

Maureen and Mike

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**Oral History Number: 261-001, 002**

**Interviewee: Winfield Page**

**Interviewer: William D'Alton**

**Date of Interview: August 9, 1989**

Winfield Page: I will first show you this. I have to have her to find some of these things for me.

William D'Alton: Okay.

WP: I ran for Congress in 1938, two years before Mike Mansfield did. Here I barely got nosed out for the nomination, and the Republican was as good as elected, and I'm going to tell you why. And then, two years later, Jeanette Rankin ran and got nominated on the Republican ticket, and she won, and I'll tell you why that happened. That all precedes Mike Mansfield. Now, here's where Mike Mansfield ran – there was four of us there on the Democrat side - Hugh Adair, Mike Mansfield, Jerry O'Connell, and Ruth Reardon. Over around here was (W.R.) Allen, he was the former lieutenant Governor. I ran again, because I ran so close the first time, to Jeanette Rankin. I ran against her, and this was the incumbent Republican elected, but he was such a poor candidate...

Let me get that birthday...

WD: Yes, I heard about him.

WP: Yes, well he just didn't understand, but I first went back to the University of Minnesota and I took English Constitutional Law, and the background of politics. And, so I developed, tried to develop myself when I was in college to be a well-educated man in public government. I figured that we never had [that and] that's the reason we lost World War I. We won the war but lost the peace, because we were up against trained politicians, European-trained politicians, and we had amateurs. In fact, I wrote an article once on the United States Academy of Statesmanship, where the Congressmen would nominate young men like yourself to go to this college to be a trained statesman, and understand government and understand things of that type. And, I wrote it four times and they sent back to me that it was a good article, good thought, but Winfield Page was unknown. And if I could get a prominent man in politics to cooperate with me, they would publish it. Well, Joe Dixon was retiring. He was a former Governor and Senator of Montana, and he was resigned with high blood-pressure, but I knew the Dixon family very well, so I took this article over to him, and I asked her if I could have an interview with him. Well, she's a little bit leery about having me do it because he was pretty well worn out. He had just retired as Assistant Secretary of the Interior in Hoover's—

WD: What year was this?

WP: This was 19...let's see, he served 32 to 36, so this was about '37 (1937), the early part of 37. And, so I agreed that as soon as she gave me the high sign that I would retire. Well, gosh -

we old politicians - old Joe Dixon just went for that and he loved it. And, I looked over at his wife and she said, "Ok..." Well, anyway, I left that paper with them, that article that I wrote, and then I came back later and he said he wouldn't go along with me on it. I was disappointed, and he told me why. He said, there's one thing to be educated, it's another thing to get yourself elected. And he felt as though the government was wasting money on educating a bunch of us at large if we couldn't get ourselves elected.

WD: Right - so there's a difference between a politician and a statesman.

WP: But, two years later, the same magazine that I wrote this article for and was turned down on came out with an article written on the same subject. I have the copy of it, and who was the author of that Alice?

Alice WP: Will Durant.

WP: Will Durant, and they published it. So I mine lies resting in the Archives, and his article was published. Now, I wrote a letter to Sam Reynolds in regard to Mike Mansfield and then I also mentioned B. K. Wheeler - Senator Wheeler. Did you make a study of his...?

WD: No, only on the periphery.

WP: And I mentioned here in this letter Joe Dixon, the Governor, and he was the United States Senator, and he was the campaign manager for Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive political party. If you just care to glance through that it will give you some kind of an idea of the background.

WD: OK, I'll just read this quickly.

WP: Now, the reason I wanted you to see about the other two men, they were outstanding men, Senator Wheeler and Joe Dixon, because, now, you can get plenty of material right now eulogizing Mike Mansfield, and I thought maybe you ought to get a little different angle on the whole picture. That's what I thought I would do is give you some background. So, in 1938, well, let me fill you in a little on earlier [events with] Senator Wheeler and Jerry O'Connell. Now, Jerry O'Connell's going to play a very important part in this. He and Senator Wheeler didn't get along. Earlier in Senator Wheeler's life, he bucked the Anaconda Company [and] the Anaconda Company played a very strong part in the political background of our early Montana history, and they were on one side and the other side of the fence. And so when B. K. Wheeler ran for Governor against Joe Dixon, the company opposed B. K. Wheeler, and favored Joe Dixon. Then, four years later, Joe Dixon came out with the Metals Mine Tax, and that irritated the company, so they went for Erickson, and Erickson defeated Joe Dixon for Governor, so Joe Dixon had one term. In the meanwhile, B. K. Wheeler went back to Congress with, oh, well, anyway, Roosevelt appointed him Attorney General, but he died in office.

Alice WP: Thomas J. Walsh.

WP: Yes, Thomas J. Walsh. And that created a vacancy, so the Governor of Montana, he resigned, the lieutenant Governor became Governor and got him appointed as United States Senator.

WD: Which was Erickson?

WP: Yes, Erickson. And, so, then when Erickson ran for a term on his own, why Murray ran against him and defeated him so Erickson was out. Well, then Wheeler started, as I said in that letter, Wheeler opposed President Roosevelt on packing the Supreme Court and I think he was absolutely right in opposing him. Well, that immediately piled up political power against him, and then he also was an—Isolationism, now that is going to have quite an important bearing too in the background of this. So, they defeated B. K. Wheeler and Zales Ecton, a Republican, was elected. But in the meantime, there was a strong opposition to Jerry O'Connell. And, so the Democrats put up Paine Templeton from Kalispell to run in 1938, that's the year I ran against Thorkelson and darn near got the nomination. And...because I could see that whoever opposed Jerry O'Connell was going to pick up Democrat votes as well as Republican votes.

WD: What was the problem with Jerry O'Connell? What was his problem, exactly, as a politician?

WP: Well, he opposed Wheeler. And Wheeler had made his peace with the company. So the company and Wheeler made a strong political force, but it was on the Democrat's side – they just completely ignored the Republicans.

WD: How does the company use their power to influence the politics, exactly? How did they use it?

WP: That's a good question. And I'll tell you why. In the Legislature, I served fourteen years over there in the legislature - two years on the State Reorganization Commission. Now, there's various industrial groups. To classify them, there was the lumber industry, the automobile industry, [and] there were various merchants - the food distributors industry, and they all had their lobbyists over there at the Legislature. And, as a rule many times, they would cooperate with the Anaconda Company. Of course, the Anaconda Company was strong way back in the days of Marcus Daly. They took over and had a strong influence and so, with the combination, which I call the "political power brokers," and they, in turn, choose and pick and trade one group off another. Now, this particular candidate, a Republican, may be favored over a Democrat there - the Democrats over here - there's a certain amount of horse-trading going on. How do I know that? Well, I ran for the legislature. I finally gave up on Congress, and in 1942, I had built myself up by then pretty strong politically, and I ran for the legislature. We elected four representatives from Missoula County at large, not from districts, but at large, and the last day of the campaign, the Republican party bought radio time for us, and we, after that was over, went out to the Elks Club and the Democrat Chairman, Dr. Jones, he's a dentist, and quite

a popular fellow (he couldn't hold his liquor) he saw me, and said, "You're not going to get elected to the Legislature," and said, "Go on, Doc, you're drunk. Mind your own business." He said, "I've got twenty bucks here that says you're not gonna get elected." And I said, "Put that away." He said,

"You want to know who's gonna get elected?" He named two Republicans, and two Democrats. And I was not one of them. He says, "You're not gonna get elected." He's already indicated to me that they had done horse-trading. That's what put me wise to what went on. But I got elected after that because they didn't know me, but they liked the way I voted. I was conservative, and I didn't incur any company opposition, so everything went along smooth for me until I got ambitious and ran for Congress and didn't get permission from [?] .

WD: Did the company give actual money to candidates, or just the parties themselves?

WP: They gave both. And, I'll tell you, they gave more important than money, they had attorneys hired, and different people throughout the whole state, to represent their thinking. In the case of attorneys, why they got the various groups to go behind the ticket. Now you can take an organized minority, voting the same way [and they] can outvote an unorganized majority. And that's the reason behind that - how they were able to influence that. But, now, with me, I've never been [influenced]. They never owned me or they never contributed to my [campaigns]. I never formed a committee to elect or re-elect Winfield Page to the Legislature.

WD: Did they talk to you at all? Did they come to your door, saying, would you do this if we did this for you?

WP: No, no, they knew enough to not [do that]. They did earlier in my career over there. [They] wanted to pay my hotel bill and so forth, like that, but I rejected that. But now a-days, it's gotten so they spend so much more money. Now, in those days, you could spend ten percent of your first year's salary. In those days, we got ten dollars a day for sixty days, that's six-hundred dollars, so I was allowed to spend sixty dollars.

WD: On your campaign.

WP: Right, for my own campaign, and I didn't form a club, so when I filed my expenditures or I'd add, "Paid for by Winfield Page," and that was all there was to it. So, they never made any contributions at all and the offer they made was to pay my hotel bill, and I declined that, so that was the only time they ever did anything like that. When I say "they," I consider a representative of the company did that, but I don't know for sure. But I do know this, that they had these throughout the whole state. They did have set-ups, to go out and work among the various groups to do that. And then, over in the Legislature, they had a powerful lobbyist group - attorneys - there to read all the laws to be sure that this or that or the other one, and answer people in the Legislature, that they controlled to get up and oppose that or work for it. But, the fact that

I was conservative, I did not incur their wrath, because, as a rule, the way I voted was just about parallel with the way they thought anyway. But there were certain times that I did not vote according to the way they would have liked to have it. And I didn't go to them to ask if I could run for Congress or run for any other office. I did it on my own. That's how I get myself free from any influence. But they never tried to influence me very much. They depend pretty much on my conservative way of voting, so we never had any conflict. They did oppose me when I ran for Congress and when I ran for State Senate. They did oppose me on that. I was defeated, too.

WD: Would they say to their workers, their foreman would say, "Well, they have this candidate here and this candidate, we'd like to see you, all you workers and miners vote for this certain [person]?"

WP: Well, they had a short, quick way of doing it. Now, Zales Ecton was the Republican State Senator from Bozeman – the Gallatin County, and Zales was a fellow pretty much like me. He was conservative, in fact, I was up there in Gallatin County when I ran for Congress, and I asked him for a pretty good place to put my political cards. This was Sunday, and he said, "Don't do it! There are a lot of these people very religious—" He said, "Let me have them and I'll put them up for you." That the kind of a guy he was. Well, when Wheeler got defeated, they had Leif Erickson [who] defeated Wheeler in the primaries. Well, what I call the "political power brokers" didn't want Leif Erickson, [so] they supported the Republican, Zales Ecton. And he got elected to the Senate for six years. When the six-year term was up, Mike Mansfield was ready to run for the Senate. And, a rancher from over around Wisdom, over in the Bighole country, he saw me standing on a street corner and I was talking to a Democrat lobbyist from the company. And, he came up to me and says, "I'd like to know how I could send some money to help Zales Ecton out." And, the company lobbyist said, "Why does he want to waste his money on that? Mike Mansfield is going to get elected."

WD: Oh?

WP: All's they have to do is say that. Now, when they opposed me, they said, "Well, the people of Missoula don't want him in the Legislature." That's all they'd say. They didn't knock me, they didn't tear me down or anything, but this was the way they go [about it]. Now, I was over at one of our state conventions, and I had campaigned for Congress, and I got to know quite a few of the people in the other counties, and one of the ladies was elected as a delegate to go to the state convention, she came up to me, and she said, "Who are they going to elect for State Committeeman?" And I said, "Well, you're the one that's going to do the electing, not 'they'...", but they expected to be told. I'm just telling you a little background. Now, a lot of this I can't prove.

WD: Right.

WP: But, from observation...Well, now you've got the background of this thing.

WD: Now, let's go back to the 1938 election.

WP: Yes. In 1938, B. K. Wheeler - see, he and the company got along very well (the "political powerbrokers,") and he had had a fallout with Roosevelt on packing the Supreme Court. Now that was a real, rough, tough battle. Roosevelt was swept in with all of this popularity - everything going for him - and to have guts enough to stand up like Wheeler did, that got him in dutch with the President. But, on the other hand, Jerry O'Connell, he was all for all this stuff that they used - ringing the door for Roosevelt and everything else. So there's a falling out there. Well, the "political power brokers" and B.K. Wheeler wanted to dump Jerry O'Connell so they ran Paine Templeton from Kalispell on a Democrat ticket, and they got all the Republicans to vote the Democratic ticket to elect Jerry O'Connell. Well, I saw an opening in there, and I was just a young Republican that had built myself up. I had a good political background, to the point where I got elected regional director over four northwestern states - Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. And I was called back to Washington, D.C., to the Republican Conference and the Republican Senators had a dinner party for us. And during the cocktail hour, I had a chance to talk to Senator Taft. I'm going to bring in Isolationism. And Senator Taft was an Isolationist. And so was B. K. Wheeler. And Senator Taft and I had this conversation, he said, "I want you to have a conference with Senator Wheeler." He was on the Democrat side I on the Republican. So, he set up a meeting for Alice and I to have this meeting with Senator Wheeler. And this was in July of 1941, before we got into WWII. And B. K. Wheeler told us that Roosevelt (he and Churchill) had everything all set up before the year was out that we'd be at war. And, we were. Well, there you see the political power that had built up against Wheeler. Because Wheeler was diametrically opposed to a lot of Roosevelt's positions, and Jerry O'Connell was going hog-wild on that end, a lot of his own socialistic ideas that the average business man was opposed to. And these various groups I named that had their representatives as lobbyists over there, in a combination of that whole thing, caused what I called, the "political power brokers." And they set up a schedule. There were Democrats and Republicans on both sides of the fence, but an organized minority will always outnumber an unorganized majority, because of the various ways you could vote. There were so many different ways. So, now I'm giving you a background of what Mike Mansfield walked into.

WD: Right.

WP: When Jerry O'Connell defeated Paine Templeton [and] Miss Thorkelson, I saw the opening right there and I darn near made it. It was very, very close. If I had made it I would have been elected to Congress. Well, then two years later, in 1940, wasn't it...?

WD: Right.

WP: In 1940, and I showed you the four that ran with Jerry O'Connell and Mike Mansfield. Hugh Adair was District Judge. They were all prominent men, and over on my side of the fence [and] there was the incumbent, Thorkelson - we just ignored him. He just did not know a single thing. He was an accident in the first place. I've forgotten who the other two were that ran in that

race, but Jeanette Rankin won it. And, so, when Alice and I were back to this regional conference of young Republicans, Jeanette Rankin was in office then. She was elected in 1940 and took office in 1941. And this was in July of 1941. Well, she called up my wife and invited us to have lunch with her. So, when we had lunch with her, why I was her opponent, and she knew that I was interested in running for Congress. I asked her, point blank, I said, "Are you going to run for re-election?" She said, "No, I promised them I wouldn't run against Mike Mansfield."

WD: The company?

WP: You could put any kind of interpretation you want on it. So, I saw the light. I saw what a tough deal I was up against. So I ran for the Legislature the first time.

WD: In the forties?

WP: Forty-two. And that's the time Doc Jones, the drunken chairman of the Democrat party told me that I wasn't going to get elected, because he knew what the trade was. Well, anyway, I whipped 'em. And I stayed in office until I ran for Congress again. I served five consecutive terms. I ran for Congress, and then I came back and served two more terms in the Legislature - my last one was 1961. Now, with that background ... and, all of the candidates that had some power were cleared out of the way. In 1942, Mike Mansfield had a pretty easy term on his Democrat side, and had no competent Republican opposition at all. Anyway, Hazelbaker (not any relation to Frank Hazelbaker - he's a cousin, I mean, but not Frank) he was a publisher of a paper up in Poison, but he had no background at all, so Mike had a real easy time of it his first term. Now, as I wrote in this letter to Sam Reynolds, who is a former [letter-1o-the-] editor of the Missoulian, that Mike had some very good qualifications - he is pleasant, he was not an eager-beaver, he wasn't rushing to [?] for this or that or the other. As a result he kept an even keel and kept getting re-elected, until the time he ran for the Senate, and he defeated Zales Ecton. Zales was a good fellow, but he was on Appropriations Committee, and Appropriations Committee takes an awful lot of your time. You don't have time to get out and campaign. He went out [and] beat the drum like Williams is for Congress now, and the fellows now, and he stayed back there and tended to his [?], and he just didn't build himself up. Well, Mike, on the other hand, had built up a good background. See, he had all the "political power brokers" behind him, he had the labor unions behind him, he had the liberal side of the Democratic party behind him, and he had no particular opposition from the Republican Party so he got in there as a good fellow. And Mike got to be control majority leader of the Democrat party because other Democrats wanted to be President of the United States, and they were grooming themselves for that. Well, Mike never displayed any [?] so he was a very agreeable [?]. I've given you kind of a background there.

WD: But, where does Mike Mansfield get his...? When he ran in forty and forty-two, he was essentially teaching or [was] a lecturer at the University of Montana.

WP: Well, I'll give you a little bit of the background there.



WD: He didn't have a whole lot of political experience up to that point.

WP: Yes, he didn't have any experience until he ran in forty when he was defeated by Jerry O'Connell. But, I'll tell you where he got some background. Art Mosby, who has a radio station, wanted Burley Miller of the...I've forgotten what department Burley Miller was in ... well the same department Mike Mansfield when he was over here teaching —

WD: History?

WP: Yes, political science, I think. Well, he wanted Burley Miller to talk on the radio on international affairs. Well, Mike had had some courses out here at the University, and Burley Miller got Mike Mansfield to talk on the radio. And there's where he got some background. And then, Mike had some political influence over in Butte. He had quite a strong political influence in Butte. His wife is prominent with the Anaconda Company - his wife's father, I mean.

WD: Sullivan? Is that a Sullivan?

WP: No, what was her name? Maureen - I don't remember what her maiden name was - but, anyway, her father was prominent over there, and Mike had this background. Well, here's the thing: the Democrats are sick and tired of electing the Republicans to Congress and to the Senate because they couldn't settle Jerry O'Connell. So they wanted to get someone on the Democrat's side that they could get by and elect to Congress and later to the Senate. So, Mike Mansfield had a clear field. He had all this other kind of opposition cleared out for him, and it gave him a golden opportunity. He had the best of everything. It ought to be amazing to [anyone that] a man with a background that he had — And, as I said in that letter to Sam Reynolds, he was not an aggressive person, he was mild-mannered, and he's an easy-going person and a likable fellow, and that's the way he is. And then, another thing, too, Mike used to write letters to people who had a death in the family or something. When my mother died, Mike wrote a letter to my brother. [He] didn't send me one, he wrote to my brother But, Mike had a fellow at his ear, when he's see people walk the street, he'd whisper in Mike's ear who he was [and Mike would then say] "Oh, ho, Bill...how are ya?"

WD: Is that right?

WP: And that when over big. To have recognition from a famous man like Mike Mansfield.

WD: Do you know who that person was?

WP: Well, like me - my wife has to save me, lots of times, because I can't call [names]. If I was all of a sudden to give my [their] name, I couldn't do it. I'd panic. I can't do it. I strive so hard to get the name. Now, a lot of times I'll say to my wife, "Now, who is that fellow? I met him over in Great Falls, and we talked about this and we did that or the other," I'll give her a background,

but she'd come up with the name. Well, so, I don't know whether Mike had that ability to call people by name or not, but I do know that he had a fellow in his ear who would help him out. And that was very flattering [along with] those letters that he wrote. So, Mike knew how to get re-elected. Besides, [because of] his non-aggressive attitude he was not in competition with the next guy that wanted to be President of the United States. And, they were very happy to—

[End of Tape 1, Side A]

[Tape 1, Side B]

WD: It was at the height of the cold war, Joe McCarthy sent a man out named Harry Matisoe out as kind of a henchman.

WP: Oh! Now that brings up "Red China Mike." Yes, I'll tell you about that. Mike Mansfield was sent to China by Roosevelt to inquire about the Chinese picture over there. And Mike came back and we had a special meeting in our legislature and sat there as a member of the legislature, and heard Mike Mansfield tell about the Chinese over there. And they were peaceful, agrarian farmers, and they weren't Communist at all. Now, Communism was a bad word politically and if you could tie Communism on to somebody, you'd just about had it. Well, when they sent these people into Montana to try to tie Communism onto Mike, I said it's stupid to do a thing like that on him. You're never gonna hook Communism onto Mike. That's a silly thing to try to campaign. The only way you can do is campaign against Mike is say, "What has he done?" and, make it a clean campaign. Well, don't try to tie Communism onto Mike because it is impossible to do that.

Now, Mike was an Isolationist like I was. There was a lady here in Missoula by the name of Mrs. Line (Mrs. Robert Line). She could see this WWII coming up, and she used to have meetings and Mike Mansfield and I were both invited. That was before Mike was elected, and when I was still running for Congress. We both spoke to this group and Mrs. Line, which was an anti-war group of people. And Montana was [a] pretty strong isolationist [state]. We didn't think that we felt as though that if we stayed out of WWII and let Germany and Russia...

Alice WP: World War One.

WP: No, World War Two. If we stayed out of WWII - WWI was way back in 1916 - this was Hitler. If we stayed out of WWII, and let Hitler and the Russians knock each other out, we could come over and give food and help get rehabilitated and see, now, no more war and you're not going to eat, and that's the way we felt in Montana. B.K. Wheeler and an awful lot of us. And, now Mike spoke at this same meeting as I, and if I remember correctly, Mike was pretty much of an Isolationist, too. I hate to speak for Mike, because I don't remember. That's a long time ago, but I think he and I are pretty close in our thinking about our not getting involved in that war, and that's the time Jeanette Rankin stepped in and got elected, but she had promised them, as she said, that she would not run against Mike Mansfield.

WD: My thesis concentrates on Mansfield and his views on foreign policy, US foreign policy. What I am concentrating on is, actually, I'm outlining Mansfield's role in the decision making process of US foreign policy, and I think you are absolutely right. He did have some desire to see the US stay out of WWII, but once it started, you know, he —

WP: I've been asked if I were in Congress when the Japanese hit Pearl Harbor, how would you vote, and I'd have had to vote against it. I've had to vote for us going to war. But I'd have voted against the Japanese because that's the only thing we could have done. I think Jeanette Rankin

was stupid to [cast her vote that way] but she dedicated her life to that. Now that's another story - when I ran against Jeanette. Now she and I were more or less thinking alike. Not the case at all in our campaign. The Rankin family was a very well-known family and they had a large group of people that knew them. The two Rankin girls worked very hard, and old Wellington Rankin, he practically owned three counties. He was the wealthiest guy in the State of Montana. I've opposed both lines of Rankins - Jeanette Rankin, so I've run against some tough company, but once you take on a Rankin, you take on a whole darn family. And, so, that's how she got the nomination. Of course, she ran against Jerry O'Connell and it was a cinch. But she just wanted that one crack at it and she promised them, as she said, that she wouldn't run against Mike Mansfield, and [?] to elect the Republicans to office on a split like that, so that re-established the Democrats in Congress again, when they elected Mike Mansfield.

WD: Well, Mansfield, when the war ended, he wanted to, as quickly as possible, bring all the American troops home.

WP: Well, that gets back to that Isolationism. I think he had a strong tendency for the rest of we Montanans.

WD: Right, and going through these letter of his constituents, they are heavily in favor of the US not getting involved in affairs of Europe, and also, not only Europe, but in Greece and Turkey, because at the time there were fears that the Communists were going to take over Greece and Turkey, and Truman had put up a huge aide - military economic aid bill - to Greece and Turkey to make sure these countries did not go the Communist way. It so happens that the majority of the people of Montana were much against this, 1) the reason they didn't want to see the US get involved in another war, with the Russians, especially, and, 2) there's a heavy Irish Catholic opinion that, in essence, that the US may be pulling British chestnuts out of the fire.

WP: I quoted another fellow, Henry Rigby, the other day, there was an Irish Catholic lady and she was against our going into WWII. And, they said, "Well, look at that old Hitler," and she says, "The King of England... I'd rather be again the devil I know than the devil I don't know." And that was exactly what they're thinking was over in Butte.

WD: Exactly, and so Mansfield, in a way, is caught, because he's Irish Catholic from Butte, so he has to listen to his constituents over there.

WP: Well, Mansfield had their backing, and he had the "political power brokers", and he had Wheeler, and he had the Democrats who were getting sick and tired of electing Republicans to Congress, so he had a very strong background. I'd have given anything to have had the background that he had to run for office. And besides that, he never had strong Republican opposition in the finals. By that time the Democrats wanted to go to Congress prior to Mike Mansfield, and the Republicans were all through, they had exhausted themselves and I decided to go to the Legislature where I knew I could get elected. And, so I disappeared. So, he had a good, clean record, and then, on top of that, every two years, as I say, Mike Mansfield tended

to his knitting, building up his fences at home and he had a very agreeable personality, and he wasn't aggressive. Now, a man that's got political ambition, he gets aggressive. He's got to be aggressive, and, he didn't have that, so his companions in Congress, they elected him as Majority Floor Leader, no... I've got to get this right—

D'Altom: Senate Majority Leader.

WP: Senate Majority Leader, and he worked with Lyndon Johnson. Lyndon Johnson was his predecessor, and he worked well with that, but then, you see, Mike, having taught in foreign countries, and then when he was young man, he got into WWI, (there's where you come in, Alice, WWI) he did a lot of traveling abroad, and he had built up some knowledge of foreign affairs at that time...

WD: Yes, that's also part of my thesis - the part where he went to China for two weeks to be stationed at the city – to protect the city from two fighting war lords - Chinese war lords, and they were there just to protect the economic interest.

WP: And, here too, he referred to them as the peaceful agrarian farmers. That stuck in the craw of the Republicans, and they didn't like that because they figured those guys were bloody Red Chinese, so, Mike got the title of being Red China Mike.

WD: Right. That was the topic of a book on him, too. And, that's the point. In 1952, as he is running for the Senate for the first time, that's exactly the label they put on him and, in a way, he had to react against it to prove that he was not a Communist, so what he, in fact, does —

WP: Well, that's the reason I said [that] Mike is a Catholic [and] Catholics are not for Communism. I said, "You're stupid to try to hook Communism onto Mike." And, there's another fellow I interviewed here the other day was on Rankin and Murray [?]. Now, Murray was an Irish Catholic from Butte, and Rankin beat him in Butte. Now, do you want to know why? And that's why I quoted this Irish woman that she'd rather be again the devil she knows than the devil she don't, because Murray was going along with Roosevelt, and Roosevelt was helping the English out, and the Irish didn't like that.

WD: No, not at all.

WP: One time when I was out here at the University, a fellow taught me public speaking, in fact, in Chicago, and it just at a time they had an election back there, and the big batter, the guy running for [?] was saying, "To hell with the King George of England!" They did not like the English.

WD: Especially, Joe Kennedy who was [Irish Catholic].

WP: Right, so you take over Butte, why that being a strong Irish Catholic, they would rather be "again the devil I know that the devil I don't know." So, Rankin beat Murray in Butte, and Murray was an Irish Catholic, but he wanted to know why, and I told him that was the reason, right there. So, I think that influenced— There's a lot of this background things that Mike had dealt with that were all in his favor. He had things going just perfect all the way for him, and as I say, Mike's personality, he was mild, he wasn't aggressive.

WD: In one way he's not the typical politician. You said he's not aggressive, his personality's [not aggressive], but in another way, that is perfect strategy to be a good politician. I mean, what other way to get going [than] that guy who looks like the underdog?

WP: Well, in that letter I said to Reynolds, I forgot just exactly how I worded that, but I think that symbolized Mike pretty well - his personality.

WD: And, in a way he climbed the political ladder because he was not threatening.

WP: Well, he didn't aspire to the office that another politician wanted. And, as a result, Mike's chief accomplishment was his ability to perpetuate his longevity in public life in this quiet and unassuming manner, and to steer clear of controversial issues. And Mike did a beautiful job of that.

WD: Yes, he had some very controversial issues to deal with - Vietnam - [and] the big one that I'm concentrating on - [the] US troops in Europe.

WP: Yes, to get them home.

WD: To get them home.

WP: Yeah, well now that gets back to that Isolationism. We wanted our boys back home and to heck with getting involved with all these squabbles. Now, Reagan, getting connected with the Contras down there in South America, it darn near cost him... it almost brought up impeachment. Now they can do in Congress something that we can't do in the Legislature - in the Legislature, you got a title of a bill, and you've got to confine the contents of that bill according to the title. Now, you can't put these wild-eyed riders on it. Now, what got Reagan in trouble was on this appropriation [bill]. The government is going to go broke if that appropriation bill didn't go through. They hooked that rider on it that you couldn't give any money to the Contras and he had to sign that bill and it made it a law. In the State Legislature, you couldn't have done that. And, that's one thing that kind of provoked me about that whole thing, because I jumped on one of our Congressmen once, I said, "How in the devil can you guys put these wild-eyed riders on a bill that doesn't have anything to do with the bill itself?" But that's what they do back in Congress.

And I wish they'd had to do it the way we do it in the Legislature. If an amendment doesn't have anything pertaining to the title of that bill, you can't put it on there. But that's what got Reagan

- pretty near got him in trouble, on account of that. But, now, there's another thing . . . (Tape changing) ... where were we now?

WD: About putting riders on bills.

WP: Oh, yeah, well, I was going to go into another page here. Well, anyway, that was the thing. They were stupid in doing what they did. Well, in the first place, that rider should have never been there, but that's one of those parts of the game that you have to play, but you should always live up to the law. And it is a dangerous precedent to have them going to contrary to the law, and it's darn near, well, of course , I was just reading an article today where Congress is gaining more and more control over the Presidency. Now, we have our divisions in government - Legislative, Judicial and Executive branches of government. When the Legislative gets over into the Executive Branch, or the Executive branch got over into the Legislative— Roosevelt did think a darn thing of taking the Executive branch and piling it on top of the Legislative branch, and controlling the things that came through the Legislative branch. Well, that got Wheeler in trouble because Wheeler wouldn't stand for packing the Supreme Court. Now that would break down the integrity of our court, if at any time the President [did that]. Or, why couldn't he have appointed a bunch of those to change the court ruling? Now, the ruling of the Supreme Court is always controversial, and lots of times it can switch in the course of time. There were judges in there and they can think exactly the opposite. Now, we like to think that the laws that are approved by our

Supreme Court are practically set in concrete. But they're not. As political thinking changes ...but it's difficult to change their rulings until a length of time goes by and erosion of the judges and, again, how the judges get in there. But, so, the sanctity of the ruling of the Supreme Court is held rather high in the opinion of all of us. All of us - there's where we differ - other Democratic nations, they don't like what's going on they shoot the president or somebody like that. We believe that there's another election every two years and if we don't like what's going on well, we're going to try to change it two years from now. And, that's why we have a workable democracy in a Republican form of government.

WD: Throughout your years as a legislator over in Helena, you were a big supporter of funding education.

WP: Oh, yes. Alice, will you get that book that article I wrote? I played a very important part in getting the University the full and complete probation that they asked for.

WD: What do you think of the Legislature today, with their problems - the funding problems?

WP: Now, do you want to turn your speaker off, I'll let you look at this. [Tape off]. We spent over a week interviewing just the University of Montana, going over their budget. I might say, in an exaggerated sense, we practically counted pencils, and our sub-committee... I was a member of the House committee of the University sub-committee of the Appropriations committee. There were four of us, two Republicans and two Democrats. We would come out with our

report to the Appropriations committee of fifteen members and they went rather heavily on our recommendations that we made, and we recommended that this budget be approved, which was quite a substantial increase in money, as you will see as you go through the book there, that we were able to get, and I was able to get our budget. So, I told Jim McCain that Dr. Renne of Bozeman, didn't have a representative from Bozeman on our committee, I said I'd get his appropriation for him, and I did. And I gained a friendship of Bozeman over there with us, and we worked together, and as you go through this book, you'll see that. Now, if you want to cut that off again—

WD: Yeah, maybe I will, and just read through this quickly. [Tape Off] That's interesting. Do you consider the Democrats have really, over the twentieth century, especially US history, cornered the issue of education, say, more than the Republicans?

WP: Have cornered it?

WD: Yes, have made it kind of their policy of always pushing education, of funding education?

WP: Yes, well now if you see the front of the book there, what the educators have to say about what I did as a Republican.

WD: Right, and that's my question. You, as a Republican, do you feel that you are outside of the mode of a Republican or were there a lot of fellow Republicans in the Legislature who work[ed] with Democrats?

WP: Well, I kinda had some of Mike Mansfield's philosophy of getting along with my fellow[s].

WD: Were you bi-partisan?

WP: Well, yes, now, I had bi-partisan support on my controller bill, where I feel [felt] that we were losing a lot of money in wasteful expenditures. And I was a member of what they called the "Little Hoover Commission," the State Reorganization Commission. Well, we studied our expenditures, where we had duplications in office, and there was waste along the line. Well, my philosophy was that if we could save enough money from [these] wasteful expenditures, we could have more money for appropriating. Lots of times an increase in our budget is saving money. Now, but you see the salaries of those teachers, I don't know if you read any of that or not, but they were horrible. You won't believe it, once you see what they got, and I got them a huge increase in their salaries, so I was pretty well liked. I worked with these fellows, but I had to pay for this.

WD: But weren't you cut back with programs and such, that they became wasteful?

WP: Well, in our reorganization, we found out there was an awful lot of duplication of doing the same thing.



WD: Yes, in jobs.

WP: And we assigned those things like that. We found that there was a lot of unnecessary use of automobiles and we made quite a study of that. In fact, Alice, where's that state reorganization - that little yellow booklet? I saw it laying around here.

Alice WP: I had it in my hand this morning.

WD: So that made quite an impact?

WP: Oh, yes, yes we did. It's that yellow booklet, I just saw it.

WD: Just little bit.

Alice WP: Yeah, we had it, I had it here just this morning, wondering what to do with it. Here it is.

WD: OK.

WP: I'm almost sure they have that in their library there.

WD: Yeah, they should have this over there... 1953.

WP: I was author of the bill that created that reorganization commission, and that was succeeded by what they call the Legislative council now.

WD: Now, as a legislator, did you find it to your disadvantage not to have a law school education? People say, you know, there's so many lawyers over there. How did you handle all the lawyers and the attorneys?

WP: We did - we had a secretary that made quite a study of this along with us, and we studied various facets of it. For example, I found out this: that when I sat on that appropriations committee, there's fifteen of us there, and I didn't know a heck of a lot about what's going on. See, you're only there for sixty days and that's all, and I looked around and I saw some other fellows that didn't know what was going on, so I authored (and I say authored - I actually did.) Alice acted as our secretary, and we had Ernie Fenton the lawyer, who was possibly the best draftsman of the legislation of any man I've ever heard of, and then we had Art Neal who was from the Montana Taxpayer's Association. I outlined exactly what I wanted to have done and we drafted this log - a State Controller Act, in which three facets of government were all channeled under this controller. The budget that was appropriated by the Legislature, the purchasing agent... well, first, before that, we had the accounting agent, who took all our appropriations like a bank account, and then when these various governmental agencies sent in

purchasing orders to buy, and they have to be cleared by an accounting agency, just like a bank clears your check. Prior to that, we had no way of making any accounting at all. We would have a debt of four or five million dollars, and in those days - that was quite a lot of money - and here we had to go to work and cough up money from the general fund to pick up that debt before we could proceed with our government financing. So we were constantly running a debt, causing us to spend a lot more money than necessary. Well, that's where my controller bill went. The trouble, though, was that I got the Democrats to help me with it, I got the Democrat Governor to sign the bill, and the very next election, we elected a Republican Governor who didn't understand a thing about it, and the controller fell by the way and they finally killed the controller. And they are going to have to go back to this Controller Act until they get control of the useless expenditure of money. Now while the Controller, he kept rigid control of the expenditures of money, and that's very important, because nobody knows how the other fellow is spending their money, and a purchasing requirement comes through, and the purchasing agent goes out and buys it, and then he doesn't have any money in the bank to pay for it. So, they write that up once a month, [and] it was all validated by what they call the Board of Examiners. The Board of Examiners that day was the Governor, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of State. Forrest Anderson, I wrote a nice letter about Forrest Anderson.

WD: I read it.

WP: Did you? Well, anyway, Forrest Anderson, he was Attorney General then, and Hugo Aronson - oh, good old Hugo - he was the type of guy that when I ran for Congress and he was on the same platform with me, he said, "Well, what do I say?" Well, I said, "We're going to tell them the same thing you generally say." So he got up and he said, "Now, I want to tell you fellers this hear, right now, I don't want any more of you fellers getting killed in Montana. If you want to get killed, go over to North Dakota!" He was just that kind of a guy - a nice lovable fellow [?]. Well, John Bonner was a very capable man. [He was] Democrat, and he understood government, and he and I were very good friends, and I went to him with a [?] House Bill, and he signed it. I went to him on a Controller Act that he had a lot of Democrat opposition to that, and we stepped on a lot of toes, when they combined three offices into one. And we took some jobs away from some of these people, but it meant control of our money. In other words, it didn't have an money, so the Legislature appropriated the money. I went over to the Accounting Department and they were just like your banker, and when the purchasing requirements came through, they were not validated until the Accounting Department validated them. Before that, they went to the Board of Examiners, and they didn't have the slightest idea what the hell was going on. I was on the sub-committee that interrogated the Board of Examiners - the Governor, the Secretary of State, and Forrest Anderson, the Attorney General - and we bawled the hell out of them for approving money that they didn't have the slightest idea where it went.

Well, that tightened that up. Bonner was all for it, but when Hugo got in there, he didn't understand (the Republicans never understood.) They were in power, and they finally killed it. I said, "Now, we're going to have to go back to that controller again, and Alice and I are going to

write up quite an article on that Controller Office that we went through and that was my own idea when I sat on that Appropriations Committee. I didn't have the slightest idea... [we'd] meet once every two years for thirty days or sixty days, and I could see there were a lot of other guys that didn't either. Well that Controller was supposed to sit in there and help us, to tell us, if you want new government, more government, this is what you're going to have to raise money and taxes to pay for instead of just wanting to go in debt. So, before I pass from this earth, I hope to get that controller back into office again.

WD: George Bush seems to be pretty much a defender of education and funding education. Would you agree with that?

WP: I don't understand. I haven't followed you too closely. The thing that provoked me about Bush, and I am a Republican, he has gone out, all over the world, making promises to help pay off the other countries' debts. What the devil is he doing about paying off our debt? Now that's a very important thing - in that scrapbook, I got a German mark, it is worthless, from inflation, and as long as we got people who buy government bonds, now they're selling thirty-year bonds, that pay eight to ten percent interest, as long as we have got people who will buy those bonds, we could keep on going into debt. But, one of these days, the people are going to lose confidence in our government to pay off those bonds, and nobody - Democrats or Republicans, are making any effort at all to cut out this going in debt, and people think all you do is write that down in red ink. You don't. You sell government bonds. And that's the background of our banks, the background of our building and loans, it's the background of all of our financial institutions - government bonds. Now, when an inspector comes in to investigate a bank, if you got a lot of those government bonds, that's the same as cash. And, so, therefore, they give that bank credit for it. They got that as their background. Now, the short-term bonds, I bought six-month bonds, and all you have to do is just clip the coupons off your bonds, the interest rate, and as long as you buy those bonds, why the government can keep on going into debt. But, the day that they quit buying those bonds— The bond today is worth the money you've got in your pocket, just as negotiable, just as good, but when they quit buying those bonds, then we're going to be in trouble.

[End of Tape 1, Side B]

[Tape 2, Side A]

WP: I don't know how I'd classify myself, because I've had the Republican governor and Republican legislature kill that controller bill of mine and I had Democrat support - in fact I wrote their speeches, as a matter of fact one of the fellows is sitting on the Supreme Court today.

WD: Sheehy?

WP: Sheehy, yes, he helped me out on my fighting for this Controller Act. In fact I had four or five Democrats, and I wrote part of their speeches for them. And Governor Bonner, I've got Governor Bonner to sign more of my bills than I got Republicans. So, I classify myself as an independent thinking Republican. Now, I'm conservative, because I think that there's a lot of ways that we could quit wasting money. And I do believe that sometime, it pays to increase the budget, where you're going to get the results from it. I've been strong for education, as you can see in that book there, that I have been strong for education, yet, at one time, I incurred the wrath of the elementary schools because they wanted to write into the Constitution the State must pay one-half of all school costs. Once you get that in the Constitution, that has priority over all other moneys. And we have to balance the budget in appropriating money to running other facets of the government, besides the money that we give to education. Well, they got it out that I was against education. I wasn't. I just didn't want to put that... engrave that in stone, in the Constitution, where you would have to get a constitutional amendment to change it. I wanted the legislature to have the flexibility. Now, that gets up another point. Now have you heard of Martin Martineau over there in the legislature?

WD: Yes.

WP: Well, he's the dean of all the deans of the Legislature. He served in the Legislature when I was there. And, when I was there, the way we financed government is that the Legislature... the Appropriations Committee would go over all of these requests, appropriation budgets, and we would fine-comb them, and appropriate the money that we think is necessary to run that department. Well, sometimes we'd give an increase here where we figured that we could save money by doing it. So I wasn't against increasing budgets, where I thought you were going to get the results of it. Well, I was in favor of it. So, that's why I wanted that Controller to sit in there and help us to do that. So, but the Legislature appropriated all money. Now, on education, they appropriated it to the Board of Education. They appropriated a lump sum. The Board of Education said how much the University of Montana should get, and over in Bozeman and so forth... we did that ourselves. Martineau is of the old school. He wanted to have his finger in that pot, and I'll tell you why I believe that - it is up to the legislature to pass taxes to tell you as a taxpayer how much money you are going to have to pay in taxes, so, therefore, it's up to the Legislature to see that that money is spent properly. And, therefore, I would like to see the Legislature, again, control the money that goes for education. And I proved, in this book that you just saw, that you can get that money, if you, if it's presented to you in a sensible and

reasonable manner. And, being from the University, I was a strong proponent for that budget, and I got it. And I was in line to be chairman of the Appropriations Committee. The powers that be saw to it that I wasn't thought as chairman. I was too liberal in that sense of the word. So, but I was able to influence enough people. Now, on this Controller Act, at the end of the Legislative session, they have what they call a gag rule. You can only talk so long. Well, when I was talking on this Controller Act, the Democrats would get up and yield their time to me, so that I had more time to explain it. I think if we looked at the book that the Controller Act went through with just very, very few descending votes. And it went through the Senate with a few more over there. But Bonner, he stuck by me on it, I sold it to him (a Democrat governor) he signed it, and he was mad as the devil at that Legislative session because the Republicans were in control, and he said not a decent piece of - it's in the newspaper - not a decent piece of legislation came out of that legislature except the State Controller Act. The Missoulian put in "Winfield Page's Opera."

WD: But there is no Controller now.

WP: No, they wiped it off, but they're going to have to go back to it, because that's their problem - they have no control in their expenditures, and they don't understand where duplication comes in and they don't attempt to live within their budget. They have deficits all the time. Now, when I was in that Appropriations Committee, some of the freshmen got in there, and they'd say, "The hell with those guys...don't pay it." I'd say, "No, you can't do that. Merchants have given merchandise to the State in exchange for money, and you cannot deny paying [for] that merchandise that the merchants have given. Or anybody else that runs up a debt against the State - you can't say we're not going to pay it." So, I said, "That's stupid. What we got to do is give an intelligent appraisal of our situation, appropriate money intelligently, and expect it to be expended intelligently." And the Controller doesn't. Where is that article? Someplace - an analysis of the Controller? Well, anyway, it might take some time to find it—

WD: That's interesting. Well, this entry about Mansfield — I I didn't realize that he had so much going for him.

WP: Oh, I would have going for him! Given anything going for me what he had.

WD: Because [of] what I've read so far, he has the idea to run for office because his wife really wants him to run for office.

WP: Well, his wife's father was very popular over in Butte with the proper people in the Anaconda Company and so forth, and they had a strong influence on what I call the "political power brokers." I don't want to say that Mike Mansfield was controlled by the Governor or anything else, but he had a lot of their help.

WD: Right, that's for sure. He also was a miner over there, so that helped. Yes, I'm taking a look at his whole will to pull back, not all the troops in Europe, but a good two or three divisions.

WP: And that's very popular with we Isolationists in Montana, and I was one of them, because I figured that all's we had to do was stay out of that, and let Hitler and the Russians knock themselves out, and then we come in with food, and feed them and give money and get them rehabilitated. Then, we'd have a good, sound government over there, either you behave yourself or you don't eat.

WD: Every year we'd say, well, this is essentially how much we'd spend on our troops in Europe, and he would give the figure - forty billion at the time (now it's up to a hundred and fifty billion) and he would say, "If only we could take half of that and invest it in America somehow." I mean, he gave one speech in front of the House of Representatives that they would not fund the geological survey branch of the Department of the Interior, which goes out and looks for metals for mining companies, and they spot certain areas. They also survey public lands, and they generally give back the industry. He says, "We can't [want] Congress to cut 1.2 million from their budget on one hand, and on the other hand, want to send fifty billion dollars over to Europe. Now, that doesn't make any sense to me. We have to keep our own house in order before we go over there."

WP: And, me going along in the same line of thinking. I'm opposed to Bush running all over the world today, wanting to put money [out] to help pay off their debts. How about us paying off our debts? You see, that same thing still exists right here among us in Montana.

WD: Well, isn't that interesting. You're a Republican and Mansfield's a Democrat, but it's—

WP: Well, we think pretty much alike. Now, as I say, when we talked to Mrs. Line's group that she had, I was an Isolationist, and I'm almost sure Mike was too. I don't want to speak for Mike, but I'm almost sure that he was. And Mike shows that when he wanted to get those troops back. I think it's ridiculous for us to pay those countries over there to billet our soldiers to protect them from the outside enemy.

D'Alton Well, what really kind of angered Mike at the time was around 1960, when the GNP of European, western European countries was high and the United States was stagnating, and our gold outflow was ... we were losing our gold.

WP: Oh, boy, did that Premier of France come over and robbed the gold off our— Oh, what was his name? He went over, and took it back by the sack-full. You see, we owe France some money for billeting our soldiers over there to protect France, and he went over with these IOU's to Fort Knox and he just got his hands all our gold! Well, finally, we had to put a stop to that.

WD: Right, exactly. That really ticked Mansfield off, and at that point he thought it just didn't make any sense. We had the soldiers over there for our national security in the first place and now they're not helping our national security, they are hindering it. He said if you don't have a strong economy, those soldiers mean nothing. You've got to be able to back them up with

manufacturing, and getting the supplies to them if war came, so, he was more interested in the domestic economy.

WP: Well, my thinking is that we've got to cut down on a lot of this foreign aid and keep it here to help us pay off this debt, because, if we don't pay off this debt — See, I was in the stock market business and I understand the selling of bonds and things of that type, and if we don't pay off that debt, eventually, we're not going to be able to sell government bonds to people. We're not going to be able to sell it to the insurance companies or to the banks. Now, right now, when a bank wants to show their solvency, all they have to do is dig up a bunch of this paper. You know, it's practically worthless to a lot of people's way of thinking. When you show that paper of government bonds, it makes the bank safe to operate. One of these days, if that whole financial structure were to collapse, it would be just like a German deutschmark, like I've got in that book. [It's] worthless. And it's going to happen if we don't do it but, we Republicans know better than the Democrats. We've got Bush running around here, as I say, trying to find places to give money to people to help them pay off their debt. Well, what are we doing about our debt? So, when you ask me what kind of Republican I am—

WD: That's the question I have in my own mind to resolve.

WP: Well, on various issues, some places I'm conservative and some places I'm liberal.

WD: So you would say you're the independent Republican?

WP: That's right, I believe in thinking independently. Just because the party does certain things, doesn't mean that I've got to go along with it. I've disagreed quite some time with some of the things we Republicans do. Of course, I've disagreed with the Democrats, too.

WD: Right - I was going to say both parties. Well, I think that was the key question I wanted to ask you, and this stuff about Mansfield is going to be helpful. I write to him a lot. I'm in contact with him and he sends letters to me and I send them back.

WP: Mike is very, very good that way.

WD: Oh, excellent, yes.

WP: I don't know if I told you this or not (my wife tells me I repeat myself) but my brother had a summer place up on the Clearwater, and there was an old log up there that acted as sort of a dam that backed the water up, and he was able to watch his boat at the dock of that water. Well, somebody came along and pulled that log out. That water went down and left no place for him to launch it. The boat high, and practically high and dry. My brother wrote to Mike. Now, he and Mike were very good friends. They went to school together. Mike sent some engineers from back out in Seattle to look that thing over to find out why, and what could be

done about it. He did that for my brother. So you see, Mike was always on the ball to watch his constituents, and to see that they were happy.

WD: He must have worked quite a number of hours.

WP: Well, he had a good staff, too.

WD: Yes, he must have because [of] all the stuff—

WP: He had an excellent staff there to help him.

WD: That's what Dale Johnson said, where Lee Metcalf (DJ-I said John Melcher) would have trouble holding people, and who's the other guy?

WP: Well, Lee Metcalf had a hell of a temper.

WD: Yes, that's what Dale said, where Mansfield always had the same people all those years.

WP: Oh, well, it's like that letter I wrote to Sam Reynolds [stating that] Mike Mansfield was smooth. He was not overly aggressive, or anything of that type, and he was the kind of person who got along.

WD: He got more done in Congress, and something like that.

WP: Of course, he had a good background to start out with. Like I say, I would have given anything to have had that background to start out with, because the underbrush had been cleared away. We had four years of fighting Jerry O'Connell, and everybody didn't want Jerry O'Connell. That poor guy. One time I talked to Jerry. When Thorkelson defeated me, they wanted me to help Thorkelson out, so I went to one of Jerry O'Connell's speeches that he made, and I was sitting there in the audience taking notes, and Jerry O'Connell saw me and said, "What's the matter, Winfield, am I going too fast for you?" But I talked to Jerry. He tried to get along with the Company and they ignored him. He said, "If I had to stand out on my head stark naked to be able to oppose them, why," he said, "I'd do it!" And, so, he resorted to a radical way of doing things - [that] and the fact that he had antagonized Wheeler. Wheeler was strong [and] powerful at that time, and he [and] the so-called "political power brokers" got all together and so that they built up quite a bit, but they couldn't lick Jerry O'Connell in the primaries, and that elected we Republicans. Well, the Democrats were getting sick and tired of electing we Republicans to Congress, and so they wanted to get somebody on their side of the fence that they could get elected that could beat Jerry O'Connell. Now that's the background that Mike entered into, when he went into that. He had a good situation there.

WD: Yes, he was there at the right time.



WP: And, as I say, he was not antagonistic. He never got himself himself involved in controversial issues, so he was acceptable.

WD: Right - to everybody.

WP: And, the longer he stayed in office— There's quite an article [about] that. Who was it that wrote this article about how the members of Congress, about ninety-eight percent of them were able to perpetuate their chosen office.

WD: Right. I saw that.

WP: That's true. That's why this poor old Thorkelson hadn't a bit of know-how or any other— He was just absolutely an accident, that's all. And, so, nobody has figured that he was going to get back in there again. That's why everybody came out of the bushes on the Democrat side and the Republican side. Well, then, when Jerry O'Connell licked the Democrats, and Jeanette Rankin got the Republican nomination, and she had made the promise to the political powers that be that she would not oppose Mike if he came out for election. She did not oppose him. Why, that left a clear field. And that's how he got his start, and he was smart enough to hang on to it.

WD: Your brother talked to Mike a lot, [that] they were very close. Were you not as close to Mansfield because you were a Republican who was seeking maybe the office that he was?

WP: Well, you see, two years after I came close to running, Mike and I were potential opponents, and we were gentlemen about it. Nevertheless, we didn't get close together [or] things like that. We made a speech to the same group, Mrs. Line's group, which was against war, against our getting involved in war, and it was very evident that we were going to be, and B. K. Wheeler told Alice and me in July that before the year was out we would be at war; that Roosevelt was pushing us into it, and then, so that is how Wheeler lost out. Mike stayed clear of those controversies, and he overrode the storm waves, and was able to perpetuate himself and that's what made him famous.

WD: Did you like Robert Taft when you met him?

WP: I liked him very much, and President Kennedy, wrote a very complementary article about the quality [or] the ability of Taft. Now, in politics, we have a lot of these guys that are popular and don't understand government. They don't understand the theory of government or anything else, and yet we have some students of government. Taft was one of them, and Kennedy was quick to recognize that. That's what I tried to do with myself when I started back at the University of Minnesota; I took English Constitutional history, and English Constitutional law to get a good political background, and a good college background of economics to understand [it]. That's why I was more or less independently thinking, as a rule.

WD: A lot of people have compared Taft and Mansfield, especially in views on foreign affairs...

WP: Well, this senator threw this party for we Republicans. You see, I represented the four northwestern states. He had a little round pot-belly and he'd stand like this and kind of grin (shy) [and] sat off in the corner. Mansfield's chief thing, as I said in this letter, is his congeniality, staying clear of controversial issues, and make yourself amenable to groups of people. Well, Taft was so shy, [but] he had good, thorough knowledge of government. I don't know anybody that had more thorough knowledge of the theory of government than Taft, so I couldn't compare the two of them. They're different types of people. And Taft was as easy to get elected as Mike was (as easy to get himself elected.) Taft wanted to be President of the United States.

WD: Right, desperately.

WP: But he couldn't. He couldn't make it.

WD: Yes, Eisenhower—

WP: Yes, Eisenhower. I've got a picture of Eisenhower and I shaking hands when I ran for Congress. Eisenhower has got a wonderful personality. [He's] very charming, a charming person. Eisenhower wasn't the best of presidents. Where is that picture where Eisenhower and I shook hands? Well, anyway, that's immaterial. But, I got the chance to visit with Eisenhower.

WD: Did you? What year was that?

WP: What year was that when I ran for Congress? That time? Eisenhower?

Alice WP: Fifty?

WP: See, Eisenhower was elected in fifty-two? Was Eisenhower elected in fifty-two?

Alice WP: Yeah, it was about [that time].

WP: Well, it was fifty-four, then.

WD: Right. You ran for the House?

WP: I ran for the House, yes. And lee Metcalf was my opponent.

WD: Oh? Is that right?

WP: Oh, yes, I ran against some tough guys.

WD: Yes, I guess [you did]. How did that one turn out as far as the numbers?

WP: I got defeated by Lee Metcalf. He was running for his re-election the first term, and it was very difficult to run. I had a mustache then. I got the sassies.

WD: Yeah, he does look kind of elegant, doesn't he with the suit? Your suit's not bad either. You're a pretty spiffy dresser, there. This was in Washington?

WP: Yes, that when I was on call back to Washington, the committee to elect the Congressman. They wanted me to get back there, and I didn't want to go back there, but I finally decided the last minute and it was on a Saturday or a Sunday, and I didn't have much money - cash on hand, so I, the fellow that ran the old Florence Hotel - that's the Glacier Building now - he and I were good friends, and he cashed a check for me for five-hundred dollars.

WD: Oh, is that right?

WP: So, that's what I got back there with. I got some more money but I had to raise that money right now.

WD: So, all the years that you were working in the Legislature, you also worked on the stock market or, as a broker?

WP: I understood the bonds and I understood the government, how we sold all the bonds and as well as all the stocks themselves, and I invested in the stock market. I worked for the Rochester brokerage at that time that was a local firm and they sold out to Goodbody. Goodbody went over to Piper Jaffrey, but I took my account out of that and went over to D. A. Davidson and I had my account over there, but I was a broker there for a while.

WD: Is that right? So that was compatible with your—

WP: And Stan Abbey. I've got to have you look at that letter. We'd better shut that off for a second.

WD: Ok.

[Break in audio]

WP: Their timing was perfect, and they beat us, I think it was seven to six. [It was] close. I figured that in order to be competitive, [we] had to have a field house when the weather wasn't good to practice in. I'll see if this is [?] or not. Well, I've got to tell you about this Stan Abbey. Here he says after talking to you I found out that you used to be in the security business yourself with the Rochester Company in Missoula. I've known Wes Worth – he was a lobbyist over there. I've known Wes Worth for quite a long time and I worked with him a lot on bond legislation and also on bond issues when he was with the State land Board. Now that was

written in '47. This Stan Abbey would use foul language and rough language, and Jim McCain ... the old student union building was built with federal money - what do they call that? Public works. We had to sign a bond with so much interest on it to pay for it. The student union building, it was. Well, Jim McCain got Stan Abbey's bonding company to draft a piece of legislation to pay off the bonds on the student union building so that he could re-finance them at a lower interest rate, which they, the State of Montana and students, the students had to pay off on that, and so, this was in my third session. That would be '43, '45, and '47... 1947, when he came to me with this. He wanted me to introduce legislation to them. Well, '43 and '45, I tried to get the Army - the Reserve Army that we have out here at the Fort—

Alice WP: Yes. Oh, it's the State.

WP: Well, anyway, I tried to get them to finance, along with the University, a field house on the campus. I got a go-round, I didn't get anywhere. So, when he came to me with this legislation, and I read it, and it named the dormitory fund and this fund, and "other facilities," I knew I couldn't get legislation through to build a field house here without having to build one over in Bozeman, and my idea was to independently finance, Now, there's where my bond experience came in. If we could sell the bonds here, and have it independently financed, we could build a field house in Missoula without having to build one in Bozeman. So, "other facilities - other than field house and football stadiums..." I wrote that in. Old Stan Abbey came over to me and he said, "What son-of-a-bitch [?]...", "and I didn't know him from a May Pole, so I said, "Who's mother-bastard are you?" I had to talk to talk that way. We became very good friends afterward, and, he was opposed to it. I got it passed through the House and got it through all the steps necessary in the Senate to the final vote, and the Senator over there, who had good friends in the dormitories, they thought we were going to steal dormitory funds to pay for it be killed...1947. In '49, I had the job of getting the money for the University. And I got them their appropriation. They were very, very pleased. In fact, the KAIMIN came out with a big article - it's in that book - about how I got them all the money. I did so well that I told Jim McCain to tell Dr. Renne, who was the president of the one over in Bozeman [they called that the Montana State College in those days] that I'd help them get their appropriation. You aren't wasting your tape on this?

WD: Oh, yes I am.

WP: Ok, well, I told Jim McCain to tell Dr. Renne that I'd get his budget for him, because he didn't have a representative of the floor from the House. We met with four from the Senate and so, I have letter from Dr. Renne in that thanking me, because I got his budget for him, too, to build up that good relationship that exists . And Jim McCain was a marvelous person to deal with the Legislature, to deal with these other factors, and he was very helpful to me in doing it, but it was our job, as a member of the Legislature to get the budget, to bring home the bacon. That's exactly what we did.

Well, then, when they had the new Constitution they set up the Board of Education. Before that, we had the chancellor system, and he was to kind of keep peace among the various schools, and that's the system that we work under, but the final dollars and cents came from we and the legislature. Well, then, when the changes, or they appropriate money according to the enrollment, and they had some fights over money that they appropriated. The Legislature appropriated [it] to the Board of Education. The Board of Education parceled out the money. Well, that took the University a long ways away from it, but it also, unlike (?) - he can't get over the fact that they ... and I used to agree with him ... if the Legislature tells you, a taxpayer, that you've got to pay taxes to raise this money, they should responsible for how that money is spent. They cannot allocate it to somebody else. So I agree with old (?) over there. Of course, he's tough on the University. They have too (?). But, anyway, that's the whole story of financing the school.

Well, then, back to the field house. When I saw this field house thing, in '47 I got it clear through to the last vote of the Senate, and—

[End of Tape 2, Side A]

[Tape 2, Side B]

WP: —the way the Legislature - the heavy bills - come over from the House to the Senate, and then the Senate bills ... they have to transfer quite a load of bills. We didn't have any because they only have fifty senators over there and we had ninety-four ... ninety-eight House members. And so, we had a heavy work load over there, so at the tail end of the session, they had a lot of work to do. So, we went home, and when I got back Monday morning, and they had the reading of the Senate, they killed the field house bill. I went over to the Senate, and I asked one of my friends over there who killed it, and they told me, and I jumped him. He said that the way that law was drafted, we could steal money from the dormitory fund, and I inquired with some of the other lawyers, that that wasn't their interpretation, but anyway, I called Jim McCain, and said, "I can't get him to reconsider." And, Jim said to me, "Well, Winfield, will you drop that field house bill, part of it, because I want that finance." See, that's the one that this Abbey put through, got drafted, and he didn't want me messing around with it. And, so I agreed that we would. The Senate struck the field house and football stadium from that and passed it back to the House and I had to get up and move the adoption of the Senate amendments to my field house bill. So, in '47, the field house bill was dead. In '49, I had such a workload to get that big appropriation increase, as well as to get the six-mill levy, my controller bill, and many others, that I didn't re-introduce the field house bill at all, and nobody else was interested. So, then in '51, I resigned from the Appropriations Committee to get the Controller Act and the field house bill, and some of these other things put through that I wanted done. I got it put through, but I had to carry the whole load on that field house. These fellows were nice to have, and, over in Bozeman, why they felt that there *was* some other financing they felt should come ahead of the field house. Well, when I got the field house bill here, I went over to Bozeman and in that book, I spoke to a joint meeting of the Rotary and Kiwanis [speaking] to them [about] how they could finance a field house over in Bozeman. I met with the Bobcat boosters, explained it to them, and they finally got it underway and they had the field house in Bozeman. I figured that those, two field houses brought these huge crowds out to the basketball games to help finance it. Now they called the field house "Page's Folly." It would never pay for itself. Now, I had my experience in the stock market, and [with] bonds [and] I knew how those bonds could be paid off, so, I explained to these people how they could and they said, "Aw, you'll never be able to do it...," and that's the only way they could do it, and I said, "Well, what are they going to do? They can't jack that field house up and haul it away some place. We've got the field house [so] they're going to have to make it pay. We can't lose." But it was still Page's Folly until it was paid off ... then you don't hear any more about the field house. Then there were several side issues out of that. I don't know how we got onto that issue, but now, you [may] ask me some other questions if you want.

WD: Ok. I got the one about that there's no real difference between what you believe as a Democrat or a Republican, you know, that you can believe in the same thing—

WP: —if you're an independent thinker. Why, you don't find yourself confined.

WD: Exactly, which I found interesting because I find a lot of things Mansfield thinks a lot of Republicans think in the same way .

WP: Well, a lot of Republicans voted for Mike Mansfield.

WD: Right, yes. There must have been a lot of support there.

WP: And those people who tried to accuse Mike of being "Red China Mike," I said that was just plain stupid, because Mike has never, never been considered a Communist in any way at all or under the Communist influence. But the fact that he came back from China, which was Communist, and said that they're just peaceful, agrarian farmers ... now that backfired on him when the Chinese Communists started killing American kids.

WD: At the time, what did you think when he said that?

WP: I thought it was foolish. I didn't agree with it.

WD: Right. And in '52, did you follow that campaign closely? The one between—

WP: You mean the Mansfield campaign? I was busy campaigning for Congress - too busy thinking about myself, and so I never paid too much attention to what was going on over on the other side of the fence.

WD: Did Joe McCarthy ever get in contact with you?

WP: No, but I saw newspapers that they had and ... "Mike Mansfield a Communist," and all this and that, I saw that trash, and I said to the Republican Party their stupid if they try to push that, because you cannot tie Communism onto Mike.

WD: What do you think of politics in political campaigning today?

WP: I don't like it, and I'll tell you why. I don't like the "political power brokers," trading this candidate over here for that one over here and back and forth. That goes on. It goes on right now to this day. I don't like that power that they get to do that. It's an organized minority that has an advantage over an unorganized majority in the primaries. It also works out in the finals.

WD: Are there any particular politicians or statesmen today that you enjoy more than somebody else or that has favor in your eyes?

WP: Well, I was all for Reagan, because I figured he was a western man and that he wouldn't be tied up in that so-called "eastern establishment." Now that implies a whole lot of political thinking to back up that terminology. We Americans have a tendency to analyze everything into a simple statement, eastern philosophy or this or that, and I was tired of both Democrat and Republicans being that way, and I was for Reagan because I thought that he would bring the

western thinking, but, what I come to find out about [him is that] he got in the same pattern as the previous President.

WD: Jimmy Carter?

WP: Carter. Now, I thought poor old Jimmy Carter got a lot of abuse. He didn't deserve all the abuse that he got, but Roosevelt was the guy. It's hard for me to say a nice thing about Roosevelt, and the reason for that is that he used the power of that presidency to over-power the legislative branch of government, and then he went to try to over-power his judicial branch of government. I figure he got too big for his britches, but I could find that we Republicans were involved in the same pattern that was set by Roosevelt and that Truman, to a certain extent, followed, and then the Democrats' Carter, and Kennedy. Kennedy was independent to a certain extent, but he followed that pattern, and so I thought Reagan would be refreshing, but he fell right back into that pattern, and Bush is doing the same thing, so it's awful hard for me to be enthusiastic about any particular one because they're not facing up to the fact that we owe a damaging amount of money. [It's] a very, very serious problem and I, being in the financial business, understand that we can only carry this on long enough as the people are willing to buy government bonds. And when they quit buying government bonds, our whole financial structure is going to collapse. I hope that that never happens. I hope that we can make some substantial payments on our debt to show our integrity. I'm a strong believer in integrity. I believe in political life or in any other life you've got to show integrity, if you don't do that, why you're going to lose the confidence of people. The only thing in back of our debt today is confidence - [the] confidence that we can pay for it. Now, we've got a lot of resources, natural resources, all the gas and timber and all that that can bring us in profits that we could put into our United States Treasury, that we could help pay off our debts, but we keep on increasing. Now that gets back to Mansfield's idea that you spoke of: why do we go around the world, trying to bribe people to not be Communist by paying off their debts, and not doing a darn thing toward paying off our debt? I think you could simplify my whole philosophy right into that statement. That's the way I feel about it.

WD: Yeah, that's the way Mansfield felt about it too.

WP: Yes, well, he and I - I'm positive that we were Isolationists.

WD: I want to thank you for your time.

WP: Well, I enjoyed talking to you.

WD: I got a lot out of it.

[End of Interview]