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Interviewee: Jerome Anderson

Interviewer: Bob Brown

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Project: Bob Brown Oral History Collection

Bob Brown: We're interviewing Jerome Anderson in his office in Helena. Jerome has been a lobbyist and a state legislator here in Helena for something over 50 years. Jerry, it's really good to be able to interview you as a part of this project for the Mansfield Library. Your first legislative session was what, 1947?

Jerome Anderson: Well, the first time I went to the legislature to do any work was in 1947. I was student body president at the University of Montana from '46 to '47—or through the spring of '47—and I went over to the legislature with President [James] McCain in connection with lobbying on the university budget. I spent some time there. I was in law school. I took time off from law school to go over and that sort of started the whole process.

BB: Now your dad was involved in politics, wasn't he?

JA: My father [Albert], yes. He started his life in Wisconsin. Went to school at Macalester College for a while in St. Paul, Minnesota, and then went to the University of Wisconsin and while there became involved with the La Follette Republican organization; worked his way through the University of Wisconsin law school as an employee at the secretary of state's office. He got the appointment through Governor [Robert] La Follette and after graduation from the University of Wisconsin went to Hudson, Wisconsin, across the river from Minneapolis with another young graduate. Opened a law firm there and then shortly thereafter, having a client who was a farmer in Minnesota and who had purchased some property out near Wibaux, Montana, [he] went to Wibaux to inspect the property for his client. He stayed in Glendive and got playing poker with some lawyers and whatever at the Jordan Hotel where he was staying and missed his train back to Minneapolis. The next day—he won a lot of money that night—and the next day he got in the poker game again. Train came through I guess about midnight going east and he missed it again. The third night he got in the poker game again and finally just didn't make the train and sent a wire back to his partner and said, "I like Glendive. They seem to like me and they want another lawyer in town. The file cabinet is yours. The desk is yours. I am staying in Glendive."

He immediately became involved in politics and I think at one time was county attorney there. He was a Republican, a Bull Moose Republican, during the period of time when Roosevelt ran as a Bull Moose candidate for president. Married my mother, I think, in 1914 or something like that. Moved to Billings, Montana, in 1923, as I recall. I was about

two years old. Meanwhile, he had become a friend of Wellington D. Rankin, who was a leading Republican in Montana and who was around our home, as a matter of fact, a lot when I was a young child. Of course, I knew Wellington quite well, all of his life.

BB: I'm interested in where you're going here, but while we're on Wellington Rankin, he's come up in other interviews and he's kind of a mystery in terms of...I guess I'm kind of having difficulty with people who I've interviewed kind of explaining Wellington Rankin. What was he like? Because he's cast a great shadow in Montana history.

JA: My first recollections of him, of course, was when I was quite young. He was a very tall, erect, imposing figure with a great deal of presence that was very imposing. He was around our home and around my family and around me a very friendly, sociable, kind guy, but he could be a holy terror, I guess, when he wanted to be. During the period of time in the '20s when my father was practicing law in Billings, during that decade Wellington was—during a good part of that time—the United States district attorney in Montana—I think until Roosevelt, probably, was elected in '32—I'm not positive about that but it seems to me that he had it for quite a while anyway. [Rankin was Montana attorney general from 1921-26, when he was appointed to the Montana Supreme Court, where he served until 1928. He was U.S. district attorney from 1928-33.] My father was one of the assistant U.S. district attorneys. In those days, the U.S. district attorney assistants conducted private law practices and it was a kind of a political plum to get one of those appointments. You did, of course, perform services for the district attorney's office.

One of the great stories of my dad and Rankin, to give you an idea of what Rankin was like: My dad spent about a year and a half preparing a very involved and difficult criminal case that was to be tried in Butte. It was the understanding of my dad that he was going to try the case. It was a case of some substantial notoriety. Either the night before or a couple of nights before the trial—the U.S. district attorney's office had taken a wing of the Finlen Hotel in Butte as a place to work out of during the course of the trial—my father was up there, along with some other attorneys and Wellington breezed in and he hadn't touched a single thing as far as case preparation or trial preparation was concerned. Never interviewed a witness or anything.

He walked in and said to my dad, "Give me the file. I'm going to quickly scan the briefs. You can have second chair in the courtroom with me when we start the case tomorrow morning," or whenever it was. And my dad, who was a Swede who was fairly mild tempered normally, had that Swedish temper that when aroused could really go places. He sort of looked at Rankin, I guess, awe-stricken, and just grabbed the file out of Rankin's hands. They had a window open. It was a hot night. It was in the summertime and the wind was blowing quite hard. He threw the whole file, the whole mess of files, out the fifth or the fourth floor of the Finlen Hotel. They went all over Butte. So the only

guy in the room that knew anything about the case was my dad and he tried the case and he won it (laughs).

But that was Wellington, and as Wellington got older he expanded his influence across Montana, particularly in the Republican Party. He played footsie with everybody in the state. He was a management kind of guy one day and a labor union guy another day and whatever. Everybody owed him a favor and he owed everybody a favor. He had his tentacles clear throughout Montana. He had a great deal of influence on what happened here in the state over the years.

BB: He had an especially close relationship, we understand, both perhaps with Senator B. K. Wheeler and Governor Sam Ford.

JA: Oh, absolutely.

BB: One, of course, was a Democrat and one was a Republican.

JA: Right. I think he was a confidante of everybody. During the '50s when I was in the legislature, on occasion when on the Republican side of the aisle we needed some grassroots assistance or whatever, we'd go to Rankin and see him in his old office up in Pittsburgh Block. The trick was to get him to do something for you without you having to scratch his back in return. Usually we got away with that. Sumner Gerard and I used to carry out that little job occasionally. He was generally pretty good with us. He ultimately, of course, was replaced as Republican national committeeman in a bloodbath that took place here in Helena when Jimmy Murphy came in. We got him in and Rankin told me at the end of that performance when I was, of course, a Murphy supporter, that he guessed that my father was rolling over in the grave for what I had done to him.

BB: Why did you do that?

JA: Because his influence in the Republican Party was such that it was hurting the party. In order to keep his grasp of the power structure of the party he couldn't allow younger people to get in and we were younger people and we wanted to modernize the party and get with it and get the party structured around something that made it an electable group again. He just didn't see things that way. He had done a lot for the party, no question about it. He had been a formidable contender for the Republican Party over the years, but he just finally served his purpose I guess and we just had to change things.

BB: So it wasn't so much of a philosophical thing, it was a matter of—

JA: It was somewhat philosophical. It started, I think, with the battle in 1952 in the Eisenhower campaign. I was an Eisenhower guy and Don Valitan from Deer Lodge and

Chuck Sande from Billings and a young legislator from Great Falls—and I don't recall his name now—he was the single Eisenhower delegate that we got out of the convention. But Rankin and what's-his-name from Cut Bank?

BB: Whetstone?

JA: Whetstone, Dan Whetstone wanted **an instructed delegation** to the Republican National Convention.

BB: For Taft.

JA: For Taft. We battled that. That's where I met Sumner Gerard, [who was] was at that convention.

BB: And he was a legislator from—

JA: No. He was ultimately, but not at that time.

BB: But he was a rancher then from down in Beaverhead County?

JA: No, from Madison County—Ennis, near Ennis. A gal—I can't remember her name either—she came out here from Minneapolis. She was a member of the Post family. She worked with us at the convention, along with some other people in the Eisenhower group, and we ultimately, as I said, got one delegate on that group to go to the Republican National Convention. We just about stole some other delegates, but we just couldn't upset the whole convention completely. But we did a pretty good job.

BB: So some of the Eisenhower supporters from back in 1952 were part of the group that deposed Wellington Rankin in '61 or '59 or '60-'61, when he was replaced as Republican National Chairman?

JA: Ultimately, that's correct.

BB: I interrupted you when you were explaining what your dad's involvement in politics when your dad was a Republican.

JA: He ran for the Supreme Court in the '30s as a Republican when those races were partisan races and lost. I guess it was two elections very closely. He then participated in Republican politics during all this period of time.

BB: Your dad was Albert Anderson.

JA: Right. And then ultimately was elected to the Supreme Court on a non-partisan ballot race in 19—the election of 1940. But I was around politics because of my father's involvement from the time I was—one of the first things I remember as a little kid was politics and continued in that endeavor for all of my life.

BB: Are there any political figures from your boyhood, from your early period before you became involved here as a lobbyist, that particularly stand out in your mind?

JA: Well, I remember Wellington Rankin. I remember John Erickson, Governor Erickson, who was a Democrat but who was a friend of my father's. He was around our family also as another figure of tall, erect, good-looking man. Nice guy. I remember Scott Leavitt, who was a congressman.

BB: Any specific things about Erickson or Leavitt?

JA: Oh, Erickson I was pretty young and Leavitt I don't remember, just that I knew him quite well through my dad, just as a kid, and I liked him very much and that he was a good congressman as I remember people talking about him.

BB: Did you ever meet Joe Dixon?

JA: No. I guess I met all the governors from Erickson on would be about right.

BB: So you met Cooney and Holt.

JA: Yes.

BB: Any stories about any of those folks?

JA: Sam Ford I always thought was kind of a hypocrite. He was a very outwardly, supposedly—and I guess he was—a religious individual and that sort of thing. But on the other hand he was involved sometimes with some things that were not quite so religiously bound in the sense of the way he handled some of the operations of the governor's office and some of the other things he was engaged in. There's always the old story about the booze in the basement of the—you've probably heard that.

The president of the then First National Bank of Helena, I guess it was—it was part of the First Bank Stock Corporation—was a buddy of Sam Ford's and a confidante. Sam, of course, was a non-drinker. He wouldn't let alcohol come within odor distance of his nose. The Second World War was coming into fruition and the banker over here supposedly decided that there would be rationing of liquor, which there ultimately was. So through the guy who was the head of the liquor control board and supposedly the governor's office—I don't know—there was a stock of liquor finally deposited in the

basement of the bank and that was parceled out during the war and it was replenished and some people made some money off that, pretty good bucks. That was during Sam Ford's administration. It's pretty hard for me to understand that that would have taken place without some knowledge on the part of the governor, but that's one of those things I guess. And Sam, I never could quite figure out how he got elected because he was kind of a cold guy. Didn't have much personality. He was just a different sort of individual as far as I was concerned.

BB: And he made some kind of an alliance, I guess we think we understand, with Senator Wheeler?

JA: Yes. There was a lot of connections between Senator Wheeler and people in the Republican Party—during particularly the latter part of Wheeler's activities—in the United States Senate. And probably that's not unusual because the Republicans didn't have much of a presence in the United States Senate in those years, or in Congress—in the House or the Senate. You know, in Washington, D.C., or whatever. So if you were going to get anything done back there you had to have an alliance with somebody, so that's the way you worked.

BB: I heard it once said of Governor Sam Ford that he'd gotten Montana out of the mud and I think that was in reference to some kind of a highway program that he was conducting, does that ring a bell?

JA: That doesn't ring much of a bell with me. That would have been in the late '30s.

BB: He didn't become governor until '40, but I don't know—

JA: Well, the highway program in Montana started in the late '30s when they started paving roads—middle '30s and late '30s. Then Ford came in in '40. I was gone in the service and so my understanding of what occurred from about 1941 through '45 is—

BB: It might even have been a campaign slogan, but it was Sam Ford. He'd gotten Montana out of the mud.

JA: I just wonder about that, really, as a viable thing because during the war everything was dedicated toward the defense effort and the war so it would be tough for me to believe that there was much of a highway program going on.

BB: Now Burton K. Wheeler—did you ever cross paths with him?

JA: Oh yes, I met him and got to know him when I was young and he was also a guy that my dad knew. Of course, everybody knew everybody in Montana in those days. I always remember B.K. particularly during the period of time when he and his son and his law

firm in Washington, D.C., were involved in the litigation over Yellowtail Dam in Billings. Of course, the Northern Hotel was the place to stay in those days and the bar at the Northern Hotel was a generation of politics—a generator of politics—and business and whatever. Wheeler stayed there. My office at that point in time was in what they called the Montana Power Building, the electric building, on north 28th Street, half a block up from the Northern. Usually when five o'clock would come around, a bunch of us would go down and have a drink and then go home and sort of talk over the day's events. Wheeler would come in from court. He'd take a regular water glass full of Jack Daniels—it was bourbon, I'm sure it was Jack Daniels—and he'd drink that without a chaser, without any ice in it, with nothing in it, and sip it like you'd sip a glass of water and then have another half and then go and have dinner and go up and go to bed.

BB: Wheeler's reputation wasn't as a drinker particularly. I don't think I could think—

JA: No, no. He didn't get drunk. It didn't seem to affect him that way. It was just a method of relaxation for him, I think.

BB: You know, I wish I could remember this. I had dinner with him when I was a young person—I was in the Navy—in Washington, D.C. I came to his home and he was very elderly. In fact, he had a lamp focused on his dinner plate so he could see his food because his eyesight was poor. I don't remember him having a big cocktail before dinner but he very well could have.

JA: Yes, well maybe they took it away from him by the time you got to know him (laughs). He was still pretty active in those days. This was back in the '50s.

BB: He was a tough guy, at least that's how I remember him. Boy, when I had that dinner table conversation with him he was 80-some years old, I think even in his late 80s. [Rankin died at age 81, in 1966.] There was a toughness about him. There was an unmistakable toughness about him in the conversation.

JA: You bet.

BB: I bet he was a hard bargainer in Congress [Rankin ran for Congress several times, but was never elected; he likely lobbied on issues, however.] and as an attorney.

JA: Probably must have been. He was a good lawyer.

BB: How did the Yellowtail Dam issue become a hot political issue, because I can remember somehow or other Republican congressman Orvin Fjare was somehow or other hurt, I think maybe fatally, by whatever stand he took on Yellowtail Dam.

JA: Yellowtail Dam was advanced by the people in south and southeastern Montana as a great economic boon to the area. It was going to, you know, it was sold to provide irrigation and to provide power and that sort of thing. It was a popular issue. When Orvin Fjare ran for Congress, one of the things that was an issue in his campaign is whether or not he would support the construction of Yellowtail Dam, as I remember. I was very active in that campaign and my recollection is that he said that he would. When he became congressman and the steps were being taken to go forward with regard to the construction of the dam, he began to have second thoughts and there were a group of geologists in the Billings area that took the position that the canyon where they were going to put the dam was porous and the reservoir would not hold the lake behind it. It would leak and just wasn't a feasible project. Fjare signed on to that. When the time came for him to run for reelection he had gotten himself in a position where he was no longer an advocate, at least a clear advocate, for construction of the dam and his competitor was.

BB: General LeRoy Anderson?

JA: Right. Therein lies the tale.

BB: Okay, I see. Because I've heard it said that he was defeated on the basis of Yellowtail Dam.

JA: That's correct.

BB: The dam was constructed?

JA: Yes.

BB: And the engineering problems apparently didn't materialize?

JA: No. Doesn't leak.

BB: Now in 1948, the race for governor was between Sam Ford, who was running, I believe, for a third term, and John Bonner. Do you remember anything about that? Bonner defeated Ford.

JA: Let me think a minute.

BB: You would have been out of the service, maybe still in law school.

JA: I'm trying to remember.

BB: Truman was running against Dewey in 1948.

JA: Yes, Bonner was elected governor in '48, that's correct. It was really a kind of a shoe-in for Bonner. He came back—you know, returning veterans in those days were very popular politically and the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and so forth, really got out and supported them. The veterans themselves did. Of course, that was the election where Wheeler went down too—no, no Wheeler went down in '46. [Wheeler ran unsuccessfully in 1942 and 1948.]

BB: In the Democratic primary in '46.

JA: Right, exactly. My recollection of that election with Bonner and Ford was simply that Bonner was a returned veteran and he had been Attorney General and was very popular across the state. It was just a shoe-in for him, really, it seems to me.

BB: I'm going to ask you, too, about the race in '52 between Aronson and Bonner, but before I do, it sticks in my mind that a later governor, Forrest Anderson, served on the Supreme Court perhaps at the same time your dad did.

JA: No, he was after my father. As a matter of fact, Forrest's office next to my dad here in this building after my father came off the Supreme Court.

BB: Now what's the name of this building?

JA: The Power Block building.

BB: Here in Helena.

JA: Right. Forrest was a real anomaly. My father always thought that he was one of the most intelligent people that he'd ever known. He had a combination of both street smarts and intelligence. My recollection is he graduated with honors in the law class at Stanford, maybe the leader of the class, I can't remember for sure. My first recollections of him were after we moved to Helena from Billings. Of course, I was over at the university in school in those days, but when I'd come back my father and he became friends and he was a young, very good-looking, very active guy, but he had arthritis very bad.

BB: Even as a young man?

JA: Oh yes. I can remember him. He'd have a huge jar of 1,000 Eli Lilly aspirin tablets, and he'd take those aspirin tablets almost by the handful. He had very, very bad arthritis. He also loved John Barleycorn [laughter], and he was a sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Very charming, tremendous personality whenever sober, but he could really

be something else when he was full of booze. So the trick was to be around Forrest when he was sober but stay away when he was drinking.

BB: Yet he was elected to the legislature, he was elected to the Supreme Court, he was elected Attorney General repeatedly, he was elected governor, and yet he seemed to be somewhat of a binge drinker, or at least that was your impression.

JA: I wouldn't say a binge drinker. I think that he was a fairly regular user of alcohol, but he managed to separate and segregate it from day to night somehow or another. So not too many people saw him, people around Montana, when he was drinking. But once in a while you'd get one of his phone calls at three o'clock in the morning. They were an unusual experience.

BB: Did you ever have one?

JA: Oh yes. (laughs).

BB: Was this when he was Attorney General?

JA: When he was Attorney General, yes, not when he was on the Supreme Court. When he was Attorney General and when he was governor. Usually some kind of call that was a—he'd call you up and say, I want you to do this and so, or whatever, whether it made any sense or not, you know, whether you had ever talked to him about it before or whatever. He was just different (laughs). But he was very intelligent and very smart. When he was governor he ran a good shop up there. He knew how to delegate. He knew how to keep guys in line. He knew how to make sure that they got the job done. He was the architect of remapping and reorganizing state government, which turned out for a while to be pretty good. So I think his capabilities as a servant of the state as Attorney General and whatever worked out pretty good.

When I was majority floor leader in '61, I went into my office the first day of the session at six o'clock and there was a young guy with a black butch haircut standing outside the door of my office and as I walked in he said, "Mr. Anderson?"

I said, "Yes?"

He said, "I'm here to see you this morning."

I said, "I've got a phone call to make. Just wait out there for a minute," and he did.

Then he came in and he said, "My name is James J. Sinclair. I'm an assistant attorney general from Forrest Anderson's office. I've been delegated by the Attorney General to

provide you with legal advice and assistance and to stay with you and see to it that you're adequately taken care of in that regard."

I kind of looked at him and I thought, "This is strange." I said, "Well, I'm an attorney. I don't think I need any advice in that area. You can tell Forrest that I'm a Republican and he's a Democrat and the political advice I'll take from some other sources. Thank him for his concern, but bye-bye."

So the next morning at six o'clock when I went into the office, here's Mr. Sinclair again. He said, "Forrest sends you his regards and I'm back." (Laughs).

So I said, "Well, if you want to stick around here, there's a chair out in the lobby and you can sit down there." He sat down all day long. From then on in, I had a shadow. This guy, who became a great, great friend of mine, ultimately, was around me on a daily basis. Didn't participate, of course, in any of the things I was doing. Wouldn't let him around, but he was there. And at night, I think he stuck around because he had so much fun being around with me at night (laughs). But Forrest was a pretty smart guy.

BB: What was Forrest's motive in having that guy waste all that time during that legislative session?

JA: He wanted to know what was going on over at the legislature and he figured the best place he could get it is if he could get an arm into the majority floor leader's office.

BB: But he didn't pick up anything that you didn't want him to know?

JA: Not a thing.

BB: Echoing back to a little bit earlier time here, do you have any recollections of a fellow by the name of Austin Middleton?

JA: Oh yes, Austin B. Middleton, sure. Well, there's a great story about Austin meeting Sam Ford.

BB: Tell who Austin Middleton is first.

JA: Austin Middleton was warden of the state penitentiary under—

BB: Ayers probably?

JA: Sam Ayers, I guess, yes.

BB: Roy Ayers.

JA: Roy Ayers, I mean. Served on the railroad and the old Railroad Public Service Commission for a considerable length of time when it was a three-member commission. He was sheriff in Custer County for many years down in Miles City and was really a leading public political figure in Montana for a long time. Actually, his son and I were fraternity brothers at the university and his son, at the beginning of World War II, left the university and went to Annapolis and ultimately wound up as a classmate or whatever of [the man] who ultimately became President Carter. When Carter was first starting his campaign for the Democrat presidential nomination, Middleton—young Middleton—was one of his chief organizers across the United States. Young Austin was employed by a company in Buffalo, New York, at that point in time and was given a leave of absence by the company to go over to the Carter campaign. Spent a lot of time in Montana, tried to get me to contribute money to Carter's pre-convention activities, which I did not.

BB: You were going to mention that this fellow that you went to college with, I think his nickname was Blue?

JA: Blue Middleton, right.

BB: He was Austin Middleton, Jr. His dad, Austin Middleton, had been the sheriff, the public service commissioner, the prison warden, the colorful and rather prominent figure in Montana politics. Probably not well-known, actually, as years have gone by. You were going to tell a story about something that occurred between you—

JA: When Middleton was sheriff in Custer County in Miles City, Ford was the Attorney General. The story is that—

BB: Probably would have been in the '20s.

JA: Yes. The story is that there was an area of Miles City down by the river which was where the houses of ill repute were maintained. And they were maintained in Miles City for the benefit, I guess, of the sheep herders and cow punchers that would come to town. The sheriff sort of kept a blind eye with regard to them so long as they stayed within their confines and didn't bother anybody.

BB: In fact, I think they euphemistically called them the Tongue River Clinics.

JA: Yes, I wasn't going to mention that, but that's true (laughs). The story is that Sam, who was a—Sam Ford was I guess you'd call him kind of a Christer—was going to come down and clean out the clinic. Austin Middleton, as the sheriff, got wind of it, so as Sam was getting on the train to go down to Miles City to do the job down there, Middleton, the sheriff, took all the girls away from the Tongue River Clinic and took them up to

court and charged them and got the district judge down there at three o'clock in the afternoon, or some such time, and got all the girls in the courtroom and charged them with whatever the charge was that covered their activities. And so the judge, in his wisdom, decided to hold them without bail. Middleton didn't have any facilities available.

(Break in audio)

Anderson: ...So as Sam was getting on the train to go down to Miles City to do the job down there, Middleton, the sheriff, took all the girls away from the Tongue River Clinic and took them up to court and charged them and got the district judge down there at three o'clock in the afternoon, or some such time, and got all the girls in the courtroom and charged them with whatever the charge was that covered their activities. And so the judge, in his wisdom, decided to hold them without bail. But Middleton didn't have any facilities available for them in the jail, at least he said he didn't, so he just locked them in the courtroom. And when Ford came down there, by the time he got there eight hours later or whatever, they hadn't been fed, watered, or whatever to any great extent and they were mad. So in came Ford into the courtroom and Middleton says, "Here they are, General. They're yours. You take care of them." (Laughs). And Ford had a lot of problems on his hands that night. So he and Austin didn't remain very much in the way of friends after that.

BB: Did your dad serve on the Supreme Court with Senator [Lee] Metcalf?

JA: No, Metcalf beat him. Well, my dad served four years on the Supreme Court, which was a remaining term of a judge that had died. In 1944, my dad was defeated by a returning veteran who was an attorney by the name of Cheadle.

BB: Oh, Ned Cheadle?

JA: Ned Cheadle—

BB: E. K. Cheadle?

JA: Right, right. As a matter of fact, that defeat was engineered by Wellington Rankin, the genesis of it, and—

BB: I thought Wellington Rankin and your dad were good friends from when they—

JA: They were, but Wellington was carrying out a little job for the Anaconda Company. So then in 1946—

BB: Your dad was at odds with the Anaconda Company?

JA: My father was what you'd call a moderate Republican. He'd been a Bull Mooser and whatever. Erickson, Leif Erickson, was on the court with my dad and there was an attorney in White Sulphur Springs by the name of [George] Niewoehner. Niewoehner was a chattel of Wellington Rankin's. The railroad—not retirement board, but the railroad—it's the thing like workman's comp is.

BB: FELA [Federal Employers Liability Act]?

JA: Yes, FELA or whatever it is, heard cases in Chicago that were appealed to that board and they used supreme court justices from across the United States to hear those cases. They'd take a judge from Montana or a judge from Wyoming or a judge from Iowa or whatever and they'd go back to Chicago and sit maybe for a week or ten days and hear a series of cases. Occasionally my dad would go back or whatever. Well, Leif Erickson went back and Erickson was getting ready to run for something. I can't remember what the deal was. I was flying in the Marine Corps then and I'd come back from overseas and I was stationed down in Texas. The issue that was developed was an issue that had to do with Erickson and was an allegation that he was taking money improperly by serving on these retirement—not retirement, but this panel that the railroad thing had.

They waited until the day when every judge on the court was out of town. My father was the only judge that was in town. Rankin sent Niewoehner up to the court with some kind of a petition or something to do something to Erickson over this thing and my father wouldn't do it and Rankin just had a tantrum. But my dad said, "No, I'm not going to take the responsibility for running a judge off." It was an ethics deal or something. "In the first place, it isn't well-grounded and it's not logical and whatever and in the second place, I'm not going to do it on my own." So that led to the ultimate situation where both the Anaconda Company and Rankin wanted to get rid of Erickson at all costs and that pitted my dad then against Rankin.

BB: Your dad just happened to be at the wrong place at the wrong time.

JA: Exactly. But he was also a very honest man and didn't like what was going on and so that's exactly the thing. They brought Ned Cheadle back and ran him against my dad and the Anaconda Company got behind Cheadle and that was it. So then in '46 they wanted my dad to run—everybody. So he did run, and I went out and campaigned for him in the summer of '46 across the state. Layed out of law school that summer. He won the primary handily and there was a three-man race in the primary and he beat Metcalf and everybody. So I wanted to stay out in the fall and continue to campaign because I would go around as a returned veteran and go to all these American Legion clubs and everything else. Well, Metcalf was a returned veteran and Al Donahue [Dougherty] was ultimately the milk lobbyist and everything in the legislature—you remember him. He was running Metcalf's campaign. The lucky strike slogan was "Lucky Strike Means Fine

Tobacco” [and the jingle popularized the acronym LSMFT.] They turned those things around as “Lee Metcalf for Supreme Court,” was LMSC and they built a radio spot, ad, on that slogan and it caught on. My dad really encouraged me to go back to school and not lay out of law school any more and I did and I shouldn’t have because my father lost that election very, very, very closely and I think if I had stayed out campaigning he would have won.

BB: And think, too, how that would have changed the history of the state.

JA: Very much so, yes.

BB: Because Metcalf went on to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

JA: And the Senate, right, exactly.

BB: Did you ever meet Metcalf?

JA: Oh yes, sure. He was a Sigma Chi as I was, a fraternity guy over in Missoula. He had just graduated, I think, from law school at the time that I came over to the university before the war in 1939. But oh yes, we were, you know, you win some you lose some.

BB: How would you describe Metcalf?

JA: I didn’t particularly care for him. He was a nice guy and whatever but there was something about him that just didn’t ring right with me. I just didn’t particularly care for him and of course his philosophy and his political philosophy was totally the antithesis of mine.

BB: He was a big guy. Sometimes had a reputation for losing his temper.

JA: He had a terrible temper and he was also an advocate of John Barleycorn. As a matter of fact, in his later elections they used to keep him out of the state and keep him in Washington and close him up there so nobody saw him because he could get irascibly drunk and very mean when he got drunk. So anyhow, it was one of those things.

BB: Did you ever see that side of him?

JA: I saw him in Billings on several occasions when he clearly was under the influence. One of them was on an elevator where he could barely stand up.

BB: Did he remember you from law school?

JA: No, I wasn't in law school, no. I started at the University as a freshman in the fall of '39 and he, I think, graduated probably in the spring of '39 or maybe the spring of '40. I didn't have any recollection of him at the University. I didn't really get to know him until after the war.

BB: I see. Mike Mansfield was a professor at the University. Any recollections of him there?

JA: Sure. He was a very nice person, was a good professor. He was sort of droll and dry. Sometimes a little too droll and dry in the classroom, but taught a good course and was very friendly with all the students and I liked him and got to know him very well.

BB: There on campus?

JA: Yes.

BB: How did you happen to get to know him well as a student? Did you take classes from him?

JA: I took classes from him and he taught the—when you went to University in those days you had four courses that you had to take, two of four. They were sort of general courses. One was in a kind of a biological science thing, one was political science, one was history, I guess, and there was a fourth one that was something else. You took those, two of them—oh, economics, that was it—Principles of Economics. Mansfield taught a major portion of the political science section group of that big course structure. Huge lecture halls in those days for that course. But then he also taught Asiatic history, Chinese history and that sort of thing. He taught English history; but mainly it was Asiatic history. I was interested in history and took several courses from him and got to know him real well. My dad was on the court during that period of time, and Mansfield was interested in politics then. So there was a kind of an affinity.

BB: I interviewed Senator Matt Himsl as part of the same project and he mentioned that he had developed a warm relationship with Senator Mansfield when he was a student at the University of Montana. And of course Matt went on to be the Republican County chairman in Flathead County and a Republican legislator. And his father, like your father, had been involved in politics as a Republican. But anyway, Matt indicated to me that when Mansfield ran for office—at least the first time, maybe the first couple of times—he gave him contributions.

JA: Well, I got spun a different direction. When the war ended and I came back, one of the judges that my dad had served with on the court was a guy by the name of Angstman.

BB: Albert Angstman or Jess Angstman? There were two, I think.

JA: Jess was up in Havre, he was a lawyer in Havre. But Albert Angstman was the judge. He decided he wanted to run for Congress in 1946—or, let me think now—no, 1948. Either '46 or '48—one or the other. Anyway, it was against Mansfield and that's when some people were calling Mansfield a Communist. I got mixed up in the Angstman campaign through his son when his son and (unintelligible) family friendship. During the course of that, I did some work for Al Angstman. Al Angstman, one of the parts of his campaign was his comment about Mansfield's association with the Chinese Communists and whatever.

BB: They called him China Mike.

JA: China Mike, right. That made Mansfield very mad at me for a period of time, but we mended fences and we got back together again.

BB: But he knew about that.

JA: Oh yes, sure.

BB: You know, I met him on several occasions. He had around me, at least, a very kindly, proper, low-key kind of demeanor. An uncle figure kind of a person.

I guess I can ask you a couple of questions. Was that your impression of him personally? Then leading from that, did it surprise you that he went on to be the majority leader of the U.S. Senate where you had people with big egos and leadership abilities?

JA: Mike had a pretty big ego. He deserved it because he had the capabilities to support it. He was kindly on the exterior and whatever, but there was a hunk of steel inside him that was right there and he could be tough when he had to be. Of course he was a protégé of Lyndon Johnson's and supplanted Lyndon and was trained for the job by Lyndon and when Lyndon became president—vice-president and president—he knew he had a guy in the Senate he could go to and would do his bidding and would be tough when he had to be tough. He was an entirely different type of personality than Johnson was, but certainly deserved every kudo that he ever got. Mansfield was quite a figure.

BB: Did you ever meet with him back in Washington, D.C.?

JA: Yes. Very gracious in his office.

BB: Now he replaced Jeanette Rankin in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1942. You were probably in the military by then. Do you have any recollections at all of Jeanette Rankin? She was in Congress in 1942.

JA: No, I really don't. I think I saw her once, but I have no specific recollection at all.

BB: You were a college student when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. So maybe just share your thoughts briefly about that, about how you felt in that experience and then maybe if there was any connection with Jeanette Rankin's vote against. She was the only member of Congress to vote against declaring war.

JA: Of course on December 7, I woke up—I'd been out all night with a bunch of the fraternity brothers for some reason or another. I don't know whether we were out—something, anyway, and didn't get home until after six o'clock Mass on Sunday morning. Went to bed and woke up about 10:15 in the morning or something and couldn't sleep anymore. I went downstairs to the living room—the big living room of the Sigma Chi house in Missoula—turned on the radio and flopped down on the sofa. My reckoning is about 11 o'clock in the morning or something like that this flash came over the radio about Pearl Harbor, just a momentary news report. And then a few minutes later something more and then a little bit more. In a period of about 15 minutes there was a pretty good indication that there had been—the Japanese had done something at Pearl Harbor. So I ran upstairs and got the rest of the brothers out of bed that weren't up. Most of them were still sleeping. We all got down around the radio and hung around most of the day listening to news reports.

Well, I was taking a class from Mansfield at the time, as I remember—and that's just my recollection and maybe I'm wrong. But I'm sure that's correct. I had a report due and I had planned on working up at the library that night and Hugh Sweeney was a buddy of mine from Billings. He and I were going up to work on these reports. He had one to do too. We just didn't have the flavor in our bellies for going up and working on school work that night so we all went down to Merle's bar and drank beer and talked about going to war, because it was evident that we were going to do that. Of course it had been evident to us ever since the war started in September of '39 that ultimately the U.S. was going to get into the conflict. I think every young guy realized that in those days. So it was just a matter of time before we bailed out and went off to the service and that was it. I went and joined the Navy flight program and I went to Pensacola, Florida, and then went into the Marine Corps, which is where I wanted to go. Then went overseas to the Solomon Islands in the Southwest Pacific.

I was over there for a year and then came back. Went down to Texas and then out to the west coast to join a marine carrier group that was going to lead the landing on the home island of Japan. The day that our carrier was to sail they dumped the bomb and I've always thought that even though Harry Truman was a Democrat, he was one of the greatest guys in the world. He saved me (laughs).

BB: But you did some flying, because we talked a little bit before about this; that in the early period you were one of the few Marine Corps pilots, weren't you, during World War II? Maybe I'm wrong about that but I'm thinking usually most of the pilots were Navy men, weren't they?

JA: Well, the Marine Corps clearly was the smallest group, air service, in World War II. It expanded substantially in the last year and a half of the war but didn't ever reach the size of the Navy, or the Air Corps, or the Army. When I went in, we were still being training in a pre-war—sort of an accelerated pre-war training program. I didn't go through the Navy pre-flight stuff and everything. You went into the service as a naval cadet. We didn't go in as a cadet, you went in as a seaman second class and then you graduated from that to being a naval cadet and went through Pensacola or Corpus Christi flight training. I went to Pensacola and then graduated and was commissioned and went off to the races. When I went in, yes, the Marine Corps was a very small aviation contingent, but it expanded as they all did.

BB: Did you ever land on an aircraft carrier?

JA: Oh yes, sure, you had to check out and land and do whatever.

BB: I would think with the small carriers then and really primitive planes that must have been a little difficult to do.

JA: Well, our checkouts were done up on Lake Michigan. If you want to talk about something small, they were the—they took the ferries that used to run from Chicago to Milwaukee and put decks on them, flat tops on them, and we did our carrier checkouts on Lake Michigan on those things. The decks were zip. They couldn't run them every day as far as using them for checkouts because they had to have a certain amount of wind over the lake in order to get up enough comparative wind structure to get off the deck and get back on again. So you'd go to Glenview, Illinois. There was a naval air station there in which you turned to check out and sometimes you waited. Sometimes they couldn't get a wind up on the lake for a week. My recollection is I was up at Glenview for about ten days, I guess, before we checked out and got done.

BB: But you landed on atolls, I suppose, and that sort of thing in the Pacific.

JA: Well, yes, we went out on a task force and they dumped us at the Espiritu Santo, which was a French protectorate island north of New Caledonia and south of Guadalcanal, which was at that point in time a rear area. And then we went on up into the Solomons and did our thing. And then we'd go back to—we'd go up for a tour, a combat tour, in the Solomons and then come back to Espiritu Santo and regroup and replace pilots and whatever and go to Sydney, Australia, on leave for R&R and then come back and go back up and do your thing and come back.

BB: So you were involved in a lot of combat missions during World War II.

JA: Yes, we flew combat missions.

BB: Were you mainly after Japanese ships?

JA: Well, you were after troops, shipping—

BB: So you piloted a fighter bomber?

JA: No, I flew a torpedo bomber overseas, a Grumman Avenger, which was a single-engine carrier-type aircraft with—it was the largest and heaviest of the aircraft that operated off carriers. When we went overseas it had a three-man crew: a pilot that sat in a single seat cockpit just like a fighter cockpit, and behind him was a guy in a ball turret, a gunner with a 50-caliber machine—two 50-caliber machine guns. Then underneath, behind the bomb bay, was another guy who was supposed to be a radar operator. Radar was so perfunctory at that point in time and so crude that it really didn't function properly and was non-usable. He had a gun that he could fire out of the belly.

BB: So you could fight against Japanese aircraft too, then?

JA: Yes, sure.

BB: Did you encounter any?

JA: Had wing guns, 50 calibers in the wings.

BB: Did you ever encounter any Japanese aircraft?

JA: Yes, sure.

BB: Was your plane ever hit?

JA: Yes, I'm sure (laughs).

BB: Did you manage to shoot down the Japanese aircraft?

JA: No, not to my knowledge.

BB: Did you ever make a strike that you know of against a ship?

JA: Oh yes, sure. Yes, we went after shipping and ground forces and went after a submarine one day. We did a lot of stuff against Rabaul, which was the huge Japanese Naval and Army base up at the tip of New Britain in those days. It was the largest of the facilities that the Japanese had for a long time out in the Pacific. And we went after Japanese airfields and Japanese—places where they had stores of gasoline and stuff of that nature, bomb dumps. We burned out Rabaultown, went after Kaviana [pronounced kav-ee-yang]. A lot of stuff.

BB: I've been enjoying listening to your stories about World War II. Take just a couple of minutes if you could—I know the focus of our interview is Montana politics and that type of thing, but you told a wonderful story one time about the Black Sheep Squadron. I think it was commanded by a fellow named Boyington.

JA: Oh, Boyington, yes. [Gregory "Pappy" Boyington.]

BB: And the incident on the beach that involved the bottle of Canadian Club.

JA: Well, Boyington was a legend in his own time and was very much a character. He'd been—just a little background on him—he'd been a boxer and a wrestler at the University of Washington when he was in school there. He'd gone from the University of Washington into the Marine Corps as a flyer. Had gotten into trouble both because he drank too much and because he played cards and was sort of cashiered out of the Marine Corps and wound up with the Flying Tigers over with [Claire] Chenault in China. And then when we got back, when the United States came in the war, he came back to the United States. Had done well as a fighter pilot over in China and so the Marine Corps took him back. He ultimately wound up overseas where we were. We camped with him all the time, both in combat and down on Espiritu Santo. But the story you're talking about was he—as I said, he was another guy that liked John Barleycorn and at night on the beach he'd get full of booze and then he'd get out there with a pair of shorts on maybe or whatever and he'd challenge anybody to take the bottle away from him. Nobody was ever away to take that bottle away from Greg Boyington.

BB: He was fighting with one hand because he was holding the bottle of booze in another hand.

JA: Exactly.

BB: He was a tough customer.

JA: He was a tough customer, you bet.

BB: Any thoughts or recollections of Arnold Olsen, who was Attorney General during this period of time?

JA: Yes, he was Attorney General when I was a deputy county attorney in Billings. Arnold and I were in school before the war at the same time and he was in a class, a flight class, about four weeks ahead of my flight class in the naval pilot training program. In those days, which was consistent with a pre-war operation, they sent us out to Sandpoint, Idaho, on Lake Washington [Lake Pend Oreille]—there was a naval air station there—for what was an evaluation. It was sort of a four-week or six-week period—four-week I guess it was—where they did some rudimentary flight training with you and soloed you to find out whether you had a propensity for being capable of flying. Started you in ground school to find out if you had any brains. And they washed out, usually about half of the people that went out there, and they went into the navy and we were seaman second class at that stage. They retained them in the navy and they could either go to deck officer school or whatever they wanted to do.

Arnold was out at Sandpoint when I got there and they moved us from Sandpoint to Pasco, Washington, about halfway through this period and elongated our stay. I think we were out in this thing for a total of about five weeks or six weeks or something like that. He did not apparently pass the ideas of being a person with possibility of being able to complete flight training successfully so he waited around for orders and was kind of a waiter-arounder when I was out in Sandpoint and particularly at Pasco. Got to know him very well out there and he ultimately went to deck officer's school and was in the navy as a deck officer, and I went on to Pensacola.

After the war he became Attorney General ultimately when I was deputy county attorney in Billings. That was during the period of time when they had the non-profit social clubs, which were the slot machine operations that were put in place for a limited period of time. Olsen went after these non-profit social clubs and slot machines. In Billings, the county attorney was a guy by the name of Chuck Sande, Charles Sande, who was—Billings had been pretty wide open during the war and Chuck went into office in 1948 and I went down in 1948 after I got out of law school and went in with him. Chuck proceeded to shut down what gambling had been going on in Billings and to get the bars to start closing at two o'clock in the morning like they were supposed to and so forth. That didn't settle very well with the tavern owners down in Billings, so a battle started. Along came the non-profit social clubs and everybody had the non-profit social clubs—

BB: The bars just declared themselves non-profit social clubs.

JA: Well, they organized as a corporation, a non-profit corporation, and they had to segregate the area where the slot machines were.

BB: How did they do that, with a curtain?

JA: With a curtain or a door.

BB: So you just had the regular taverns that had always been there and then you might have half a dozen slot machines that were along the wall and it would be separate from the rest of the bar by a curtain and so the bar would be over here and the non-profit social club (unintelligible).

JA: But as time went by the separation sort of leaked apart and everything got amalgamated. But Olsen took after the—as being unconstitutional—operation of slot machines.

BB: Just, period? He just said slot machines are illegal regardless of whether they're a social club?

JA: Yes, exactly, that the social club didn't clean that out. So that was a lever that Chuck Sande figured could be used to get these guys down in Billings back in line. And so we went after the slots down in Billings and became an adjunct of Olsen's enforcement operations. Ultimately, of course, the Supreme Court declared the non-profit social clubs and the use of slots as being unconstitutional and that took care of that issue. But we had lots of issues when we were in the county attorney's office down in Billings. We were assailed by the mob and that whole thing.

BB: By the (unintelligible) organized crime?

JA: Oh yes. We had a guy by the name of Dorfman, whose brother had been Capone's—or father had been Capone's accountant. The Dorfman brothers operated out of Cleveland, Ohio and Chicago, Illinois. They were hooked with the mob and some of the tavern people in Billings, just at the point in time when we went into office in '48 or '49, got a hold of apparently the mob or somebody back in Chicago and indicated that it was possible that Montana could be exploited for open gambling. Of course Meaderville was running then, and whatever.

BB: Meaderville in Butte.

JA: Right, and Red Lodge was running right open and there were places around Montana that were running wide open. So Dorfman came to Billings and tried to get the mob sort of settled in the Billings area and hooked in with the tavern people there. They all hooked up. The net result was that we had a pretty bitter battle with Al Dorfman and his bunch, to the point that one point in time I remember Chuck and I were down preparing a case for trial during a jury term down at the old courthouse in Billings. We get a phone call from the police department at ten o'clock that night saying to get out of the courthouse and get across the street to City Hall. Wanted to know where all our families were. Rounded everybody up and we sat down there in City Hall while the Northwest Airlines came in. Two guys got off the Northwest Airline flight that were packing rods

and had been sent out, I guess, to perform a function. They took the guns away from them and threw them back in the airplane and shipped them back to Chicago.

BB: But there was good reason to believe that they were going to kill you and Chuck Sande?

JA: Yes. And they put a guard on our families and ourselves that lasted for several weeks. Dorfman was a pretty insidious guy. He was ultimately assassinated by the mob in Chicago in a parking lot about ten years ago now [In 1983]. But he and his brothers were involved with the teamsters in Vegas and Al Dorfman himself was one of the guys that took the money that was skimmed off the top and delivered it back to Chicago and he participated in the funding of the various gambling institutions that were built on the strip down in Vegas in the '50s.

BB: Did you ever encounter him?

JA: Oh yes, sure.

BB: What was he—

JA: One time in Helena—

BB: We've got just about two minutes left on the tape, I think.

JA: In a Republican Convention when [Donald] Nutter was running for—or, Bill Mackay was running for state chairman—Nutter and I, and my then-wife, were up in a bar in the second floor across the street from the Placer Hotel and Dorfman came in, laid a diamond watch, a diamond bracelet in front of my wife and said, "If you can get Jerry to back away from his position on slots in Billings, this watch is yours."

Nutter was sitting there beside him and Nutter heard him and knew who he was because I'd pointed him out to Nutter. Nutter said, "Get away from her." Dorfman reached for Nutter, Nutter threw Dorfman across the room, a gun fell out of Dorfman's pocket, Nutter took him and kicked him down a flight of stairs and took him down in the street and nailed him a couple of times real good. It was an interesting evening.

BB: Wow. And this was Don Nutter who later became governor of Montana?

JA: Right, exactly.

BB: Wow, what a story. Jerry, we're going to have to resume on another day.

JA: Sure.

(Break in audio)

BB: We're continuing our interview with Jerome Anderson. Mr. Anderson, the race between John Bonner and Governor Aronson occurred in 1948. Bonner had been governor—or, rather, 1952. Bonner had been governor from 1948 to 1952, had defeated Governor Sam Ford. So maybe we could begin with any recollections you might have of the race between Bonner and Ford in 1948 and any recollections you have of Bonner and then the race between Bonner and Aronson in 1952.

JA: Well, I don't really have too much recollection of the Bonner-Ford race, other than the fact that Bonner was, again, as we said before, a returning veteran and benefited from the attitude of the veterans after WWII that they wanted to participate in politics in Montana, as they did across the country. He certainly used that very effectively in that race, plus the fact that he had a personality that was pleasing to the general public in Montana. Ford was not a person of any particular personal magnitude from the standpoint of being a friendly type as far as the public was concerned. Bonner just certainly was from the very outset—I thought at that point in time—destined to win that race. I was in law school, just graduating from law school in 1948. I got out of law school in August of '48 so was pretty busy getting myself organized to start a career in the legal climate in Montana and wasn't really too interested in politics at that point.

BB: Do you have any impressions of Bonner as governor?

JA: Yes, I think he was generally—certainly accepted by the public in Montana as generally a good governor during most of his term. He had his troubles down in New Orleans at the tail end of his term and that, of course, hurt him. But he wasn't a flashy type of a person. He wasn't somebody that seemed to be traveling across the state shaking hands with people all the time, but I think the people in Montana generally felt that he did a good job as governor.

BB: Any thoughts or ideas about how the Anaconda Company might have perceived him, how he was dealt with in the media, that sort of thing?

JA: I think Bonner probably got along with the Anaconda Company as well as he got along with anybody else. His personality was that of a person who was open to everybody and he was the type of individual that got along with most everybody. I would think that certainly the Anaconda Company would have been able to get along with him. I don't think he was what you'd call under the heavy influence of the Anaconda Company, but as governor the largest business in the state obviously had to have some influence in the executive office in Montana in order to stay in business.

BB: So the Anaconda Company's attitude certainly wouldn't have been the same toward Bonner that it was, apparently, toward Leif Erickson?

JA: Oh no, no.

BB: He wouldn't have been perceived that way.

JA: No, I don't think so.

BB: Now, in 1952, Bonner was defeated by J. Hugo Aronson. You probably knew Aronson.

JA: Very well, yes.

BB: Maybe tell us a little bit about Aronson and what you can remember about that?

JA: The first time I remember anything about Hugo was when my father was running for the Supreme Court in one of the races. I'm not sure whether it was in 1940 or whether it was in 1946, but I remember going with my dad up to Shelby and he wanted to see Hugo. Both of them were a couple of Swedes. My dad was born in the United States. He was conceived in Sweden and born in the United States in Wisconsin. Hugo, of course, was born in Sweden and came over as an immigrant. They both spoke Swede and used to enjoy being together and carrying on conversations and so forth.

In any event, the thing I remember particularly about Hugo was the fact that he was known as the guy with the white Cadillac. He drove that Cadillac across the oil fields in off-roads and one thing or another around Shelby and Cut Bank and that area in northern Montana just like the Army drove a jeep in WWII. I mean, he was all over in a place that nobody else would ever take an automobile. He was the developer in the oil and gas field operations of what we call rig skidding. In other words, moving rigs from location to location by not taking them down and loading them on a flatbed or whatever and moving them and then re-erecting them, but rather skidding them from one place to another. He developed a trucking company that was known as Highball Contractors, which ultimately was purchased by some clients of a partner of mine and I fell heir to the clientele arrangement and represented Highball Contractors for years in the transportation industry legal end of it in Montana.

But Hugo was a go-to-it guy and a person that the way you took care of something was to get it done and get it done now, not waiting around for it. Of course he spoke broken English, but certainly was very understandable. He was a person who fit into any level of society, from a bum down by the railroad tracks to president of the United States. Everybody liked him. He had a good sense of humor, loved to tell stories. Was just a marvelous personality. There was nothing about him that was hidden or whatever.

What you saw was what you got. The people in Montana understood that. That, of course, was one of the secrets of success that he had in political life.

When I left the county attorney's office in Billings in 1952, I went into practice with a lawyer by the name of Melvin Hoiness, who was very prominent in Republican politics in Yellowstone County and in eastern Montana and had served in the legislature earlier on as a Republican, of course, from Yellowstone. He had run for Congress in 1940. Melvin was a great friend of Hugo's. Melvin was a transportation lawyer, among other things, and had represented Hugo. When Hugo decided that he wanted to run for governor, Melvin was one of the people who urged him to go forward with the campaign and was very instrumental in his election so that during the course of that campaign, because I was a partner of Melvin's, I was privy to a fair degree of knowledge about the way the campaign was run and so forth.

One of the things about Hugo that I always remember is that he would, in campaigning, just get in the car and he'd drive the car himself. He'd go down the highway and cut across country roads and whatever and if he saw a guy out in the field working a farm, he'd just stop his car and get out and walk across the field and shake hands. He became renowned for that. It was of the things that assisted him in his openness or whatever with the people in campaigning in Montana and later as governor. He was not a person that was difficult to meet, not a person that was difficult to get an appointment with. He was just an all-around good executive, good governor, and a good person to deal with the general public.

BB: I remember once you told me a story, and it's a conversation we had two or three years ago, I think, about—perhaps you were a legislator at the time—when the governor's house was over near Last Chance Gulch.

JA: The old Governor's Mansion.

BB: The old Governor's Mansion. And I think you said you went over there to talk to Governor Aronson and he was up in the attic or something.

JA: Well, this was in 19—either '57 or '59. I'm sorry, that's wrong—in 1961.

BB: He must have been leaving office in '61.

JA: No, no, wait a minute. It was either '57 or '59, that's right. In those days, the Department of Revenue was known as—

BB: The Department of Equalization?

JA: The State Board of Equalization. He had a friend who was an automobile dealer in Glendive that he had appointed as chairman of the State Board of Equalization. Those appointments, of course, were subject to Senate confirmation. As chairman of the State Board of Equalization, that individual was instrumental in starting a program by the State Board of Equalization to reassess property across the state of Montana. Property valuations varied so significantly at that point in time that actually the method of assessing taxes was based upon property values established by your local county assessor, who was a buddy of yours and whatever. It was really a sham. This individual realized that and promoted the idea of a complete reassessment. The ranchers and farmers and whatever in Montana were not very happy about that particular program and so when the reappointment of him was submitted to the state Senate by Governor Aronson, that of course was looked and surveyed by the state Senate, which in those days were what we called a bunch of boots. The state Senate was always liberally sprinkled with ranchers and farmers, particularly cattle ranchers.

BB: Because this was before the Supreme Court decision in the middle 1960s that required that both houses of legislatures be apportioned on the basis of population. So you had 56 senators and you had the little rural counties all represented equally as the big counties and so a lot of ranchers were members of the little counties.

JA: Right. Anyway, at about two o'clock in the afternoon the state Senate turned down the appointment of—refused to confirm Hugo's appointment.

BB: Do you remember the guy's name?

JA: I'm just trying to recollect it but I can't for the moment. But maybe it'll pop up. At the same time, on the floor of the House, which is where I served, we were having some real difficulties on some tax bills and we needed to talk to the governor immediately and we needed a message from the governor sent down to the House with regard to the governor's position on this tax legislation. We were a minority, Republicans, in that session of the legislature, a significant minority. But we managed to get a recess and I was the majority whip on the floor of the House and I took off—

BB: You mean minority whip, don't you?

JA: Or, minority whip. And took off to see the governor. I went down to the governor's office and he wasn't there. So I asked where he was and he was at home. And so I said I had to see him and it was a matter of extreme importance. They said, "Well, we don't think it would be a good idea for you to go and see the governor. He's not in a very good mood," and explained to me what had happened in the Senate. We hadn't heard that yet. Well, we had to get this thing straightened out so I got in the car and took off and went over to the old Governor's Mansion and I got there and his wife answered the

door and I said I had to see Hugo. And of course I knew both she and Hugo very well and she said, "Jerry, I don't think you want to see him."

And I said, "Well, I've got to."

She said, "Well, he's upstairs in the attic."

I said, "Up in the attic? What's he doing in the attic?"

She said, "He is mad. He just wants to be alone and doesn't want to be bothered."

So I said, "Well, I've got to see him."

So she said, "Okay, you can take your chances if you want to."

So I went upstairs to the top living floor and there was a ladder from that up into the attic and I went up that staircase or ladder and here's Hugo sitting over in the corner and I could tell he was fuming. He saw me come up. My head, of course, came up through the floor first and he said, "What you doing here?" So I started to explain to him and he told me he didn't want to talk to me. I argued with him, which was probably not something that people normally did. Finally, after about five or ten minutes of conversation, we got down to business and got the business taken care of.

But it was typical of him that when he would get mad—and he had this Swedish temper that some Swedes have—he'd get away from everybody and go someplace by himself until he got over the temper tantrum or whatever it was that he was experiencing. But he was very mad when I got up there and he was an individual when he was mad he looked mad. I very much remember that incident.

BB: Now you were first elected to the legislature in the election of '54?

JA: Fifty-four, right.

BB: What motivated you to run?

JA: I had run for county attorney in 1952. By religion I'm a Roman Catholic and in those days in Yellowstone County, the Masonic organizations were pretty much in control of the Republican Party structure and in turn the county, Yellowstone County, was pretty much a Republican county. I was defeated in the primary in that election by an individual who was very instrumental in activities in the Shrine and the Masonic order and whatever. So that, I thought, took care of what little dabbling I'd done in the way of running for political office. I left the county attorney's office that summer of '52 and went in with Melvin Hoiness in the practice of law.

In 1954 I continued participating actively in Republican politics, however, and Melvin, my partner, who as I said had been very active in politics, was on the state executive committee of the Republican Party. He contracted leukemia in December of 1952 and died ultimately in August of 1953. I was appointed to succeed him, even though I was much, much younger and so forth, on the state executive committee of the Republican Party and took over that slot and continued on that for quite a long period of time.

In 1954, a group of people from the Masonic lodge came to me and asked me to run for the legislature. I looked at them and I said, "You guys are crazy."

They said, "No, you go ahead and run and we'll support you." So I did and I was elected to the legislature and I served in the '55, '57, '59, '61 sessions and I was majority floor leader in 1961.

BB: Now of course, Jerry, this was during a period when the Anaconda Company was a pretty important influence in state politics. I guess when we read about the Anaconda Company or talk about the Anaconda Company somehow or other somehow or other during this period of time the distinction between the Anaconda Company and Montana Power Company becomes blurred. I don't know whether that's accurate or not, actually. Do you have any thoughts or impressions about that? Sometimes when people refer to "The Company," they could mean either/or.

JA: There was a schism developed between the Anaconda Company and the Montana Power Company—

BB: In the '50s?

JA: In the '50s. By the time the 1961 session of the legislature came about, they had two separate lobbying organizations, two separate facilities. And that was true, I think—if I remember correctly—in 1959. Bob Corette sort of continued to be in a way instrumental in working with both the Power Company and the Anaconda Company, but his principal responsibilities were sort of aligned with the Power Company. At this point in time, George O'Connor was really kind of the lead lobbyist for the Power Company, particularly in 1961. There was George O'Connor and there was Bill Coldiron.

BB: Boo McGillivray?

JA: Boo McGillivray and whatever. The Anaconda Company had Lloyd Crippen and Glen Carney, Al Wilkinson was there in '55 off and on. In '57 once in a while.

BB: Lloyd Crippen?

JA: Well, Al Wilkinson still came to Helena occasionally. By this time Al had started working in Washington, D.C., so he wasn't around all of the time. But he was in and out once in a while. Lloyd Crippen started his lobbying career for the Anaconda Company in the 1955 session. I'll always remember. That, of course, was my first session and on the morning of the first day of the session—which usually the session starts at noon when you get sworn in—I got out to the legislature early in the morning and went to the desk that had been assigned to me and there was already a pile of stuff on the desk and papers and whatever what were things that demanded attention. And so I was starting to go through these things and do some work and I was trying to be very assiduous and look as though I was working, anyway.

This guy came along and stopped in front of my desk and turned around and sort of half-sat on the front end of my desk and held his hand out and said, "My name is Lloyd Crippen. I'm with the Anaconda Company and I'll be seeing you during the session. I represent them and if you need any assistance, why, just call on me." So I said, "Well, the first thing you can do is get your rear end off my desk." (Laughs). And that started a long-time friendship. Many times during the legislature when I served in the legislature, and then as I lobbied afterwards I took positions that were contrary to the company and contrary to Crip on various issues, but we had a long-standing friendship that is still blooming and getting along in good shape. We've always got along just fine.

BB: Now we mentioned George O'Connor, and O'Connor, I think, had been the Speaker of the House at one time.

JA: Yes, was the Speaker of the House back in the late '40s, I think, for several sessions. Was a giant in the legislature and a giant as a lobbyist. Was a very, very capable person who had, I think, just a high school education but had a giant brain and was very, very effective one way or the other. He wanted to go to Congress was his big ambition. He tried to get himself aligned to get to Congress back in the '40s, as I remember, and was unsuccessful with it and I think to some extent because of the—when you're a person in politics that wields a great deal of power, you obviously make many friends, but you also make some enemies. I think that in all probability the latter group managed to scuttle his congressional aspirations. As it so turned out, of course, he became a contractor and then did some pipeline. If I remember correctly, contracting for the Montana Power Company sort of got him associated with the Power Company people again and he then went into their organization and ultimately went up to the top to where he became the president of the company and the C.E.O. Did a great job. He was very, very effective.

BB: Did you remember any experiences with him in the legislature or as a lobbyist?

JA: Oh yes. Generally, when I was in the legislature, it was in leadership in one particular position or another. So I had a lot of contact with the people that lobbied. My

recollection of him was that he was not a hard sell kind of guy. He was a soft sell. When he would talk to you about a bill or something that had to do with what was going on in the legislature, he was extremely well prepared, he knew the subject backwards and forwards, he gave you both sides of the issues. He was a good salesman. But he didn't ever—at least certainly in my experience with him—in any way mislead you with regard to the issues or whatever and people respected him because of that and he was very effective.

BB: During that same time, Bill Kirkpatrick was the lobbyist for the Anaconda Company.

JA: Right, and was a great guy. Kirk really didn't do any direct lobbying per se. He was in charge of what was going on over here as far as ultimately, in the latter period of time that he was around the legislature in Montana, on behalf of the Anaconda Company. I always remember that he disliked being at the legislature. He disliked lobbying. He didn't go to the legislature. He stayed in the company offices here in Helena and directed other people that did the lobbying. He had an ulcer in those days and the legislature just drove his ulcer crazy. He just hated it. I always thought it was an anomaly when he came back after he left the Anaconda Company and retired and went in with the lumber industry that he suddenly liked lobbying and liked the legislature and liked being around here. He was a marvelous person and was certainly an asset to the Anaconda Company. No question about it.

I used to see him—I was, in the early and mid-'60s, did a lot of work that involved me going back to New York City a great deal with a large law firm there in New York. When I'd go back to New York, I'd go see Kirk, who was then in the offices, the company offices, down on Broad Street in the Cunard Building. He was anxious to get back to Montana and of course was doing a good job in his position there in New York and that's why he was there. But he always talked about getting back to Montana, getting back to home. He just didn't like New York and didn't like the New York method of doing business and so forth.

BB: Now, Boo McGillivray, Jerry, was with the Montana Power Company, so he would have been an associate of George O'Connor. And he is apparently a—I met him only once and had a wonderful conversation with him and he struck me as a very interesting and powerful character. Most everybody's got a Boo McGillivray story. Do you have one?

JA: Well, not a particular story, perhaps, but you know he started with the circus. That's how he got going as far as his career was concerned. I don't know how he graduated from the circus to the Montana Power Company but he did anyway. Somehow or another he slithered through and got into the Power Company operations. He was the type of lobbyist that always had a side pocket in his suit full of legislative bills and whatever and he was the kind of guy that came around and said, "We need your vote"

and he didn't mess around with a lot of explanation or whatever. He just said, "We want your vote and this is the way you should vote because this is the right thing to do." And that's about the way Boo handled things. He always had all kinds of stories. He was a great storyteller. He could sit down at eight o'clock in the morning and keep 10 people laughing or he could sit down at midnight and keep 10 people laughing. His wife was a great gal and a great asset to him and she was here all the time during the legislative session and participated with him in the activities of the legislature and so forth. She didn't go up and lobby but she was around every evening and was equally as entertaining as he was, and he was very, very entertaining.

BB: Do you remember any of his stories?

JA: No, I don't. He used to tell stories about his days in the circus and he had a lot of stories. He was a great favorite of the ranchers, the boots, in the state Senate and he could tell cowboy stories and whatever until it froze over. He was just that kind of guy.

BB: Let me ask you too, before we leave this general subject area—the Anaconda Company was well known for its hospitality room. Any thoughts, any experiences with that? It was in the Placer Hotel here.

JA: Well, to begin with, when I went to the legislature in 1955, there were a group of us from Yellowstone County that served, most of us, on a continuing basis for at least two sessions, many of them, and three or four sessions. Eastern Montana was not under the influence of the company to the extent that western Montana was. One of the reasons for that was the ascendancy of the oil and gas industry in the eastern part of the state. The company found it to their interest to keep the metal mines tax as low as possible, and any tax that affected their production. So when the need for additional revenues developed, one of the targets was the developing oil and gas industry. That led to sort of a schism between western Montana and eastern Montana and a difference of opinion as to the Anaconda Company among people from the two parts of the state. And that's a division that probably still exists today.

So when we came to the legislature, one of the things that we, as relatively young, for those days, legislators—when I went to the legislature in 1955 I was 34 years old and I was considered to be a young guy, a real young guy. Today, you know, they're 20 years old or 21 years old or whatever. But there were a group of us that were of that age level from eastern Montana and none of us wanted to be known as having the copper collar around our neck. So we didn't spend all kinds of time up at the Anaconda Company bastion in the Placer Hotel. We might go up there once a week or something like that and stick around for a little bit just to listen and see what's going on, but we spent a lot of time at the Montana Club or whatever.

If we went to the Placer we'd go up and have a roast beef sandwich. They always had a big baron of beef up there every night, along with turkey and so forth. Actually, you could go up there and have dinner, in effect. I mean, they had everything but the kitchen sink to eat. And, of course, beverages of all kinds. They didn't lobby you, per se. I knew that on occasion they might segregate a guy or something and if the fellow wanted to talk to him and so forth and sit down some place and maybe talk a little legislation, but basically they didn't. It was sort of a social hour more than anything else, which of course engendered a spirit of friendship between the company and the people there. You have to remember that when I went to the legislature in 1955, our pay was ten bucks a day, so if you could get a free meal, that was sort of beneficial to an awful lot of people in the legislature (laughs).

The Placer Hotel had facilities. I guess it was the sixth floor or the fourth floor or whatever—the top floor, I guess it was, was the Anaconda Company facility, which was about half of the whole area of that floor of the hotel. Then the floor below that was the Montana Power Company lobbying room. And then the floor below that—and these were smaller facilities than the Anaconda's—was the railroad room. And the railroad room was run by Bill Jameson, who was an attorney from Billings who had served in the legislature as a Republican and was becoming senior partner of the largest law firm in Billings and in Montana in those days. Ultimately became a federal judge and president of the American Bar Association. And then the bankers had a facility there.

BB: Were they similar? I mean, would you get hors d'oeuvres and cocktails and that sort of thing?

JA: Well, the railroad room, the bankers' room, and the Montana Power Company facilities were not as lavish as the Anaconda Company. Sort of in grade you'd say the Anaconda Company was tops and the Power Company was next and then was the railroad lobby and then the banking lobby. So when we went there we'd hit all four of them and spend maybe an hour to an hour and a quarter in the hotel upstairs going through the whole thing, picking up tidbits of information as we could, and then go downstairs to the Cheerio Lounge and have a couple of drinks and go to the Montana Club, maybe, and eat dinner and whatever. Or traipse up and down or go over to Tracy's and have a drink and sing with the guy that played the piano.

Actually, the legislature in those days and in a period until the '70s was a great place to be. The people in Helena loved to have the legislature in town as compared to what it is today. They don't pay any attention to the legislature anymore and they don't really want them around even though they bring a lot of money into the town. I just don't understand it. But the people in Helena opened their homes to the legislators, entertained them. There were always cocktail parties on the weekends and so forth and dinners of various kinds put on by people that really didn't have any association with the

legislature from the standpoint of lobbying and everything but were just glad to be host to people from out of town.

Of course, the sessions were different because they only lasted 60 days and it wasn't 60 legislative days, it was 60 days. So the legislators came to town, stayed generally over the weekends—because we worked all day Saturdays and sometimes on Sunday—and they didn't bring families with them. So in the evening there was a lot of social life. And to some extent, I think that was very beneficial from the standpoint of the legislature in general. Today, of 100 people in the House, for instance, I'd guess that 50 percent of them or more have never met all of the other people in the House. They have no idea what the other people are like, how they think, or whatever.

In the days that I served in the legislature and during the '60s and to some extent in the '80s—the early '80s and middle '80s—the social life allowed people to get together and discuss legislation as legislator to legislator on a basis that wasn't confrontational as it is on the floor itself. I think this leads to a better understanding of the legislation and a better operation of the legislature itself. We used to fight, you know, us Republicans and Democrats, in the legislature or antagonists on various pieces of legislation mightily during the daytime, and then we'd all get together—Republicans and Democrats alike—and go down to Jester's and some place and talk it over that night and get it all straightened out. They don't do that anymore.

BB: Jester's and the Red Meadow and the Rialto and Cheerio Lounge were kind of the—

JA: Across the street from the Placer there were three bars, one upstairs and two downstairs on the street. You know, it was kind of like—in the evenings—somewhat like when I was in the Marine Corps flying in the South Pacific. We went down to Sydney on R&R for ten days when you'd come back for a combat tour up in the Solomons, back to the rest area. We used to pub crawl and that's exactly what we did in Helena in the evenings, went from place to place.

BB: And obtained information, I bet, from different people in the process of doing so. And the so-called watering holes that you mentioned at the Placer were key stops along the way of accomplishing that. The legislators in the process, many of them, of doing that got to know each other better socially and those personal relationships kind of greased the gears of politics I'm sure.

JA: Oh yes, and you made friends. There was a guy by the name of [Jack] McAndrews from Anaconda that served in the legislature in the '50s with me. He was an iron worker and he was not only an iron worker but he was high in the Iron Workers Union here in Montana. In those days, and until I retired from my practice in Billings, I did a lot of labor law for management across the United States, including in Montana. I was a transportation lawyer of some renown in the U.S. and among other things did a great

deal of labor relations work for the transportation industry—trucking industry, primarily—and represented Consolidated Freightways in their labor stuff west of the Mississippi River and whatever. But therefore I got into positions which were very confrontational with the Teamsters Union.

Sometimes those guys were good guys and sometimes they were tough guys. I remember one night McAndrews, who was, of course, a leading Democrat in the House—I went down to Tracy's to have a drink and I started walking in the door at Tracy's and McAndrews saw me coming in and he said, "Jerry, you've got to get out of here.

I said, "What's going on?"

He said, "There are two Teamsters from Billings here. They're waiting for you. They've got a couple of other guys. I've almost had a fight with them already and you've got to leave."

And I said, "Hell, nobody's going to keep me from walking in here if I want to walk in." I was a little too brave for myself, I think, and I went in. Just as he said, it developed into a confrontational situation and McAndrews got me out of there and I've always—I thanked him profusely at that time and I've always remembered him for it. But that was the way we were in those days. We were all members of the legislature and whether Republicans or Democrats we liked each other and we got along.

BB: Jerry, I'm going to mention some names in that regard of legislators who come up in other interviews and who have come up—I've just heard about. And maybe you can just comment your recollections about each one of them if you have recollections about them, just kind of briefly. A legislator that served during that period of time, John MacDonald, Speaker of the House.

JA: Johnny MacDonald, yes. He was from Jordan, as I remember, which is a small pimple on the earth of Montana up in the middle part of the state. Had a real red, ruddy complexion. Was a bit of a firebrand. Nice guy.

BB: Liberal, Farmers Union kind of a guy. He was a firebrand. He was a partisan Democrat?

JA: A partisan Democrat. I wouldn't characterize him in my recollection as being a liberal Farmers Union type, but he was a firebrand Democrat. He ultimately was Speaker in '59 and that was the session when we had 32 Republicans and Sumner Gerard was the floor leader—minority floor leader, for the Republicans and I was the whip. We decided prior to the session that we were going to make a record that would lead to taking the majority structure and putting it in the hands of the Republicans in the next election,

which we did. We accomplished that. But at the very beginning of the session we decided that we would contest the feed bill, House Bill 1, I guess it is. So when the feed bill came on the floor for the second reading in debate, we got up and attacked it as being unconstitutional because it called for an appropriation that put the state in a position that it shouldn't be in. In other words, it was deficit spending involved. MacDonald was the Speaker and it threw him for some reason or another and they pulled the bill off second reading. Now there were only 32 Republicans. All they had to do was pass the bill.

BB: Couldn't even get a rule suspension with just 32. The Democrats could suspend the rules.

JA: Yes, and so the net result was that we continued this attack on the feed bill and my recollection is we had the feed bill tied up for four days, I think it was. Course you had attaches and secretaries that had to be paid and you had members of the legislature that had to be paid and nobody was getting paid and there was a lot of grumbling going on the Democrat side of the floor and the attaches. In those days you had a lot more secretaries and whatever than you had today because there were no computers and all that sort of thing.

So I always remember that there was a little Democrat legislator by the name of [William] Glancy from Roundup. He was a Scotchman, a great Scotch brogue. He was born and raised in Scotland. He was a miner from over in Klein or Roundup. And he had the seat in the back row in the Democrats' side right by—there's a little small room on the right hand side of the back aisle there, which was the minority floor leader's office in those days. We kept a bottle of scotch in the filing cabinet there because we knew Glancy liked his scotch and he could have a little nip now and then when he wanted it. He was kind of a friend of ours, we liked him.

Anyway, on the last day of our effort with regard to the feed bill, Glancy came in and as the House went into session he slammed his drawer shut and I looked back there and he had everything packed up. He got up and he got recognized by the Speaker on a point of personal privilege and he said, "I'm out of here. No pay, no work; no pay, no pay, no work. I'm through." So he picked up his briefcase. He had a couple of them, I guess, and started out in the lobby and started out of the capitol.

I ran back and got him and I said, "For Lord's sake, Glancy, don't leave! This thing is going to go forward. You've just got to wait."

He said, "I'm not going to wait anymore. That's it." So in any event, that afternoon, after Glancy did his little dance, MacDonald finally figured out that maybe they could go ahead and pass the bill and so they passed the feed bill and sent it on to the Senate. But

we had them all tied up and I never could figure out what MacDonald was thinking of because all he had to do was just run the thing through.

BB: Sure, yes. Definitely had the horses to do it.

JA: Absolutely.

BB: Now Jerry, in that same session, the 1959 session, there was an issue involving a legislator from up in the Flathead Valley by the name of Cy Tonner and it had to do with public utility districts.

JA: Oh yes, PUDs.

BB: I think that was a hot issue, it turned out to be, in the 1960 campaign. What do you remember about that?

JA: Well, I remember the PUD issue as being a continuing issue through the last several sessions that I served in the legislature. I guess it was the '61 session when we had the real effort and—

BB: Of course the Republicans had the majority in '61, right?

JA: Yes, right.

BB: Didn't the Democrats have the majority?

JA: It was the '59 session.

BB: I think that was when PUDs were an issue.

JA: Yes, '59 session. There was a committee hearing on a PUD bill or a couple of PUD bills, I guess. There were a group of people from western Montana and from eastern Washington who were pushing the PUD stuff and so they had the public hearing, the committee hearing, on the floor of the House—not during a session, but of course it was a committee hearing. The legislature, the House chambers, were loaded for that hearing. I'll always remember that. The galleries were full. The floor was full of the public and whatever, both people that supported and people that didn't. The IBEW [International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers] opposed PUDs and their opposition was based upon the fact that apparently PUDs in Washington did not have union contracts with their workers and that, of course, was not something that the IBEW could endorse. The AFL-CIO had endorsed PUDs, as I remember. There was a sort of a unified effort by AFL-CIO, the Farmers Union, and various people from western Montana in favor of PUDs. In any event, it was a very hot issue.

BB: PUDs are, as I understand them, the idea would be that the electrical power system would be transferred from an investor-owned system to a public-owned system.

JA: PUD was public utility district and you formed public utility districts. They still have them over in Washington, a few of them.

BB: Are they like a co-op?

JA: Pretty much, yes.

BB: Apparently there was some power condemnation inherent in this idea.

JA: Exactly.

BB: Yes, okay.

JA: Right. Of course the Montana Power Company and the Montana Dakota Utilities Company—the two utilities in Montana—were very much opposed to them and the IBEW was in opposition. I remember particularly that the verbiage and the activity during the course of that hearing got very, very bitter and I can remember that we almost had a physical confrontation between the IBEW people and the AF of L. There was some physical confrontation involved, pushing and shoving. It was close to getting into an uncontrollable situation—very, very, very, very hot.

The only other hearing of like bitterness and heat was the milk board hearing on a milk bill in '61, another one where we had a huge, big—there was a committee hearing in the House itself and it was packed by those who took one side of the issue in regard to the milk and those who took the other side and it was actually an effort by local dairy people to put an impediment in—a tax or something—with regard to milk importations into Montana by the large grocery companies like Albertson's and so forth. And that was a very hot hearing—big time. But yes, PUDs were a big issue.

BB: They became an election year issue in 1960 too and worked to the benefit of the Republicans against the Democrats.

JA: Exactly.

BB: Just a couple of other legislators. Jim Battin was a member of the legislature about this time and Ted Schwinden and Tom Judge, all during this same general period. Tim Babcock.

JA: Jim Battin served in '59 and I think in '57. I'm not sure whether he had one or two terms. Ted Schwinden, of course, he was the minority whip in 1961, I think. He was minority whip in either the '59 or the '61 session. Tim Babcock served in the '53 and '55 sessions. Tim Babcock, of course, is a long-time friend of mine and a former client.

BB: I think Tim came back in '59, too, didn't he, Jerry?

JA: He came back in '59, that's correct.

BB: But interestingly you've got Jim Battin, who became a congressman, Ted Schwinden, who became governor, Tom Judge, who became governor, Tim Babcock, who became governor, and I don't know that all four were ever in the same session but the four of them, most of them, were either in the '59 or '61 session.

JA: Tom Judge came into the '61 session. He was raised in Helena and went to school at Notre Dame. Graduated, I guess, in journalism, and then went with a Louisville newspaper in Kentucky. Decided, I guess, that he wanted to come back to Montana and go into the public relations business ultimately. I think he may have worked with one or two other newspapers also prior to coming back here. But in any event, he came back here not too long after he graduated from Notre Dame and he'd been gone from Montana for a number of years in school at Notre Dame and then in his employment in Kentucky and wherever else. He was the first candidate that I ever heard of that walked his constituency to get elected. He filed for office to run for the House. Didn't pay any attention to the residency requirements. Went out and walked. Helena, which had pretty much been a Republican bastion in the legislature up to this point, elected him. In those days we ran on a county-wide basis, not single-member districts. And he led the ticket.

BB: But there was some question about whether he met the residency requirements.

JA: So when we convened—of course I had been elected floor leader and Clyde Hawks had been elected Speaker. The Republican contingents, the Republican legislators from Lewis and Clark County were mad because he led the ticket and they wanted to prevent his being seated based upon his lack of residency. There was a question about the residency requirement, whether or not his period of time as a student in Notre Dame affected the residency situation and should be handled like it normally is, that if you're away at school you still remain a resident, that sort of thing. But in any event, the question was raised and it did appear that maybe he didn't fit the legal requirements. So the Lewis and Clark people came to me and wanted him de-seated. Meanwhile, over in the Senate there was a senator from—

BB: Jim Shaw.

JA: Jim Shaw from Dawson County. His ranch was located across the county line— Dawson and Wibaux County. The ranch traversed the lines but the house was in Wibaux County. But he was elected from Dawson County. So the Democrats came to me and said, “Well, we want Judge to be seated and we’ll cut a deal with you. You’ll seat Judge, we’ll seat Shaw in the Senate.” The Senate was majority Democrats. So I started in a situation where the question was whether we were going to keep two guys out of the legislature or we cut a deal and put them both in. Technically, each of them had a leg up to get in and at least it was a 50-50 situation as to the legality. So I finally convinced the Republicans in Lewis and Clark County that we ought to let Judge sit and so he did sit in the House and Shaw sat in the Senate. For doing that, Judge became sort of beholden to me and he and I have been good friends ever since (laughs). But there was a period of about a week at the beginning of the ’61 session when my life was troubled by this ongoing battle in Lewis and Clark County.

BB: Would you have imagined that Tom Judge would have become governor early on?

JA: Yes, I thought he had probably a political future. You know, I didn’t immediately, but certainly as the session went along it was evident that he knew how to handle himself very well and he was well-spoken and he was smart enough to keep his mouth shut when he didn’t know anything. He wasn’t a guy that tried to become all things to all people all at once and that sort of thing. He was pretty sharp about the way he handled himself in ’61.

BB: How would you compare him to Ted Schwinden?

JA: Well, they were two different personalities. Ted Schwinden was a farmer and when I say rough I don’t mean rough rough. I mean, he had the mannerisms or whatever of somebody that comes off the farm to some extent. A little smoother than that, maybe, but clearly he was not an urban person. Tom Judge dressed well, was well-spoken, was very friendly, and was not a.. —in the ’61 session was not a highly partisan individual. Schwinden, of course, when he was in the legislature, was very partisan. He was very liberal. Schwinden was very, very liberal in the legislature. They were two different types of personalities and it always amazed me that they managed to run together and get along through a campaign because of the difference in the personalities in the two of them.

BB: But that difference maybe materialized later when Schwinden challenged Judge.

JA: Oh, absolutely.

BB: You know, I found it curious too that in the other interviews I’ve heard the same comparison that you’ve just given, that Schwinden was probably the most partisan liberal of the two as legislators. Yet when you look them as governor, Judge was

supposedly governor during the second progressive era. He signed many of the very liberal environmental laws into effect. And Schwinden was governor during the '80s, during the somewhat more conservative era. And he has a reputation at least as a fiscal conservative as a governor. So there was kind of an interesting change there, and maybe more the result of circumstances. A couple more—Jim Battin.

JA: Jim was very ambitious, was clearly headed in a political career. When he started practicing law in Billings he managed to—I say managed to—he became city attorney and used that position to foster himself in the political structure in Yellowstone County. In those days Yellowstone County was a bellwether of the Republican Party and of eastern Montana. We had two congressional districts, so if you got a good vote out of Yellowstone County, you were going to go a long ways in the political structure because if you got the vote out of Yellowstone County you'd carry the Yellowstone Valley all the way down the river.

In 1960 the question developed, who was going to run for Congress on the Republican ticket and there were three people that were mentioned heavily for that race and that was myself and Rex Hibbs, who was a state senator, had been a state senator from Yellowstone County, and Battin. As time went by in the early spring of 1960, both Battin and Hibbs came over to see me and said that if I wanted to run for Congress they'd step aside and support me. It was something that you thought about and was attractive but I was a lawyer who had to maintain a law practice and had responsibilities with the family and that sort of thing. In those days, a congressman was not the recipient of the greatest stipend in the world. Looking at everything, I decided that I didn't want to do it. Hibbs stepped out of the way and Battin went ahead and ran and we all got behind him and he got elected.

Meanwhile, I was not going to run for the legislature again in 1960 and the party wanted me to run and possibly become Speaker—the legislators and whatever. But I didn't file and finally Jim Haughey, who was a lawyer in Billings and a lobbyist for the oil and gas industry for years prior to that, came over on the last day for filing and said, "You've got to file. There's just no question about it." In those days you filed at the local county courthouse, which was a block away from the office. He said, "We'll just walk over there and we'll get you filed. I'll pay your filing fee," which was 15 bucks or something like that.

I said, "No, I'm not going to do it."

He said, "You have to do it."

I said, "If you're so happy about somebody filing for the legislature, why don't you run?"

"Oh," he said, "I can't do that."

I said, “Why not? You say I have to and I say I can’t—why don’t you file?”

He said, “Well, I just can’t do it.”

I said, “Well, I’ll tell you what I’ll do. I’ll go over to the courthouse with you and I’ll file if you’ll file.”

So we both filed and we both served in the legislature together in the ’61 session and he stayed on and became a state senator and whatever, then went back to his law practice again.

BB: It turned out you were majority leader then in the ’61 session.

JA: Right, I didn’t want to be Speaker. I didn’t want to get off the floor. I liked being on the floor where the action is and that’s what I wanted.

BB: So Clyde Hawks was a veteran then became—

JA: Then he became the Speaker. He was a good Speaker.

BB: Jim Umber.

JA: Oh yes. Jim Umber was, of course, head of the AFL-CIO and was a typical old-time labor guy. He was one of the people during the PUD committee hearing that I was telling you about that was so obstreperous. He was a tough cookie and he ran the union with an iron hand and he ran those people in the legislature that were allied with the union people with an iron hand. If you thought the Anaconda Company wielded a stick around there, Umber did too—big time. He was outwardly, at least, operating in opposition to the company—both the Power Company and the Anaconda Company, along with the mine, mill, and smelter union people. They were very, very active, extremely active in the legislature.

BB: High profile (unintelligible).

JA: Very high profile.

BB: Was Jim Murry in the picture at that point?

JA: Jim Murry was in Laurel at that point in time and was a local union—I think he was a shop steward at the refinery or something like that and was active in Democrat politics in Yellowstone County. Ultimately, he succeeded Umber and he was tough—not in the same sense. He ran the AFL-CIO with an iron hand and was very, very evident and very,

very active as a lobbyist and in the legislative activities and political activities, but he was smoother than Umber and was a very effective advocate for the unions.

BB: Mel Engles.

JA: Mel Engles, the big Indian from northeastern Montana. One of the most effective executive directors of the Republican Party we've ever had in Montana. He was a kind of a bull of the woods type of guy who—I can remember he'd call me up at nine o'clock in the morning on morning X and say, "We're running out of money in the kitty up here. We've got to get our salaries paid and whatever. So I want you to get me five thousand dollars from some contributors down there in the next 72 hours."

I'd say, "Are you kidding?"

He'd say, "I'm not kidding and if you don't do it I'm coming down and see to it that you do it."

So I'd gather together a couple of other guys and we'd go out and we'd pass the hat and get some money for Mel.

He had a great innate political sense. He understood what the general public was thinking. He spent a lot of time traveling around talking to people and that's the way you find out what's going on in politics—you get out of Helena and go out and talk to cab drivers and people on the street and bartenders and your next door neighbor's wife and see what's really cooking. He had the great affinity for doing that. He also was able to establish relationships with people on the other side of the political spectrum—Democrats and whatever. He could weasel information out of them very effectively. He knew everybody and he was very good. He was easy to get along with but very demanding. And when you had campaigns going and so forth, he was right in there with his sleeves rolled up and really went to work.

BB: Jerry we're about at the end of this tape. I'll mention one more name. I think we've got about maybe two minutes left on the tape or thereabouts. Harriet Miller.

JA: Harriet started out as the shining star for the Republican Party as superintendent of public instruction and was a person that the Republicans thought perhaps had a substantial political future. But as time went by she got crosswise with the party and her philosophy with regard to educational funding and so forth was not the same as the party structure and so she sort of ultimately was gone by the wayside.

BB: There was a particular difficulty between Harriet Miller and Governor Don Nutter.

JA: (pauses) Nutter was not governor for a great length of time, but the difficulty was substantial, and it was not only Nutter, it was a difference in philosophy with regard to school funding and the needs of education. I always thought that she got trapped by some people that gave her bad advice and she got into difficulty.

BB: She ended up leaving the Republican Party.

JA: She left the Republican Party and Montana.

(Break in audio)

BB: Beginning our third tape now with Jerome Anderson. Just want to ask you your thoughts and impressions about a few other legislators that you served with in the 1950s. Ory Armstrong.

JA: Ory Armstrong was the Republican minority floor leader in 1955 when I started serving in the legislature. He was from Kalispell and was a very effective floor leader. Ran a good floor. Was not a great orator but had a lot of good common street sense and political sense and really was a person that I admired. He was particularly kindly to me as a new legislator. Was easy to get along with. Was not a great conversationalist but was just a great guy. I liked him very much. The Speaker of the House was Leo Graybill Senior, from Great Falls.

That leads us to another name that you've got on the list was Merv Dempsey. As we started the session, Graybill was a real martinet. He and Ory didn't seem to like each other very well. Ory didn't have any problem standing up to Graybill and really going after Graybill. But Graybill announced that on the floor of the House everybody had to have a shirt and a tie and a suit on to be—even though they were a member they wouldn't be admitted on the floor unless they were properly dressed. Well, Dempsey was from Butte and was a big man, had a bull neck. I would guess that he would have had to have a shirt size of 18 or 20 to be able to wear a dress shirt. He had a huge, big stomach and was broad shouldered and a pretty good-sized guy.

He didn't like Graybill at all and so Dempsey came to the legislature the following morning with a red sports shirt on and a coat, a sport coat, and a pair of slacks and stood by his desk and Graybill singled him out, called him up to the well of the House and told him he had to leave until he was properly dressed. Dempsey said to Graybill that because of the size of his neck and so forth he couldn't get his shirt and that's all he could wear was a sport shirt. Graybill told him he had to go and get himself put together correctly or he wouldn't be admitted to the floor anymore. So Dempsey went over and sat down at this desk and stayed there that day. The following day he showed up with another red shirt on and also a sport coat that was mainly red in color. He didn't even sit down at his desk. He stood by one of the pillars on the side of the floor by his desk and

stood there all through the session so that Graybill could see him. Well, Graybill didn't do one more thing to him.

But there was another guy on the floor who was a Republican by the name of [Allyn] O'Hair. He was very tastefully dressed the day that Graybill made his announcement. A very good-looking Irish tweed sport coat, a western style shirt but with a tie—he was a rancher from near Livingston—and a pair of Levis and boots. But clean and the Levis were pressed and whatever. When Graybill made his announcement he pointedly also said that there would be no Levis allowed in the House chambers. With that, O'Hair got up and slammed his desk drawer shut and left and never returned for the balance of the session.

BB: Literally never came back?

JA: Right. That's my recollection. Graybill was a real martinet. He was a little czar and he was not liked particularly. It amazed me he got elected Speaker because he wasn't really liked particularly on his side of the floor. Certainly wasn't liked on our side of the floor. Was very difficult to get along with.

BB: Now he was a lawyer from Great Falls and he was the father of the fellow who then later was the president of the Constitutional Convention.

JA: That's correct.

BB: Gene Mahoney.

JA: Gene Mahoney was an attorney from Superior, I think. One of those two towns up there in the western part of the state.

BB: Thompson Falls.

JA: Thompson Falls, that's right. We became very good friends, very close friends. He was the floor leader in '55, the majority floor leader, when Armstrong was the minority floor leader. Was a very effective legislator. Was, I would say, a moderate Democrat. He had a marvelous wife and she came to the legislature and stayed here with him. He had a very even temperament. Was one of those people that we'd battle back and forth in the daytime, and then we'd all go down and have a beer at night together. He was just a very, very good guy. I really liked him. He was Speaker the following session.

BB: Jake Frank.

JA: Jake was a firebrand that was from Laurel, outside of Laurel [Park City]. He was a farm-rancher outside of Laurel. Was sort of the perpetual motion kind of guy. I always

got along fine with Jake but he was very, very partisan and pretty liberal. His wife [Ester] was much more conservative than he was and, in fact, in politics she lasted a lot longer than he did. She didn't ever hold office in my recollection, but she was very active in the Democratic Party.

BB: Fred Barrett.

JA: Fred was sort of an urbane kind of guy. Quiet, but very intelligent. He was very partisan but a little on the liberal side, I think. Was a nice guy. I did spend a lot of time with him. A friend of mine.

BB: Frank Hazelbaker.

JA: Hazelbaker and I were very, very close friends. His father and my father had been very close and both of them had run for election at one time in the same election cycle in a state-wide race. I can't remember what his dad ran for. I think maybe—

BB: Lieutenant governor.

JA: Lieutenant governor, right. But in any event, Frank and I did a lot of things together and continued to do so over the years. He served in the '61 session with us and was very instrumental in my becoming majority floor leader. Of course, he continued on in the legislature and went on to be a state senator. He was very active in Dillon in the Republican Party structure and, to a considerable extent, across Montana. He was a very effective legislator. Was a sort of a guy that knew how to get things done without making a big splash in connection with it. He just knew how to move around and get his proposals passed into law without making a big ruckus about it.

BB: Right on the tip of my tongue here and then he slipped my mind. Oh—Ray Wayrynen.

JA: Ray Wayrynen (laughs). Well, Ray was the Big Finn, we called him. Don't know if he was Finnish or not, but that's what we called him. He enjoyed the legislature mightily and was—well, there are a lot of stories about Ray Wayrynen. He enjoyed both the social life and the legislative life in the capital equally as well. There's a couple of things that I remember specifically about him.

When I was floor leader in '61 he was a Democrat legislator, and we had House Bill 2, which was the budget bill. Had been a subject of what we then called special orders of the day for a couple of days prior to a Sunday. On that particular Sunday, we went into session at two o'clock in the afternoon. We wanted to get the budget bill over to the Senate as rapidly as possible. We started debating the budget bill and in those days we didn't have the printing presses and everything else within the capitol. All of the printing

was done by a publishing company here in Helena and we worked off of sometimes mimeographed things and that sort of thing. The initial draft of a bill that you got on your desk was mimeographed and so forth. In any event, the bills had to be run down—the originals—from the capitol to the printing company to get printed and then brought back in loads to be distributed, and of course the original bill came back. That was the weekend of the Bobcat-Grizzly game in Bozeman, the Saturday night before that Sunday afternoon.

A gal by the name of [Madeline] Samson, who worked in the chief clerk's office, was the keeper of the bills and was responsible for the transmission of the bills back and forth. She and her husband, who was a banker at the Union Bank, lived in the house that O'Connell, who built the bakery, had had and then they'd bought it from him. He had put a safe in the house and so when she took the budget bill—unbeknownst to us—and took it home and put it in the safe for safekeeping and then left with Sam to go to the Bobcat-Grizzly game thinking they'd get back on Sunday morning and it had snowed and they couldn't get back. So we're working on the budget bill and all of a sudden Wayrynen got up on the floor and walked up to the chief clerk, or to the rostrum, and took a look and came back and he got up and got the Speaker's attention and objected to continuing our work on the budget bill because we didn't have the original bill with us in the House.

BB: How did he know that?

JA: I don't know, really. So I got up and went up there and here we had a mimeographed piece of paper. So I recessed the floor for 20 minutes and we took it in and we tried to find out where the bill was. We couldn't locate it and we couldn't locate Sammy, the gal that was responsible for it. So we fiddled around and finally I found a copy of the original bill, but it wasn't *the* original bill. So I made a deal with Wayrynen that—got him to agree and we worked off the non-original bill that day and amended a non-original bill and got it put together and finally got ahold of the original bill the following morning and we made arrangements to have what we had done put on the original bill and we got it all straightened out. But it was a kind of a harrowing moment and Wayrynen was just having a real riot. He thought it was the funniest thing in the world.

BB: He became Speaker of the House in '65.

JA: Ultimately, right.

BB: Now this was at the same period of time, I think, or maybe in the latter days of the same period of time when lobbyists wrote a lot of the legislation. It was kind of the beginning of the legislative council period, wasn't it?

JA: Right.

BB: Any thoughts or any observations or recollections of that?

JA: Well, the legislative council came into being in 19—

BB: Late '50s, I think. [Established by law in 1957.]

JA: Late '50s—'57 or '59. Prior to that, legislation was prepared by—they did have an attorney staff, small as it was, that did provide a service for legislators in bill drafting, but there were only one or two lawyers or something like that and the staff was so small that we really couldn't depend upon getting adequate service out of that if you had anything of consequence to be drafted. So legislation really was drafted either by the legislator himself or by some lawyer who was on the floor who would just go ahead and do it for them. Lord knows, I did a lot of that when I was in the legislature. Or they'd go to an attorney and have it drafted and then bring it in. My observation on it is that because of, I guess you'd call it some difficulty with regard to drafting, we didn't get inundated with the flood of stuff that we get today.

BB: Because it was more difficult to get a bill drafted. Legislators didn't get carried away with introducing 20 bills.

JA: Right.

BB: Whereas today all they've got to do is go down and it's like ordering a hamburger.

JA: Right, they don't have to even tell them what they want. All they do is say, I want a bill that involves the sales tax, and just leave it there. It's crazy the way they do it now, I think. One of the things about the system in those days was that legislation was not introduced unless it was a serious issue or a serious effort. Today, a legislator wants to have a record of introducing a lot of bills or bill requests, so they just throw a whole bunch of bill requests in so they've got their name down on a bunch of stuff. Well, they didn't do it in those days in that fashion. Some guys didn't even introduce legislation. I think we need to get back to some kind of a medium area between what we have today and what we had then. I think you need assistance, certainly, in bill drafting and the legislative services division provides a beneficial service in that regard, but it is so easy now that we get 2,500 or 2,200 bill requests, which is just unbelievable. A lot of that turns into legislation which is promptly disposed of by getting killed in committee. But each one of those bills costs the state a lot of money.

BB: And takes time.

JA: And takes time, that's correct.

BB: Walter Marshall.

JA: Well, a legend in his own time (laughs). Good old Walter.

BB: He was Secretary of the state Senate for some of the '60s and '70s, I think.

JA: He was in the chief clerk's office as assistant clerk and that sort of thing for a long time in the House. He was associated with the theater that he and his wife ran here in Helena. He and his brother were responsible for the installation—the sale to the state and the installation—of the first electronic voting machine, which we got in 1957. And then putting microphones and a loud speaker system throughout the House. We always felt that Walter had bugged all the committee rooms in the House and everything else. We were always looking for some place we could have a meeting that wasn't bugged (laughs).

He was certainly a very interesting individual. He had all the gall that anybody could ever imagine. The story goes when he went back to Washington, D.C., for the inauguration of President Kennedy—or maybe it was Lyndon Johnson, or somebody anyway—somehow or another he inveigled a White House limousine to pick him up at the airport, and having done that—he was in D.C. for three days—he somehow or another made arrangements and he had that car at his disposal all the time he was there. Nobody figured out how he got it done, but he got it done somehow.

BB: He got into trouble some way or other too. I vaguely remember that.

JA: Yes, he got in trouble supposedly for doctoring legislation, changing a couple of bills.

BB: In his capacity of secretary of the Senate he was in a position to make an amendment or something or other to the bill. As I recall, it happened more than once and the second time—

JA: I always remember that in the '55 session, when Graybill was Speaker, Walter was involved somehow or another in the chief clerk's office. I had a piece of legislation that involved the oil and gas industry, that was important to the industry, that the Democrats were opposing and Graybill was opposing. We got down to the last day for transmission of bills and they held up this bill and I finally got it out of committee, headed towards second reading on the floor, and it had to go through this printing process to get put together for second reading and it just flat disappeared. I mean really disappeared.

It was about three days before the last day for transmission and I waited another 24 hours and it didn't show up, so I got a hold of Ory Armstrong, the floor leader, and said, "I'm concerned about this and I want that bill out."

And Ory said, "What are you going to do?"

I said, "I'm going to go in and see Graybill and I think somebody's stolen the bill and they're deep-sixing it some place."

He said, "Well, you better be careful if you're going to go in and accuse somebody of that."

I said, "Well, I'm just going to lay it on the table to him and tell him that I want that bill and that there's no reason for it being gone someplace."

So Ory said, "Well, you go on in and see what you can do and if I have to help you I'll help you."

Well, I went into Graybill and laid it down on the table—laid the issue down on the table—and said that if my bill didn't show up by evening I was going to get up on the—we had a night session coming up that night and I was going to get up on the floor and raise hell and it would be very embarrassing to him. I thought Graybill was going to split a gasket. He really, really got mad. I said, "I'm going to tell you exactly what I'm going to do and that's it." Well, miraculously, that evening the bill appeared and I know darn good and well it was in Walter Marshall's pocket someplace for a period of time.

But he was friendly to everybody and he and his brother ran that voting machine and loud speaker system for a couple of sessions. We never could get rid of him. He was always around. I mean, he was everywhere. He was just like a mole (laughs). And he knew everything that was going on. It was unbelievable, that guy. As a matter of fact, he was a lot of fun to be around. When I used to put the mock sessions on he'd get me all this stuff out of his theater and everything else and all the klieg lights from the theater he'd bring into the legislature. You know, he'd do anything for anybody, really—kind of. He was something else.

BB: Now Jerry, after you left the legislature—at the '61 session you were majority floor leader in '61. Then you became a lobbyist in the '60s and you remain one to this day. So you're the dean, by far, of the—

JA: I'd lobbied before I went to the legislature too.

BB: One of the things that you're especially noted for is you were the principal organizer of the mock sessions in the legislature. Had any mock sessions occurred before you started running them?

JA: When we first came to the legislature there was a kind of a perfunctory effort made to put on some entertainment done by legislators, which kind of gravitated into sort of a mock session thing. Skeff Sheehy was a legislator from Yellowstone County and we used to—down in Yellowstone County—put on at the annual bar banquets a program that we wrote. So Skeff and I and a couple of other guys sat down, I think it was in '57, and put together—or '55 I guess, or whatever—and put together a kind of a show. But I at that point in time was interested in Broadway shows and things of that nature and as time went by this developed into a more polished sort of thing and I took it over and really got with it in '63, when I opened the Green Stamp Room at the Holiday, Jorgenson's—

BB: You were lobbying for trading stamps.

JA: —as the trading stamp room. At that point in time also the oil and gas industry opened up a room down next to the back end of the thing. We had a string of them down there. It was kind of like a little Las Vegas, I suppose. I don't know (laughs). Anyway, I had a large facility. I had a piano in there and a big living room and a couple of bedrooms and a fireplace and a bar and all that sort of thing and it was sort of an apartment, really, in the back end of the motel, a large apartment. It led itself to a place where, with the piano, I could work on music and that sort of thing and could get people down there to rehearse and so forth. It just was a kind of a natural thing. I just sort of gravitated into putting these shows on. So we put them on in '63, '65, '67, and '69 and during that period of time I was in and out of New York a lot over several years and spent a good deal of time going to Broadway shows and picked up a lot of ideas and one thing and another in connection with that.

BB: So someone listening to this conversation sometime in the future—make sure we understand here. The lobbyists played the roles of legislators?

JA: No. What we did was to try and generate from the legislative staff and from the legislature itself people who were capable of singing and acting and whatever. I remember one year I patterned the theme of the show after the Jackie Gleason show and went downtown and went to a women's dress shop—I can't remember the name of it. I talked them into making arrangements to loan some formal dresses to half a dozen gals and I got some freebie beautician people, some beauticians, to do their hair and make them up cosmetically. I don't know if you remember the old Jackie Gleason show, but he always started out with—he had a big band and himself and he had these half a dozen real good looking gals out of Miami. That's where the show emanated. They started the show with these six gals. I got six gals that could sing and they did a great job. It was a great opening for the show. It went over like gangbusters.

BB: Where were the shows held?

JA: They were held on the floor of the House. One year my musical accompanist was a piano player that had been the accompanist for years for the great Broadway star that— anyway, she was a great Broadway star. He had married a gal from Townsend and he happened to be in Montana over Christmas and they stayed in Montana through the late spring roaming around Montana. Kind of took three or four months off, he and his wife. I found out he was there and that he could not only play but he could arrange. So I got him to do the work with me. We had a great show.

BB: So you'd write songs and he'd set the familiar tune to correspond to the lyrics?

JA: We'd take popular songs of the day and compose lyrics to them. I remember one show I put on was a bill in the theme of Camelot. I used some music out of Camelot. I used music out of Broadway shows and a little bit of maybe some writing and a lot of— of course we had a lot of vignettes of acting and that sort of thing.

BB: They were parodies of what happened in the legislature?

JA: They were parodies on what happened in the legislature, and then they were also designed to take advantage of the capabilities of the people that performed. They were pretty successful. They worked out good.

BB: Did you save any records of this? Are there any?

JA: I've got the scripts here in the office, yes.

BB: In any of them was there ever a film kept of them, do you know?

JA: The last one, in 1969, was taped by [news reporter] Gary Langley, as I remember. I think it was Gary. I used to have that tape and I'll be darned if I know where it is now. Ben Haidehl took a whole series of still pictures of it that I have someplace.

BB: Why did that discontinue in '69?

JA: For two reasons. Number one was that before the '71 session of the legislature the *Helena Independent* let it be known that if the waterholes—the lobbying facilities—were kept open, they were going to send photographers down and write stories about it and take pictures of lobbyists. If they could get in, they would come in and take pictures of lobbyists and legislators together in these facilities or legislators going in and out of them and so forth. So obviously it wasn't the desire of any of us to become the subject of public criticism and whatever. So we just decided to shut everything down and we did. So after the '69 session there were no more lobbying facilities such as that conducted.

BB: How did that connect with the mock session?

JA: Well, the tenor of the legislature changed also. The people that came into the legislature were somewhat different breed of cat, I guess you'd say. They didn't want to—this issue having been developed indicating any propensity toward licentious living, I guess (laughs). They thought that these shows were not necessarily the thing that the legislature should be engaged in and they just shut them down. They didn't want them. So we quit. I think, again, that was a thing that changed the tenor of the legislature and that started the gravitation of the social life into nothingness.

BB: That roughly corresponded, too, to about the time of the 1972 constitution and the open caucuses, ultimately—that took a while—and that type of thing.

JA: Right.

BB: Now the period of the 1960s and early 1970s we also think of as a period that was dominated by the issue of the sales tax. You, of course, were out of the legislature then and you, as a lobbyist, weren't directly involved in that issue I don't think, but certainly you had a great knowledge of it. Tim Babcock was closely associated with it, as was Jim Lucas.

JA: Well, the issue of the sales tax first came up when I was serving in the legislature, as far as I was concerned. I think that Jim Felt and I put in, if not the first, one of the first sales tax bills ever introduced in the legislature in Montana.

BB: That was in the '50s?

JA: Right. Over a period of time, in the '50s and the early '60s, there were sales tax bills introduced that really didn't go anyplace, mainly fostered by Jim Felt, who was a legislator from Billings that ultimately became Speaker in the '60s. When he retired from the legislature—he was a tax lawyer in Billings and a very successful one. When he retired from the legislature, he continued to espouse the sales tax issue. Ultimately, Babcock ran for governor in '68. I was his campaign manager. He took the sales tax issue as part of his platform in his race for governor, which led to the slogan from Anderson, on the other side—"Pay More: What For?"

The thing got off the ground in pretty good shape, but Tim had a propensity for trying to put the sales tax in a form that everybody would accept and got the idea that if there were exemptions provided, that would engender more support. Well, by the time all the exemptions got provided, as the campaign went along, the sales tax was pretty well gutted. Really, it was one of the things that led to Tim's defeat. The *Billings Gazette*, for instance, had endorsed the sales tax, pretty much, in the early part of the campaign, but finally, noting all of the exemptions that were there, just dropped the endorsement.

BB: Now philosophically, Jerry, you say that back in the '50s you and Jim Felt proposed the idea of the sales tax. Of course the Republican Party of our two political parties is generally thought of to be the most conservative and generally we associate Republicans with being opposed to taxes and new taxes and that sort of thing. But there's a philosophical reason that Republicans in the main—at least in the '50s and '60s and '70s—supported the sales tax. Maybe you could kind of help people who will be listening to this in the future understand the philosophical argument that was important to the Republicans being proponents of the sales tax and maybe the philosophical argument that the Democrats felt was important to be against it.

JA: The tax issues in Montana then were similar to what they are today. In the first place, there was a great pressure on the revenue stream from education. In those days, a very small percentage of revenues generated on a statewide basis went to education in Montana, as compared to today. But the foundation program had come into place in the late '40s, early '50s, and while it was a solution at the time that it came into place, it was evident as time went forward, even within a short period of time after its inception, that it wasn't going to be adequate, or at least there were a lot of people that said it wasn't going to be adequate to meet educational needs. So there was a great deal of pressure on the local tax base, which meant property taxes—mill levies and that sort of thing—and the income tax in those days was high for a state in the national scene. There were pressures on the oil and gas industry from the standpoint of taxes.

(Break in audio)

JA: So it was evident to a lot of people that there had to be the institution of—if you were going to get some relief on the property tax basis and income tax basis, some relief in natural resource taxation, some relief someplace, the sales tax was it. The question was whether or not the sales tax would be a replacement tax—completely—of some form of tax like property tax or income tax, or whether you had the three-legged stool of income tax, property tax, and whatever and you reduced the other two legs and you had the sales tax. So the sales tax came into being as an effort to try and improve the tax system here in Montana and get more participation in the revenue stream by people who weren't really participating at that point in time. Interest in it developed. Minnesota went into the three-legged stool situation and I can remember that we spent a lot of time talking with Minnesota about their form of sales tax and the benefits that they received and so forth. It was one of the sources of information.

But anyway, Tim Babcock adopted it and of course he lost the governor's race and then after that Lucas became Speaker and he got involved in the sales tax issue. There's a great story—

BB: Jim Lucas, a representative from Miles City.

JA: Right. There's a great story about that situation when he was Speaker that I'm not sure is true or not, but the story is that—in those days you could run a campaign politically or otherwise as an issue campaign without being bothered by having to report funding for these things and who funded it and to what extent and that sort of thing. So the AFL-CIO opposed sales taxes, together with the Farmers Union and agriculture generally in Montana because farmers and ranchers don't pay any income tax and they don't want to pay any. So in any event—

BB: But they might have to pay a sales tax.

JA: Right, exactly. So in any event, the story is that the AFL-CIO and the Farmers Union wanted to find out who was responsible for paying for the cost of all of this program that was going forward pushing the sales tax in Montana. It was a very evident issue campaign being conducted and advertising—whatever, a big deal. And they couldn't find out. They supposed that large corporations were funding it and so forth but they didn't know for sure. So in any event, Lucas supposedly left his office late one afternoon, got on the elevator on the third floor by the coffee counter with this briefcase and walked out of the elevator and left his briefcase in there by accident. Jim Murry and his crew found the briefcase and grabbed it and took it out that night and made copies of documents in the briefcase relating to the sales tax and the efforts in that regard and then replaced it back to where it had been found the following morning. The day after that, on the front page of all the papers in Montana, was the story of who was funding the sales tax and it was the [Anaconda] Company and the Montana Power Company and all of that. That dumped the sales tax big time.

BB: And the idea was that the reason that the story was damaging was because the corporate business interests would have their property taxes reduced.

JA: Right, and the metal mines tax would stay at the low level that it was and that sort of thing.

BB: So the Democrats' philosophical argument against it was that the big corporations should be paying the lion's share of the taxes and the Republicans' argument was that if we reduce income and business property taxes and other taxes and more evenly distribute the tax burden, we can create a better economic climate in the state. Is that a fair summary of the two parties' arguments?

JA: Yes.

BB: Of course the Democratic Party argument seems to have prevailed in a lot of history in Montana.

JA: Strange thing is that sales taxes that have been passed in the United States have never been passed by initiative. People won't tax themselves with a new tax. They've been passed by legislatures. In, I think, every jurisdiction where the sales tax was put into effect, labor supported the sales tax heavily. But in Montana, no go.

BB: Generally, I think, perhaps labor supported the idea of a sales tax just to generate more money for government.

JA: Right. And jobs.

BB: And jobs and that sort of thing. Montana's a kind of a contradiction to the national—

JA: An anomaly.

BB: An anomaly in that regard. You know, we're getting up in our interview now kind of close to the Constitutional Convention in 1972. That came while the sales tax was last voted on in 1972—was voted on in 1972 is when the last time it was. And that was a result of the Lucas briefcase incident and it was voted on at that time. But the Montana constitution makes it fairly easy to get measures on the ballot and you just mentioned that no sales tax has ever been voted in by a vote of the people in any state. Well, of course in Montana, if the legislature were to enact the sales tax and put it into effect, our state constitution makes it relatively easy for people to circulate petitions. Once they get enough signatures they can place the measure on the ballot so it almost inevitably is going to be on the ballot in Montana. Any thoughts as we're transitioning to the 1972 constitution and this one provision of it. Maybe I can just ask you—did you attend any of the meetings at the '72 constitution?

JA: Very few. I didn't lobby the Constitutional Convention. The issues in the convention were issues that people that I represented did not foresee as being things that they would have an interest in to the extent that they should lobby. Actually, the lobbying activity at the Constitutional Convention was pretty restricted. The Company was over here—the Power Company and the Anaconda Company—but it wasn't like a legislative session. I was in and out of Helena. Went up to watch it occasionally when I was in Helena, but not to do any business or any lobbying. Actually, the activities of the Constitutional Convention were pretty muffled as far as people in Montana were concerned, as to their knowledge of what was going on and people didn't pay much attention to it. I know we didn't particularly.

BB: You were representing the oil industry at that time?

JA: I was not representing the oil industry at that time. My law firm had legal clients that we represented, did legal work for the oil and gas industry. Ramey, one of my partners

(unintelligible) did some lobbying for the oil industry at that time. I didn't then. People got snookered by that convention. To begin with, the convention was sold to the public and to the Republican Party as being a non-partisan convention with no partisan politicking in the race for convention seats and it was going to be non-partisan all the way through. Well, what really happened is the Democrats went out and organized and while they didn't call themselves Democrats, the Democratic Party went out and organized and they elected the convention.

One of the things that was just crazy was that a guy like Rex Hibbs from Billings, who had served in the state Senate, had been a great person legislatively and a good lawyer, he ran for the Constitutional Convention non-partisan and I realized about six weeks before the election that nobody was doing any campaigning. None of the Republicans were campaigning. I got a hold of Rex and I said, "You've got to get these guys together."

Rex said, "No, don't worry about it. It's non-partisan. This is not like a legislative campaign."

I said, "The heck it isn't."

We tried to get people to get out and do something and the Republicans didn't do anything and they just got snookered.

So we wound up with a convention that was very liberal in context and has led to, I think, a substantial amount of difficulty in Montana since then. The constitution is recognized nationally as being probably the most liberal in the United States and it's created some real difficulties for the economic structure of the state, and continues to do so.

BB: You know, you mentioned that even though you represent primarily business clients, you didn't have much to do in terms of lobbying the Constitutional Convention. Do you think the business community perhaps—

JA: They dropped the ball.

BB: Yes, they weren't involved much in terms of presenting testimony, being involved, trying to elect.

JA: Right. As a matter of fact, Graybill, who ran the convention, set the thing up in such a fashion that it discouraged lobbying and participation. I wasn't around particularly, but it's my understanding that they discouraged committees from having presentations made by people in the business community regarding issues that were being handled by committees and things of that nature. You know, if anybody had paid much attention to

this environmental stuff in the constitution, it wouldn't have come out that way. There would have been environmental protection, but not in the fashion that it is today, which is set up in such a manner that the thing is being interpreted just terribly.

BB: Do you think the business community might have deliberately boycotted the Constitutional Convention?

JA: No, I don't think that. I think they were discouraged from participation. I think that the press discouraged their participation. This was going to be a squeaky clean operation, non-partisan squeaky clean. Well, it didn't come out that way.

BB: Any other thoughts or observations on the Constitutional Convention or the new constitution?

JA: Of course you're from the western part of the state and you've seen what the interpretations of the clean and healthy environment clauses of the constitution have done to the logging and timber industry. That has affected the natural resources industry in Montana measurably. It has had a deleterious effect, I believe, on the economic structure of the state. And that's just one of the things that you can point to as being a difficulty.

BB: I think there's a provision that entitles all citizens to full legal redress, which has made it pretty difficult to put any kind of limitations on liability. As we're discussing this now, the legislature is in the process of preparing for a special session to comply with the provisions of the state constitution that require the basic quality system of public education and that came from the constitution. Then right following the constitution there was a big controversy over the coal development and the level of the coal tax. There was a legislator from down in your part of the state—

JA: Thomas Towe.

BB: Maybe we can talk about that (laughs).

JA: I was around the legislature when the issue of the coal tax came—the raising of the coal taxes—came into being and the establishment of the coal trust fund. One of the things that has always amazed me is the fact that—Towe denies this—but in fact he stood up on the floor of the state Senate during a debate on the increase of the coal tax and stated unequivocally that the purpose of the legislation was to discourage and shut down coal development in Montana. He says that that wasn't the purpose, but it certainly was. It had that effect. It really carved into the coal industry and that didn't get straightened out until Ted Schwinden, ultimately, during his term as governor, did sit down with the coal industry and affected a carving in half of the tax and got the tax

more nearly in tune with the tax in Wyoming, which we're still higher than Wyoming. It affects our capability of marketing because it's a sales tax, actually, on coal.

BB: So the tax that we're talking about that was associated with Towe—and I don't remember exactly whether he was the sponsor of the legislation of it but I think he was—imposed a 30 percent tax on the extraction of coal. I think it was 30 percent of the value of a ton of coal at the mine mouth. And so that was passed by the legislature. Some legislators might have felt it's inevitable that we're going to develop this coal. The nation is in an energy crisis—and that was the case in the middle 1970s, we were trying to become more energy independent—so there will be this huge demand for Montana coal so we can get away with imposing this big tax on it because it's going to be mined almost certainly anyway. Some of them may have felt that way. Some of them may have felt we don't really want to mine the coal anyway for environmental reasons, and so if we impose a 30 percent tax on it we may keep it from ever happening.

JA: I think the major portion of the legislature at the time that that tax was passed were interested in environmental issues and impeding the development of the coal. I don't think that they were looking for more revenue, specifically. You know, the legislature in the '70s was oriented very heavily in the environmental direction. This was one of the results of that orientation.

BB: So Senator Towe was prominently associated with this?

JA: He was the leader of the establishment of the coal trust and the heavy tax and the whole situation.

BB: He served in the legislature off and on for a period of roughly 20 years, I think, in the '70s and into the '80s—maybe the early '90s—and cast a fairly big shadow here in terms of his legislative activism. The coal tax would be prominently associated with him. Any other observations?

JA: Well, he also went after the oil and gas industry, did everything he could to throw in high taxes—higher than we paid—on the gas industry. I'll always remember when LeFavor was the director of the department of revenue.

BB: Yes, John LeFavor.

JA: John LeFavor. Towe was pushing bills to increase the tax on oil and natural gas production. I was then representing the oil and gas industry. I represented Shell Oil Company and others and the Montana Petroleum Association. You know, we were having a tough time battling back because that was a point in time that the people that were running the legislature were actively engaged in trying to tax natural resource stuff because of the environmental things and so forth. We finally settled on a number for

crude oil production but we couldn't get a number settled for natural gas. LeFavor, meanwhile, had begun to understand that the tax structure was going to be higher than anybody in the United States and was going to be not helpful to development of Montana. He was trying to caution Towe to relax a little bit and not get so deeply involved in raising the taxes more.

Anyway, we got the oil settled down and we finally wound up one morning in Towe's office, which was right next door to the Senate taxation committee room—LeFavor and Towe and I—to settle the tax on natural gas that he was going to foster. He had all the votes in the Senate and the House, we knew that, so it was desperation time. So we got to a point where I said the highest we could look at was blank cents per mcf, or whatever it is. Towe said, "No, it's going to be up here."

We argued about it and finally LeFavor said, "Well, we've got to settle this."

I said, "Yes." So I turned to Towe. I knew he had the votes and everything. So I said, "I'll flip you for it."

LeFavor took out a quarter, and we flipped a coin and I won. That's the way we settled the tax.

BB: And Towe went for that?

JA: Well, I knew he could win because he had all the votes.

BB: That's why I'm wondering why he went for it (laughs). Of course, he might not have thought that way, either.

JA: He has continued on to today. You get him involved in talking about tax issues and man, he wants to go to the moon. He's never lost that attitude with regard to natural resource taxation.

BB: Now he's very determined.

JA: Very determined.

BB: Very hard-working and (unintelligible).

JA: Very hard-working.

BB: How would you—in terms of his effectiveness as a legislator—how would you describe him?

JA: Well, when he was doing those things in those days he was quite effective because he had large majorities and was able to control the flow of the legislation. And had environmentalists, both within and outside the legislature, that would sign on with him and support it. But generally speaking, on most issues he was not too effective. He was too far out and ultimately in these issues he lost his effectiveness too because it became apparent that what had happened because of his efforts was hurting Montana.

BB: You couldn't really describe him as particularly charming or personable or anything like that. He was more of a bulldog, ideologue, I think.

JA: I think that's probably true.

BB: I remember I served in the Senate at the same time he and Jean Turnage were there. Turnage seemed to have a better instinct for how to persuade people and to work with people.

JA: Oh yes, absolutely.

BB: I think sometimes, in spite of the fact that Tom had more allies than Jean. Jean prevailed against Tom just by his superior political instincts.

JA: Right.

BB: That's your perception as well?

JA: Oh yes, absolutely.

BB: You represented the oil industry in the '80s and '90s, and I can remember being involved in legislation—

JA: And today.

BB: You still do, to this day. Any thoughts or observations about that?

JA: The next thing that happened to the oil industry was—let me think now, I've got to get my dates straightened out. But I remember in 1981—and I was not representing the oil and gas industry in 1981, I started in the '83 session—but in '81 Don Allen was the director of the Montana Petroleum Association and meanwhile Senator Smith from up in the northeastern part of the state—

BB: Big Ed Smith?

JA: Big Ed Smith had his legislation in to take the vehicle registration fees and just make a flat fee schedule and take it out of the property tax structure and whatever, which meant a loss of substantial revenue to the state and to the counties. It was something that all the farmers and ranchers wanted and it was popular. He got it through the Senate and it got over to the House one way or another. But again, there was this loss of revenue. Schwinden was governor and so in the next to the last night of the session, or the last day of the session, everything was pretty well wrapped up except this issue. Don Allen figured he had all the oil and gas legislation put to bed so he left the session at six o'clock that night and went back to the hotel or wherever he was and the following morning didn't get up and come out to the session. He figured they were just going to adjourn and that was it.

Meanwhile, Big Ed Smith and the leadership in the House and the Senate got together with the governor late that night and they put in place a doubling of the production taxes on crude oil to fill the void for the licensing thing. Got the legislation drafted. It was introduced the following morning. It was run through and by the time the day was over it was law and on the governor's desk and signed. Allen didn't know anything about it until mid-morning. By the time he got out here, why it was so far gone there was nothing that could be done.

So then I came in in 1983 and started representing the oil and gas industry and we have, over a period of time, worked to get the adjustment of our production taxes set up in such a fashion that we're competitive with others in the region and nationally and we are in that structure now and hopefully can stay there. We're about at a medium point on the tax structure and given the fact that oil is not as prevalent in Montana as it is elsewhere, that's about where we ought to be. It's been a long, long fight. We started to work on that in 1985, '84, and finally accomplished getting everything straightened out in the '99 session and went through the debacle in '89, '90, and '91 with the school funding issues and everything. It has been quite a battle.

BB: But the tax system, in your opinion, in terms of gas and oil, is kind of stabilized in a way.

JA: It is stabilized and it's one of the things that people in the industry need is stability because as you produce or as you start a program to develop a field or oil production, you first have to develop the financing and one of the things you look at is the tax structure. You're not going to get into production for three or four years down the road. You've got to go ahead and do your seismograph work and all that sort of thing and get things put together. And it's usually three or four years before production develops. Well, if you start playing tag with the tax thing, constantly going through it, everybody just throws up their hands and says, "Hell, we'll go down to Wyoming or Texas and Oklahoma and spend our money." So we've got stability now and we want to keep it.

BB: I know you knew him well, although you never served as a legislator with him, but you served while he was a state senator and then later on as governor—Stan Stephens?

JA: Oh, great guy. He was a very effective legislator and a good leader in the Senate and in the House. He took over as governor and unfortunately, I think, to begin with started with a staff that was not really adequate and up to snuff. He had some difficulties with his staffing until late in his term. Then he had a health problem at the very tail end of the term and he didn't run for re-election, but he certainly was—he was pretty conservative, but with a good staff would have been a very good governor and was a good enough governor, even with the difficulties he had with the staff to begin with.

BB: Marc Racicot.

JA: Racicot—very moderate Republican. Was viewed by many Republicans as a Democrat, which he had been before he ran for Attorney General. Was obviously charismatic, was a great salesman, was not particularly interested in the Republican Party per se. Had a staff that was a good staff but was, some thought, peopled by some Democrats as well as Republicans. Had difficulties with the legislature because of the differentiation in political philosophy. Was liked by Democrats and I think most Republicans liked him too. I always got along fine with him. He was a pragmatist and was certainly capable of sorting out specifics with regard to legislation and projects and things of that nature. Always found it easy to deal with him and I liked him.

BB: Governor Judy Martz.

JA: I think Judy was another person who suffered from bad staffing to begin with. I worked very hard in her campaign and I think ultimately—of course, she did everything she said she would do. She promised to thus and so and she did it. That was the result of her administration from the standpoint of the fiscal problems. She inherited from Racicot a horrible budget, which Racicot, for one reason or another I'll never be able to figure out, loaded with financial requirements that the state couldn't possibly financially meet, which if followed would have resulted in higher taxes, which the state didn't want or didn't need, certainly at that point in time. That, coupled with the staffing problem to begin with, made it difficult for her to get off the ground the way she might have been able to and I think could have with a good staff. She had other difficulties which resulted from the Shane Hedges incident, which she had nothing to do with. The press jumped on her. Of course, the press was mad at her because she beat [Mark] O'Keefe [in the governor's race] and they just continually—the Lee newspaper chain treated her unmercifully, very badly and wrongfully, in my judgment. [Hedges was Martz's top policy advisor and had run her gubernatorial campaign. He was driving drunk and was involved in a car accident in August 2001 that killed Rep. Paul Sliter. An investigation revealed he initially denied being the driver of the car. After the accident, Gov. Martz went to the hospital and took Hedges to the governor's mansion, where she washed his

clothes before he was questioned by Highway Patrol officers, leading to the allegation that she tampered with evidence. Hedges pleaded guilty to negligent homicide and resigned.]

One of the things that I always remember is the proposition that she took the clothes that Hedges had on and supposedly harmed evidence that would have been used. That night when the clothing was taken by her, she asked and the people that were there with her asked, and [James] Hunt, who was the attorney, asked the law enforcement officials if they could take the clothing, if they wanted the clothing kept or what. They said, "Take them. We don't want them." The county attorney repeatedly acknowledges that that is what happened, but you would never know that reading the newspaper. And that's just one of the things that I think has been—

BB: Jerry, we're near the end of the tape and just as you reflect back are there any thoughts or anything that you'd like to share that I haven't asked you about—that's number one—and then number two, I'd just be curious to know, with your wonderful perspective on the history of Montana, the political and economic history of Montana spanning over half a century, what you see as you look into the future.

JA: Well, as far as the future is concerned, in the immediate future I think the Republicans are probably trying to begin to figure out who's going to run for governor two years from now. At the immediate moment, I don't see a soul out there that seems to be standing up on a pinnacle someplace. It looks to me like the present governor, if he continues on the way it's going, is probably going to get re-elected.

BB: That's Governor [Brian] Schweitzer.

JA: Right. Of course, he may step down and try something else, I don't know. But he's certainly riding on the crest of a wave at the immediate moment and the press is treating him just like he was Prince Valiant. I think the general public probably thinks he is. So it seems to me that that administration may continue for another four years, if he chooses to do so. Politically, I think Senator [Conrad] Burns has got a tough race ahead of him that will either be—he'll either have Tester or Morrison as his competitors. I think it depends upon how the administration nationally develops and that sort of thing, the Social Security issue and all that stuff.

Economically, Montana has an opportunity to go forward economically if they can get some straightening out of the interpretations of the constitution, which I think impedes development here in the state. If they can understand that this is not going to be a great manufacturing state. We're so far from markets and things of that nature that it just doesn't make sense to rely on trying to get large manufacturing groups in here. We need to try and develop the state in a context that's consistent with what we have to offer and where we're located. One of the things, of course, is natural resource

development. That's going on pretty good in the oil and gas industry right now and that's influenced by the high price of oil, which is not going to stay there. My principal client in the oil and gas industry is budgeting on the basis of 30 dollars oil in the future. I think that makes sense. We've been through this once before in the early '80s and everybody thought there was going to be 80-dollar oil then and it went down to about 12 bucks. Oil is cyclical. It will go down again.

So there are opportunities here. We have to watch and see that people from outside the state that move in here don't take the state over and turn it into a national park. I think that would be destructive of what our youthful contingent and population is going to want to experience in the future. If you want that, go on to Vermont and live up there. But we don't want that here. That's it.

BB: Okay, thank you so much, Jerry Anderson.

JA: Sure.

[End of Interview]