it was good to have that, sort of that counter force there. And so I got along very well with him, but when John ran, of course John was his assistant, and he was, quite appropriately he supported John and John and I went through the very gentlemanly campaign and, I remember one time we were debating in, I guess it was Waterville, we were debating and it was a television, televised and they asked a question of me that I had no idea what the answer was. Instead of saying so, I started talking and God knows what I said, but it wasn’t a direct response to that because I didn’t know what the hell they were talking about. So they turned to John and John said, well, in this rare instance I’d have to agree with Stan. So afterwards we got together and he said, what the hell was, what were you talking about, and I says, we have no idea. And it was very dangerous, you know, to ever, but I, afterwards he invited me up to Bowdoin a couple of times to lecture, and I used to invite him down here. He was such a wonderful man, and certainly the man I would have voted for in a minute if I hadn’t been running against him. You know, just the fact that, you know, it was,
Eisenhower was president and it was a different, it was very difficult for someone like John. He was a very able man, very, very able.

STU: How important was lobstering for the Maine economy?

ST: Well, it was and is very important. It’s the, I would think it’s certainly the number one fishing industry, you know, in the fishing industry it’s the number one product is lobsters. They seem to be, right now there seems to be a great supply of them and there’s some steps taken now to, attempt to take steps to reduce traps, but I think that, I really think that it’s, there’ll always be a good fishery, lobster fishery will always be ...

STU: Now when you were Sea and Shores commissioner, you hear a lot of lobster, in my research I ran into a lot of lobster promotions and so on. What was the status in the lobster fishermens’ cooperatives, what was the status of the other fishermen, were they healthy, were they forming cooperatives as well?

ST: Well, (unintelligible phrase) had an association and I was active in forming that, but it never really got off the ground. There were fewer members of course. The Maine Lobstermens Association at one point, at one time, claimed three thousand members. Now they probably have a thousand, but the lobstermen, just in numbers alone, they had more people. We have had offshore fishing vessels associations, and there is still an offshore fishing vessels association. But bear in mind that we don’t have very many offshore vessels. At the turn of this century we had a thousand fishing vessels off there, the Grand Banks and the Gulf of Maine, and now we have, what, twenty, twenty five vessels. It’s all but disappeared. And I, Ed Bradley, an attorney in Portland, and I were counsel for the offshore fishing vessels, the fishermens association, and I think two years in a row we just, there was at least ten thousand dollars of fee that we just, just said, well, forget it. The last time they offered me an interest in an ice making machine on some wharf, some pier in Portland, and I declined. But you see, they don’t have, they don’t have enough capital, their boats are tremendously expensive, insurance is prohibitively expensive, and the boats are getting older and the federal restrictions on fishing makes it almost impossible for very many to make a living. It’s really this, it’s left to the ones, sword fishermen, people fishing way off in the Atlantic Ocean to, they bring in a lot of fish. And now the Maine lobster fishery is the fishery now.

STU: How important were the fisheries to the Muskie administration? What kind of priority was it and how did Muskie relate to the lobstermen?

ST: Well, he related well because the fishermen and lobstermen like a person like Ed Muskie. They don’t want someone to appear in a stiff collared shirt and, you know, looking very severe. No, I think he identified on a one to one very well, and he could, he had such a quick mind that Ed could quick study, he could learn, if he didn’t know something about something, within a half hour of briefing he could talk to people. So, I think that when I was commissioner he seemed to take a great interest in it, interest in problems, he helped, we helped him, guess I’d better say that, I helped him get the largest appropriation ever given for, in the Maine legislature, for investigation of (unintelligible word) populations and control of the crab, the green crab that was taking so many clams, and we were able to, I think if you look at the record, I think it was a
million dollars or some such sum, which was just tremendous. But we probably saved the clam population by that. Ed never took very much credit for those things. I took a lot of credit, all I could get, for my part in it. But we did, I was sort of a lobbyist, too. He allowed the commissioners pretty good latitude, and he got a great kick out of how we, my sparring with Harold Schnerl and Bob Haskell, they were heads of the utilities in Maine, and so Ed would let me spar with them as a Republican and they didn’t think very kindly of me until recent years. Harold Schnerl in retirement, we used to have, occasionally have lunch down there. He’d call me a socialist, I’d call him a fascist, so, nothing like age to mellow people, you know. All of a sudden people that couldn’t stand you, all of a sudden they forget about those things.

STU:  In my research I’ve come across a lot of letters from people who are from away to you when you were commissioner. How did you deal with the tourist industry in its demands on the fisheries on the coast and the natives, the people who were actually in the commercial industry?

ST:  The sport fishermen? No, I like to think we treated them even handedly, but we never had, during the four years I was commissioner, we didn’t have any of the great debates. There was enough, there seemed to be enough for both commercial and the sport fishermen. The Atlantic salmon was just becoming restored in Maine, and that was a sport fishery primarily, there was no commercial aspects at that time. Early in the century it was a great commercial fishery, the Atlantic salmon, but then they became so rare that it became a sport fishery. And Ed was great, he was a great sport fisherman, he liked angling in the rivers and streams, he was good at that. But we went out occasionally on the Fisheries’ boat and he’d have some guest, we’d go out and he’d do some deep sea fishing, but I think he was pretty much a, he liked the, going after the salmon, Atlantic salmon and the (unintelligible word) species and the lake species.

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

ST:  ... Sidney Davis was a thorn in the side of every governor and every Sea and Shore Fisheries commissioner. Spent an inordinate amount of time trying to keep him off our backs. He was a character, a legitimate Maine character and I enjoyed him in a way, and we always seemed to be, after our more vigorous debates, he’d still, he’d always be courteous, I must say that about Sidney. Sidney would always come back and be courteous. But he was always contentious. Probably the most contentious man that I remember from those days.

STU:  Always fighting for the lobstermen.

ST:  Always fighting for the lobstermen, but always, not always on the side where, that the lobstermen wanted, you know, he was often times against the Maine Lobstermens Association and often against the people in his own back yard. But he took a true interest and he appeared at every hearing. I got to know him when I was chairman of the committee, at hearings he was always there, he was a presence at every hearing and always debating and he’d make his views known to the press and, yup, Sidney H. Davis. I’d forgotten him.

STU:  I came across this file about this man named Raymond Chadwick who was a man living on the mainland who tried to haul traps in the waters off Monhegan Island. I guess he used to
live on Monhegan and he had to move to the mainland. So his son would haul his traps for him and people would constantly cut his traps and they’d steal them. Can you explain a little bit how property rights worked with the Maine lobster industry during the ‘50s?

**ST:** Well, Monhegan had its own voluntary, you know, they had a voluntary rule that, surrounding the island, you know, and they’ve legitimized it, now it’s law, where they don’t haul traps during the shedding season, go out in the winter and, that’s why they have a very fine hard shell lobster and they don’t get into the soft shell lobsters. Anyone fishing from the mainland in the old days, during that time, that they would cut their traps. Someone on that island would cut traps. And more importantly, we used to have to send wardens out there and, wardens because we were afraid they’d get into real, you know, some serious problems. At Vinalhaven one time the, it was the same situation. It wasn’t Vinalhaven, it was North Haven, where there were two families feuding and they got firing shots at each other, and I sent a warden out and they fired over the warden’s bow, and I called the two principal feuding families into my office and I said, look, you know, if I ever, if this is ever done again, shooting at a, you know, I’m going to close that area to fishing, and I have authority to do it, I’m gonna close it and no one will be able to fish, and we’ll send the U.S. Coast Guard out there if there’s any more of this (*unintelligible word*). I says, my officers aren’t prepared to get into gun battles with lobstermen. And I had to, you know, I stopped it, but I stopped by threatening to close down fishing around North Haven, and (*unintelligible name*) Haven, that area. Monhegan was very similar but they never did get into gun fire.

**STU:** The law stated that anyone who had a license could fish, but the way it actually came down was you had to be from a certain town to be able to fish in the waters around that town, or they’d cut your traps.

**ST:** No, you could, no, you mean lobster?

**STU:** Yeah.

**ST:** Lobstering was, if you had a lobster license you could fish anywheres except Monhegan had its voluntary system and rules and it was twelve miles of sea so they were able to do it voluntarily. And there was, other fishermen respected them generally. Every once in awhile someone, some person would say, well, they can’t do that to me, and they were right legally, they couldn’t, but they did, they’d cut the traps. What they did, they would, I’m sure it was, they’d take a scythe, a very sharp scythe and, down below the waterline and they would go by and the scythe would catch on the rope and they’d give a jerk to the engine and the traps were there at the bottom. They didn’t, you know, they don’t cut like that where people can see them, they’d go near the trap but this, the fisherman above, you know, so there’s no real evidence, so anyone who wants to cut traps, pretty difficult to find them. And you’d never find the scythe on their boats.

**STU:** It was actually attached to the side of the boat?

**ST:** Oh, yeah, they’d put them on, when they want to cut traps, when they want to discourage someone from fishing, they’d put the scythe on their lobster boat and attach it good, solid, and
they’ve got a sharp instrument and they just go very cleverly along the trap and give a little burst to their engine and that’s ...

STU: You’ve mentioned several times that you’re a liberal Republican, or you were.

ST: I am, yeah.

STU: I guess, elaborate on that, describe why, how you’re a liberal Republican.

ST: Well, I think that, you know, I believe that, the theory of Republicanism is that anything that can be done on the local level should be done and if you can’t do it here, do it in the state. And as a last resort, turn to the federal government. But the problem I found was that that’s fine and I believe that in theory but if you know they won’t do it locally and you know they won’t do it in the state of Maine, and you know it has implications nationally, you’ve got to go to the federal government first. And liberals are quite anxious to do that. I think most liberal Republicans and moderate Republicans do it. You know, moderates are just liberals who don’t like the term liberal, you know, that’s a silly phrase really, moderate Republican, what does that mean? I’ve always said I’m a liberal Republican because if it’s going to mean anything, it means that you don’t agree with the conservative point of view. The conservative of view believes that there’s too many laws, they want to get rid of laws. And they want to, basically they look to the individual in a survival of the fittest. Democrats sort of are more brothers keepers. Liberal Republicans are more in that category. I think most liberal Republicans find themselves in a position where they don’t want to change parties, but either have to fight all the time with their party or get out. The arena isn’t comfortable. When I was in it, probably a third of the Republicans were liberals, which is enough so it gave you some comfort.

STU: Socially or economically?

ST: Well, they voted for moderate, for liberal people or they voted for Democrats. The liberal Republicans, the so-called, well, we used to call them the Rockefeller Republicans, there were a lot of them in the northeast particularly who pretty much vote with the Democratic party on most issues. They vote to, for Republicans for plumbing the government, you know, if they have a majority certainly, but they don’t, they leave the part on many things. Medicare, for instance, I was one of, I guess I was one of six Republicans that voted for Medicare, I was one of two Republicans that co-sponsored it, John Lindsay and myself. John became a Democrat later, for good reason, and ...

STU: Is this the Lindsay that ran for president?

ST: Yeah, but, and in the civil rights bill, the two civil rights acts were two examples where Republicans that believed as I did joined the Democrats and got those two civil rights acts because, bear in mind, the southern Democrats didn’t want that act and Tip O’Neil in his book, you know, in his, well, Speaker of the House or what’d he call it?

STU: I think he called it Mr. Speaker.
ST: Yeah, whatever, his book gave credit to, he said that those two, the civil rights act and the civil rights voting act would not have become law, would not have been passed without the Rockefeller Republicans. So in answer to your question, I think that there’s a fine difference, there’s a fine line, but most of them find themselves as Republicans when they’re twenty one, and find the party getting further and further away from what they believe, but they don’t like, most people don’t like to change their party after they’ve served in something, you know. What good would it do for me to become a Democrat, you know? I would look like, I should have done it, you know, fifty years ago. Be foolish to do it. And a lot of stages of the game where I thought, well, you know, this party is getting so conservative that I don’t have anything in common any more, but then you think, well, you know, maybe you can help keep it from going completely to the ultra right, and I think that’s the only thing they’re doing now is keeping it from, out of the hands of the religious right, the fanatics. If the people like Cohen, certainly they’ve always been comfortable with the term moderate. Some of them say they’re, what is it, disconservatives, social moderates, boy that’s covering all bases, isn’t it? Who the hell isn’t moderate, fiscally responsible, I mean that’s a silly thing, everyone wants to pay their bills. But, no, there is a difference. There’s some difference. I think Democrats are very apt to ask for federal legislation when we could handle it in the state. But I’ve seen cases where they never vote for anything in Boothbay Harbor, and I know they wouldn’t vote for anything in Augusta, and so the proper place to do it is in Washington. So I don’t see anything wrong with that. Social engineering, social legislation is something the moderates are more interested in, the liberal, the moderates in the Republican party are more interested in that than the conservatives. They’re not particularly interested in anything more than budgetary matters.

STU: As governor, would you or did you consider Muskie to be a conservationist?

ST: Oh, yes, yes, definitely. Yeah, Ed, most of his campaign shots were in a red plaid shirt with a line out in a lake. He was a real conservationist, long before the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act which, people think of Muskie they always should think of that. That was his hallmark, those two acts. But I think it sprang from his love of hunting partridge, and hunting, fishing, you know, he was a true outdoors person. Loved it, and it looked natural, it didn’t look like he was doing it for the publicity. He looked like he was enjoying it. I thought it was always a silly exercise, putting a line in the water to, hoping a fish would jump over it. I never liked to see, I never caught a fish that I didn’t feel sorry for. I’d put it, kept my hands in the water and put it back, you know. But, I understand people eat fish, but I never was much for that. I think he was more of a, certainly was more of a sportsman than I was. I never killed a deer, I never killed any animal after I got out of my teens. I still put spiders in cups and put them outdoors, you know, I figure that, you know, after awhile you, I’d never make a campaign, obviously I didn’t go out condemning deer hunting, but if someone had asked me, I’d say I don’t hunt. But I’d go to fish and game suppers filled with people who’d killed everything under the sun, and you’d have tables filled with exotic foods, you know, anything from snakes to skunks and muskrats and everything, and you were supposed to sample some of everything, and you do, you know. Unlike Burt Cross who won’t drink whiskey, I used to do it, but I found it uncomfortable. I don’t like, I understand the thinning of the herds and so forth, but I’m not going to be a part of thinning the herd.

STU: What was the Atlantic States Marine Commission and what was your role?
ST: Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission is made up of all the commissioners of the states from Maine to Florida, the maritime states, and they get together once a year, they have an executive director and they try to have compacts to get common legislation and had some impact on federal legislation. But basically it was a knife and fork type of membership where you go once a year. The rest of the time you were writing letters and joining other commissioners in common goals. That’s basically what it is now, today.

STU: What line of work were you engaged in during the summer of 1957?

ST: Fifty seven? Fifty seven, 1957, after I was, got through as commissioner?

STU: Yeah, this is, just to give you a little more idea, this is the summer of the lobster price fixing controversy between the MLA and Leslie (unintelligible - both speaking at once).

ST: Oh, yes, I repres-, that was the famous, have you read Prof. Fomasano’s book, The Great Lobster War?

STU: No.

STU: Get it, because it’s a great story about that federal case. It was the only high profile case that I was ever associated with, and I lost unfortunately, which doesn’t speak much of my talents I guess. But it, that book, The Great Lobster War, is going to be made into a movie. He published it last year, he’s coming down here for a reading in September. But it’s in the bookstores, get it. It’s Dr. Ron Fomasano, he’s a professor at Florida State or University of Florida, one of the two, and he lives on Chebeague Island in the summer. And he wrote, he did a great deal of research and that book tells you everything you ever want to know. I was counsel for Les Dyer, the president of the Maine Lobstermens Association, he and Alan Grossman represented the Lobstermens Association. We did it without pay, there was some, they were supposed to pay our expenses, I guess I got eighty dollars for ten days work in federal court. They had to have separate counsel so I represented Les, and we, it was a sideshow, you know. They had to prove only that two or more fishermen, lobstermen, got together and conspired to set prices. Well, two or three thousand got on radios and were talking to each other and say, let’s not fish today until we can get thirty five cents, it was thirty five cents a pound. Can you imagine? And the dealers, the lobster dealers got in touch with the justice department and blew the whistle and instead of, you know, the anti trust act, the Sherman Anti Trust Act was formed to discourage huge corporations, you know, like General Motors and the big corporations of America from getting together and setting prices. They didn’t ever in their wildest dreams think they were coming up here and trying to keep Maine lobstermen from getting thirty five cents a pound for fishing, but they did and they brought up six to ten people of, justice department lawyers, and tried a case for about ten days. And our job was just to try to make them look foolish. And so we brought in all the fishermen we could and we encouraged them to wear oilskins and boots and all the papers from Boston, Boston Globe, and they were, it was so high profile it did us a lot of good. I got more publicity out of that ten days than I did as commissioner of Fisheries for four years. But we finally, Gignoux, Judge Gignoux was an amazing man, very, very kindly man and he allowed us a lot of latitude. But they told, they
came and told Grossman and I privately that they were going to say something about my client that, an incident that happened many years before and it wasn’t relevant, he was a very young man, it had nothing to do with this. So I asked for a conference in chambers with the other attorneys and Gignoux looked at him, he said, I can’t tell you you can’t introduce this, but I can tell you if you do I shall be mightily displeased. And that kept out this irrelevant, I mean, he was such a decent man that he wouldn’t let them go overboard and destroy a person’s reputation when this was a price fixing case. And Les Dyer was a fine man, he’d educated a lot of children, saw them through the University of Maine and was head of the WWI veterans of Maine and he was on my staff as a congressman later, a fine man, decent man. So he gave him a thousand dollar fine and suspended the fine. That’s all they got out of that. And the same with the Association, suspended, they fined them a thousand dollars and suspended it.

STU: Looking back, you don’t think that the justice department was justified in bringing this action.

ST: I think it was, the priorities should have excluded it, absolutely excluded it. And then they turned on the dealers that had squealed on them and prosecuted them and they did (unintelligible word) fines afterwards, they did through the lobster dealers, for setting prices. They did, they were the ones that lowered the price down so it wasn’t possible to, I’d forgotten all about that until Fomasano saw me a couple years ago and we had lunch together and he interviewed me, and interviewed John Knight in Rockland, who was an assistant to Grossman, Grossman’s since deceased, and he was doing a lot of research and he wanted to know particularly, he wanted to bring some love interest in the book. We had, there was a very attractive stenographer there from Boston, and there’s a picture of her in this book, and he said, was it true that such and such, I said, no, I don’t think there was anything to that, I don’t think there was any, I’d never heard any rumors or anything. And he seemed disappointed, so the book has no love interest, so the screenplay, the Hollywood screenplay that they, he’s got an option contract for, have said that that’s the only thing that they want to bring in, they want to manufacture something between one of the lawyers, I hope it isn’t me, and this woman. But he’s going to keep control of it and ...

STU: Did Muskie have any role in this, in the controversy? Did he mediate at all or did he ...?

ST: I never found that, Muskie was sympathetic to the fishermen, obviously, but I think he kept his hands right out of it. He was a lawyer and he understood he couldn’t comment on that, but he was very sympathetic and his people, I’m sure were there reporting to him. And the daily press was, I mean we had some characters testify and they had some very funny remarks, you know, they asked one man, this Washington lawyer asked one, the lawyer said what do you mean downeast, and he says, well, east of Cliff Island, what do you think I mean? You know, the whole book is filled with, he got, dug out the record, and he pulled out my summation, he didn’t have an awful lot about me in the book but he pulled out my summation to the jury and I said to my wife afterwards, after reading it, I said, I don’t believe I ever could have given such a good, I don’t believe I could have done that. I had forgotten completely what I said, I must have been emotional. It was a very good, it didn’t do any good, but it impressed me, I was impressed that I, at one point in my life I was able to put together words like that out of thin air.
STU: Do you recall Sid Davis being involved in the controversy at all?

ST: I don’t really remember, I remember Sid being in everything, but if he was involved, it would be in that book.

STU: He wrote you about a letter a week I think about, during this time.

STU: Yeah, there’s about three boxes full of stuff on this big controversy that I read about this.

STU: Frank Coffin, too.

STU: And the rest of the delegation. I think Frank tried to get a law passed at this time ...

ST: Yes, he did try, that would exclude cooperatives, and he did.

STU: That passed.

ST: He did, he got one through. There isn’t, now they can’t do that in a cooperative, but actually it went beyond cooperatives. They were getting on their ship to shore radio and they had ample proof, but we kept coming back to the fact that it was all, you know, circumstantial, that they decided to credit certain time. You know, it was lame, our whole defense was pretty lame, but Grossman was a showman, a very showboating man, and he was flowery and he made, he was, he did well performing, but I didn’t have much zeal for that type of thing, I tried to keep my cross examinations professional at least.

STU: Switching gears a little bit, can you tell us a little bit about the diversity, political diversity in your family?

ST: Well, actually they were all Democrats except me. I don’t, the only diversity was, my father had never voted for a Republican except me.

STU: I thought one of your brothers was an independent.

ST: Oh, an independent, Calvin was an independent. Right. He always professed to be an independent but he always voted Democratic. He just didn’t vote in primaries. But he always campaigned for Democrats. He was a tire salesman for Goodyear and he got to be manager of New Hampshire, Maine. He died a few years ago of lung cancer, unfortunate smoker, and, but he was a, I used to take him out a lot with me and I remember one time I was, I can’t remember who it was that was, oh, I think John, Ed got John some senators, U.S. senators, to campaign. So after he did that, I remember, the press was filled with these very important people, I’ve forgotten who they were.

STU: John who?

ST: John Donovan, when they were running for Congress. And so I got my three brothers, Cyrus and Calvin and Asa to campaign with me, they were all shy but they went up to Lewiston
where there was some exposure and in the press they quoted me as saying that I couldn’t debate so I thought I’d bring my brothers out. You know, what the hell, you can’t ask for better, it’s just showmanship, you know, but it really worked. If people bring guns out against you, you gotta really, you really gotta find a way to ...

STU: I remember reading an article in the paper that’s talking about who’s running for congressman, Donovan or Muskie because he brought Muskie out to campaign. Muskie kind of overshadowed him, and then I guess you said something about how the Democrats were not paying enough attention to Lewiston, or something like, to that effect, and you kind of went in there and undermined, *(unintelligible phrase).*

ST: Well, I just went through, I was having fun, actually. I knew, you know, they, I guess, Drummond, I’d call on Drummond, the lawyer up there, he says, if Jesus Christ, if your Jesus Christ were campaigning, he couldn’t win in Lewiston, it was Republican. I says, I understand that, I says, all I want to do is get more votes that Republicans have in the past. So I would go into the Democratic headquarters and kibitz with them, you know and walk along the streets, and I think, with my brothers and I campaigning there, we campaigned a day in Lewiston ...

STU: Went to a bunch of stores.

ST: Yeah, went to a lot of stores and they’d give me, one guy gave me a tie with elephants on it, and different things, and I’d wear a Donovan button occasionally, you know, we’d do all kind of funny things. But, you know, you do those things to neutralize, neutralize your political adversaries. Once I, there was a senator once by the name of Brewster, even the history books probably, you know, Don would know who he was but ...

DN: Who was it?


DN: Ralph Owen Brewster.

ST: Ralph Owen Brewster, he changed it to Owen Brewster because the initials R.O.B. didn’t, we not appealing for a politician because he was kind of a person that was not very popular. But he once told me, we were, Jim Day and I went up there once to see if we could raise some money to run for office. Jim Day was a Republic, former, and he was very liberal, and he was running for Congress in the other district and we were trying to get some money. Well, we set on Brewster’s porch up there where he lived and, by the Piscataquis *(unintelligible word)* somewheres, and he, every time we’d get around to money he’d change the subject. And finally we left, after having some lemonade, we left and we got down the road and he stopped and he says, you know, Jim said, Stan, we’re lucky we didn’t give him money. He was so, but he gave us some advice, he said, he says, one thing about politics, he said, after the elections, he says, try to absolve your enemies, your political adversaries, try to absolve them because your friends may turn out to be your adversaries, people who supported you this time. Well that was true of him. He had always, he had different people who had supported him. He went from a Ku
Klux Klan member or supporter back in the ’20s to being a conservative Republican. Finally, Hughes got after him, this, you know, the great ...

DN: Howard Hughes.

ST: ... Howard Hughes and formed a newspaper in Bangor just for the purpose of defeating him, and they did, they defeated him. Payne beat him.

STU: Is that how the Bangor paper got started?

ST: Oh, yeah, that was started by Howard Hughes.


ST: No, no, no, the Commercial, not the present paper, no. They wanted a paper just to attack Ralph Owen Brewster, for good cause. I used to represent him, Ralph Owen Brewster, as an attorney. He was always speeding but he never would use the (unintelligible word) and he always wanted me to go and pay the fines. And I’d pay the fines and send him the bill and he’d always pay me. I represented him maybe a half a dozen times, never supported him, never really, he wasn’t the type of person I got along with, but he’d always have me do that for him. Well when he was defeated by Payne, I was at the Waldoboro Garage that night and, when the returns were coming in, in those days the returns were pretty slow, and finally Brewster capitulated and he was called to the telephone, Fred Payne was called to the telephone and he got back and got the microphone and said, he said, I just want you to know that Senator Brewster just called and congratulated me for winning, and he says, oh, isn’t that nice of the senator, and his wife Ella, who was a very earthy woman, still living, she grabbed the microphone and said, just the same, I don’t trust the bastard. Great line, it can’t be used, but isn’t that a great line? I’ll never forget that. I got to call on her, she’s an old lady.

DN: Where is she living now?

ST: She’s in Waldoboro. When Fred died, he didn’t want anything on his tombstone, he didn’t want anything more than Frederick Payne. He never was much for that. And she insisted so his tombstone says Frederick G. Payne, former governor of Maine, former member of the United States Senate, but, what (name) wanted.

STU: Do you think it was a mistake for Muskie to come in to Lewiston and visibly support Donovan?

ST: Oh, no, no, I don’t think so. I think, he got a good, I can’t remember the statistics, but I couldn’t have got more than ...

STU: They beat him, I think you got fifty three percent, I think it was fifty three or fifty four, it was close.

ST: Is that right, that he beat me in ...
DN: You’re talking about two different things. Stan’s talking about the vote in Lewiston.

ST: Lewiston, Maine.

DN: Not the district.

ST: Lewiston, Maine, I wouldn’t have got more than ten, fifteen percent I don’t believe, I don’t know how many. It would be interesting to know how much I got over the one the year before. But I had fun anyway, and sometimes you need to do that. I always made it a point in all my campaigns to always go in the Democratic shop on the street in that kind of a city, and just, and kid with them and wish them well. I don’t think it does a bit of harm. People thought I was wasting my time, maybe I was, but I enjoyed campaigning. I saved John Reed’s neck one time.

We’d shaken about a thousand hands, we were at some county fair and, God, it was hot, and we were supposed to show our humility by passing out hot dogs on the grill, and hamburgers, and finally I turned to John and I saw he was white and I knew he was about ready to faint, I says, John, what the hell are you doing? I says, you know, what are we doing here? This is stupid. He says, well, what are we going to do and I said let’s shift with the people serving cold drinks. So we went down and the ice, and revived him, you know. But he was so gung ho that he would have kept going until he fainted. In hundred degree weather. But, you know, John was that type of a person, he was, he would do anything. It was his voice and his endurance that won elections for him. Until the end. He stretched too far, he, Curtis was a very, very good campaigner and very much like Ed Muskie was except probably ran faster than Ed did. He was hyper and he would just run around everywheres. Every time I was in a place, he was there before me and after me. I took, we had a poll, Rockefeller Commission to poll for me about ten days before the election, two weeks, no more than two weeks, and it showed that he was going to beat me by ten thousand votes, that Curtis would beat me by at least ten thousand votes. What a hell of thing to find out. And he had a poll, I found out afterwards because Ken and I had been very friendly, if not during that campaign, we were, from then on, and he should be because he became secretary of state and became governor and his career started out from that point, but I think that, what was my point?

DN: That the ‘64 campaign and he was ahead by ten thousand.

ST: Yeah, he was ahead by ten thousand. He told me he had a poll showing the same thing. And so I bought all the television time I could. In those days you could buy five minutes of time and it wouldn’t break you, you know, and so I bought five minutes of time and I appealed to, I had a script, I had a Teleprompter brought up from Boston, we didn’t have any Teleprompters then that moved the way I wanted to where you could look into the camera. Brought one up from Boston and said, you know, because I wasn’t supporting Goldwater that I’d lost a lot of Republican support, so I urged Democrats that felt that I was doing a good job, and independents, as well as Republicans to support me, but I was making my plea mostly to Democrats and independents. And damned if it didn’t work. It was the only thing I did differently. And Ken of course knew he was leading and didn’t want to rock the boat. So those last ten days was not the motion that he had had up to that point. Ken sort of laid back and I was campaigning around the clock, getting no sleep, just campaigning. But this, I think the thing that
tipped the scales was that. I had supported organized labor, which was, is not a blessing for a Republican. They didn’t give me much money but they gave me their endorsement and that took Republican votes away. Ken just said that he had the working man’s support and the unions and that he didn’t care what the leadership of the (unintelligible word) did and, you know, he was right. He was right. He had most of the support of organized labor. So it was very close, and so close that we had a recount. But I would have lost definitely if I had, I would have been despondent, if I hadn’t had that one telecast which seemed to, and I immediately got great reports from it. Five minutes of time. Can you imagine anyone doing it now? Five minutes, hell, a half minute’s about all you, you wage elections in one minute.

STU: Going back a little bit, you became assistant attorney general for awhile.

ST: Yup, that was, Frank Hancock was attorney general and a good friend of mine, and I was counsel for the Boston-Maine Railroad in Maine, and there was a merger and the person that had hired me who was the president was no longer president, and they had, they reshuffled and they said they didn’t need a lobbyist or an attorney in Maine so I lost that. And I needed an income and Frank says, why don’t you come over and be an assistant attorney general part time. I said, sure, I’ll be glad to. So I made what my fee was for the, whatever the Boston-Maine retainer was, Frank gave me the same thing.

STU: Why did you decide to resign in favor of a congressional bid?

ST: Oh, I didn’t want, that was just a, that was only for the purpose of keeping my wife and family together financially, fully financial. I had no desire to be an assistant attorney general, none whatsoever. My job was to represent the state in coram nobis, it was called coram nobis, cases where prisoners representing themselves would try to get released and they’d have a hearing before a justice, and it was my job to represent the state. And you’re always scared to death that some prisoner would beat you, who wasn’t an attorney. And, you know, they had nothing to do but learn their particular grounds for their, what they considered grounds for a new trial. So I never lost one but they always scared me because I could see the headlines if you were ever beaten by a prisoner from Thomaston. So I did that and I worked on a revision of the private laws, and that’s all I did. I had about four, five coram nobis cases and I revised the Maine private laws up to that time.

STU: I read in the paper that you only spent eight thousand dollars, or spent eight thousand on your first campaign. Was that a lot of money for a congressional race, and did it come from your own pocket?

ST: It didn’t come from my pocket because I didn’t have any. I borrowed four thousand dollars on a second mortgage. I had four thousand dollars of my own money, that’s true. I spent four thousand and I raised I think six. I think my father gave me a thousand and I don’t, I thought it was ten thousand that I had. Over the years I’ve said that I spent ten thousand, but it might have been eight. It was very little money, but you multiply that by ten, and you’d have a hundred thousand. But still today they’re spending a half million, aren’t they, for that seat. No, I thought it was a, really a modest, almost a poverty campaign. But I started early and I was running against a fine man named Roy Sinclair who was a state senator and who had, who was
responsible for Sinclair, the consolidated of school districts, the Sinclair Act, so he’s well known and he was manager for the (name) in Pittsfield, so he had a lot of money behind him and he was a good man. But as he told me afterwards, he said, Stan, you wouldn’t have beat me, but, he says, I had a kidney stone, and he says, it really slowed me down. You see, these things happen, and they tell you afterwards, because we were friendly. And he never complained about it, never said anything, and I was wondering why, you know, I was campaigning, I went to every single person in that district, that whole second district, and Roy was depending largely on big crowds and, of his own supporters, he was preaching to the committed, and so I was able to win. But I thought that, at the time I thought I was, you know, that he should have had a more active campaign. But you know, something like that, a person about sixty running against a person in their thirties, you know, it’s a real, it’s a different kind of race. You, it’s hard to compete against a younger candidate. And I found that Ken, Ken Curtis, being ten years younger than I was, by that time I was, must have been forty two or three, and he was probably thirty two or three, and you can tell the difference, boy, you can tell the difference. Not only the lack of, the more physical energy in the thirties and forties, but the more eager you are. Boy, you really want something, and I was at a point where I didn’t even want to stay in the Congress. I was doing at that point because I’d be damned if I was going to let the conservatives defeat me. And I knew damn well what I didn’t want, and I was doing it for two reasons: I didn’t want the Republicans to defeat me, my own party, the conservatives, to defeat me because I couldn’t support Goldwater, but I also needed that congressional pension. I figured I deserved that, and you have to be five years before you get it. So I had four and I needed, so I finally ended up with six years. But that was the only reason, frankly. I never would have run for that if it hadn’t been for, I would have, maybe I might have even run against Reed for governor, I don’t know. Or Curtis, I don’t know. I don’t know what I’d have done, but I ran anyway, I ran for reelection that last time.

STU: Back in 1960 you had a pretty close relationship with Ed Muskie when you Sea and Shores Commissioner. How did your relationship change when you decided to run for Congress?

ST: Oh, I don’t think it changed. He was, you know, I understood the political game better than anyone because I had already supported Cross and had tried to res-, had resigned at least tendered my resignation, so I understood that, that he would support his assistant wholeheartedly. No, no, we were very at ease with that. I don’t remember anything that Ed ever said that was critical of me except once, I was in the Air Force Reserve in Barry Goldwater’s squadron, I thought, we did it for fun, Bill Scranton and I joined that thing, they made us majors, so I was taking a plane from Washington, hitching a ride up to the Brunswick Naval Air Station, on a flight available, they were going there anyway. And if you were a reserve officer you could, you know, if there were plenty of room you could go, but you had to be in uniform. So I was uniform, I got off the plane, and of course a photograph of me saluting someone on the ground, some superior officer, great photograph, but Ed complained that I hadn’t ought to be accepting rides on aircraft. Probably rightfully so, you know, but I didn’t have the money. We only got eight trips a year or something, and I was coming up every other weekend, and, sure, I’d hitchhike on military planes. But I had to do it, he didn’t know it, but I had to do it economically. I was finding it very difficult to keep a house in Maine and an apartment in
Washington, and with the child support on thirty thousand a year, which sounded like a lot of money in those days, but it wasn’t.

**STU:** What was your first impression of Washington?

*End of Side Two, Tape One*

*Side One, Tape Two*

**ST:** Well, my first impression, of course I’d been to Washington to testify in hearings before, the Kennedy (unintelligible word) bill, fishery bills, I’d been there to testify as a commissioner of fisheries. So I was sort of used to Washington, but my first impression of the House was, when I got in there, was what the hell am I doing here with all these famous people and all these bright people. And, you know, it wasn’t too many months when I decided what the hell are some of these people doing here with me. You know, your perspective changes, but at first it is quite, it’s, you’re a little awestruck by it. I remember we were invited down to the White House by Eisenhower. In those days the president’s term went into, it didn’t cut off at January the way it does now. It want to what, March? So he invited us down there and we, I was very impressed with Eisenhower. I had been his State Youth for Eisenhower chairman and had met him, but he didn’t remember me of course, but we got to meet him again and I was impressed, impressed by the White House, and later Eisenhower invited a bunch of, six of us, he was kind of a closet liberal, too, you know, Eisenhower. He invited six of us liberals out to Gettysburg and entertained us there and had lunch with him at his home in Gettysburg, and after he retired from office he invited us back to Gettysburg College, this same group, (name) and Brad Morse and myself, John Lindsay, Bob Ellsworth, you know, the liberal group. And you know, I had to believe that, because he was so comfortable with us, more comfortable with us, so he took us at the battlefield, you know, showed us where some of the battles took place, he was quite, showed us his herd of cattle. I was impressed by Eisenhower. I think he was much smarter than, history sort of says he delegated most of his powers to other people, and was low key. But he actually had a fine mind and he was very liberal, and he really did have concerns about this growing of Pentagon, he really had concerns about that. Their incestuous relationship with big business and arms, (unintelligible word) people and aircraft, and he discussed it at length with us. And I think that, I think he could have done more, he waited until about the end before he complained much. A military man finds it difficult, but after he got older and he could see this threat, and it certainly is. It’s now, it’s an economic thing. You know, here we are in the age of terrorism, the threat of terrorism, and yet we’re still building huge battleships and, you know, we’re preparing for the wrong type of hostilities now. We ought to be doing a lot more in intelligence, a lot more in covert actions I suppose, try to keep disaster from happening from small groups from small countries.

**STU:** How did the Maine delegation get along at this time, when you first became a congressman?

**ST:** Immediately I got along all right with Margaret. Margaret I had supported when she ran against the two governors, (unintelligible word) I supported her as a young man (sic) and I had a very friendly interest in her and I thought, this little frail woman, she was great, she had taken her husband’s seat in Congress after he died, you know, telephone operator, French background,
and pretty woman, you know, all those things were part of her, what she was selling in those days. And then I got down there and this Bill Lewis was her personal, her administrative assistant, and he was a Svengali type that ran things and controlled Margaret, really controlled her. I remember one of the last times that we had any friendly interest, we were in front of the then Augusta House, it was a hotel in Augusta, and I was sitting in a station wagon with Margaret, Margaret was behind the wheel, I was sitting as a passenger and we were having this very friendly talk, and Bill come down over the steps, Bill Lewis, said, get out of there, get out of there Margaret, we’ve got to get on the road. And was very scowled at me, and I said to myself, what the hell kind of administrative assistant says this in front of a colleague, you know. That’s very peculiar. Then I knew, I’d heard the rumors they were living together but that was the first I knew that the relationship was too close, that I never was going to be friendly with Margaret, not as long as Bill, and she, MacIntire, the other congressman from Maine, would forever be going down to, over to her office to get her opinion. And the first district congressman, Gowen, would go over and, before they’d vote on something.

STU: Were they both Republicans?

ST: Yeah. And I wouldn’t go because I thought it was demeaning. I mean, I thought, well, hell the voters sent me down here, not to second, have Margaret second guess my opinion, so they used that against me, and finally Margaret was becoming less friendly and Bill more so, and then when she became a candidate for president, before she became a candidate I had told Rockefeller I would be his New England coordinator, and I liked Rockefeller and he would give me a thousand dollars for my campaign, and I, so I, and I liked him. I liked him as a man, and I liked his philosophy. So I said, yeah, I’ll be your New England coordinator. Then when Margaret said she was a candidate for president, they, you know, I told Margaret I was sorry that I couldn’t support her, that I had, that my word was good and I had to keep my word to Gov. Rockefeller, and she wrote me this sarcastic letter, said, I know how good your friend is, and he’s giving you a lot of money and, you know, all that stuff. Bill wrote, obviously wrote the letter, and so we went downhill from that time on. It went downhill to the point where I couldn’t do anything right and she was a token candidate, she misled, she wrote a book where she misquoted me as saying that I wished her luck in her race. I might have said, good luck, Margaret, you know. I said, I think you might be a good vice presidential candidate or something, that made her madder. She really believed that she could be president of the United States. I didn’t realize that. She and George Aiken, George Aiken’s the only one that encouraged her. Well, all these Maine politicians left me holding the bag. Every one of them, Reed, MacIntire, all said she’d make a great president of the United States and she’ll be president, you know. All this absolute rubbish, you know. None of those believed she was going to be president of the United States. None of them knew she, they figured she could be nominated, all you need is one person to nominate you.

STU: What presidential election was this?

ST: This was nineteen, Don would know.

DN: Sixty four.
ST: Sixty four. So it was bad. Then when Hathaway ran against her, she, I had an assistant by the name of Wayne Johnson, and Wayne was working for me and then I got him a job with Romney in HUD, and he lives in Yarmouth now, and he’s a member of the Washington D.C. bar but he’s a real estate broker in Maine, I guess, or a developer. Well, they made, he, Romney wanted to appoint him as head of the Federal Housing Authority in Maine. He was a very young man, in his twenties, but he’d been working for Romney and Romney liked him and I was friendly with Romney, too, and so Margaret Smith, here I was out of the picture, out of their hair, out of office, and she was looking back at a staff member of mine and she said he wasn’t qualified and Romney said she questioned his nomination. It didn’t require a nomination, didn’t require Senate confirmation, didn’t require anything. It was an in line transfer, pay grade, and Romney had every right to do it. And finally Romney was telling me that she was calling his office and threatening his budget and everything else, actually threatening him with reducing the HUD’s budget if he persisted in sending Wayne Johnson, this little guy from Maine, up to Bangor to be head of Maine’s (unintelligible word) and so he said, I’m going to do it anyway, the hell with witch, he said, I’m going to do it. And he did it, and the shit hit the fan. And I came out, before that I had, she had come out and the press, it got into the press and all the headlines, and I was quoted as saying well this United States senator may be able to stop the appointment of this fine young man who’d overcome amputation of a leg and who had gone through London School of Economics and George Washington of Law, a Rockland boy, fine young man, she may be able to defeat this man, but I would think it would be a very sorry thing for a senator to do. God, and, boy, they didn’t know he had lost a leg, you know, to cancer, and he’d, and jeez, you know, we, well, I pulled the hat and at that point I started saying I was going to support Hathaway, and did, supported Bill Hathaway against her, and I think a lot of these things she was doing, not only that but a lot of people, she was doing the same thing. Carrying her animosity, Bill and her would get so peaked at everyone that they carried it towards people that were associated with them. So when she was, when he was appointed, everyone said, everyone was saying, well, Stan must have more influence than Senator Smith. Well, you know, so it hurt her badly, it hurt her worse, and then she did go after the budget, but without much spunk at that point because we were on her, we were watching the HUD budget at that point. But, you know, I got into a terrible thing with her and when she went to hospital for an operation I wrote her a letter and I said, Margaret, we’ve had a lot of problems but I’ve always admired your personal courage, you know, and, you know, and I want to wish you, sincerely, wish you a rapid recovery. And she wrote me a very nice letter. This was after all this had transpired. And after I’d supported, I think it was after I supported Hathaway. And she wrote me a very nice letter, and then I got a letter a few weeks after she got out of the hospital, a real nasty letter, quite something, that Bill had, she got back into Bill’s clutches, you know. But it was a long, you know, I don’t like speaking ill of the dead but, and I never tried to, you know, to carry it on, but she tried to really ruin the career of a young man.

STU: What about your relations with Muskie at the same time.

ST: Oh, it was good, it was excellent. Ed and I, I suppose Ed was getting a great deal of kick out of this, seeing two Republicans go after each other. And I did voice overs for Bill, Bill Hathaway, when he was running. He needed a Maine accent and I says, hey, I’ve got a Maine accent, and he said, yeah, he says, I didn’t dare to ask you. I says, sure, bring them in, I’ll do them. So all those voice overs, a lot of them were mine. So, we used it on radio, you know.
STU: Was your relationship with Muskie purely political or did you guys have a ...?

ST: Oh, I think there was, I, Jane was friendly and my first wife, we were all friendly, you know, but mostly it was at political functions. If it was social it was usually with Jim Day, over in (unintelligible word) and I suspect at Jim Day’s house, but we were thrown together by a lot of things. Jim was closer to him socially than I was because he lived near him. But I remember sitting with Ed in this, in his little subterranean office there, his secret office, and him saying, when I’m, Stan, he says, when I’m sixty I’m going to be long out of here. You know, it’s funny how at certain points of your age you think of, well, I’m certainly, at fifty, I’m not going to be doing this, or at sixty or at seventy. The trouble is you don’t feel, I’m seventy seven, I don’t feel seventy seven, but you know, and, you can look it or you can act it but you don’t feel it. And my father, at ninety, in his nineties, he’d say, oh, jeez, Stan, it’s hell to be old. But his mind, he didn’t think he was old. He lived to be ninety eight, and until he was ninety five he was a very vigorous, walked all around town, held court on street corners, you know, talking the Democratic party up all his life. I hope I’m that fortunate. But people do change their mind as they get older, they do change their mind.

STU: Did you find that there were distinctions, you said you were friendly with Muskie outside of a political atmosphere. Did you find that there were any distinctions between his political character and his personal character?

ST: You mean, his political character ...

STU: His personality.

ST: His persona. He probably was lighter, as everyone is socially, you know, kids more. We were both, Jim got us both membership in the Canadian life members, honorary members of the Canadian Army, Air Force and Navy Veterans Association. It’s like our legion, you know. And very few Americans, mostly presidents, but Jim, you know, Jim Day was a great public relations man, he was a member of the Maritime Administration under three presidents, and, but he was a great, great Irish politician, he was a great guy, very gregarious, great story teller, and he managed to get us this, with medals, you know, with ribbons and medals and great certificates. I’ve got one now in a case at home, my memorabilia for my children with this thing, it looks as if, you know, very distinguished looking medal that they struck off for Ed Muskie and myself. I remember Ed, this guy would do things like that, Jim Day performed all kinds of these little things. He wanted to get an honorary degree from some college, he didn’t care where. So I said, well, your own college at Machias, I says, God, that’s a natural. Well, we campaigned, we had a campaign very much like any campaign and he got his honorary degree. He says, don’t you want one, I says, no, I’ve got one from Ricker College, I don’t need another one. I’ve got my LOD and it was like, my wife used to say that my education was, I got my LOD from LaSalle University, and they went bankrupt, they went out of business. They used to have match boxes that said LaSalle University and get your law degree and so forth, and Jill, my wife, used to say that I got my degree from a match box. So I got that and then I got my honorary LOD from Ricker and they went out of business. So I guess I’m batting a thousand on my ...
DN: You didn’t want to put Machias out of business.

ST: No, no, no, Machias is still in business.

STU: What were the major issues you dealt with in your first congressional term?

ST: Oh, for the first term I think that I, there was a lot, a lot of my work I think was involved in getting procurement for Maine businesses; potatoes, blueberries, beans, lobsters, fish. I did a lot of work getting military contracts for those products and I was successful doing that. I did a lot of first term constituent work, and I did get Maine firemen and Maine teachers able to get Social Security if they opted. Before that they couldn’t. I did get that bill through, got that legislation through. I got the statue of the Maine lobsterman, permission from the Congress to put it on Maine Avenue in Washington, down near the waterfront I believe, and then they never appropriated any money and they never did it, but at least it was, they had the right to do it. But since then they’ve put it somewheres down there, I don’t know where it is, but ...

DN: I think it’s down in the southwest, down on the waterfront.

ST: Well maybe that’s, then maybe they used my permission, I don’t know, but we got it through, we got the bill signed. I did that and, oh, we, military things. There was just beginning to be a lot of noise about southeast Asia and I remember we had a mission in there, Eisenhower had put a mission into Cambodia and there, and there was some talk about poison, using gas, not poison gas, using gas on Asians. The U.S. military had, either had done it or they had trained troops how to do it, so I joined six Republicans, five other Republicans, in condemning that. And they sent up a, someone from the White House to, I think it was Elliot Richardson, I don’t know, it was someone came up, telling us that wasn’t patriotic and we told him, we gave him a lecture on the separation of powers and told him we didn’t think it was right, it would expand the war and it wasn’t humane, and so we got a lot of publicity on that. And I was, I tried to learn more about defense matters. I had the Merchant Marines Fisheries committee by choice, and there again, Jerry Ford was always friendly, asked me if he couldn’t get me a better committee and I says, no, I says, that’s the committee I went. So I picked the Panama Canal sub-committee to give me some foreign affairs background and the Oceanography to give me some science, and the Merchant Marine Fisheries, so I had the, I had ports, and I can talk about a lot of things with that one committee. And then they put me on the D.C. committee, against my will, but they put me on that so I did learn a little about urban problems, which I knew nothing about. And so I think that that first year, first two years, was a learning experience particularly, and I’d get some legislation done that was important to my district, but I found that the, first term members in those days, you know, you were expected to sort of stand back and Frank had done that, and if it hadn’t been for John making capital on it, I wouldn’t have tried to get any legislation because the temptation is to piggy back on other people’s bills, you know, and take a back seat because that was the way it worked. But in recent years people have wanted those, since the half minute spots, you know, they gotta have, they gotta keep putting bills in. And, I don’t know, when I left Congress I wrote a newsletter showing all my tributes, I got it around some-, all my, not my, the things that I did that I thought was important. I can find you one somewheres in my files before you leave. But I don’t remember much of those. I put all my stuff in the, I gave it all to the University of Maine, every single speech I made, everything that I’d done in those six years I
gave to the University of Maine library, the Folger Library, and told them they could use it. Right or wrong, I didn’t care, let students use it during my lifetime, so they’ve had access to that ever since. And I just kept a trunk full of stuff for my son, Donald.

STU: What was Muskie’s reputation like in Washington when you were a congressman?

ST: In Congress?

STU: Yeah, well, not, just in Washington (unintelligible phrase) in general.

ST: Oh, I think he was thought of as a heavyweight. He was thought of as a, always thought of as a heavyweight, and much more engaging than Smith, you know, he was always, he was much easier. The access was easier, he was easier with people. Margaret would have lightened up if it hadn’t been for this foreboding presence always around her, this Bill. She was so edgy about the connection that once Pete Damborg, former reporter for the Portland Press Herald, Portland papers, Gannett papers, and he got to be a deputy secretary of state later, he went down there and wanted, they wanted a story about where the residences of the four of us were. So they shot up where we were living and a little about us there. It was an interesting article. When that appeared he showed the townhouse that, he said this is where Margaret Smith and Bill live, you know. Well, Margaret thought that was, she went to Gene Gannett Williams, the publisher and owner of the paper wanted him fired. No question about that, she wanted him fired, and she, Gene refused to fire him and then she, Gene was on her list forever. That was the end of her relationship with the Portland papers.

STU: What did she think the repercussions would be? That she had ...?

ST: Well, she thought that they were living, that people would think they were living in sin, you know, together. Well, today, you know, it wouldn’t even raise an eyebrow, but in those days it was, she didn’t want that relationship, the closeness of the relationship where they were living in the same place, to be apparent. And she took good care of Bill. He was a, he never served a day of active duty, she got him made a general in the Air Force Reserve, the same outfit I was in. He had a star. And she wouldn’t allow Jimmy Stewart to start, she was on the Armed Services committee and she would not allow James Stewart, who was a legitimate war hero and served in active duty and the Reserve for years, and he was a one star general, and she wouldn’t give him his other star until they give him, the deal was to give Bill his star. So he became Gen. Lewis. Isn’t that something?

DN: I wanted to go back to an earlier period, Stan. You mentioned Ed letting you spar with Harold Schnerl and Bob Haskell. Do you remember what the issue was?

ST: Yeah, they were trying, they were, this was the Maine Development Commission, you know, and they were members of the Maine Development Commission and yet, and they had, they were also heads of these utilities, and they were, it often collided that what was good for Maine, the development of Maine, and what was good for Central Maine and Bangor Hydro. And I would, and I’d put the heat right under them, you know. Probably Ed would coach me, I don’t remember, but at least I would have all my facts, and I would spar with them constantly. It
got to the point where Bob Haskell, he was governor for, what, Ed got out so he was governor for a day or two. I saw him with a young woman in first class one day on the plane afterwards, and I called him governor, and he was as friendly as could be. I kept governoring him to death, governor this and governor that, but we were really, they hated my guts and I rather enjoyed it because I was getting good publicity. And I was probably, probably I over did it but, looking back at it. But they were seriously putting interests of the utilities ahead of the Maine Development and Ed knew it, and I was better equipped to do it than he was, and we’d have these round the table things and the others would, the other members never dared to take on Schnerl, or Bob. Bob was formidable, you know, oh, God, and I just didn’t know any better. I was thirty one or two, and, hell, why not? Take him on. I was right, too, I was absolutely on sound ground and eventually they got them off that board. They did away with the Development commission, I guess, that’s how they did it.

DN: As I recall, you were sparring with them during the debate over getting rid of the commission and substituting the Department of Development of Industry and Commerce, originally.

ST: Yeah, yeah, God, this was a long time ago, wasn’t it. At that point, you must have been quite young then. Did you follow politics?

DN: Oh yes, I was then executive secretary of the state committee.

ST: Oh yeah, right, that was, yeah.

DN: And Ed’s staff was so small, Frank and I and Irving Isaacson and a couple others were sort of ancillary staff.

ST: Oh yeah. What’s Irving Isaacson doing now?

DN: Irving is still practicing law.

ST: I saw him on the street corner down here and I didn’t have a chance to talk with him, I waved to him, he was with Mary, this woman he goes with down here, and I wanted to talk to him because we see him socially about once a year in some situation or another. And he looks much the same, still kind of curmudgeonly, curmudgeon. That was a great crew that you had there, that was a great staff.

DN: Well, there’s a very, very funny story that goes with your Bob Haskell business. In the midst of the debate of the changing of the department, Jim Reed, who was majority leader of the Senate, dug his heels in and was trying to block (unintelligible word) legislation, and Bob Haskell knew that that was a losing issue politically for the general public, so he went into a Republican caucus and said, according to the reports, if you defeat this bill, the Republican party will be blamed for every blankety-blank chicken that dies in the next twenty years.
ST: Bob was shrewd, much shrewder, a shrewder politician than Harold. Harold had never run for office, Bob had. Bob was a very, very bright man, and so was Schnerl, both of them were.

DN: Is Harold still living?

ST: I think he is. I think he is. He used to have a home down here on (name) Island, and I used to see him down, I haven’t seen him in the last year or so, in the restaurants, used to see him and I’d always go over and join him, he was alone, we’d have lunch together, and he’d kid me about my, ask me if I was still a socialist. We’d kid each other.

STU: Which of your three congressional campaigns was the most challenging?

ST: Well the hardest was against Curtis, there’s no question about that. Curtis was a very, very tough candidate to beat, I was lucky to beat him. I don’t think I would have had it not been for that last minute campaigning on television.

STU: Were you involved with the Republicans for Muskie campaign in ‘70? I came across something where ...

ST: Yeah, I think I once urged them to endorse him, I think, yeah I did.

STU: Senator Smith took exception to that.

ST: Yeah, I did, I told the Republicans to nominate him so he’d have bipartisan support. Yup, I have a clipping somewheres about Tupper for Muskie, Tupper endorses Muskie or something.

STU: I want to step back and ask one question, why wouldn’t you support Barry Goldwater?

ST: Oh, it was because of the, much of the reason was because I feared the, feared that he would rely too much on nuclear power, nuclear weaponry. At these meetings, these, we’d meet once a week and Scranton and I afterwards would be so upset because he, we had blackboards and pointers and we’d have generals, like Gen. LeMay would be there one time and they were talking about, well, if worse comes to worse, you know, they can use battlefield nuclear weaponry and this and that, and it scared the hell out of us. And I know they over, Johnson made more of it than probably he should have with his cartoon showing the nuclear cloud, that first one. But actually, I distrusted Barry, I liked Barry Goldwater as a person but I didn’t like his conservatism, I didn’t like what he did to Goldwater (sic), they allowed, his people, this young people for Goldwater blocked the corridors in this hotel where they had their headquarters so that no one could get to Rockefeller’s rooms, just linked arms and these young eighteen year olds threatened, you know, so you’d look bad if you struggled to get in. All those things. I didn’t like the people he was associated with, I didn’t like the Birch Society, I didn’t like all these hangers on that were his baggage. But principally I was afraid that as president that he would be too apt to use nuclear weapons. And I still think I was right. And he wrote me afterwards, I wrote and told him that I couldn’t support him, that I would not support Johnson, be
sure that I would not support Johnson, but I could not support him. And he wrote me afterwards and said I was one of the few that at least had told him, he thanked me for telling him and wished me well. But he mellowed, he’s a man that mellowed tremendously over the years. By the time he was in his late eighties, he was a liberal, he was as liberal as I was. He was supporting gay rights, he was supporting, you know, the causes that I supported.

STU: Whereas when he was younger he was notorious for being extremely conservative.

ST: Yeah, very conservative. He had a grandson who, a homosexual, and I think that had some bearing on it. But he, and he would praise the Democrats when he thought they were right, and he’d curse the Republicans and he a lot bad to say about the religious right, you know. He was saying much the same things I, I think I would have supported him. I think he probably would have been less dangerous as he got older, but, no, I never regretted it. I almost, you know, it almost ruined me. It at least discouraged me from ever doing anything with the Republican party again. I just didn’t, I didn’t have any, they were, during that last campaign they were even putting my billboards, the Republican party in Maine was giving me, they had to spend so much money on my campaign, but they’d put billboards in the other district to embarrass me so people would think I didn’t know where my district was. They had, time after midnight, the worst possible time for my spots, they just spent their money in absolutely worthless ways, and ways to embarrass me. The Republican party apparatus, the apparatus was doing its best to see that I was defeated. They’d much rather have had Curtis. In the recount, I had my son, who was at the University of Maine at the time, and he was there at the recount, and Mert Henry and these people, and it very definitely showed that I was elected by, basically by Democrats and independents. Republicans deserted me like flies, they just took right off. And the recount showed that, and I wanted to know, I wanted to analyze those results very, very carefully and so I wasn’t, I was tempted to change my party but then I said, why give them the satisfaction, I’m not gonna do it. (Unintelligible phrase) I’d never have anything more to do with them, and I haven’t. I’ve supported mostly Democrats for major office because I feel that they’re more in tune. When I find a Republican I can support, I’m glad to do it. Locally we find a lot of great people to support, judges of probate or county officers, and state legislators on occasion, we get some very good people. Usually better than the Democrats because the Democrats don’t recruit. They elect someone at the last minute who just wants to, an ego trip, to get aboard, and they don’t get any votes. But Al Brewer ran, he was a friend of my father’s and my father was, every time they had a Republican, a Democratic president, my father was chairman for the committee, would get to name postmaster. He told Frank to appoint, asked Frank if he’d appoint Al, Al had run unsuccessfully for the House before, and so he was made postmaster. And he served with distinction as Boothbay Harbor’s postmaster until his retirement, and then he ran for the House and he won. And my father always thought the world of Frank Coffin, you know, for giving Arnold that break, you know. And Arnold Brewer is still living here, he’s ill but he’s head of the American Legion here and he was a good man. But he was defeated by a Republican the second time, by a Republican who wasn’t any near as good as Arnold was. Hard county for Democrats. But I find it comfortable for me as a Republican to needle, keep needling the conservatives, helping them keep the real ultra right at bay, and generally being a maverick. I don’t mind, they can’t do anything to me. Doesn’t hurt my business any.

STU: What do you think were Muskie’s most important contributions to the state of Maine?
ST: His Clean Air and Clean Water Bill. I think if you had to pick something, two things out, you would have to say that because most people are too young to remember the rivers the way they were when Ed Muskie started. The Kennebec River was yellow, they were yellow, they were polluted so badly. Brunswick, you’d go through there and the water stunk to high heaven and it was yellow and green and fish wouldn’t live in the rivers. And the air was so bad that it would take the paint off from houses, living up or near the Westbrook plant. My brother had a house up there and he’d have to paint it every year because the fumes from that, from the, were so bad from that, the things that they used in pulp and paper manufacturing at that time, it made one dead river where nothing, not even a slug can live in it, at that point it was dead, and (unintelligible word) down by the plant it would take paint, literally peel the paint off from houses. That was what Ed Muskie saw and that was why Ed Muskie was adamant about the need to clean up the air. My daughter’s in Shanghai, she’s a professional singer there, and she said that, that’s the second largest city in the world, seventeen million people, she says you can’t hardly stay outside, the pollution is so ...

STU: You get a raspy voice.

ST: Yeah, you’ve been there six months.

STU: It’s pretty bad.

ST: And she says, she’s a singer and she has to preserve her voice and they get off to the lake district as much as they can, by train it’s three hours away. But she’ll be glad to get away from that pollution. But Ed saw the same thing happening to Maine.

STU: Do you think his rise to national prominence changed him a lot?

ST: Never went to his head, if that’s what you mean. No, no, he was as accessible then, he’d write the same friendly notes, he’d insist on scribbling something on a note if he didn’t write it, and, no, I would think that, I would think he was exactly the same person. Busier perhaps. Ed had, the only shortcoming that I ever found of Ed, he never would, he never answered mail. He’d hate to answer things. I think it was someone, I think it was George Mitchell once told me when he went down there, he found hundreds of, a lot of invitations to speak and Ed hadn’t bothered to have anyone answer, when he was running for president, you know. He had a, it’s sort of an endearing quality, really. It shows that he, there were things more important to him than immediately answering things. But I was very sensitive to mail because in the House it’s a little different, I think. And I would have them stamp the date they received it and I said, well, within twenty four hours I want something to go back to this person. If I don’t have an answer, I at least want a letter saying I’m looking into it and I’ll get back to them. And, we answered everything. We’d, when there was hate mail, you know, you can always tell it because they write on the envelopes. They’re so crazy that they have to write on the envelopes, stuff, you know, you traitor, you (unintelligible phrase). And those kind of letters we were supposed to turn over to the FBI. Well, that isn’t practical because I was getting an awful lot of them as a liberal Republican. I was getting them from all the gooks in our right wing ranks, and they would threaten everything under the sun and, but I would write them back, instead of writing
them back, they’d say, what do you do with it. I’d say, well, let’s have some fun, let’s write them back and say thank you very much, I’m glad you agree with my views, you know, just complete reverse it, and that would put them off the wall. Then they’d threaten everything under the sun. They were rabid when you did that to them. But we had a nut file that was probably bigger than any member of Congress at the time, just a tremendous one. And some I’d send, if they threatened to kill me I’d send them to the FBI. They did finally, in Portland they, one night Gerry Ford was there and they had a big thing at the Eastland Hotel there, and I saw all these police officers and people I knew, detectives and stuff, and I said, what the hell is doing, he said, well, Stan, I hate to tell you before you go and speak but, he says, they’ve threatened to kill you and your family tonight. And I said, well, I said, I get these letters all the time. He says, well this, we think this is a very real threat. So Gerry and I had to speak that night with our families there, and my father and mother and brothers and sisters, spouses, wondering when someone was going to shoot. Because they’d kind of convinced me that, because they’d spit on me at places, you know, they’d spit on me. I went to one rally one time where believe it or not they, the Goldwater people and the Tupper people were hitting each other with their signs, honest. I tell you, about dissention in the ranks, if that didn’t tell you something. Boy, they didn’t like me any better than I liked them. And my people were just as loyal to me. So, but it, it was, I think I could probably used my time more profitably and probably made more money as an attorney after I got out of the Sea and Shore, but, I don’t know, you get a bug, you want to do something, and you think you can do it, and then you know you’re in the wrong arena immediately, because you know that there’s only a third of those people that believe as you do. Oh, that first term, when you think of it, there was one thing I did that was important, I joined with a few others in forming the Wednesday Group, which, well, Jill’s got rid of that, I used to have it on the wall here. It was a group of liberal Republicans who’s purpose was to, we got an executive director from Harvard, a Ph.D., and we would get informed on issues, really informed so that we could speak with some assurance on the floor, and we finally got up to twenty one members. And when Ford ran against Hallick, they were both conservatives but Ford was more of our thinking, he described himself as a midwestern conservative, but Hallick was a midwestern conservative who hated liberals. And so Brad Morse wanted to support Hallick, we met at Brownie Reed’s house, congressman Reed at that time from New York, and we decided that we’d vote on it and Brad said that we should support Hallick because they were both conservatives and what the hell, what difference did it make. And I said, well, the difference is that we can talk to Ford and we can’t talk to Hallick, and all but two of us, Brad and another, can’t remember who it was, voted for Ford. And Ford thought that that was the margin that he needed, and after, many times, in the book he sent me of, that he’d coauthored on the assassination of Kennedy, he wrote in the flyleaf, thanking for things that happened that made it possible for him to win the majority leaders race. So I like to think I had something to do with his rise, as fate turned out. I think that was a very major thing. That group is still in existence and I’m invited down every year, I don’t go, but they always send me cufflinks or souvenirs ...

End of Side One, Tape Two
Side Two, Tape Two - blank

End of Interview

MOH31.INT