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Oral History Number: 104-002
Interviewee: Vivian Halinan
Interviewer: Helen Bonner
Date of Interview: July 16, 1980
Project: Jeannette Rankin Oral History Project

[Begin Side A]

Helen Bonner: Vivian Halinan, interviewed by Helen Bonner in Mrs. Halinan's San Francisco apartment on July 16, 1980.

Mrs. Halinan, I had interviewed previously on the telephone and she told me she had gone to Czechoslovakia with Jeannette in 1968 when they were both members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Mrs. Halinan is now President of the San Francisco chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was involved in the organization of Jeannette Rankin Brigade when at age 87 Jeannette, previously in Georgia, had announced that she felt that women could end the war in Viet Nam if they would only organize, protest and be willing to go to jail in as great a number as men have been willing to go to war .

The interview is being held after doing great deal of library research and after a trip to Montana where I interviewed other persons who knew Jeannette Rankin. Since those people were all political connections, my purpose in interviewing Mrs. Halinan is in hopes that she would remember personal and small incidents that might make Jeannette Rankin more real in the screen play that I am now in the process of writing. The tape makes no attempt to go into political structure which can be better learned in the work that's on file at the University of California or makes no attempt to go into the Montana situation which can be better learned from tapes with Belle Weinstein or former assemblyman Winfield Page or former assemblyman Tom Haines which should be on file in the same library, the University of Montana Library, by the time you listen to this.

HB: And she talked a lot about being concerned for their welfare and how they were doing.

Vivian Halinan: She felt strong ties to her family.

HB: Did she talk about any particular nieces and nephews; did she feel closer to any?

VH: Her youngest sister, her name is Brown, I can't think...

HB: Mackie Brown.

VH: Yes, she was very, very fond of her—in fact she had lived with Jeannette for many years

when she was a young girl. Jeannette really felt that as if she was her own daughter and was very concerned with everything that concerned her.

HB: Mackie is now here in California?

VH: Yes, down South. I had a note from her when her mother died.

HB: I am going to try and talk to her too.

VH: Oh, yes, you must, of course.

HB: She's writing a book.

VH: Oh, I know, she had done some writing. She is writing a book now. What about?

HB: About Jeannette. Yes, she is and I understand she is a good writer. That's what I've heard so I'm hoping it will really be good. There is also a new one coming out from a man in Montana, he's putting one out called "Flight of the Dove".

VH: That's nice.

HB: The interest is beginning to sort of go to the perfect type of people.

VH: But you know she was an extremely feminine woman and was concerned with her looks. Like when you said she was just a political animal, that isn't true. I don't think...that's not the impression I ever had of her.

HB: Good. That's what I like to hear about.

VH: I know when I first met her, her hair was red and the first time I really went to see her about the Brigade, she was in Carmel. I think I told you about making the statement that if the women wanted to end the war in Viet Nam. They really could if they just went to jail and stayed there until the war was ended. I heard this quote at a Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Conference and I grabbed onto it. There was a group of us there that were very interested. We wondered if we could get in touch with Jeannette Rankin so we called Montana at the University to see if they could tell us where she was. They gave us an address in Georgia or they said she might be in Carmel visiting her sister. Well, it turned out that she was in Carmel visiting her sister which was very nice for us because it was very close and we called her and all drove down to see her, to ask her if she really meant what she said...would she go to jail until the war was ended. She said, "Absolutely, if you have enough women to go, I will go. If you can get a delegation of women to go to jail, I'll go with them."

HB: Wouldn't that have been a wonderful thing!

VH: You know, I started out, I went all over the country, coordinating the thing. I started out asking women to go to jail and what we did, we had three sets of women. Women who could go to jail and stay there; women who had family ties and could only go to jail for a day or so and then would be bailed out: and then the women who wouldn't go to jail at all, but would come and protest.

HB: On what terms would they get themselves to jailed? On what terms, what would be charged with?

VH: Well, we were going to go and sit down in front of Congress.

HB: And just make them put you in jail for disorderly conduct?

VH: Yes, for protesting the war. Then there was a woman in New York who was organizing. I had to come home because of some family affairs. Without telling me, she changed it so women wouldn't get arrested at all, but she said we couldn't get enough women of prestige involved if we wanted to get arrested, which was probably true. We did get...oh really, it became chic to be a member of the Jeannette Rankin Brigade. It was really not the way it started at all. You know, we had everybody and we were meeting at the "Dakota" in New York and it was entirely different than what it started out. It was a protest, but there was no going to jail when we went there which I think was a mistake. I think we should have gone to jail.

HB: Do you think those women, you know you said it was chic and all of that, do you think chic or not, they would have been willing to go to jail?

VH: No, they wouldn't have been willing. That's where they drew the line. We had women from many religious organizations and they didn't want to go to jail. We had a lot of...we had a tremendous delegation of women, but they didn't want to go to jail.

HB: Do you think it would have made a difference if they had?

VH: Well, I don't know, I think a smaller group and maybe not so well known, but a group that would have gone to jail and stayed there would have been more effective. Particularly with Jeannette Rankin leading us.

HB: Women of that caliber, people would have paid attention, especially husbands who are very influential and had a lot of money.

VH: I always thought it was a mistake to change it. It was done kind of surreptitiously.

HB: Didn't you also, you took a trip with Jeannette, didn't you?

VH: Yes, I went to Czechoslovakia with her in '68.

HB: Would you tell us about that?

VH: I'll tell you just before we went abroad, she had an operation for a tipped [unintelligible]. Do you know what that is? It is extremely painful.

HB: Do you know for how long that had been painful?

VH: She had that for quite a few years. She never once complained all during that campaign. I never knew she had it until she was going into the hospital to be operated on. It did things to her face, one eye was kind of in the raw, you know, pulled to one side, and watered constantly. Something was done to the shape of her mouth. It was pulled out of line. Her eye sight was affected and it was a strange thing, the only time she could really read was about 4 o'clock in the morning. So, when we were in Czechoslovakia, she used to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning to read her mail, and so forth. I don't know why it was, but apparently just when she woke up early and on awakening, she could see better than as the eye had the strain during the day.

She was very proud and she would said to me, "When we come to a curb where I have to step down and step up, just press my arm and I'll know what you mean." She didn't want people to know that she couldn't see the curb. Then apparently, she lost a lot of hair in that operation and she took to wearing a wig.

HB: So that was why the wigs in the later pictures.

VH: Yes, that was only after the operation.

HB: The operation took the pain away?

VH: The operation took the pain away, but it really took a terrible toll in her looks. It's the first time I noticed that she seemed not in her manner or her mind or anything. She began to look like an old woman. At 87 when I first met her, she did not look like an old woman. She was just so full of life and energy and humor that you never thought of her as an old person.

HB: Did she talk to you very much? I remember you told me on the telephone that one night in Europe, sitting on the edge of her bed, she talked about really missing Wellington. Did she talk very much about him?

VH: Well, she just loved Wellington. She thought he was the best and the smartest. She said he handled both of her campaigns. She said she could never have done it without him. He was the driving force behind it. She loved him dearly. She was the oldest of a large family. She apparently helped take care of the children while they were growing up. I don't think they had any help. She had a great feeling, almost a maternal feeling about her family.

HB: Including Wellington, do you think?

VH: No, it wasn't maternal toward Wellington. She really respected Wellington.

HB: Evidently from what I have read, they were very, very close all the time. That even though they were very close they didn't always agree?

VH: They didn't agree. He was a very conservative Republican. He was the head of the Republican party in Montana. He was a conservative. Whereas I think, when Jeannette died, she was Socialist. She had changed a great deal.

HB: He was there both times when she wanted to vote no on war, he wanted her to vote yes?

VH: Yes.

HB: Evidently, he tried to put a lot of pressure on her.

VH: He did.

HB: She just avoided it?

VH: No, she was strong, she was a true pacifist. She wouldn't vote for war.

HB: She wouldn't get angry with him because he felt differently? She accepted that, she wasn't just wasn't gonna change her mind?

VH: No, her description of when she voted, I guess it was whether it was World War I or World War II? When she got up to vote no, that the tears were streaming down her face, you know. When she left the Hall of Congress to go back to her office, apparently crowds were following her and jeering, and making unpleasant remarks. She was strong. She was a strong woman. When she believed in something, she stuck to it.

HB: I read in one newspaper clipping that I found from 1942 that after she voted no on Japan, they still had to vote on Germany and Italy. She had given the impression to people who were putting pressure on her, "Well, I won't vote no on the others then, what difference does it make?" So, they assumed she was going to vote yes, but she still didn't, she just voted present.

VH: Oh, is that so? I had never heard that.

HB: Sam Rayburn, I guess, came and she went back after she voted present into the cloak room and was eating her yogurt and apple. Same Rayburn came roaring back. "You promised!" and she just offered him an apple.

VH: Well, I think the first real experience I had, I went to Carmel and so then we talked. This shows you how smart she is. She connected my name. There were five of us that went down to see her. She had us all sign our names and telephone numbers. The very next morning, I got a telephone call from her. She said, "Are you Vincent Halinan's wife"? and I said yes. She said, "You could get all those trade unions. " Just like that. She picked the name out right away and connected it with bridges and so forth. She was so quick.

So, she was going back to Georgia. I was doing some work coordinating getting someone who would be the head of each region. My first trip to Georgia to see her, she meets me at the airplane. She's got high heels on and she's dressed up and she looks just great. She's driving an automatic shift car. She said, "Damn it! I'd like to be able to handle a car myself. They talked me into this car and I don't like it, I don't know why. I like the non-automatic cars. " She like to do her own shifting. She wanted to be in control. Then she had this...—did she ever tell you about her house in Georgia? It had dirt floors, no floor. Pounded dirt floors. Over that she had beautiful Persian rugs. It was like a Rube Goldberg house. It didn't have electricity; it had all these little inventions that would turn on the lights and she had no heat. She had one of those old-fashioned drum stoves. These great big pot-bellied stoves, and she said she always heated by the Sunday New York Times. She would keep putting that in. It was the damndest house I ever saw. She owned quite a bit of acreage; I don't know how much, but quite a bit. She was having the lake dredged. She was building some housing for older women who were alone, and mostly black women. She never did get to finish it. I think there were a few people lived in it, but it didn't get finished.

HB: She wanted women to have their own places?

VH: Yes. They could fish in the lake; they could go boating. She was trying to do things to make their lives pleasant. She was really...here she was 87, you know.

HB: Quite a generous thing to do.

VH: Yes, it was.

HB: That didn't have a lot to do with her political things. It was a generous thing she wanted to do.

VH: You should have been here that day when I went to visit her and talk to her. Well, it was time to...she was going to drive me to catch the airplane. When she went into her car, it wouldn't run, something was wrong with it. So, parked there, was a big truck that they were working on dredging this lake. So, I said, "I'll miss my plane and it's the last plane out." She didn't explain anything, she ran inside and made a telephone call, then she ran down to where the workmen were and then she comes back. She says, "Get into the truck, come on, get in. " She went down to get the keys to the truck and she drove the truck into the little town where

we got the airplane and there was the airplane waiting. The telephone call had been to the airport to tell them to hold the airplane.

HB: That's why she got so much done?

VH: She was a fabulous character. She just did it. When the car wouldn't start, she just didn't spend any time worrying about it, she saw that truck and this was a great big truck and here she was driving it. going very fast, in fact, I was frightened.

HB: John Kirkly wasn't there then?

VH: No, no he came much later.

HB: Did you meet him?

VH: Yes, I did. He wasn't there during the Brigade or anything.

HB: Do you happen to know where he is now?

VH: No, I don't.

HB: He would have finished law school after that. He wrote a lot of things that are on the file at the University of California at Berkeley. About her, and in that, he says that she gave him some money to pay off his law school debt. She said, "I would rather have you working for me than to go through unmashed(?) to finish your law school." He was going to go back and finish that so I suppose he is somewhere practicing law somewhere. I don't know where he is.

VH: I don't know either.

HB: I would love to find him because he must know a whole lot about her.

VH: He was only in her life the last two years.

HB: Those two years he took her everywhere.

VH: Yes, he was with her everywhere.

HB: I am hoping that she probably talked a lot to him. That's what I'm hoping, that she told him a lot of things.

VH: I don't know anybody you could tell you where he is...because her sister, that I knew very well and the one who lived in Carmel died here about two years ago. Maybe her niece would know. The family didn't like him.

HB: Do you know why?

VH: Well, they thought he was kind of living off of her.

HB: I can understand them feeling that way, but I don't think he was.

VH: He was giving her what she wanted.

HB: I have read a lot of things that he must have typed up. He must have gone through her records, typed up the things that needed typing up, reproduced things, straightened them out, answered mail. It looks like he did a lot of work for her.

VH: In the last two years you are talking about? Because she always had somebody come in and do the typing for her and everything.

HB: These are things that look like it was done right in those last two years. Evidently there were piles and piles of stuff that she hadn't gotten around to. Maybe no one was working for her just before he was. He went through all of that stuff, answered letters that had been lost or misplaced, and reorganized everything. I think mostly he saw her from what he writes himself about this time, he says he called her his Guru. He saw her as his spiritual leader and advisor. He saw her as someone who could really teach people how to live, and how to get things done. Of course, in the early 70's when everybody was into how do you find peace. So what more likely Guru than a woman who had spent all of her time, all of her life working for peace. I think he was legitimate, but That's only my own feeling.

VH: I don't know, I only met him once, and the family were upset about that. He had the right to write her checks, things like that, which they felt he shouldn't. That was really right near to the end when she needed somebody to take care of her. I know, my husband was running for Judge and she phoned me and she was on the east coast. We were having a dinner for Vincent in, like four days I think it was, and I said, "Oh, I wish you could be here." My God, she showed up. They drove all the way in four days. That was this Kirkly who drove her. That was when I met him.

HB: Evidently, he drove her everywhere. I think he was pretty valuable.

VH: Yes, he was at that time.

HB: She couldn't have done it at that age?

VH: No.

HB: His writings about her I think will be very valuable, the things he wrote himself about her

and the things that she believed in and how she affected him. Maybe the family was right, but I like to believe that he was a pretty good gentleman.

VH: I don't know, I just met him the one time.

HB: I like to imagine in those long car trips that she would talk?

VH: I'm sure she would, because she talked all the time. She was a great talker. She was very interesting and fascinating to listen to. She knew everybody, she had been every place, she had done everything. She had a story to tell you about every incident that came up.

HB: Intended to stay in the present too, didn't she pretty much?

VH: Oh yes.

HB: I listened to one of the tapes on file at Berkeley where someone was interviewing her. They kept trying to talk about the past because of their researching and they wanted to know about it and she kept dismissing that and going about when she was 92, 91, or 92 at that time. She doesn't want to talk about that. She was interested in that point at changing the electoral system to a different system.

VH: Oh, that's what she was interested in at the end, yes.

HB: That's all she wanted to talk about. She was pleasant about it and very nice about it, but they kept trying to bring her back and she—that was just old stuff to her.

VH: Past history.

HB: All that was important was now and the present and that was kind of funny to watch them struggling to get her to go back to the past. That may have been one of the things that distinguished her, her complete absorption in the present.

VH: Yes. Well, I know when we went to Czechoslovakia, it was only about three months after the operation. It was amazing and it was a hard trip. In the first place, Czechoslovakia was in a state of upheaval. The Russian troops were in and Krushchev was still in power, and there was a great division among the people. They brought people in to talk to us every day. They brought people from both sides, from both regimes. I know she never missed one meeting. I sometimes would get a little bored and I would think this wasn't going to be interesting and I would go out to look at the town or something else. She never missed one meeting - she went to every single meeting. Then we went to Paris, and then we went Amsterdam, and then we went someplace else. It was not an easy trip and she was about 89 then. Really amazing.

HB: Did she ever talk to you about how she felt about marriage? Both in terms of herself and

women in general? On one of the tapes she makes a statement, I might not have this exactly. Women have to learn to be more than just what their men want them to be, and I wondered if she thought marriage keeps women from learning that? Do you think that's the reason she never married?

VH: I think she was just too busy. She was much smarter than everybody she met. Because she liked men and she was a very feminine woman. She was very concerned with the way she looked, the impression she made. I know she was very fond of Vincent and he said at the time there was not actually flirtation, but there was the awareness that he was a man and she was a woman. So, I really don't know. We never talked. Of course, she thought with my six children, I guess, that I was so married, because I had always been in business too. She loved my boys, and always wanted to know all about them, what they were doing, and so forth. So, I think she had a real family feeling, a strong family feeling, but never married herself. She was a handsome woman.

HB: Her pictures, I love her looks.

VH: I do too. I have seen pictures when she was a young woman and she was striking looking woman.

HB: I wish I had brought it, maybe you have seen it. They just finished a statue of her. The artist, who is a young woman who lives near Helena, was trying to catch the spirit of both times in that one statue. That was her way of trying to do it. Something Ted noticed that I thought was interesting too. All it says on the front is "I cannot vote for war." There is not a word on it about her getting the vote for women in Montana, about her helping to get the vote for women in the United States. Not a word...that's a pretty major thing.

VH: Oh absolutely. We have, I am the President of the local chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and we have a movie on women's rights. There is a picture of Jeannette leading a march down 5th Avenue. She's a young woman, and she is so alive and alert. She was at that meeting in the Hague in 1915 when the Women's International League was founded.

HB: They gave her at the first part of the meeting, the other women gave her kind of a hard time. They didn't want to consider her, acknowledge that she belonged there. Evidently, she had a marvelous way of handling things like that. She was just pleasant and she just continued to do whatever it was that she felt needed to be done and within a day or two, they had all cut out whatever they were doing. Evidently the same thing happened when she went to Congress for the first time. There were many Congress people who wanted to treat her as a gallant gentleman. They didn't want to treat her as anyone to take seriously in terms of political decisions. She would just pleasantly go to the meetings that they hadn't asked her to, where she thought she belonged and be very pleasant and after a while they just quit it. She had an easy way of getting things without getting people's backs up. She didn't talk to you about

marriage or anything like that to you. She just seemed to be too busy to think about it.

VH: She had been very busy as a young woman.

HB: Maybe she felt it would have limited her too much, because she loved to travel, didn't she?

VH: She loved to travel and I always thought... she said something about when she was young that she had her family already. She had raised those brothers and sisters; she had raised her family.

HB: Then that would be it. She had done it and didn't need to do it?

VH: She had really done it. I think that it was really hard on her. She was a young girl. She had to be home right after school, and everything else to help take care of the ones. At the time when she was young, I don't think that her family had much money. There was this big family, and her mother wasn't well, so she had a lot of work to do.

HB: I didn't realize that her mother wasn't well. That's new information to me.

VH: Well, I don't know if whether it was after the birth of one of the daughters or what.

HB: One of the children died.

VH: Yes.

HB: Maybe something came out of that? I wondered why Jeannette, over and over again I have read, that she had to do most of the mothering of the children. And yet I know her mother was there. I wondered why she had to do so much.

VH: I don't think her mother was very strong.

HB: So even though she lived a long time. It's that hard to imagine that this New England school teacher married to this Scotsman who loved to dance and click his heels and almost no education but very, very bright—in the middle of Montana at that time really rough country. They hanged people all the time, shot people! I would imagine in my picture; she might have withdrawn quite a bit.

HB: Maybe, maybe. That would have left Jeannette to have a lot to do with the house?

VH: Jeannette had an awful lot to do. Apparently, Jeannette was a wonderful rider. She could handle any kind of horse. She rode until very late in life. She could break any horse. During the campaign for the Brigade which started in June or July and then we went to Congress in January for the first meeting, for the opening meeting of Congress, during that six months, wherever

that she was asked to speak, she went. It was really amazing. No matter how hard it was, she would come up from Georgia to New York to talk. She never refused a speaking engagement.

HB: There was something in Georgia...

She was offered a chair at the University and then who was it that gave the University a hard time that they couldn't give her the chair. The American Legion, the American Legion! The University was offering her this chair at the University and the American Legion was so upset about it because they said she was a Communist, which she never was. That she was not un-American in their terms because not to be for war meant you hadn't ought to be for the country whose interests you were representing. They managed to keep the University from giving her the chair.

VH: The University at Athens?

HB: This was at Athens. Evidently some really bad publicity came out of that. I'm wondering if she ever talked to you about it. I wonder if maybe That's the reason that she left Georgia, politically then and decided to go back to Montana when she ran for office then just before World War II. If that was the reason that she felt as if that kind of destroyed her in Georgia?

VH: No. I think she wanted to run in Montana, because her roots were in Montana. Her brother was there, and her brother could set up a political machine. No, I wouldn't think that was the reason.

HB: So that was more likely it.

VH: I think it was - just much more sensible to go back to Montana.

HB: Some of the people in Montana, some of the politician's sort of question whether she was really a resident at the time that she ran the second time, she had been there in the summer. Especially the man that she beat out, he felt that she wasn't really a resident? She says herself, about that. Of course, I was, I went back every summer and I have lived there all my life. Did she ever mention any kind of—did she ever talk about Wellington's marriage and Wellington's standard of life? I know this is a personal question.

VH: No, I always wondered what she thought about Wellington's wife because she never mentioned her. She talked so much about Wellington. In fact, for the first year or so I thought Wellington was a bachelor. That he had never been married. Then it was later on something came up about it.

HB: Not only was he married, but he had and she is still living a very palatable wife. She was a lawyer, she still is. She was out of town when I was up there. She was attending the Republican Convention. Evidently an extremely intelligent, able and powerful woman.

VH: Maybe she was too powerful because Jeannette did not speak of her, never mentioned her at all.

HB: Did she ever say another thing that I ran into about her this is personal too. It helps me to get a dimension too. Her former brother-in-law...would have been the former husband of the one who had been the Dean of Women at the Nevada University.

VH: No, Edna wasn't Dean at Nevada University. Edna was the youngest in the family and she was an attorney too. She was the first woman attorney in Montana. What a family, yes! She was a tremendous woman, this Edna.

HB: We had one of them working on birth control.

VH: That was Edna.

HB: She was one of the first woman attorneys in Montana.

VH: She was the first attorney, woman attorney, in Montana. She was really a wonderful creature. She went all over the world with birth preventatives, she went into Asia, Africa, she went to some Mid-East country. I don't know if it was Saudi Arabia or what it was. Anyway, she had a couple of gross of condoms. When they were going through customs. The man said, "What are these?" She said, "For my own use." She was a wonderful character too.

HB: What was she like?

VH: Talk about feminine, she was the most feminine woman in the world. She was very bright. As I said she was the first woman attorney in Montana and she started very young working for birth control. She was a young woman in her twenties when she started working for birth control. She had bleach blond hair until the day she died and she put on quite a bit of make-up. And she was a very handsome woman, a pretty woman, Jeannette was never a pretty woman, but Edna was and very feminine. Liked cloths and liked jewelry and yet she was this woman who accomplished so much, you know.

HB: Do you think that Jeannette had a big effect on her? Because Jeannette would have been a lot older than...

VH: Well, they didn't get on so well.

HB: Too powerful, both of them?

VH: I think so.

HB: They just sort of stayed away from each other?

VH: Well, at the end they were really dependent on each other. And I think Edna was closer politically to what Jeannette believed than any of her other sisters. There was just some, a little bit of animosity. Although I know that at the end when Jeannette became ill, she went to Carmel where Edna was. She went into the home where she lived and they had a hospital connected with it and she went into that hospital, that's where she died.

HB: She wanted to be near Edna. It might have been mainly competitiveness.

VH: Yes, I think so. And they were both very strong women, very certain of their beliefs and so forth.

HB: Very hard to deal with sometimes. I find it in my own life even.

VH: Now Edna seemed to adore Jeannette. Jeannette had a kind of impatience with Edna. That was all that I saw. I think that the relationship between them was much closer than it looked on the outside, because when Jeannette was in trouble, she went to Edna.

HB: That's good to hear. To know that there are people she would go to, there were times she needed people like everybody else. Hard to find because she didn't show it very much. A pretty self-sufficient woman.

VH: Politically they thought more alike than any others of the family. Some of her family are very conservative Republicans. She was a Rogue when I was trying to interest people in the Brigade. She gave me her sister's name in Washington, D. C. and told me to contact her, only she didn't tell me that she was very conservative. I guess that would be Harriet. This sister was really kind of indignant that I should call about this thing. Why didn't Jeannette call her instead of someone else. I feel that Jeannette was just kind of a Rogue, she did it just to see what the response would be.

HB: Probably the response would have been even better if she had called herself. That sister's ex-husband, I tried to get an interview with him when I was in Montana. He wouldn't give it to me. He was just really—he said, "I just don't have any good to say about her."

VH: That's the one. She was most unpleasant to anyone.

HB: I suspected that there was something political there too.

VH: Yes, well they were very right wing.

HB: So she, there was...some I have read in some of the research that many Montanans felt that she had let down Montana by voting as she did in the Second World War. That she had

made them look like they weren't as patriotic as the rest of the country. The people that I talked to who are really there today and experienced it, they said, "No, she's a woman." So that's a put-down too. Nevertheless, they didn't seem to feel that people were that angry toward her at that time.

VH: I think the feelings were pretty high. That's what she told me at the time.

HB: Did she mention whether she was ever treated badly by the people back home after that vote?

VH: No.

HB: She wasn't the kind of person that they treat badly, I suppose.

VH: She only went back there occasionally after that. She never lived there.

HB: Can you think of anything else that she talked about at all—small as it might be? That might help me, make her real. I'm going to have to make up a lot because there are just too many gaps in terms of her personality. The more I know, the less I have to make up.

VH: She was a great admirer of Gandhi. She had been to India and met him. Fact is, I think she had been there twice. Then after we went to Czechoslovakia, she wanted me to go to India with her. She wanted to go back to India once more. I couldn't go at the time. She did go. She went with a Women's International League for Peace and Freedom group. She must have been 90 or 91.

HB: She made five trips to India all together?

VH: Yes.

HB: Did she talk to you about when she went to work in the women's shirt waist factory in New Zealand?

VH: No, no.

HB: Wish I knew more about that. She must have been a real little dynamo in those days. She went over there to work in the shirt waist factory just to investigate working conditions for women. To get some sort of feeling for them.

VH: Did you say New Zealand?

HB: New Zealand!

VH: No, she never mentioned that.

HB: That would have been when she was about...she was in her 30's then. She was very concerned back in those days when many women and children were still working. That especially long, long hours in places like shirt waist companies. She just went back there and went to work for them, just to talk to the women and see what it was really like. Maybe she thought she couldn't do that here because of who she was. She wrote nothing about it that I can find. I would love to hear her reactions to that.

VH: She never mentioned that. Before she was elected the first time to Congress or when?

HB: Yes, it was before she was elected the first time. Evidently when she went to...when she was in New York and she was working with the women like Jane Adams, at that time. She got very concerned with working conditions for women and children. She saw what it was doing to their lives. All they did was work and the children weren't growing up healthy or anything. She was very concerned with that. About that time, she had a chance to travel and while she was in New Zealand, she just went to work at this shirt waist company. It was evidently for several weeks. Just long enough to get a feel for what it was really like for these kinds of hours, but she never wrote a thing about it that I can find.

VH: Didn't that Weinstein woman know?

HB: She didn't talk that much to Jeannette. My feelings from Belle was that she was purely a political ally. She had worked hard politically in the state when Jeannette went to Washington, and then Jeannette just called her and said, "Do you want to come out and do my press work." Belle had been a newspaper woman until then. She had worked very hard on all of these political campaigns in the state. Evidently the relationship remained purely political. I'm not sure Jeannette had talked to anybody about anything that wasn't political.

VH: No, no, she was a very political person. Then as I said, she was also a very feminine, warm with a great concern for many people. I thought that was very touching that thing about when she phoned me and I said we were having a dinner for Vincent in four days and I wish you were coming. She didn't tell me she was coming. She just got into her car and drove out. She did those sorts of things which were—she wasn't just a political person.

HB: She was doing that partly for Vincent, wasn't she?

VH: Yes, she wanted to be here for that.

[End of tape]