

February 3, 1977

ST. CLAIRE: I am a member of the Phoenix Historical Society. They sent me a publication last week, and in it is a page on Hayden, and a sketch of that photograph that I referred to last time. It's not a very good sketch, but it does show him more or less when he was a younger man. I put it away and when I get back I will send it to you and you can make it part of the archives. They mentioned one activity of his as the sheriff of Maricopa County. It was the train robbery or hold-up of the Maricopa Junction to Phoenix shuttle train. In those days, the Southern Pacific Main line did not run through Phoenix, Arizona. It was some thirty miles south, from which stage lines used to get from the main line of the Southern Pacific into Phoenix. This publication will identify the two brothers who headed up the bank of train robbers. It was a celebrated case.

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The way Hayden told it to me was that they had staked their horses in an arroyo or mesquite area several miles out of Maricopa, and got on the train at Maricopa and started toward Phoenix, and when they neared where their horses had been staked they stopped the train and went through the coaches and held up the passengers. Having pocketed what they could they sped the train on its way. When the train arrived, of course, there was an instant sensation all over Phoenix that these main line passengers, and many local citizens had their watches and other valuables and cash taken.

Since it was a Maricopa County robbery, Hayden immediately organized a posse. He asked the Southern Pacific Railroad to furnish him with a flatcar and he put two automobiles on the flat-car, I guess they were vehicles called the "Brush." He organized this armed group and started off from Maricopa. They had made up a special train for the flatcar and the posse, and they stopped where they found the horses had been

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staked out and immediately started on the trail. The trail went around Maricopa and beyond heading toward the Mexican border, but particularly toward the mining camp that was just getting under way called Ajo, which is still in existence today and still is quite a copper mining operation. They took the cars off the flatcar at Maricopa Junction and started down the main road, for what it was, in those days it was just a track through the desert.

The train robbers had stopped somewhere where there was water. They saw the cloud, as

you can on the desert, the dust clouds of the approaching cars. They put their horses away and came out thinking that what they were going to do was to stop someone who was heading out of Maricopa County into Ajo, some mining executives, or some of the mining operators, and it was their purpose to hold them up and take their cars and speed further on and faster towards the Sonora border. When they came in view, here was the posse sitting in the automobiles, with shotguns on their elbows.

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Hayden immediately stopped the car, and put them under cover with the shotgun or rifle or Remington or whatever it was he had, and told them to get their hands up. One of them had a Deringer or some small pistol in his pocket, and instead of putting up his hands, Hayden told me, he started to put his hand down into his pocket. With that, the Arizona Librarian, an old man by the name of Con Cronin, who had been a railroad telegrapher before he became State Historian by law of the State, who was quite an intelligent man and he was my next door neighbor when I was a kid, got quite excited and started to draw back on this man.

Hayden said, "Now wait a minute Con, wait a minute, he's going to get his hands up, that's all right." So they finally got their hands up, the posse put them back into the automobiles, and got the horses and brought them back to Maricopa, where the special train was, and brought them into Phoenix.

By that time, I suppose, they had restored the telegraph wire between

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Maricopa and Phoenix, which of course, had been cut by the bandits, and the whole town came down to see the robbers brought in on the special train. A great story developed out of it and years later when I came back here after he had told something of the small detail of it, I went to the Library of Congress and found the newspaper articles and had them Photo-statted and gave them to him. He had never had them in his possession. But out of that one incident, and of course, his popularity around Phoenix, and the fact that he had been, once if not actually twice, to a Democratic convention as an Arizona Territorial delegate; he decided he would run for House Representative, Arizona just having come into statehood. He came home and told Mrs. Hayden, Nan Hayden, his wife, that he was going to run for Congress, and her immediate remark was, "You've certainly got your nerve."

He had two opponents. One of them I can remember was Mulford Windsor, who was I think Secretary of State in the

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Territory days, but in any event was a very prominent Democratic politician. I can't remember the name of the second one. Hayden carried the central part of the Territory and the two others divided the rest, and Hayden, of course, got the nomination, as the consequence of the splitting of the three-way race. He didn't get a majority, but he did get a plurality out of it. Then he ran against a Republican nominee and came to Washington.

He was reluctant to come back to Washington, D.C., until he ran into some friend of his on the street, and he said, "Carl, what the hell are you doing here, you've been elected to Congress." He said, "Well, I thought I'd wait a little while before I go back." He said, "You've been elected; Congress is in session; you get the hell back there." So he got the hell back. That was the way it developed. I mentioned the train robbery because it brought him a good deal of statewide notoriety which of course he had only had for the most part in Maricopa County.

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I think I told you that Mrs. Hayden was also quite a beauty in her time. She originally was from California, and had many relatives in California which they used to visit every summer. She was a great horsewoman and used to ride the hills around San Pedro in her early days. She was quite an intelligent woman, and they had a very warm relationship, if you want to call it that; as man and wife. They quite well understood each other, and I don't know of a more congenial man than he was with his wife. In the latter days she was bedridden or confined mostly to chairs, and even before he would rap on the door and put his key in the door of his apartment at the top of the Methodist Building, he would always whistle, and he had a merry whistle that he would whistle, before he came through. They were extraordinary to each other. They got on well indeed, even as I say for a marriage, it was a very close and warm relationship within marriage.

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Toward the last, when she started into ill health, I think it was a heart condition, and she could no longer campaign or drive around the State with him, she became somewhat distraught. He had to shorten up his last two campaigns, apparently because he had to leave her in a Phoenix hotel in order to go out. Other than that, she used to accompany him over what they used to call roads in Arizona in these old automobiles with canvas water bags put in front in order to keep the water cool. You carried water for yourself and water for your car, and you always had at least three tires strapped to the back. In those days when you changed a tire, you changed it right off the rim, and you had to patch the tube.

I don't know that there was a location in the State that he didn't know and remember. It was a positive joy to ride with him on his campaigns. He would sit back and point out these hills and valleys, this grove, or this monument, or this ranch. He had the whole

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history of it, because as a young man he had ridden over most of the central part with groups of horsemen. In those days young men and woman would organize these horse expeditions, go off into the desert for a week and camp out. They would select certain places where they would go and visit and then talk about the early history of the territory.

Mrs. Hayden, even though she rode with him, she never quite liked to campaign. She was not a relaxed personality around other women. It wasn't a matter of being jealous of her husband, nothing of that nature, she was very highly interested in what he was doing, and she was a good counselor about his politics, but she didn't like the demands made upon your time of meeting people. She always reluctantly went to political luncheons.

RITCHIE: How frequently did someone like Hayden go back to his home state?

ST. CLAIRE: He went back every opportunity. I'm not too sure of this statement, but I don't think that he was ever outside

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of the United States, except on one visit to the Orient, and that might have been in conjunction with an investigation of the Philippines' application for independence. He did not go for their independence celebration. I do believe, though, that he had gone earlier to the Philippines in connection with their desire for independence.

He once told me that he was on a train in Tokyo, if I recall this correctly, talking to an English speaking Japanese, who said to him, "What is your name?" He said, "My name is Carl Hayden." The Japanese said, "Oh, but you must have a middle name." And he said, "No, I do not." The Japanese said, "But all Americans have a middle name." That reminds me that he may have been in Japan; but he did have a middle name, he was Carl Trumbull Hayden, but he never used it. I know he went into Mexico several times. I'm not sure that he ever crossed the Atlantic, in fact, I don't think he did.

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He went home at every recess or every adjournment the minute he could close up his office. Within a week of the recess or adjournment sine die, he was on a train to home. When he got there, he had started operations. By that time they had bought a house near the Phoenix Country Club. He would go there, but he would set up either hotel headquarters or someplace where they could reach him downtown, usually at the Hotel Adams which is the old politicians hotel. Or, he would rent a storefront, and get two or three of his male administrative assistants.

One morning he would get on the road and from there he would travel into all corners of the State. Once he arrived in a town he would immediately walk into the offices of his friends, his old territorial and statehood friends, and talk to them, tell them where he was. He would register at a local hotel. He always saw the local weekly newspaper. He knew all the editors. He would sit down and talk to them, and they were

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all on his list for sending them *Congressional Records*. Then he saw to it that he was seen on the street corners in the company of one of his deep friends or the editor, and then he spoke to the local Rotarian or Kiwanis Club, because in those days if the program chairman of the Kiwanis and Rotarian clubs could find a speaker they had done their duty for that week. It was touch and go to get a program up and, of course, here came a real live Congressman or a real live Senator to tell them what it was about in Washington.

Then he would go out to the mining offices if it were a mining town or he would call on the County Agricultural Agent. He kept no real mailing list, of course, and he never put out a weekly bulletin on himself. If something happened that was newsworthy, or he thought it was newsworthy, he would simply send a telegram to all these editors he knew. Generally speaking, it would come out; and since he had a short name, Hayden, it always got into

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a headline. Then he would come back to Washington. This is something that his colleague, Henry Ashurst never did, and Henry Ashurst, of course, owed a great deal of his defeat by Ernest W. McFarland, due to the fact that Henry fell in love with Washington, D.C., and stayed here more time than he should have.

RITCHIE: I was listening to Senator Baker yesterday in the debate on salaries, saying that his father, when he was in Congress was really a citizen-statesman who came to Washington a few months but then was home the rest of the year, and now it's a full-time job.

ST. CLAIRE: It's very well known that in the early days you didn't buy a house here. If your people at home heard that you owned a house in Washington, D.C., they would say that you had permanently moved back there, and would make sure that they replaced you. Senators lived in hotels, or in apartments, and most of them in the very early days, had quarters in the Old Congressional Hotel which was in back of, or maybe on the site of the present

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Rayburn Building. They probably tore it down to build the Longworth Building.

A great comradeship developed in that Old Congressional Hotel, I'm told, because they all had rooms there for the purpose of attending the sessions. In those days, you want to remember also, that they had that short session that went from December to March 4. Then the next year they would have a session which I think began on December 5, or thereabouts, this was before the Norris Amendment, so that it was imperative for them to return home. It would be expensive for them to *stay* here. What is amazing though, is how over a period of years the rapidity and the increase in communications, particularly in travel, the constituency has now come to the senators, rather than the senators going to their constituencies.

As a young man in Hayden's office I was then the travel agent, and if somebody came through, like the Governor or the Secretary of State

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because they were usually the only people who came back here, on official business, or if it was someone that would be here from one of the newspapers, I would take them to Arlington and Mount Vernon and show them around. How many times I've been in Arlington Cemetery:

RITCHIE: The Methodist Building seemed to be very popular. That's where Joe Robinson lived wasn't it?

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, it was, that's where he died as a matter of fact. The early members, Truman, Barkley, and my wife's father (Congressman Samuel D. McReynolds), and a great number of those who were here in the '20's had apartments out in those old apartment buildings, which still stand and which are still very affluent, right by the Shoreham Bridge just before you cross the Shoreham Bridge in the direction of the Shoreham Hotel. This was where a great number had their early apartments. And then, the Methodist Building was built, and it was a hard place to get into

because it had a waiting list. Those who could came into the Methodist Building and rented there. Very few bought homes.

I was walking with Hayden one day during his re-election campaign in November, 1932. At that time he had an opponent who had been a United States senator from 1921 to 1927, by the name of Ralph Cameron, an old-timer from Arizona, who had been financed by the Stetson people of Philadelphia to make the race against Marcus Aurelius Smith, one of our first two senators. Ralph Cameron was running against Mark in the '20 campaign, in the Harding Landslide, with the Stetson money behind him, the Stetson's having made millions out of their campaign hats for the Army of the First World War. Cameron managed to defeat Marcus Aurelius Smith for the Senate. Cameron had been at one time, for two years, our territorial delegate to the Congress and had always claimed that he was the father of Arizona's

statehood because the Taft Administration was the one that had admitted Arizona to the statehood on the theory that Arizona was a Republican state, and it was.

Cameron came back from Washington, D.C., where he had lived, to run against Hayden in 1932. We knew that he had been in this city for a number of years, so we looked up the Washington City-Directory and found out where he was listed so we could point out, if we had to, that he was really running from D.C. not from Arizona. Walking down by the Hotel Adams one day I was with Hayden and Hayden saw the Republican State Chairman coming towards him. At that time Hayden was running for the nomination. Cameron had an opponent who was a very fine orator and a very old fashioned territorial type. Hayden just stepped up in front of him to stop him so he could not get around him, and said to the Republican State Chairman, "Who do you think's going to win your nomination

for the Senate?" And the man said, "Well, I think Ralph Cameron will." And he said, "Fine." They had more conversation and then went on. And Hayden told me, "You know why I did that? If you ask a man whom he thinks is going to win, he's always for that man."

RITCHIE: You mentioned, the last time, that Hayden was on the Patronage Committee.

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, he was Chairman of the Patronage Committee when the Democrats

took over the Senate in 1933. Joe T. Robinson had asked him to serve. I'm not sure now that Joe Robinson wasn't the third man, I said there were three.

RITCHIE: Was the Patronage Committee a powerful committee?

ST. CLAIRE: No. In those days the staff of the Senate turned over, almost wholly, with the change of Party control in the Senate. This is to say that the doormen, the police, even the Chief of Police, practically all of the staff of the Secretary's office, nearly all of the staff of the Secretary's Office,

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nearly all of the staff of the Sergeant-at-Arms office, and the Post Office, the mail carriers, including the Postmaster, were replaced by candidates from the Party which gained control of the Senate. The Republicans having the Senate since 1919, had many, many jobs available for replacement, and reassignment. The Democrats also had an extraordinary number of candidates, including myself, because many were out of jobs as a consequence of the Depression.

There was a Connecticut senator, Hiram Bingham, who had been censured earlier for I think bringing a lobbyist into a committee of conference on a tax bill, who had been the Republican patronage chairman. Bingham was rather an austere, tall, gray-haired man, as I remember seeing him, who had been defeated in Connecticut in the Democratic landslide of '32. He gave us all of his records, including the books, and showed us the places that were considered patronage and who

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their sponsors were. So we had that to go on initially. It did not touch the janitorial staff, and there would be career people, such as the chief clerk, the journal clerk, and the deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, and a number of others like that, who would not be replaced, but would be reassigned to the minority or the majority depending upon the history of their partisanship.

I was instructed by Hayden to take all of these positions, I have no idea how many there were then there weren't many, possibly less than two hundred. I added up their salaries and then divided by the number of Democratic senators, so that we came out with what you might call a "patronage mean", which would be say \$4,000 or \$5,000 or \$6,000. Then it was up to me, by the assignment of two or three of these available positions to Democratic senators for their patronage appointments, by assigning them let's say a policeman, a doorman, and an elevator operator, come within that mean that

that we had established. So we did not give them jobs so much as we gave them patronage in dollar amounts. That sounds strange these days, but this is the way it was done. You would write them a letter and say, "You are hereby assigned this place, this place, and that place." I added up and it would be \$4,300, some had \$4,500, some had \$4,100, then we averaged them out on that basis.

Then I sat there in the Secretary's office, and as they would come in I would type out a yellow or white patronage appointment blank and give it to the candidate, file the letter he presented to me from the Democratic senator, and send him off and he would go to work the next day. It was a strange process, but it did have the advantage of putting me in touch with a vast number of new senators, democratic senators, whom I would otherwise never have known. Many of whom, like Alben Barkley and Tom Connally, remained my friends for a long time,

as long as they were in the Senate, just as a consequence because of the young kid doing this work for them, getting them the jobs they wanted for their constituents.

RITCHIE: Did they ever cut a senator off from patronage, someone like Huey Long?

ST. CLAIRE: No, it was argued at one time that they ought to deprive Huey Long, because of his opposition to the President, and the well-known antipathy that Joe T. Robinson had for him, and Hayden had one for him, too. But, apparently the Republicans at one time or another had withdrawn the patronage rights in the Senate, and also at the National Committee, for some senator who had not supported Hoover in '28, one of their Wild Jackasses. All it did was increase the man's majority at home. It was considered to be a rather bad show if you were punitive in your treatment. You instead tried to talk them down, reason with them, rationalize with them, or ignore them, and hope that

their people would not be so benighted as to return them at the next time that they came up at the polls. This did not keep Franklin Roosevelt from trying to beat Walter George in Georgia, thereby increasing Mr. George's majority in that state. It has, I think, been fairly well demonstrated that your Party is like a corral, you take all manner of mavericks in it. You don't

try to turn them out, because it only in-creases their range and prestige.

RITCHIE: The reason I asked about the Patronage Committee was because I thought Hayden seemed like the ideal member of the "Inner Club", as chairman of the Rules Committee, and on the Patronage Committee. I wondered, did he ever use that position for his own benefit or for his own legislation?

ST. CLAIRE: Never. The only utilization that we could make from it was that we would have a waiting list of people who wanted temporary work, and if one of these positions opened up for a few days, a week, or a month, I would call a man

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up and as a favor to that senator or to that man, put him in on a temporary basis. But he took no patronage of his own. I actually, I think, was his only patronage employee, if you could call me such. He did this deliberately. In the end it turned out to be more a nuisance than anything else because we got more requests than we could fill, particularly coming from your friends. As time went and the Democrats kept on retaining the Senate, year after year after year, the Patronage Committee died out. I wouldn't know if there is such a thing as a Democratic Patronage Committee anymore. Mansfield told us that he was going to be the Patronage Committee. As far as I know, he had no formal program for the appointment of Senate personnel. The Republicans, on the other hand, do have a very formal program, and still have a committee on personnel.

In truth, Hayden and I, and (Felton) "Skeeter" Johnston as Secretary of the Senate ultimately, I

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think, did as much to destroy the patronage system as could be done. Particularly in the Sergeant-at-Arms office and in the office of the Secretary of the Senate. "Skeeter", if he had a position open, liked to accommodate somebody, or he liked to put in somebody with merit. If he called me and said, "I'd like to do this." I'd say, "Sure 'Skeeter', do it." What you see today, in fact, for the most part, are people who are there on my recommendation. There is many a man over there on my recommendation, and sometimes I take pleasure in reminding him of it when I'm annoyed with him. He's there because of the system we instituted under "Skeeter" Johnston.

In addition to that, Joe Duke of Arizona was the Sergeant-at-Arms, and Joe Duke cooperated in this area to install people there notwithstanding that fact that they might have been recommended by a senator who had two other assigned places. I think under Joe Duke and later

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Bill Wannell as long as we were around and working under the leadership of Mike Mansfield, and before him L.B.J., the patronage system as formalized program just fell into disrepair. If it exists today I don't know. Of course, it could be reinstated tomorrow.

RITCHIE: We talked a little bit the last time about the Court Packing case in 1937, and the changes that created, and in a previous conversation you had expressed some very strong opinions about the leadership contest that succeeded Joe Robinson, between Pat Harrison and Alben Barkley. Would you care to talk about that now?

ST. CLAIRE: Well, I only hazard something. I thought that Mr. Barkley might have been President of the United States if he had not become leader of his Party in 1937 after the death of Joe Robinson. I say that because Barkley, being ambitious, naturally went out and with the open support of Franklin D. Roosevelt, received his Party's designation by one vote. That one vote which changed, I

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think, was Pat McCarren's vote. But a man like Hayden had pledged his vote to Pat Harrison and stood with Harrison on the caucus vote. So did many of the other old-timers, who felt that Pat Harrison deserved it and that Alben Barkley was a sort of brash newcomer did not, although Barkley was very competent. This is just a theory. If Pat Harrison had got it by that one vote he would thereafter have died, as he did, from cancer, which he probably had at the time of the vote. Then Alben Barkley would have come in. This would have been a matter of months. It took those months for Barkley, in the latter days of his leadership, to sour on Mr. Roosevelt and to lead something of a floor revolt against Roosevelt. This was during the war. It could well have been if Barkley had stayed in the track with the Senate Democrats and Roosevelt and got the nomination that Truman got. Roosevelt was certainly casting around for a replacement for Wallace. That's just a

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theory I have, you see, because the leadership ultimately gets you out in front, where you are not only exposed to your own people, you're exposed also to your President.

RITCHIE: And you can't please both of them.

ST. CLAIRE: No, you can't. When you consider that a man like Senator Hill of Alabama would be sitting where L.B.J. sat as leader of the Senate, but Hill realized when he was deputy to Scott Lucas of Illinois, that he could not hold his Senate seat in a liberal Democratic administration, and so he backed off of it. If you want to become leader you have Party responsibility and you have constituent responsibility, and you have administration responsibility, and all three of them seldom coincide.

RITCHIE: Robert Byrd's voting on the salary issue the other day is very typical of that. He said it was the first time in twenty-five years that he had ever voted for a salary increase.

ST. CLAIRE: Oh yes. You see, as time goes along, the demands of a President will put

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burdens upon you. You can't shuck them. You have to carry them along. They are like that little figure in Bolivia which carries all the worries of the housewives. Ultimately, you end up with such a burden that you collapse under it, because politics is a place where memories are long.

RITCHIE: That period after the leadership fight had to be a particularly trying one for Barkley. That's when all the isolationist sentiment started rising and when Roosevelt intervened in the 1938 Democratic nominations.

ST. CLAIRE: I would have to read the history of that time to recall any of it. You get busy and you don't really read what's taking place around you, and if you do it moves so fast that you forget it. The public memory they say is only supposed to be twenty-three days long.

RITCHIE: Historians who write on that period talk about the growth of the conservative coalition in Congress, that started with Court Packing and was

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solidified by the Roosevelt interference in the Party nominations, and then really came together on the anti-war issue.

ST. CLAIRE: You want to remember, though, that the South which had been with the

Democratic Party for years and had institutionalized many of their senators, who later became committee chairmen almost overnight, had great reluctance, particularly the men I am thinking about, concerning Mr. Roosevelt and his policies. They only followed him because the mass shoved them ahead of them. The mass was following Mr. Roosevelt to better times, and the old senators had to go along, notwithstanding their ingrained conservatism. Of course, one who did so, Joe Byrnes of South Carolina, profited by it. He saw this turn of politics and became a Roosevelt administration advocate, and was on the Supreme Court, Secretary of State.

But there were others, like (Ellison D.) "Cotton Ed" Smith. He was an extraordinarily amusing orator. He never spoke even from notes. He had

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a habit of walking up and down the aisles, speaking primarily on cotton, and getting in front of another seated senator, and looking at him, of standing over him, weaving back and forth, shaking his head as if he was attempting to use him as a witness and as a foil. It was an act. It had quite an effect.

When the time came for the Roosevelt administration to initiate a lot of this forward-looking legislation in all fields including agriculture, and to have committee meetings on this crisis legislation, these old-timers would not accept the responsibility of advocating it on the floor, even though they were chairmen of these committees. They would not follow through. They held the meetings and hearings that resulted in the legislation being reported, but once it got to the floor they only gave it cursory support or no support at all. I remember hearing Joe T. Robinson saying, "I am tired of doing the chairmen's work on this floor. This

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is crucial legislation, you should come in here and push it or vote against it." The pressure on him, I talked to his AA (Administration Assistant) in those days, was utterly horrendous. His office, and he only had three rooms, was just packed with people day after day. Because he was the great pleader of the first Roosevelt Administration in the Senate. The pressure did contribute to his death. You can't say enough to praise him. He was I think one of the great men of his generation.

RITCHIE: How would Barkley compare with Robinson?

ST. CLAIRE: Barkley was an opportunist, fairly nimble in his views and his expressions, and discussions, and debate. Barkley had been a good lawyer, but at times was a

superficial senator. Barkley was lazy. He had not been lazy in his early days, he had been a very fine and able young lawyer, as I was told, from Kentucky. But as he got more and more polish, and became more a master of the reflective story, or the

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attributive joke, he had an amazing amount of relative pieces of humor that he could throw into his speeches, I think he became something of a show-house on the Senate floor. I don't think he ever really went into depth on anything. If he did, he would read it. As an extemporaneous speaker he was quite good. Probably one of the best after dinner speakers in the United States. Where he was backing legislation he would have to bring the lectern in front of him. Pleasant man, though, a very pleasant man.

RITCHIE: I noticed that in 1939 you joined the Navy, that was kind of early wasn't it?

ST. CLAIRE: It's one of my regrets. I had anticipated in my mind that we would enter the World War, and I had gone on active duty for thirty days in what they called a censorship course, gone off the Senate rolls for thirty days to participate (in those days you couldn't get two salaries). I came back but, as the clouds more and more gathered it seemed to me that it would be better if I went down there and attempted to be on the organization

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and expansion of the Office of Naval Intelligence, which I did. I took a fifty dollar a month cut to do it, which was rather important money in those days, because I was only getting about \$3,600 a year. I went to work for them in their Administration Section.

Just the other night I was lying awake and thinking, "Why in the name of God did I do that?" I could have kept my reserve commission right up to December 7th and then utilized it to go into Naval Intelligence at that time, or might have gone elsewhere. Some parts of it, of course, you don't regret. I don't regret the time I spent in the United Kingdom, in London during the V-1 and V-2 campaigns that were made against it by the Germans. Nor do I have any regret for the service that I put in over in France. But, I can't say that I have anything to add about California or the Hawaiian Islands where I finished out on Mr. Nimitz' rear echelon staff.

I did have an excellent opportunity that was given to me, and I didn't

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appreciate it at the time, I was made chief naval officer in what they called the War Room, in Grouvener Square. The building is still there, but what they did was brick up all the windows and made a Situation or War Room out of a room probably about twice the size of this one. The Army had a room next door to it. It was a room that had a high-priority fix so you had to be known to get into it. We had a Situation Board on one wall which showed the location of the German submarines, particularly in those dreadful days in 1942, when they were sinking more tonnage than was getting into London. The Army in turn had a map of the British Isles showing the build-up of American forces there. Afterwards they put up a Situation Map of France during Operation Overlord.

I was there for the entire build-up for the cross-Channel invasion, and the operation of Overlord, and participated in some planning, not much, because I didn't have any real naval experience.

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I would run a morning briefing, would take two or three hundred dispatches from the Admiralty and summarize them and give a ten to twelve minute exposition on the situation of worldwide to an assembly of all the top officers: Admiral Kirk, Admiral Stark, and, you wouldn't believe it, General Eisenhower. In particular General Bradley and his people after they came to the U.K., and also General Derers. At times, it would be interesting when we could tell them that a Japanese battleship, Yamamoto, I think it was, had blown up in Tokyo Harbor, just blew up. They said, "Why?" And we said, "We don't know." It did blow up, and no one knows why to this day. And the battle that sank the Scharnhurst. Then I would go from there over to the Admiralty, I was one of two United States naval officers permitted in the very secret part of the Admiralty, the Citadel. The last time I was in London I stopped and took a picture of it, so it's still there. Then after that for most of the afternoon I had nothing much to do.

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It gave me prestige and confidence and ability to give expression to naval situations worldwide, to talk familiarly about them. To see particularly a man like Bradley in action as a young commander, you could really know by just the way he would walk into a room with his aides with him, here was a guy that you could follow. He made great morale. He built morale in one like nothing else. That part of my Navy duty was all right, particularly the night's events. I had a room on top of the Cumberland Hotel, which I have since pointed out to my wife. From there I could look out over south and west London, in those days you could see everywhere. This was where all the flying bombs were landing, night after night. You couldn't sleep, you would

just sit there and watch them explode. You would go down in the morning and have breakfast and go to work. You remember a good deal of something like that. Other parts of it were a mistake, but what do you do?

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RITCHIE: When you came back you went to the State Department?

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, as legislative liaison. I was working full time with (Charles E.) Chip Bohlen, who as counselor became in charge of legislative affairs. I developed a very fond respect for him, very warm friendship with him. At that time we were also working under Joe Byrnes, and George Marshall, and Dean Acheson. I never saw Byrnes, I only saw Marshall once, though I did have a great number of contacts with Acheson. I grew to be very fond of him and thought he was an excellent assistant Secretary of State, and Secretary of State. I would come up on the Hill and do case work for the Department, take complaints back, try to make friends, and generally speaking, do the best I could.

Another mistake was that I agreed to be on their Loyalty and Security Board. They would bring to us members of the State Department about whom the FBI had discovered

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early indiscretions, Communistic indiscretions for the most part. We would conduct hearings and Acheson's old law firm would defend most of them free of charge, which I thought was quite good. Our board was told by the lawyers who were defending these people, that we were probably the most organized and most intelligent security board of any. We, I think, had a greater sense of what we were doing than did the others. They were turning people out, we were not. We were counseling with them.

I got to the point after about fifteen cases where I thought I was running an Inquisition. I realized at the time that I was part of a mass hysteria against many people who had been radicals in their early youth or even while they were working for the Department of State or elsewhere but, who nonetheless thought that their radicalism did not prejudice their patriotism. I just don't think it ever did. I think the proof of that is that not one of those cases which

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were ever presented to the Department and we heard at that time ever resulted in true bill from a grand jury. None whatsoever.

It was just a case where the FBI was getting this information out of the Justice Department, under the nose of Truman and George Marshall you might say, and leaking it or avowing it to Congress and to the departments. The departments in turn, in order to protect themselves from J. Edgar (Hoover), would have to organize these hearings before these loyalty and security boards. A man would come in front of you and he had been a Communist on a college campus, then he went off to war, and had been badly wounded, he had really gotten out there and fought Fascism, our true enemy, and yet you would have to say to him, "Well, why were you a Communist, I just happened to go to a meeting," and that would be all it was, it was all based on that. Ultimately, you got the feeling that you had a black conical hood over your own head. I gave it up.

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I got to the point where they began to send me some of these rather famous cases that were in the newspapers, where dossiers were thick, and they had to do with persons who had operated for long times and made judgments in China, and had told the truth about Chiang-Kai-shek, and what a charleton he was, and had advocated that we get along with Mao-Tse-Tung and the rest of them because they were the coming people in China, which is now proved out, thirty years later. But, they were turned away, and a dossier was compiled on them, and they would put a dossier like that in front of me, and in the end I just said, "I'm not going to read it, this man, as far as I'm concerned is loyal and secure. Here's my signature, to Hell with it." I'd throw it back at them, and I quit. I just wouldn't do it. What do you do after a war? This happened after World War I in my home state of Arizona. They gathered together a number of people that used to be known as the "Wobblies" (I.W.W.), and put them

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in cattle cars of the Southern Pacific railroad and dumped out in the desert of New Mexico. Constitutional rights? Everybody regrets it today, but that day it was popular.

RITCHIE: What was it that made you go to the State Department rather than back to the Senate?

ST. CLAIRE: Well, I came back, and my job had been enrolling clerk, and I have a letter that assured me that I would have my job back, and on that letter are the names of Barkley and Garner, and my God you'd be amazed at the signatures that are there. Hayden took the letter around and got all these signatures from these people, the leaders in those days. It's quite a

document, I probably ought to sell it for the signatures that are on it. I came back, but by that time, as was the general rule, those who stayed home had ingratiated themselves into the same jobs that had been vacated by those that had gone off to the Army or the Navy. Felton "Skeeter" Johnston had come back to the Hill to become Secretary to the Democrats, on the

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vote of the Democrats, and had vacated this job. So Hayden said, "Do you want that?" It paid twice as much as what I would have made in the Senate, and I said, "Yes, I certainly do." So I took it. Then four years later he came back and said, "Look, I need a clerk for the Rules and Administration Committee." I said, "Fine, I'll come back, Senator."

RITCHIE: You must have worked quite a bit with Vandenberg when you were with the State Department.

ST. CLAIRE: Let's say I had him under observation for those two years that he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. I thought he was a great Senator, with a fabulous mind. There are many stories about Arthur Vandenberg, but I can say this; in his conduct of his committee meetings and in the interpolations and suggestions he would put into conversations, he demonstrated an ability that I have not seen in a senator in many, many years. He never had to reach for a word, he never used a bromidic expression. He had been a

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writer, like Churchill. He had written fiction at one time, and he had an extraordinary capacity for words and for employing them in new thought. It was just a pleasure to sit there and listen to that man talk. I went into his office after he died and they were closing it up, and he had an extraordinary collection, one of the finest modern collections I think I've ever seen, of historical American characters, their pictures, autographs, letters, and all of that. Arthur Capper, also, must have had pictures that went all the way back to Lincoln that were autographed, when he, too, left.

RITCHIE: When you were working for the State Department during the 80th Congress, did you notice a real change in the attitudes and atmosphere of Capitol Hill?

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, the war had made the place much more intense. Pressures had grown during the war and continued after the war. For a while there was a great relaxation, particularly among the staff people,

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there were always parties, here and there, and you would go by for a drink. We were all survivors. We were all glad to be back. We were all glad to have our arms around each other, generally to enjoy our jobs in politics. But, the new intensity, the rigidity of the office operations were very noticeable. When you walked into an office you found that they were not aware of you, they were trying to do something else before they spoke to you. I think this was a result of the war, how or what caused it I don't know. Also, a lot of it might have been due to the fact that there was a tremendous increase in communications flowing toward Washington, and the advent of the airplane was bringing more and more people in for interviews and for lobbying.

RITCHIE: Was there any lobbying involved in your job for the State Department?

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, I did a great deal of lobbying for the State Department. I tried to talk people like Homer Ferguson out of putting in an amendment to reduce our

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appropriations in one case. I would escort Acheson up and try to backstop him on many things he might have to do at an appearance. Nobody ever accompanied George Marshall to the Hill. Marshall was a completely insulated individual. Acheson used his staff *very* well indeed. Byrnes never used any staff, in fact, Byrnes was like John Foster Dulles, nobody at the State Department ever knew what Byrnes was doing, nobody knew what Dulles was doing. They tell me that they would prepare a position paper on something and take it up to Dulles' office and find out that he had already answered it twice as long as they had framed up something, and possibly not nearly as relative to the national policy as it otherwise would have been. Quite an extraordinary man, too. I was gone from the Department by then.

RITCHIE: Your liaison position, was it more to serve Congressional needs, or to serve State Department needs?

ST. CLAIRE: Congressional needs, then and now, I think, more than anything else.

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The office is something of an anomaly, because you don't have the substantive information that

you need in order to carry the argument with Congress. All you can do is be generally a lobbyist, a good guy, to know these people, to try to introduce the informational people into the hearings, to advise them on the personalities the people are talking to. The people who were on the National desk and other desks at the State Department suspect the legislative affairs people would borrow to their own aggrandizement. So they don't produce it. There is this division down there that existed then and still exists today between the "informed" and the "pleasant uninformed."

RITCHIE: In 1949, you decided to come back to the Senate.

ST. CLAIRE: Well, yes, on Hayden's invitation. Hayden had taken over the chairmanship of the Rules Committee and he needed a clerk, so I came back. That's where we began formulating a lot of the policy that later was adopted by the Senate

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in the matter of administration of the Senate.

RITCHIE: Hayden had just become chairman that year?

ST. CLAIRE: The Democrats took over the control of the Senate in 1949.

RITCHIE: What actually does the Rules Committee do? Is its role anything close to what the House Administration Committee does?

ST. CLAIRE: Well, it was really an amalgamation that occurred of several committees, chiefly the Committee on Contingent Expenses, which used to approve all of the voucher payments of the Senate. Which was no more than Joe Byrnes as chairman and one woman did in the early days. That, and then the Library Committee was brought into it, and the Privileges and Elections Committee, to pass on election contests. They were all put into this one pot and it was given the name Rules and Administration Committee.

In my day it was chiefly a place where they came to what I'd call a "wailing wall", because I would get

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nothing but calls day after day; "What can you do for us about additional space?" "What can you

do for us about additional paper?" "How can you go about getting another allocation of typewriters?" "How do we get an automatic typewriter?" All these things, new fangled things, were being invented in order to increase correspondence while simplifying it. We had no space. We had to tell them that we had little money for automatic typewriters, unless they wanted to pay for it out of their own personal allocations. That no, you could not send out a thousand telegrams, you could only send out two hundred. And no, you could not have unlimited telephone allocations, and so on. All of this was hazarded by an increase in the senators' business. So we sat there just day after day saying, "no, no, no." Or, "we can't, we can't, we can't."

I suppose I must have told at least fifty lies a day on the telephone. They were "lying promises", I knew full

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well that all I could do was be sympathetic and make some assurances. But I knew that I could never be able to carry out the assurances. In the meantime, the business of the senators was increasing, their staffs were increasing, their allowances had to keep pace with them. As an administration duty we had to formulate regulations that would be applicable to the expenditures of new sums under new concepts. At the same time we had to keep them within a rational budget figure. It was a good introduction to the Senate, because most of the new senators passed through the Committee membership, even for only a period of six months or a year, before they went to other committees. I got to know them, and understand who they were, and the friendships there were quite satisfactory to me. Of course, then we also had (Joseph) McCarthy.

RITCHIE: I could never understand McCarthy's role in that. He came on the Committee and then he went off the Committee and then came on again.

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ST. CLAIRE: I suppose so, but I think that was an Assignment that was given to him by his Party, or he may have asked for a reassignment because of the Tydings election contest. Do I know? I don't know; I'm not too sure.

RITCHIE: It seems like a lot of the leadership of the Senate served on the Rules Committee.

ST. CLAIRE: Yes, they did. We had Ken Wherry, who was the Republican leader. We had Cabot Lodge, oh hell, who didn't we have?

The rule-making duties or provisions or prerogative of it were never invoked. They really are only being invoked now under Senate Resolution 4. We didn't bother. It was primarily an administrative committee on which we tried to fight off new ideas while perfecting the old, and yet to try and adopt new ideas for the limited increase of the Senate's operations. Those were the days of printed regulations, new regulations, new thoughts, new pronouncements.

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RITCHIE: Did anyone ever try to use the Rules Committee the way Wayne Hays used the House Administration Committee?

ST. CLAIRE: No, never.

RITCHIE: Do you think it's possible?

ST. CLAIRE: No, it's not possible. I don't see how you could. We had to put in telegraph regulations because of Senator (George W.) Malone of Nevada who sent out pages and pages of telegrams one night in opposition to some legislation. The statement had been prepared for him and the bill came to a very important figure, maybe it was \$5,000 or \$15,000, which was bad in those days. So then we put in telegraph regulations. Up until that time you could send unlimited telegrams. Then again, we used to make them pay for their long-distance calls. They'd say, "Look, it's costing us too much money to call these guys back in the States." So we put in a long-distance phone allowance. You find that all of these standing orders and regulations, what came out of that period when I was

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clerk, were our doing, Hayden's and mine, because we just had to do it in order to keep pace with the Senate and keep pace with the senators' demands on us, and the rising demand on them.