

Orren Beaty, Jr., Oral History Interview – JFK#2, 10/24/1969
Administrative Information

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Biographical Note

Beaty, administrative assistant to Congressman Stewart L. Udall during the late 1950s and assistant to Secretary of Interior Udall from 1961 to 1967, discusses the 1960 Democratic primary in Arizona and the Arizona democratic convention, the role of the press in Arizona politics, and Stewart L. Udall's appointment as Secretary of the Interior, among other issues.

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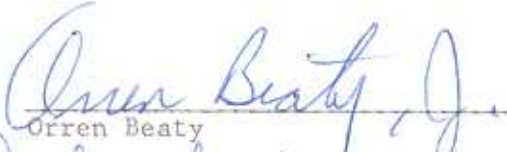
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Orren Beaty
July 4, 1979
Month Day Year


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Orren Beaty, Jr. – JFK#2

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Second of Fourteen Oral History Interviews

with

Orren Beaty, Jr.

October 24, 1969
Washington, D. C.

By William W. Moss

For the John F. Kennedy Library

MOSS: All right, you were talking about Frank Smith [Frank E. Smith] who was on the Public Works Committee of the House, wasn't he?

BEATY: That's right.

MOSS: And who during the campaign of 1960, I believe, headed the Natural Resources Advisory Council.

BEATY: That's right.

MOSS: Tell me a little bit about Frank Smith and his relationship with Udall [Stewart L. Udall] and with Kennedy [John F. Kennedy].

BEATY: Well, Stewart Udall, I think, admired Frank Smith for two reasons: one, because he was a Southerner for one of the most segregated states who had genuine liberal tendencies and expressed them occasionally and who was willing to take part in a campaign like this. But also, Stewart had done lots of writing even before he wrote his first book in the last year of President Kennedy's life, and Frank Smith had written a book, one of the "Rivers of America" series; had done some magazine article writing, that sort of thing.

MOSS: This was on the Yazoo [Yazoo River, Mississippi], wasn't it?

BEATY: Yes, I think so. For people who serve on different committees and who hadn't been thrown together very much, I think they

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developed a real personal friendship. I know one of our early patronage problems at Interior involved a man whose wife worked for Frank Smith when Frank was in Congress. When did Frank get beaten, I've forgotten?

MOSS: He was beaten in '62.

BEATY: Well, he was still a member of Congress during those first two years then. And then President Kennedy appointed him to the Tennessee Valley Authority. I didn't really get to know him--I had met him--but I heard Stewart talk about him frequently and then we talked on the phone occasionally after the new administration came in. He talked about natural resources--it had a formal name, the task force, but the work that they had been doing and what they hoped would come from this, Stewart worked with him. I know he talked to him several times in the period between--oh, after he was designated Secretary of the Interior and the time when he actually took office. I don't know what they said, I wasn't around.

MOSS: Did they use the report from the Natural Resources Advisory Council more or less as a task force paper?

BEATY: That's right. Stewart read it thoroughly--you can say he studied it, and as members of the secretariat were designated, assistant secretaries or under secretaries, he would urge them to do the same thing; that this would be something that we'd be expected to--we'd be held accountable for it if we ignored it. Was it just going to be a campaign document that we probably forgot or should we go right ahead and make it a kind of a guideline? I'm sure this was in his mind, making use of it.

MOSS: What was the reaction in the department to the content of the paper? Do you know?

BEATY: I don't know. During the first weeks we were so involved in organization that we didn't get down to content of programs and things like this. Stewart may have in personal talks with the different bureau heads. My work in most of these affairs ended at the time the person he was taking to went into see him because I had to then move on to the next visitor or the next issue or the next something that he had to consider after he got through with that meeting, and I just don't know what the....

MOSS: So your role was more or less as a clearinghouse for problems between the

bureau chiefs and Udall...

BEATY: That's right.

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MOSS: ...rather than follow up action or anything of that sort?

BEATY: Well, I did some follow up, but usually it would be because Stewart would say, talking about parks, "Connie Wirth [Conrad L. Wirth] promised to have something up here by Saturday, and be sure Friday night that he hasn't gone home and we don't have it." We had lots of evening meetings, early morning meetings; usually I'd sit in on those. But once the phone started ringing and the mail started coming in and the stream of visitors showed up, I had other things I had to do, so I missed a lot of the activities during the day.

MOSS: Okay, we were talking about Frank Smith and so on, and we got a little far afield from my outline and chronological order here, and I think I'd like to get back to it for a few minutes and go back to the 1960 campaign and preconvention jockeying and so on. The other day in our preparatory session we were talking about the way that Udall operated in Arizona to get the Arizona votes for Kennedy at the convention. Just how did he go about this? What was the Arizona situation at the time?

BEATY: Did we get into this at all?

MOSS: We haven't taped this yet, no.

BEATY: We talked about it over at the archives one day. Well, I think I mentioned over there that Stewart kept his own counsel on this and didn't spread the word, generally, who he was supporting for many months. I think he probably decided in his own mind long before he even let his staff know what he was going to do.

I remember touring the state of Arizona with him in late September, October 1959, and Udall represented a district which was made up of thirteen counties. The only city of any size in this district was Tucson, and this was his hometown, and other members of his staff called that home, which I didn't. So I pretty well ignored Tucson. I didn't have any real part in it, and was active, though, out in the rest of the state--what we would call the small counties. And Stewart talked to the county chairmen and to people who'd been his campaign managers in those counties in previous years. A lot of them were still thinking about the disastrous state election of 1958 where the Democrats elected people all over the country, but in Arizona we got wiped out pretty well. We lost the governorship, and Barry Goldwater [Barry M. Goldwater] was reelected to the Senate.

MOSS: What was the reason for this?

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BEATY: Well, it was largely a better organized Republican Party and a vicious campaign by the Phoenix newspapers against our candidate for governor. Also, they were determined to reelect Barry Goldwater, and while there aren't any United Auto Workers of an organized sense in Arizona, they campaigned strongly against Walther Reuther [Walter P. Reuther], as did Barry Goldwater. In fact, there were overlines on the front pages of the larger papers in Phoenix that said, "Don't let Walter Reuther take over Arizona." In fact, I think that might be the exact quote, the exact headline.

MOSS: What was the issue on which they were afraid he was going to take over?

BEATY: Oh, for years the Republicans have been very successful in Arizona campaigning in defense of the right-to-work law. Naturally, there's been national labor union agitation there to repeal that or to repeal 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act [Robert Alphonso Taft; Fred Allan Hartley, Jr.], which gives the states this authority. Arizona had its right-to-work law before the Taft-Hartley law was passed, I think--I'm sure it did. The Democrats have to count on help from labor, but in doing it they're then nailed to the wall with the right-to-work issue. I guess it's faded out a little bit in the past two or three campaigns because times marched on and it isn't that important anymore. But at that point it was really at its peak, and the Democratic candidate for Congress two years before in the first district had been ruined on that particular issue because he came out strongly against right-to-work, and this became the major issue.

This particular year, the Democrats had an attorney general named Bob Morrison [Robert Morrison], originally his name had been Berj Mosekian, and he was the son of an Armenian farmer in Fresno, California area. As it turned out, in his youth, he'd been arrested two or three times on some bad check charges. His story had held up--this story had been spread several times when he ran for county attorney in Pima County and later as attorney general. His answer was that this was during the depression and all the farmers would give grocery stores and seed stores and this sort of thing checks to hold until the crop came in, and that this was all he was doing. I don't know what the facts are. The truth is though he was photographed front and profile and fingerprinted, and copies of these were made available to the Republicans and the Arizona Republic newspaper in Phoenix during the middle of the campaign, the Democratic primary. A friend of Pulliam [Eugene C. Pulliam] of Indianapolis and Phoenix, the publisher, was running for governor, and the paper went all out to support him against Bob Morrison. It was a rather thorough hatchet job.

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Morrison, I think, had performed rather well as attorney general. I think that most lawyers that worked in that related area would agree; but he won the primary easily, because it was a matter of the working Democrats knowing who was the *real* Democrat in this crowd and voting for him. When it came down to the general election it was a slaughter. He ran a poor campaign. He became defensive because of what the papers were doing to him. I think this was the biggest factor--that and the Reuther campaign against Ernest McFarland [Ernest W. McFarland], who is the same man that Goldwater had beaten in 1952.

They had somebody--I don't know whether it was the Republican Party or the newspaper; the newspaper claimed credit for it--set up a telephoto lens camera in a building across the street from a restaurant where the Democratic state chairman usually ate lunch. And I really think it was a set-up job, because the reporter for the afternoon Pulliam paper, *The Phoenix Gazette*, was with him at the time. He shows him the picture that they ran on page one, the big expose. But they had a man from California who was working for the Democratic National Committee with the state chairman; I forget who else was in the picture, but then there was also a labor organizer name Al Greene. And fifteen years before or something like this, Greene had been arrested and charged with destruction of property or something in a picket line incident, one of these labor confrontations. And so on a Sunday about two weeks before the election, the big Phoenix newspaper which covers the state had this large headline and picture on page one of this "criminal labor-organizer" with McFarland's campaign manager. They made the most of it.

So the labor question and Bob Morrison's previous record--he also had a divorce when he was about twenty-two or three, and in using legal language his wife charged him through her lawyer with abandoning her and their infant daughter. The papers made it look like he had left them to starve while he left the state. He came to Arizona, worked for a telephone company, sold insurance, went through law school at the University of Arizona, became an admirable citizen in every way except he was a Democrat running against somebody that the Phoenix papers wanted to get elected.

MOSS: All right, so the Democrats took a beating in '58; now what was Udall doing and what were others doing in '59 and so on to rebuild the Party?

BEATY: I did get a little off the subject, didn't I?

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MOSS: That's all right; it's good background.

BEATY: The reason I mentioned this is because in these tours around the state we had a hard time getting them to talk about 1960, because they were mad at McFarland; he didn't do it right or else Goldwater wouldn't have won; made a lot of recriminations instead of thinking, "Well, we just lost that one and let's go ahead and see what happens next." But they were interested because Kennedy was attracting attention, and Stewart talked about him as one who could match Nixon [Richard Milhous Nixon] in getting his picture on the front of *Time* magazine and other types of national publicity, whereas Hubert Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey], Symington [W. Stuart Symington], and Lyndon Johnson [Lyndon Baines Johnson] weren't getting that much attention.

But he didn't say he was--I never heard him in any kind of general visits with people say, "I'm for John Kennedy." He said, "We can win next time if we get the right candidate and people in this county ought to have a voice in who Arizona goes for at the Convention; we shouldn't let Phoenix dominate the thing." He thought that they ought to campaign against letting the state convention be operated under the unit rule where each county would vote as a unit; and if Maricopa County, which had almost half the votes, divided 51-49 for Johnson,

then it would take every one of the rest of the counties, practically, to offset that; and that they shouldn't be up against that kind of a disadvantage or handicap. He wanted them not just to--this is what he told them--not just to go through the motions of picking delegates, but to really make sure that the views of the county precinct committeeman, that sort of thing, were sought and that they developed them properly so that the county went in organized and aggressive.

When I came back here--I usually went out in the fall when Congress had quit and then came back just before Thanksgiving. Udall and the rest of the staff who went out there stayed until after Christmas--got here by the time Congress went back into session. When I came back, I didn't know who he was for. I suspected all along it was Kennedy, but he didn't say it.

I recall a letter he got from Frank Barry [Frank J. Barry, Jr.], who had practiced law with him--not as a partnership but in the same general office in Tucson, good personal friend.

Frank is a 100 percent pure liberal; he doesn't go for compromises or anything else. He doesn't like accommodations. He's what the newspaper would call a knee-jerk liberal or something like that; it's just automatic with him. I think he viewed at that point Hubert Humphrey as probably the one who best matched his philosophy of what the Democratic Party should stand for. And the

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man in Phoenix who was running the state campaign for Humphrey had asked him to be the Pima County, or Tucson, chairman, and he wrote Stewart and wanted to know what he thought about it. He was inclined to do it, but didn't want, because of his closeness with Stewart, to embarrass him or cause him any trouble. Also, he didn't want to get on the wrong side if Stewart really was going to get active.

And Stewart wrote him back and advised him not to do it. I don't know what he said; I can't remember; I don't have the letter. I think it was saying something like, "It's really too early to tell." But he did go on to say something about the other candidates and how Johnson was strong in Arizona because he'd been there many times and because of his association with Ernest McFarland and Carl Hayden [Carl T. Hayden], and that Kennedy was, he thought, getting more attention nationally than Humphrey would ever get. That was the last bit of equivocation or smoke-screen laying that I recall before he actually got active publicly on behalf of Kennedy.

I think it was in 1959--you'll have to check this to see when he really made up his mind--he wrote an article for *New Republic* called "Why the Democrats Can't Forget Adlai Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson]," or something like this. He was really a strong Stevenson [Interruption] supporter in 1952 and 1956. I have that article someplace but it wouldn't be any trouble to find it. I haven't read that article for years, but it was.... He got some mail from people who were ardent Stevenson supporters, and I think they viewed it as Stewart's nomination of Stevenson for the third time.

Anyway, fairly early that year in 1960 he publicly announced his support of Kennedy and went to work with people in Arizona who he felt believed the same way he did, and I know he had talked with them privately in the previous fall and winter. One was Bill Mahoney [William P. Mahoney, Jr.] in Phoenix and Tom Chandler [Thomas Chandler] in

Tucson. Tom Chandler had been a county campaign chairman for McFarland and for Hayden in their different campaigns, very successful lawyer and liberal Democrat; never did run for office himself, but very effective. Stewart had talked to them and around the state. It seems to me there were--well, he worked on the newspapers where he was fairly close to the editors, such as the Flagstaff paper. I think we mentioned him the last time, a man named Platt Cline, who had come to Udall's defense in his first campaign for congressman--he was getting the McCarthy [Joseph R. McCarthy] treatment. Jim McNulty [James Francis McNulty, Jr.] is another one he worked with. Jim is a lawyer in Bisbee in Cochise County, which is a fairly populous county by Arizona's standards. These people all became activist and worked to line up their counties. Did we talk on tape about the efforts of the opposition?

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MOSS: No. Again, this was in some of the preliminary discussion. I was going to ask you what were the Johnson-Symington people up to in the small county pressures and that kind of thing. I believe you mentioned some pressure on a fellow who was a wholesaler up in Greenlee County.

BEATY: Right. Sometime before the Democratic state convention when they pick the delegates, Stewart, I think, thought he had every county lined up except Maricopa. The clerk of the superior court in Yuma County, a man named McLay [James McLay], I think--the name will come to me if this isn't right; I'll remember it. If he at that particular time was not county chairman, he had been, and he was still--his man was now county chairman. He was really the one who took care of things there. He was for Kennedy. But the leading state senator there--and he's still state senator from Yuma County--had worked very closely with Hayden and McFarland, and he knew where the power lay for getting money for Yuma County, and it came from Senator Hayden. Although Hayden himself hadn't been active publicly, his staff had been on his behalf, using his name for Johnson, and this is understandable. So Yuma County was kind of mixed up.

One of the people Stewart had worked with closest in Flagstaff and Coconino County was a former district judge named Bill Stevenson. I remember meeting him as county chairman in the middle years between the time Stewart was first elected and the 1960 presidential election. We thought we could count on him, but there were some rumors to the effect that the other side was offering him chairmanship to the state delegation or something like this, and I assumed this would lead to being U. S. attorney for Arizona or federal judge or something like that. So there was a little doubt there.

The most open pressure tactics were employed in the eastern part of the state in counties that are normally very heavily Democratic. Greenlee County is a mining county, perhaps 4,000 or 5,000 voters who actually go to the polls, and it's a rare election when it doesn't go four to one Democratic. The other two counties: one of them is larger in votes; one of them is smaller, but neither of them has ever voted as strongly Democratic as that county. All three of them are good Democratic counties. Gila and Graham are the other two counties.

Well, in Graham County, which is about halfway between these other two--at least the county seats--good friend of Stewart's and a man who had been county chairman, operated a music store in Stafford, and from this he operated music machines, nickelodeons

or whatever you want to call them, and vending machines for candy and cigarettes in all of that area. And I'm sure the best part of his business came out of

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Greenlee County where you got to two towns right side by side. One of them is a mining town, and one of them is the smelting town and the county seat. And right here is one cluster of vending machines that make up a big part of the man's income.

Phelps Dodge [Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation], which operated at that time at least, most of the mines in Arizona, was not for Kennedy. I'm not sure they were for Johnson, but they were for somebody else, and I think it was Johnson. It was around Johnson that the Arizona sentiment against Kennedy crystallized. He was rather frank--he didn't want it to be quoted, but he was rather frank in saying that his business would just be cut off or frozen out if he didn't vote for Johnson. And so we had the possibility of losing three counties there--particularly Graham County. And the county chairman in Greenlee was a Phelps Dodge foreman or personnel man. So there were two counties. There was a possibility of Gila, but we had friends there who managed to swing Gila all right.

So we went into the convention definitely knowing we lost Graham and Greenlee, some uncertainty about Yuma, and some uncertainty about Coconino County. Oh, I think we had the Coconino County votes, but we didn't have the chairman because Stevenson did go for Johnson. But it was a long, drawn-out day, and there was a fight over the unit rule, and we lost. Each county would vote by the unit rule.

MOSS: Let me back up just a minute. You've been talking about the pressures that the opposition were laying on these fellows. What did you use to counter this pressure?

BEATY: Well, I think two things: One, we wanted to win the election, and our candidate is the only one who can win. On the opposite side they were saying that Kennedy was unpopular in Arizona, that Johnson was popular, and that if Kennedy got the nomination it would mean defeat for the whole state ticket, and, you know, defeat would extend down to the courthouses. I think that some of these people even believed that; it wasn't just campaign tactics. The senator from Yuma County, Senator Giss [Harold E. Giss], I'm sure felt that this was going to lose control of the legislature for the Arizona Democrats.

MOSS: I don't want to put words in your mouth, but, in effect, you were countering economic pressure with patronage pressure?

BEATY: I think so, that's right. I mentioned two reasons, and I've only covered one of them--two tactics. One was, we want to win, and we can win with Kennedy; and the other was really--

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I guess is the patronage thing.

MOSS: All right, let's get into the Arizona state convention and what went on there.

BEATY: Well, prior to the convention the Johnson forces suddenly found themselves in an underdog role. Stewart had taken an active lead publicly, and nobody else of that stature had taken a lead on behalf of Lyndon Johnson. There had been a Western Democratic party meeting in Albuquerque six weeks or maybe two months before the state convention in Arizona. I believe probably Symington and others showed up out there at that convention. Johnson didn't; he was as you recall, staying pretty close to Washington making a record of doing the business, but his people were there.

The state chairman in Arizona was for Johnson--or he was for anybody except Kennedy because with some others like Stewart and Bill Mahoney taking the lead for Kennedy, there was no place for him to become a leader in that area. I don't think he would have been anyway. He's the same one that was photographed with the labor people. At that time the papers were working him over, and now the papers were aligned with him in order to stop Kennedy. But he went to Albuquerque with the Maricopa County chairman, a rather disreputable coot who's since dead. I'm sorry to say anything bad about him, but he was a pure and simple patronage type county hack who did what they told him to; but he was personable and friendly, and I think everybody liked him.

But the two of them and probably some others went to Albuquerque to make the best deal they could for the Arizona Democratic Party. And they told Symington's people they wanted--this is hearsay, but it's pretty generally believed--that they wanted one cabinet position, one major ambassadorship, one minor ambassadorship; you know, named a number of things that they expected if they went for him and helped him get elected. Well, people weren't making deals like that at that stage of the game. I'm sure that the Symington people tried to mollify them, but they didn't succeed. It was, I think, regarded as an impasse or breaking off; and so for whatever happened between them and the Johnson forces, they centered on Johnson from that point on.

This state chairman had been put in the job by Ernest McFarland when McFarland was governor. McFarland was the chairman for Johnson in the state, and around McFarland and the state chairman clustered a group of businessmen including John Mills, a Dallas oil man who owned and operated the Westward Ho, the biggest hotel in Phoenix at that time; Pulliam, who claimed to be a personal friend of Johnson's; and--well, I don't know; I assume--Joe Duke [Joseph C. Duke], who was then the Senate sergeant at arms. Joe had always been friendly with

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us; he didn't get involved in trying to pressure Stewart into changing his mind.

But Saturday two weeks before the state convention, the county chairman of Maricopa County and the state chairman and Joe Duke wound up at a meeting with Senator Hayden and some of his staff. We knew they were in town; they dropped by to see us, and they tried to talk Stewart into changing his mind or doing something different. I sat in on some of that. We didn't even know exactly what was happening over in Hayden's office until

a few days before the state convention. The *Arizona Republic* in a big front-page spread announced that Hayden endorsed Johnson. A couple of days later, there was a front-page editorial cartoon showing Hayden's endorsement as being a cannon-shot blowing Stewart Udall and Kennedy out of the saddle. In fact, I think that appeared the day of the convention, which made... [Laughter]

MOSS: You say they tried to talk Udall into changing his mind?

BEATY: That's right.

MOSS: What kind of arguments and inducements did they use?

BEATY: Well, it was the old argument that Kennedy's not going to help the Democratic party in Arizona; that we lost in '58; if we lose another time, we're going to be in really bad shape; and Stewart Udall talked to us about unifying ahead of time behind a certain candidate for governor, this sort of thing, so that we won't have a bitter primary fight; and now if he persists he will be responsible for more bitterness. And also, I think there was some jockeying for position over who's going to be chairman of the delegation. And Stewart was determined to be chairman, so that it wouldn't get away from him if they actually got control of it, and so that when they went to Los Angeles it would be as a delegation voting for Kennedy.

MOSS: What was Udall's response to these?

BEATY: Well, like most politicians, he tried to keep them happy without giving up anything. But when they left, they were, I'm sure, convinced that he wasn't going to budge, and he was going to press for.... They talked about the unit rule and a lot of things, the factors that were going into this Convention. But nothing was settled except, as I started to say, they left town, I'm sure, convinced that Stewart was going to go all out for Kennedy and that if he succeeded that these particular people were going to be out.

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There was a county convention, Maricopa County convention, the night before the state convention, if I remember right. This amiable old goat who was the county chairman, because he had been publicly identified as a Johnson man, was persuaded in a very poor bit of judgment on his part to step aside and let somebody else preside; and this confused the situation so that the Maricopa County group went into the next day's convention and still hadn't settled how they would vote.

I think the deciding factor was not the work that the Kennedy people had done or the work that the Johnson people had done, but a third factor: the national committeeman at that time, a man named Steve Langmade [Stephen W. Langmade] who's now dead. Steve had been wooed by Pulliam to run against McFarland for the Senate in the '58 primary, Democratic primary. Pulliam was determined to reelect Barry Goldwater, as we've

mentioned earlier here. I've heard it said--in fact I think Steve said it in my presence--that Pulliam told him, "Look, you get into this thing and really make a go of it, and I'll make you a real big man in the state whether you win or not." And he wasn't made a real big man in the state. He got very little support from the paper. It was clear, I suppose, to the editors three weeks after the primary campaign started that he wasn't going to be a very effective candidate. They gave him more attention in the primary than they gave McFarland, but it didn't amount to anything, and he was always a little embittered about this. And I think it was that he was getting back at Pulliam and McFarland and all these other people by swinging behind Stewart Udall and Bill Mahoney to go for Kennedy.

So they had some test vote at the beginning--I wasn't there so I'm giving this from memory, from reading the papers and talking to people. They had some kind of preliminary vote which I think was on the unit rule, and the unit rule was upheld. And then Maricopa County asked for a recess for a caucus, and Langmade at this point swung his support to Kennedy. A former Maricopa chairman named Charles Hardy, whose family had been active and his wife always has been active in politics in the state for a long time--he's president of the Young Democrats--he and Bill Mahoney were really the moving forces there. And when the votes were counted up with the help of Langmade, they had about a five-vote margin in this big Maricopa County delegation, but they already had decided to go for the unit rule, so the whole fight was over at this point. It took all day.

Symington was there that day, come to think about it I'm remembering now, and with the state chairman was touring the valley and making speeches and showed up at the convention. It was kind of a

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useless cause at this point because he wasn't going to get it as far as Arizona was concerned anyway. But all this led to confusion. The principal political writer for the *Republic*, the morning paper there, was following Symington around and writing that story, and he wasn't covering the convention.

By coincidence, the Democratic National Party was having a fund raising dinner here in Washington at that time, and Mrs. Udall [Ermalee Udall] used me as an escort because her husband was out there fighting the campaign. First, she'd go to the phone and call Phoenix and try to find out what had happened, and then she'd send me to the phone, which wasn't hard to do. We couldn't find out; there was, you know, a two-hour time difference. I don't know whether daylight savings time had gone into effect or not. Arizona has never been under it, so it may have been a three-hour time difference. So when we were in the middle of dinner here, at nine o'clock, it was still only six o'clock out there or something on that order. And I finally called the newspapers even though they had been unfriendly to Stewart. I'd worked on this one paper and knew the staff, and I couldn't find anybody there; the people who were covering it hadn't come back yet. But there was one guy on the desk who had just gotten a call from the man from the Associated Press who was covering it and finally gave me, probably on the third call, that the Kennedy forces had won.

I found out later that one city editor got fired as a result of this: the loss and the poor covering of the convention from Pulliam's standpoint. In the first edition they ran the Associated Press story because the AP man was the only one who was really there and knew

it. Somebody read me the first part of the story over the phone that night, and it sounded good; it was, you know, a straight report. The final edition and the one that really gets out around in the heavily populated area started off something like this, "Stewart Udall, with the help of Joe Kennedy's [Joseph P. Kennedy] millions, yesterday seized control of the Democratic party in Arizona, and so on and so forth. And the man who had been following Symington all around town all day, Pulliam had gotten him on the line and made him get down there and write that story. And within the next week they had moved the city editor out of his job because he'd assigned this political writer to Symington and didn't have anybody down there at the convention watching things. It was a real blast.

MOSS: Yes, sounds like it. What other pre-national convention activity was Udall involved in? I know that he went up to Minnesota, for instance--I have a note here--to address the Minnesota convention at Freeman's [Orville L. Freeman] invitation.

BEATY: That's right.

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MOSS: How did that come about?

BEATY: Well, he put himself at the disposal of the Kennedy people: "You tell me what you want to do, and I'll do it." And he didn't get too many calls, but when he did, he made speeches and trips. He did a lot of work, he and Frank Thompson [Frank Thompson, Jr.], in Congress, working with people from southern delegations, particularly. I think they felt that the northern end of it was all right. I've got very faint memories about this period. We were organizing our own campaign for his reelection as well as this. Something you said there, though, reminded me of something if I can come up with it again. No. I'm blank right here.

MOSS: You were talking about Freeman and Minnesota.

BEATY: Whatever it was, it's completely gotten away from me.

MOSS: You were on the southern congressman and on the people in Congress in general? Well, maybe we'll pick it up later.

BEATY: I hope so.

MOSS: Well, how about the convention in Los Angeles?

BEATY: Again, I wasn't there.

MOSS: You weren't there.

BEATY: It was a rip-roaring affair as far as Arizona was concerned. The man I talked to on the phone at the *Arizona Republic* that night was a new man on the staff who had come in from Pulliam's paper in Indianapolis and was working on the city desk pending some other assignment. He's now their principal political columnist. He went out there determined to make Stewart Udall look bad. Most of the stories talked about, "In spite of requests from 45 percent of the delegation, Stewart Udall adamantly refused to give them a vote at the convention," and so forth. The state had voted for unit rule, and Stewart held them to it; and all seventeen votes, thirty-four delegates with a half vote each, or whatever it was, voted for Kennedy.

MOSS: How long do you think he could have held that if it had gone...

BEATY: Indefinitely, I think.

MOSS: Indefinitely?

BEATY: Yeah. These guys had been bruised in the state fight, and they weren't going to modify their views, I don't think.

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Jim McNulty, this lawyer from Bisbee that I mentioned earlier, chased the political writer out of the room. They were letting the reporter stay in the caucuses with them when they had any state meetings, delegate meetings. And some of this very slanted reporting got under McNulty's skin more than Stewart's. They were working Stewart over pretty thoroughly, and Jim challenged this reporter to take his coat off. Of course the reporter wasn't going to do it. He had the last word because he wrote the article the next day that appeared in the Phoenix papers. Fortunately, one of the other Arizona television stations was covering it and one of the smaller papers, so the other story got out, got some distribution. There's some discrepancy compared to what was really happening and what the *Arizona Republic* said was happening.

McFarland was on the delegation. Charles Hardy and Bill Mahoney and some of the others helped pick the delegation. They tried to pick one that gave representation to all the forces so that if there was a breakdown, Kennedy withdrew or something, they'd all feel they had a voice in it. But it might as well have been a solid Kennedy delegation.

MOSS: What was the Arizona response to the selection of Johnson as vice-president?

BEATY: They were solidly for it, seeing finally a chance to heal some wounds. I suppose there were probably a few idealists in the crowd who didn't like it, but they were solid enough so that Bobby Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] or somebody put Stewart to work on other states trying to keep them in line for Johnson and avoid some kind of a rebellion on the floor. I'm not sure it was Bob Kennedy who gave him this assignment. And of course Stewart wound up making one of the five or six speeches for Johnson.

I was in Phoenix a few days later with a friend of mine in the Westward Ho. We got off the elevator on the mezzanine floor, which is where John Mills' office is, the hotelman, the Dallas oil man, the Lyndon Johnson supporter. And he and I knew each other very slightly, and then he hadn't seen me for a while. I don't think he recognized me, but he was very close to the man I was with, and he was just boiling over with rage at the double cross that Lyndon Johnson had given them by accepting a place on this ticket. And he pulled out of his pocket a copy of the telegram he'd sent to Lyndon which read him out of the human race. "Forget all our years of friendship, you slob." I don't know what it said at this point, but it was really a finalization. "Get out. How can you do this to us?"

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MOSS: Was this sentiment very widespread?

BEATY: Yes, yes. So much so that when Johnson showed up in the state during the campaign, if I had a chance, it would have been a fight between me and this political writer, and I don't get in many fights. But I'd gone out--I'd worked with the advance man helping set things up for the Johnson visit. At that point his was going to be the only visit from the national ticket to Arizona. There was a reception at the airport, and I recall that one of these Bonanza Airline F-27 airplanes was warming up and making its typical high whining sound just as Johnson was trying to speak. It was almost as if they had planned it that way; you couldn't hear a thing on his microphone except that whine. There was a parade down through town up to the Westward Ho where there was a press conference, a typical event in Phoenix. When some politicians come to town they have the Phoenix Press Club Forum. We had a larger room than usual this time, because there was obviously going to be a larger crowd. And this political writer sat in the front row and interrupted, asked antagonistic questions.... It was really--I've never seen a performance like it any place.

The papers went all out to clobber our ticket from the time Lyndon Johnson was defeated for president at the time of the nomination and the time he accepted this. I think they were worse than if Johnson had never taken the nomination for vice-president.

MOSS: Did the religious issue figure at all in Arizona?

BEATY: Yes. I spent a lot of time around Phoenix the last ten days of the campaign, partly because, as I think we mentioned last time, plans were changed, and John Kennedy did come into Arizona within a few days of the election, I think.

MOSS: November 3rd, I have on my notes.

BEATY: One of the old, established, big downtown churches is a Baptist church. I think the Baptists were more active than most Protestant religions in opposing the idea of a Catholic being president. I went to one of the meetings there. I got copies of handbills and things. They were campaigning right up until the end for Nixon and against the idea of the pope taking over the United States.

My father lives in Los Cruces, New Mexico, and usually out there when I was working with Stewart during an election year, our work was done on our campaign by Friday night and there wasn't much to be done after that, and I'd usually go over to Los Cruces and spend the weekend and then come back on Monday night so I could vote and participate

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in all the activities you have on election day. My father goes to the Methodist church, and I went with him. The Methodist preacher there on the Sunday before election was campaigning for Nixon against the Catholic. His sermon at that particular time was being broadcast on the local radio station. So the Catholic issue was being pushed even though it had been discredited by national spokesmen for most of the churches.

MOSS: What was the effect of all this; the newspaper campaigning, the preachers from the pulpit, and so on? How effective was this as far as spreading it out through the general populace, the voters, and so on? Obviously, the Democratic ticket lost Arizona, but....

BEATY: We've lost before.

MOSS: Yes. Essentially you've been talking about the way the politicians have been operating their own jockeying. How was this reflected in the sentiment of the general voter?

BEATY: I really think, leaving out the Mexican-Americans who are Catholics mostly and mostly Democrats anyway, and here's one of their fellow religionists running for president, I don't think they were affected one way or another. They may have voted in better numbers than usual, but for the WASP population, the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and Catholics, I don't think it made a lot of difference. We may have lost some votes because of the Catholic issue. It's just--the Democratic Party is not very well organized out there, and that was one of their worst years.

The Udall effort had been made in the primary--I mean in getting ready for the convention. He campaigned hard for Kennedy. There was a lot of good state-level activity, but the county organizations were weak except in, perhaps, Flagstaff, Yuma, and in the two large counties, Maricopa and Pima. And the Republicans just out-organized the party, the Democrats, as they have from the time Barry Goldwater got active out there in the 1950s--I suppose from that point on.

MOSS: Udall was running for reelection himself. How involved did he get in the national campaign outside of Arizona?

BEATY: I don't think he--he told them anytime, you know, call on me; and I think he made one or two trips outside of the state. I've forgotten what he did; mostly it was within Arizona. He campaigned almost exclusively for the national ticket; he rarely mentioned his own candidacy. I can remember one meeting

where he and his opponent met before some group in Tucson like the League of Women Voters--I don't think that's what it was, but it's that sort of nonpartisan meeting--and there, obviously, he had to say some things about himself and his race for Congress. I remember one television program--half an hour of people calling in questions. Mostly they centered on what are you doing in Congress, or why are you a left-wing liberal or a left-wing socialist or something. So there again he talked about himself. But except for these two or three exceptions, it was all out for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

He spent a lot of time in state headquarters in Phoenix doing organizational work, getting people to put up money to get campaign literature. We were short of campaign literature for the first few weeks of the campaign. We couldn't get posters and buttons. The party had to pay for them rather than just have the national committee shipping them out with the idea that they would be paid for. I know one or two people who put up money to get the first stuff there just before Johnson showed up in the state on his visit. Stewart was trying to straighten out things like that as well as traveling around the state and working on his own campaign.

Ted Kennedy [Edward Moore Kennedy] visited the state; Bob Kennedy visited the state. Ted had been active. He'd been in and out of our office on the Hill for months before the Convention, and, of course, after that he was busy out in the West working with Hy Raskin [Hyman B. Raskin]. Let's see, we went to--Stewart had an afternoon confrontation with his opponent for reelection there in Tucson one Sunday afternoon. It was to be taped or something about noon. I got up that morning and drove up the back roads to the Globe-Miami area, which is in Gila County, this good, normally Democratic country. Ted Kennedy had come into Phoenix the night before and had done some campaigning there, which we weren't involved in because it was Maracopa County activity. Stewart was going to be flown up to the little dirt strip airport and so was Ted Kennedy, and I was trying to meet both of them because our principal operators there were running this barbecue and mass meeting at the baseball field in between Globe and Miami, and they didn't want to leave. They felt they should stay there.

Stewart was late. I finally got him, and Ted Kennedy still hadn't shown up. The sheriff who was running a little radio station, a police-radio-type thing out at the airport, kept trying to find out from the Phoenix airport whether the plane was on its way or not. Nobody seemed to know. Well, we got down there to the barbecue, and Ted Kennedy had just arrived; he and a friend and his wife had driven up from Phoenix. We went back to Phoenix that night--I may be mixed

up on this, whether it was that time or a little later, but Ted and a Kennedy plane showed up in Phoenix, and there was some minor activity there. We flew up to Flagstaff and had a night rally there, which was one of the high points of the campaign as far as crowds and participation.

It seems to me Bob Kennedy showed up very late in the campaign, maybe a week ahead of his brother.

MOSS: You said earlier plans were changed and the candidate did come into Arizona. Had it originally been supposed that he would not, and, if so, why was it changed?

BEATY: Well, people running the campaign can tell you better than I could. I think, though, that there was a shift in the larger schedule which gave him a little leeway between California and Texas or something like this. And there had been some rather enthusiastic reports out of Arizona, which were colored by hope, I think, more than fact, that things were looking better and maybe this is all it would take to tip the state in your direction.

So he chose to do it, getting in there in the early hours of the morning and making a speech. Democrats gathered in great force; they filled the main ballroom of the Westward Ho for a breakfast session, and then he was supposed to speak. There was a lot of delay as there always is because, I'm sure, he was on the phone and the staff was on the phones for twenty different places and a lot of other arrangements. But, finally, he showed up, walked through the ballroom--or across the stage there, and then went out to a stand that had been built on the outside. And the police had closed off a couple of blocks of the streets there in that area. It was a very large crowd by Phoenix standards, and there had been a big crowd that had stayed all through the night out at the airport to see him come in. There was a much better crowd then. Of course, it was later in his campaign and interest had built up. There was a much bigger crowd than when Johnson had showed up, and there was a better crowd than when Nixon was there.

The *Arizona Republic* ran a big, front-page spread on Nixon when he arrived. They had feature stories about women on the phones, Republican women, calling and getting those people to call five others and this sort of thing. They had a map showing the parade route from the airport to the hotel or wherever it was he was going to speak. I kept a copy of this in my briefcase, and that night, the night that Kennedy was coming in--no, the night before Kennedy was coming into town--I got the early edition of the *Republic*, which goes out on the streets about ten o'clock. And there was practically nothing on page one. There was a little story written by the police reporter that the

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police were.... It had some antagonistic note to it like, "The police, against their will, were being forced to block off four streets or four areas because of the Kennedy deal." And then it went on with a story which continued inside which told about the visit and the events.

I went over to the editor that night and raised hell. He was a new editor in town, but a good one and very fair man--I don't know how he works for Pulliam. But because of him, they liberalized their policies a great deal. But we almost ended our relationship that night. I pulled out this paper, and I said, "Look what you did for Nixon, and look what you're doing to Kennedy. I've never seen such a one-sided display." And he got pretty huffy about it, and he went out and got the files from the first, second, and third editions of the Nixon thing. He

was trying to prove to me that in the early editions they didn't do anything for Nixon either, but it turned out they had done the same thing all the way through. And the next morning....

[BEGIN SIDE II TAPE II]

MOSS: Okay, you were talking about the coverage that had been given the Kennedy visit by the Phoenix newspaper. This was the *Phoenix Republic*, wasn't it?

BEATY: That's right, yes. Titled the *Arizona Republic*.

MOSS: The *Arizona Republic*, excuse me.

BEATY: It is the Phoenix paper, Sunday morning paper. I had been sitting in a bar in the Westward Ho the evening before Senator Kennedy was due to arrive the next day, next evening, talking to two people who were managing the campaign for the Democratic candidate for governor. And when I saw the early edition of the paper, I told them I was going to go over and talk to the editor. They were suffering from what most Democratic politicians in Arizona suffer from: fear of the paper and what it will do to them. They thought they were getting along well with the paper and didn't want to antagonize them by getting in a fight, and I think they were appalled at my brashness. I knew the editor, and I thought he was fair enough that I could sound off a little bit about the obvious unfairness of the comparative treatment of Vice-President Nixon and Senator Kennedy in their visits to Arizona's principal city.

He told me that they were going to do better, and, as it turned out, the next edition and the rest of the editions had a banner headline on the visit. They didn't have the map because the artist had

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gone home, and it's something you do ahead of time. But they did have an article on the front page describing the route of the parade and the events, and it was rather good treatment, all and all. I don't know why this happened to come to mind when we were talking about the visit but...

MOSS: Well, in a way, it gets back to an earlier question in which I asked about the response of the regular voter. Now, to what extent did this mass media effort mold the Arizona voter in 1960?

BEATY: I think it was an important factor.

MOSS: If you had a pro-Kennedy newspaper could you have carried Arizona?

BEATY: I just don't know. I haven't reviewed the figures. I'm a little hazy on it. It seems to me--I think we might have. We were up against this negative thing all the way down the line.

Oh, I know. Now I remember the thing I was groping for sometime ago, and it is an important part of this thing. The year before, Senator Kennedy went out and spoke to the Phoenix Press Club. He had some other kind of a speaking engagement there, and we helped to arrange it--Stewart did. I had been president of the Phoenix Press Club before I went to work for Stewart and I knew all the people who were president or program chairmen in the years after that. So it was easy to arrange. We didn't have to arrange it; if he'd come into town they'd have arranged it anyway. But we did have a part in doing it, and Stewart talked to the Senator about going out to Arizona.

And, Ted Sorensen [Theodore C. Sorensen] called one day to talk about what the local issues were and what they should be thinking about. And I told him about this right-to-work thing, that this was a big thing there. One of the first questions he'll be asked is, are you for right-to-work or against it? And they'll work you over if you say you're against right-to-work laws. And Ted was a little huffy with me at the time. "Well, why did you get us into this? You know where the Senator stands; he's against right-to-work. Why didn't you tell us this beforehand?" I hadn't had the chance up to that point. But, as I recall it, I said, "You're not depending exclusively on Arizona as we are, and maybe somebody from a different region, a different part of the country explaining this thing logically can help make some headway against this issue that's worked the Democratic party over so badly in the past.

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Well, he went out and got hit with that question, and they editorialized against him rather strongly for advocating union shops instead of a free choice by workers. And they revived this during the campaign, and they revived it frequently. I think they made a studied effort, as I remember, not to get the religious thing into it. They didn't want to be branded as bigots themselves. But in every other way they did their best, day after day, to make Kennedy look bad and Nixon look good.

And of course that speech by Goldwater on behalf of Nixon got a whole lot more attention than the speech by Stewart Udall on behalf of John Kennedy. And Senator Hayden, while his name meant a lot in the state, was never, in the time I lived there, an active campaigner. He wasn't an important factor in party politics except getting himself elected; and the fact that he--they all showed up on the platform when Kennedy was there. I don't think that there was anybody in the state comparable to Goldwater working for Nixon except Stewart, and he was merely a congressman representing one of two districts. He wasn't getting the press attention that Goldwater and the Nixon campaign people were getting.

MOSS: What was the Arizona sentiment like following the election? How did they receive the news?

BEATY: First of all, let me tell you how Stewart received the news.

MOSS: All right, fine.

BEATY: One of the traditions in Tucson politics and elections is sometime in the latter part of the evening between nine o'clock and midnight, when the results began

to be known, for the local candidates to show up down at the press club and visit with the mobs who are there watching the results come in and have a drink or at least visit, get their picture taken shaking hands with--the winner and the loser shaking hands. Stewart always did it. He'd won this time. We'd moved the party to a bigger place, one of the new motels with a big ballroom so that it could accommodate everybody. At that point in the evening everybody knew Kennedy was winning. It got closer as the night wore on, but at this particular point it looked like a big Democratic victory.

Stewart and his wife and some friends were out at their house, and another of his assistants and I were down--we'd been working back and forth to a number of polling places to get a sampling of the results as they opened the voting machines. And then we went to the press club. Everybody was wondering when was Stewart going to show up. Well,

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he just didn't show up. He was so distraught over the trouncing Kennedy took in Arizona that I think if he could have quit politics that day, he probably would have. About midnight I called him and really did my best to persuade him to come down; just come by, you know, and let them see you here. He just said, "Oh, the hell with it all." Whereas after the 1958 election when we lost a lot of these offices, he'd been disturbed and what he did then was to send me to Phoenix the next day to talk to party people and labor people and school people. [Interruption]

MOSS: We were talking about how disappointed Stewart Udall was with the Arizona results on election eve.

BEATY: Okay, so in 1958 he sent me up to Phoenix afterwards to try to figure out what was wrong. I talked to the state president or executive secretary of the Arizona Education Association, a teachers' organization, labor people, political writers, party leaders, to find out what had gone wrong aside from this character assassination campaign that had been run against the Democratic candidate for governor. I did this.

After the '60 election, he didn't want to send me any place. He wanted to get out of Arizona; he wanted me to get out of Arizona. I came back to Washington the next day, I think. So I didn't stay around to see the reaction of people personally.

But the newspapers indicated that the results were accepted without a lot of bitterness on the part of the rabid church people who'd been campaigning on the Catholic issue. And of course the Republicans I'm sure--I recall statements by people like Goldwater and others that followed the theme later espoused by the vice-president and his daughters, that they were counted out in Texas and Illinois and places like that. So they never conceded that they lost the election. But I think the public at large got a certain amount of satisfaction--I'm not talking about working Republicans; they would be as unhappy as we would have been if we'd lost. But it didn't cause the divisiveness that a lot of people thought it would if a Catholic got elected.

MOSS: Right, let's move on a bit, and I'll ask you when it became clear that Stewart

Udall was going to have an administration post, and how it came about that he was appointed as Secretary of the Interior?

BEATY: Okay.

MOSS: Unless you think there's something in between . . .

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BEATY: No, I think this is the important factor. I came back here without much thought that he would get it, but with the thought that there was a possibility.

MOSS: This had been talked about before, had it?

BEATY: Yes, and I'll mention these two things. I came back to get some legislation drafted that he would be introducing and to do some work on--he'd started a seminar for freshman congressman a couple years earlier, maybe more than that: I think it's two years earlier--and to start making arrangements to do that all over again. I guess it was after the convention...

MOSS: The national convention?

BEATY: After the national convention and before Congress came back into session, Stewart wrote a friend of his in England, who's now the defense minister there, Denis Healey [Denis W. Healey]. They had carried on a correspondence for several years and visited both here and there, and he said--this was after Kennedy had been nominated--that if we win there's a good chance I'll wind up in the cabinet. He didn't specify where--I don't think he did. It's his letter. I saw it cleaning out our files on the Hill to move our stuff over to Interior, so I didn't know it at the time that he had written this letter.

When the President, the Senator at that point, came to Phoenix just before the election, Ben Bradlee [Benjamin C. Bradlee], who was then with *Newsweek* and was covering the campaign, I think probably rode into town with Stewart from the airport. He wanted to get a rundown on what was happening in the Southwest, and Stewart wanted to see how the national campaign was going. I took Mrs. Udall and a group of women from Tucson into town, and we went to the motel suite that they had arranged for, and Stewart was to join us there later. He went to the hotel with the traveling press, and I assumed he saw the Senator and others in the group. But he came back to this motel thing elated because Ben Bradlee had told him that it was pretty well settled that if he wins, "You're going to be Secretary of the Interior."

MOSS: Did Bradlee say where he had got the information?

BEATY: No. If he did, Stewart didn't pass that on.
Then the speculation began. Almost immediately afterwards, it seems

to me, the *U. S. News and World Report* listed Stewart as a likely candidate for that. And so then at this point, I along with others began to examine who the possible candidates might be for that job. And it was Steve McNichols [Stephen L.R. McNichols], who was the highly regarded governor of Colorado but who hadn't actually been involved in the campaign much,

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and I forget what other names were being thrown around. I'm sure several members of Congress were mentioned.

MOSS: Aspinwall [Wayne N. Aspinwall], Jackson [Henry M. Jackson], Anderson [Clinton P. Anderson]?

BEATY: Yes, that's right. But looking at all these, I was convinced that Stewart had the best claim on it from the standpoint of campaigning--not from previous experience or anything like that, although he had been on the Interior Committee for six years. He was a westerner, and there weren't many westerners being mentioned for the Cabinet except I think Edith Green's [Edith S. Green] name got in it. I mean people who had worked with the campaign; I'm not talking about people like Jackson who'd been the national chairman and in the Senate with Kennedy and so forth. In looking at it on balance, I thought that he had a good chance to make it from pure logic, but I still personally didn't put a lot of faith in this.

And late in November, two weeks, I suppose, after I'd come back here from the election, I was in the air reserve and had a chance for a two-week tour of duty which involved traveling around the country to missile bases and things like that, including a weekend in Las Vegas. I called Stewart and our telephone allowance was about used up--we didn't make too many calls this late in the second year of a term--to go over some things and asked him, what was going to happen? Was there a chance that I could take this two-week tour without upsetting things? We had everything in order there at the office. He told me to go ahead and do it, and I did. We went to Cape Canaveral the first day and stayed around there for--I think we got there one day and stayed through the next day. Went to Omaha to SAC [Strategic Air Command] headquarters another day, and I forget where else we wound up. We spent the weekend in Las Vegas and went to San Diego to look at the missile plants there. During the lunch that day I got a call to get on back; that he was going to get the nomination, the office was getting out of hand, and we needed all the help we could get.

So I got back. I guess Tom Hughes [Thomas L. Hughes], who was working for Chester Bowles [Chester B. Bowles], and I left about the same time. Bowles, of course, was active in the organizational efforts, and we were on that trip together and headed back on different planes for some reason. I got back into town here early in the morning, seven o'clock or something like that. Stewart was already at the office, and without even going home--I think my wife brought some clothes down--we went up to New York that afternoon and Stewart kind of hid out because so many people were after him to get his blessing for under secretary and things like this. He had me go in and register at the hotel assuming

that I was Stewart Udall and to take whatever calls came in, and he didn't go to that hotel; he went to a different place. We met the next morning at the--was it the Carlyle [Carlyle Hotel]?

MOSS: I believe.

BEATY: Whatever the hotel was where Kennedy was maintaining his headquarters. We met there the next morning in the lobby and went up to meet with the Senator --the President-elect. But until that point, really, I wasn't sure it was going to happen because there were so many other factors.

As a matter of fact, Stewart would tell a different story on this, but his assistant, the other assistant who was here while I was on the trip, has told me that Stewart went to the Georgetown house to meet with the President and theoretically to get the announcement several days before this. And in the meantime, trying to touch all bases, Bob Kennedy talking to Senator Anderson had said, "Well, of course if we thought you were available for this job we would have preferred you," or something to that effect, thinking the Senator would say, "Well, you know, I've been in the cabinet, I've been Secretary of Agriculture, I'm chairman of the Interior Committee, and I want to stay here in the Senate." Instead, Anderson showed some interest in it and threw the whole thing off, the timetable off. Stewart came back to the office, according to my friend, rather depressed, upset about it. I'm sure that he got Frank Thompson and others who were equally close to the President-elect to put in a good word for him. But all this happened not in my presence, and when I got back, we were packing to go to New York for the announcement.

MOSS: Now, how about the business of appointments to the Interior posts? What role did--perhaps we'd better shut this off now and start on that next time.

BEATY: I think we should because it's a good session to do that.

MOSS: All right.

BEATY: And I'll study that between now and....

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