

William L. Dunfey Oral History Interview – RFK #2, 3/23/1972
Administrative Information

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Biographical Note

Dunfey, New Hampshire political figure; Kennedy campaign coordinator in New England and New York (1960); chairman, Democratic State Committee (1965-1967); New England coordinator, Robert F. Kennedy's Presidential campaign (1968), discusses the Democratic National Committee (DNC), his 1967 resignation from the DNC, and RFK's 1968 presidential campaign in New England, among other issues.

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William L. Dunfey—RFK #2

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Second of Two Oral History Interviews

with

William L. Dunfey

March 23, 1972
Hampton, New Hampshire

By Larry J. Hackman

For the Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Program
of the John F. Kennedy Library

HACKMAN: I wanted to just start out by asking you a couple of questions about this whole filing system, like on this first box, which relates.... You can figure out the time period, like this is box two, actually 1959. There doesn't seem to be an alphabetical order and maybe you can just describe how you think these got in the order they're in.

DUNFEY: It's by states.

HACKMAN: I can't really see that it's by states. There's Maine, there's New Hampshire—maybe it's by states—then there is Vermont.

DUNFEY: I think maybe what I did was just take and put it by states, and then threw it in by categories on individuals within the state, or a program or Young Dems [Young Democrats] or something like that.

HACKMAN: That's probably what it is. Is Henry Murray [Henry F. Murray] in Marine?

DUNFEY: No, Henry is the regional director of the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations].

HACKMAN: In New Hampshire?

DUNFEY: No. New England-New York. He didn't have New Jersey, but he was New England-New York. In fact, he is still around. Talked to him today. He does the same thing for COPE [Committee on Political Education] in the six New England states—Political Action Committee.

HACKMAN: Yes. Let me just start off. Here's a folder with several things in it that I've turned up. This goes back to '59. I just want to look at the things I'd turned up. They're really not of major importance. For instance, the first one is a letter January 31, '59 from Frank

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Morrissey [Francis X. Morrissey]. You'd been down and talked to Steve Smith [Stephen E. Smith], and I'd wondered if you can remember at all anything about Smith in that period and how deeply he was involved in what was going on.

DUNFEY: Hmm.

HACKMAN: It was a long time ago.

DUNFEY: Yeah.

HACKMAN: Or a note that you wrote to Morrissey from Trenton? That probably would have been on New Jersey politics, on a trip you had taken.

DUNFEY: Yeah, I went down with Ted Sorensen [Theodore C. Sorensen] and Senator Kennedy [John F. Kennedy] and picked up Jackie [Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy] in New York.

HACKMAN: This isn't the same trip when you went to Delaware, is it?

DUNFEY: Wait a minute now. January 31, '59. No, I can't raise it. Where the hell would I have met Steve Smith then? No, I can't.

HACKMAN: Okay. The second thing in there that's turned up is a little note from you to Drexel Sprecher [Drexel A. Sprecher], that you were flying to Wilmington, that you were going to stop and pick up Senator Kennedy in New York and then go to Wilmington. Do you remember anything about that trip? I know you mentioned the last time that you reported to them on Lyons [Garrett E. Lyons], Chairman Lyons in Delaware as a supporter. Was there some foul up on the plane on that trip or something into Delaware?

DUNFEY: Yeah. I met Ted Sorensen in Boston. The pilot was supposed to pick us up in the Senator's plane and couldn't get in, so we horsed around there for about an hour or so and my wife Ruth [Ruth Dunfey] was with me. She drove me down. So then we were calling back and forth to Senator Kennedy, and he had Jackie with him and he was really upset, but we couldn't get in touch with the plane to tell him to forget us and go pick him up. And we were due in Delaware for a noon meeting in that market square. Plus, if we were late it was going to not fit in too well. Finally, the pilot landed. We left Ruth there. She did take a call from the Senator and he really let loose on her, not knowing who she was or anything, about how upset he was and how much we had screwed up the arrangement and the whole day. So then we went on down to New York.

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I remember this. When we landed he was sitting up against an old shed where we taxied over into the service area. He had either the *New York Times* or some New York paper and Jackie was sitting there with a magazine, *Vogue* or something. He got aboard the plane. He didn't even talk to me getting aboard, he was so furious, and went forward and chewed the pilot out. I just went to the back of the plane, just spoke to Jackie a minute, and just went to the back of the plane and got a briefcase open and did some work. Within about ten or fifteen minutes after he got aboard, he cooled down.

We went in late, but still had a phenomenal crowd, great crowd. On the way down we discussed Delaware. He backed up and just quickly asked me about all states. He concentrated a little on Delaware, it being more southern, and kind of anxious on getting a better hold on Delaware. But we kind of talked about the six New England states, a little about DeSapio [Carmine G. DeSapio] and Prendergast [Michael H. Prendergast], but I didn't have a great deal to say about that because they had so many other directions. They were going to New York anyway.

HACKMAN: Do you remember at that point getting any feedback from him on what he thought of Prendergast and DeSapio that early?

DUNFEY: Well, it was more Buckley [Charles A. Buckley] and—who were the other two Irish congressmen there that I went to dinner with?

HACKMAN: Keogh [Eugene James Keogh]?

DUNFEY: Keogh and....

HACKMAN: I know the other guy and I've forgotten his name.

DUNFEY: But in any event....

HACKMAN: Not Sharkey [Joseph T. Sharkey]?

DUNFEY: But DeSapio, let's see, at that time was still hung in with Harriman [William

Averell Harriman]. At least that's the way I was looking at it, in terms of where New York was and what they were doing. But the conversation on New York, because of the scope of it and the size of it and so many different things going there was, you know, pretty cursory. I didn't consider it important.

HACKMAN: The other thing in there is just a little note of very secondary importance, about Boutin [Bernard Louis Boutin] going down there for some photographs and T.V. films. Anything come to mind on working details out on

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that or anything?

DUNFEY: No, other than Bernie was running for governor and I think at a meeting... We had a women's conference in Atlantic City and Ted Sorensen was there, and I think I talked about making the arrangement for it in terms of getting some clips and shots of Bernie, but I can't think of anything significant about that.

HACKMAN: Okay. There are a number of things in this one. First there is something there that indicates during the '60 campaign you were down on August 15, 1960.

DUNFEY: August 15.

HACKMAN: At least you planned to.

DUNFEY: These are the ones sticking up this way?

HACKMAN: Yeah. You have a meeting coming up with Robert Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] and you hope maybe to talk with Dungan [Ralph A. Dungan] while you're down there, and I'd wondered if that meeting with Robert Kennedy actually came off and if you can remember what was discussed, because I don't think last time you remembered. You recalled talking with Robert Kennedy, or at least that conversation.

DUNFEY: August 15. This would be....

HACKMAN: I'll jog your memory a little bit. On August 1 you had written to O'Donnell [Kenneth P. O'Donnell] on using the Democratic National Committee regional reps as advance men to save some headaches, as you had put it. I think you'd also sent a copy of that to O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien] or shown it to him. Then on August 5, you'd written a memo to O'Brien on a \$15,000 contribution from a New Hampshire person who, from other things in there, I take to be Alvan Fuller [Alvan Tufts

Fuller], and then this meeting that's coming up with Robert Kennedy. I don't know if that sets anything for you or not. Maybe not.

DUNFEY: From other things? Was that a meeting we held with Jerry Bruno [Gerald J. Bruno]?

HACKMAN: Not that I can see in that. There is no mention of that.

DUNFEY: No?

HACKMAN: I mean it could have been.

DUNFEY: Because it's right after that I set up for the

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President, I mean Senator, the first tour after Los Angeles. He went to the Cape [Cape Cod] and then we did Manchester [New Hampshire], Presque Isle, Bangor, Portland [Maine]. Now, how the hell did that come about? I don't even remember. I'm trying to think now how that even happened. Oh, wait a minute. It ended up, I met with Ken and this is where Ted Reardon [Timothy J. Reardon, Jr.] got introduced to the scene.

HACKMAN: Right.

DUNFEY: And then with O'Brien and then we.... I don't remember a separate meeting with Bob Kennedy. I think probably they wrote and said, you know, he wants to see you, and when you got there it went that way. That's my guess.

HACKMAN: Yeah. Right. What happened on this idea for using the regional reps as advance people? Did they pick up on that at all?

DUNFEY: I don't think they quite trusted any of the regional reps, and I think even with me they looked upon me as being more of a.... I'm trying to use the right kind of phrase here. That the syndrome we were in in terms of political organization wasn't the same as the way they did it, and that while maybe a few of the regional reps were okay and so forth, I don't think they were ever that sure about, for the way they wanted to turn on, whether they'd be effective. You know, that's my hunching at it.

HACKMAN: Do you remember any details on the contribution from Fuller, and working it out in New Hampshire to get credit for it, or any of the back and forth on that?

DUNFEY: No, mainly other than that, I met with Alvan here, and he was quite excited and wanted to help and wanted to know what was the easiest way to do it

without making it flamboyant. Then where Bernie was the candidate for governor and, I think again, to get some shots after the Los Angeles convention Bernie was going to Hyannis, so just arranged to have Bernie take it down.

HACKMAN: Any other contacts on Fuller during the Administration or anything?

DUNFEY: Yeah, I later got in touch with him because Fuller spoke to me a couple of times about wanting to do something. I lined him up, he got something. He was on a study committee, something, worked at it for three or four or five months or something. He lived out of the Mayflower [Hotel] or some hotel down there—you know, I have a

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separate appointment card—but there is correspondence with Ken and with Larry for Fuller for.... He didn't want any full time employment or anything, but I lined up something that he went on, similar to the Romeo Champagne thing.

HACKMAN: Yes. I remember seeing that. Did that show up? It's in there somewhere. I've forgotten right now what he did. Didn't he travel somewhere?

DUNFEY: Yeah, he went to some African nation as a representative, with Lyndon Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson]. My guess with that meeting is that... I don't think it took place. Is this the... yeah, that's the August 1 thing.

HACKMAN: Yes. That needs copying. That's the one on using the regional reps as advance men.

DUNFEY: Yeah. I think this was where we narrowed down, where I worked based on New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

HACKMAN: Right.

DUNFEY: The problem I was having here, too, was.... You've interviewed Drex and you know him...

HACKMAN: No, I haven't interviewed him. We have his papers, but we still haven't interviewed him.

DUNFEY: You've never met him? Well, when you meet Drex, he is a hell of a nice guy, but not too easy as far as getting to the point. And for the way Larry and Ken operated—and I know Dick Donahue [Richard K. Donahue] was involved in this—I think they used to get very exasperated with the amount of time it would take before Drex.... You know, he would want to paint the whole picture before he'd get to

the point and get to anI was very sensitive to this, because I felt the guy could be valuable, but for the way everybody was running the hell around, I knew that nobody was in a position to take much time. So I was trying to make that work, and as each week and day went by I could tell it wasn't working. Just for things they'd call back and ask me about, that I knew it was available and it was right there, but it was taking them either too much time to try to get it out of Drex, and they'd get exasperated and say, "Let's see if we can find out this way."

HACKMAN: Yeah. Did you ever talk to anyone about what happened to Paul Butler [Paul M. Butler], who...

DUNFEY: His wife... I think I unloaded a couple of times on Dick Maguire [Richard Maguire] and I think Steve

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Smith, about the time Steve was getting a little active with the committee. Oh, and Bernie and I used to carry on a little crusade on that, because Bernie and I thought highly of Butler, liked him and thought that the old Bailey [John Moran Bailey], Lawrence [David Leo Lawrence], DeSapio crowd, because of their preeminence, you know, Paul couldn't be considered for anything. But Bernie thought very highly of Butler. I did, and I think that any time we got a chance, we tried to do something. You should push that on Drex, because I met Paul Butler and there was one period there that supposedly something going on. I don't know whether it was through a law office he was setting up in Washington.... Did he set up a law office, or associate with somebody?

HACKMAN: He associated with someone, it seems to me, and I can't remember who, but I think that's...

DUNFEY: Well, Drex can tell you this, because at a couple of points I know we started to feel, well, gee this is good. It seemed as though some things were being done. But, after Paul died, I met his wife and talked with her, and she was quite bitter, and for a couple of things that I thought were happening, whether just in her bitterness she overlooked them or they weren't done, I don't know which. But she was quite bitter about it.

HACKMAN: In a November 20, '61 letter Sprecher had written to you, and then you answer him—this is after he is over at Leadership whatever-it-is...

DUNFEY: Oh, right, Leadership Resources [sic] [Leadership Systems, Inc.].

HACKMAN: ...and you're saying you appreciate his continuing concern about Democratic organization and then despite some of the experiences you have lived with. What exactly do you have in mind there? Things out of the '60 campaign or just general problems over a long period?

DUNFEY: No, I think there I was very disturbed and upset that a lot of the things that Butler, Neil Staebler, U.A.W. [United Automobile Workers, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implements Workers of America] Michigan-style political organization approaches to what you need to do to have a national party, that they were all being ignored, that basically... What, did Jackson [Henry M. Jackson] go in as chairman?

HACKMAN: During the campaign.

DUNFEY: Then went out, and Bailey went in.

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HACKMAN: Right.

DUNFEY: You know, it was apparent that Bailey didn't like any of the things we were doing. Bailey and I got on together, but he used to really can me about the money that was being wasted, and what the hell were those guys running around for, and all of that. So this was just my own concern that basically the National Committee was becoming a White House operation. You didn't do anything unless you did it with Maguire. This one right here? [Looks through the files]

HACKMAN: The last one, yeah. You mention in there that you would like to discuss some things with him but not by letter. I assume these are the kinds of things you are talking about now.

DUNFEY: Yeah. I think I was trying to get Drex to come out of the tower a little when he met and talked with these people, because there were overtures made, but I could tell after each one was over that it was going lousy. For whatever good planning or good ideas that could have been introduced or maintained at the National Committee, that if anybody had some time and was trying to pick Drex's brain to do it, it wasn't working.

HACKMAN: Yeah. In the efforts that were made though, they were primarily originating through Sprecher, or working through Sprecher going to the committee, or who else?

DUNFEY: I think a lot of it was being generated by Drex in terms of his feel that valuable things, programs, ideas had been developed, you've got to give them time to get in, and they're worried about taking over an administration, but now before everything gets down the drain.... So I would say, through friends at COPE, friends in different levels, through Neil Staebler, through Mennen Williams [G. Mennen Williams], people like this, particularly through U.A.W., they could always push enough buttons. I don't think anybody was ready to listen, but then because maybe they got a little pressure from one of the Reuthers [Walter P. Reuther and Victor G. Reuther] or somebody, they'd say, "Gee, I've got to have lunch with Drex," and they'd go have lunch with him.

Then Drex would go into a pageant, and you know, they were there kind of more with an idea, "Well, let's maintain contact with this guy until we're ready to begin to deal with the Committee. We're not even dealing with the Committee yet." You know, Drex was just getting more and more uneasy.

HACKMAN: Would this have been, from what you know, the top

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people at COPE? Would it have been Al Barkan [Alexander E. Barkan] in that period, or would it have been other people? Because Barkan, from what I've heard at least, got along well with O'Donnell and, as far as I know, Bailey. Maybe that's not so. Or Conway [Jack T. Conway] after he leaves H.H.F.A. [Housing and Home Finance Agency] and goes back to I.U.D. [Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO] for...

DUNFEY: No, they got along fine. I'd say it could be from the Conway level. The U.A.W. and Michigan people, I'd say, in that old setup of the Democratic Advisory Council, they had a lot of their blood, sweat and tears into that, and I think that they felt that Butler carried it out as well as he could under the circumstances. They had a model in terms of what a national party could and should be, and they could see that if there was nobody really with enough muscle, or if they had enough muscle they were in the White House. Bailey wasn't thinking this way, in any regard.

HACKMAN: Going back to the '60 convention, had there been any organized effort at all to try to get Staebler appointed as national chairman? Do you remember talking to anyone in the Kennedy camp about that?

DUNFEY: How did it work now? Was Jackson appointed after the vice presidential thing?

HACKMAN: Yeah.

DUNFEY: After it.

HACKMAN: Supposedly some people were putting Staebler forward, some of the southerners, I've heard people say, strongly opposed it, so they gave the women's vice chairmanship to Price [Margaret Price].

DUNFEY: Yes. Margaret Price.

HACKMAN: And Jackson took the other thing for a while.

DUNFEY: I don't have good recollections on that. Although, I was all for Neal. I think I did speak to Donahue out in Los Angeles at the Convention. I think

Claiborne Pell, and I, we 'were working together there. We were pushing, but not in any measure, not even knowing where the hell the decision was going to come out of. Didn't have any feel for who the hell was even thinking about that. And also I had the feeling, too, that we'd hurt more than we'd help if we said too much, because we had a general idea that they didn't have a very satisfactory view of the national committee and its operation.

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HACKMAN: Maybe we could talk a little about some of the appointments. There's a list of attorneys, and right behind that's a list of marshals. The only one you really covered last time is Boutin, getting Boutin on at G.S.A. [General Services Administration], and so maybe you could go over the two attorneys and the two marshals and then whatever else you can remember. Fred Forbes and whoever else.

DUNFEY: We only had one for U.S. attorney, Bill Craig [William H. Craig, J.], and then the marshal and a couple of his assistants, but we only have the one district and it was just the U.S. attorney.

HACKMAN: Well, did Craig leave, then? Because there is another one listed. I don't know that Craig didn't last a whole...

DUNFEY: Oh, yeah, that's right. Bill left, and Louis Janelle [Louis M. Janelle] went in. On Craig's—did I go over that on the last interview with you?

HACKMAN: No, nothing on that.

DUNFEY: This is kind of crazy. I forget the dates, but we had submitted everything... Oh, I can back up because it is an interesting sidelight on Bob Kennedy. I'm not going to mention the first name, but we submitted another name, and I could tell I wasn't moving it. It wasn't happening. I forget now, but I didn't get it from Bob Kennedy. I might have got it from John Reilly [John R. Reilly], and it was very, very sideways. Bill, this guy, hangs around tracks, and if there is one thing that Bob has a passion on.... And I knew the guy did, but at that time it didn't mean that much to me or anything, you know, and of course he is a good friend of mine, a hell of a nice guy. You know, it upset me a little,, and John turned around and he said to me, "Hey, you know I'm just telling you, you can keep pushing it if you want to, but I don't think you are going to go anywhere with it, because of this."

So that one went down and so then we started on the Craig one. Gee, and that thing stalled and nothing happened. So finally Murray Devine [J. Murray Devine] and I called John Reilly. He said, "Look, come down, I want you to talk to Byron White [Byron R. White]. So we got down and went in, and you know we had the resumes and went through the routine, and went in and met with Byron White and really pitched. Said, "Gee, it's been a couple of months. What's going on?" Then met with Bob Kennedy and talked, and he kind of ignored it, but it was kind of a non-committal meeting.

Then we come out and Reilly got to us. He said, “Bill, have you talked to Senator Bridges [H. Styles Bridges]?” And I said, “Oh, no. Like hell. He’s made all kinds of overtures

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but, you know, he’s been the death of our party in New Hampshire, and he’s got the Democrats wired from every side, and I’m not going near him.” So John says, “You’ve got to.” And I said, “What do you mean?” He said, “You’ve got to go over and meet with Bridges, if we’re going to get this appointment through.” I said, “Like hell. I’m not going to do it. I’ve been working in New Hampshire since ‘52.” So then he went through a kind of very crazy discussion. Have you talked to Reilly?

HACKMAN: I didn’t do those. I’m going to go back and finish them up.

DUNFEY: He, with Murray Devine and I, you know, when the tone of it was.... When was the Bay of Pigs thing?

HACKMAN: April of ‘61. Right.

DUNFEY: Okay.

HACKMAN: March or April, but I think it’s April.

DUNFEY: Okay, the same time then, that, in what had gone on that—I don’t know if it was President Kennedy or Robert Kennedy, but Bridges had been enormously helpful in keeping the lid on information that came out later, but that was available and could have busted right out then. Well, this seemed pretty far-fetched to Murray and I, and whether the hell Reilly was making it up—if you know Johnny, you know.... But the meeting with Byron White was strange, and even with Bob Kennedy was strange, where they didn’t say yes, and then shifted us back to Reilly. So at four o’clock that afternoon Murray and I went over and met with Senator Bridges. [Laughs] Craziest meeting you know, because that’s about what it was. We walked in, shook hands, never discussed Bill Craig, never discussed anything. And about a week...

HACKMAN: It went through.

DUNFEY: ... it went through. So that was how Craig’s appointment went, and as I say, how much of that is accurate I don’t know, and maybe somebody would pick it up as Reilly, but that’s the way they gave it to us. Whether Bridges had other pressures going or whatever.

HACKMAN: I’ll remember that when I go back to him.

DUNFEY: Okay. Janelle, just very perfunctory. You don’t know when Janelle went in?

That has to be in one of the files.

HACKMAN: That's the missing box.

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DUNFEY: Yes. That was pretty perfunctory. Let's see, who went in with.... There was Craig and Royal Dion. Was he a US marshal?

HACKMAN: Yes.

DUNFEY: And then for some reason they both went out about the same time and Paul April [Paul G. April]....

HACKMAN: Paul April, right....

DUNFEY: Both of those were pretty perfunctory. I think it was '64, '63, and nothing that I can remember unusual about them.

HACKMAN: What other kinds of appointments in the very early period can you remember pushing, other than Boutin?

DUNFEY: Well, trying to get something for Champagne, but there was no good fit there in terms of what Romeo wanted to do and what they had available and felt he could do.

HACKMAN: How would you go about something like that? Who would you first contact down there?

DUNFEY: Well, where Bernie was in Washington it always used to be Bernie and I would do it together. We'd talk about it and see if it made sense, and then if I disagreed or he disagreed, we wouldn't do it, and unless the two of us were kind of agreed; Murray Devine would usually go along with anything Bernie and I were doing.

Oh, yes, we had a crazy one. Pat Greene [Patrick J. Greene] wanted to be ambassador to Ireland, the mayor of Dover [New Hampshire], and had to go through a little charade on that because he was Irish and felt he was qualified. But we carried through some sort of an exchange of letters or something so that he felt he was under consideration.

Oh, an old classmate of Bob Kennedy's, Dick Leonard [Richard W. Leonard]. Did I cover that in the last interview?

HACKMAN: No.

DUNFEY: Well, that got pretty vicious. When I was recommending Bill Craig, Leonard wanted it; had great ties with Bob Kennedy through Virginia and

Ted [Edward M. Kennedy], too, I guess, which I was unaware of, wasn't paying any attention to. Was Angie [Angela M. Novello] with Bob Kennedy then? I guess Angie called me and said, "Gee you know, Bill, we've got a Kennedy delegate, a guy who went to school with Bob and knows all his friends," and all of this. And she says, "On the Kennedy delegates, we ought to

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have those pretty high, and he says you won't even talk to him about being US attorney, and you've got a deal made with Craig," and all of this. Bob Kennedy, I know, set up an appointment and Leonard flew down from Nashua and met with him and everything, and kind of reviewed the whole thing with me on the phone, but then just completely went along with what I was saying and didn't push. it any further.

Let's see, other appointments. Forbes, I'll let Bernie Boutin give you the detail on that because that was very weird, and up and down, and Ken O'Donnell saved it in the last minute because Fred is in A.A. [Alcoholics Anonymous] and had things in his background that blew it right out the window with the security check. But Ken cleared that on the day of the appointment. That's when Weaver [Robert C. Weaver] was head of the housing thing [Department of Housing and Urban Development]. Bagley [? Bagley] that's one we hung in pretty strong for and had a big fight over it. I think the only reason we won it was, between Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts they couldn't put it down with any one of them or there would have been tong war in the three-state area. It covered down in New York, as far as Newark, and I think it just was one of those things that if they appointed Bagley, nobody knew who the hell he was. He was from New Hampshire and it wasn't a Massachusetts guy that so-and-so wanted, or Rhode Island.

But those were the big appointments. Boutin's appointment, I really pushed on that right after the election. Talked to Ken O'Donnell and [?] McCarlisle in New York. Talked to Larry, talked to them in Washington. I talked to them I think once when they went to Florida where the President was then, and you probably have all the details on whether Bernie got number one or number two.

HACKMAN: Yes.

DUNFEY: Yes, so I guess we covered that.

HACKMAN: What about a lot of second level stuff then? There is at least one folder or two folders there just on postmasterships in '62. '61 stuff is missing. How did you go about handling that and were there a lot of problems on getting those done?

DUNFEY: No, very easy. Big flak up here at New Castle, New Hampshire—you know, a town of only five hundred and the 420 letters over Lucille La Casse, a French girl, you know, up in this WASP town, New Castle. You know, really, it almost caused a small revolution. Who the hell is postmaster?

HACKMAN: Let's see. It must be Edward Day [J. Edward Day].

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DUNFEY: Oh, yes. Day I met, but he didn't know who I was. It didn't mean anything to him. Somebody else at a level below was handling him. And this New Castle thing they stirred up, and Jim Smith [James Barker Smith] who owns Wentworth by-the-Sea [Hotel] and other... Kind of prominent retired navy admirals, captains, all that stuff, they got to Cotton [Norris Cotton] and got to all kinds of people on it. They made a big flap out of it, and they finally requested that I go up and appear. I think that's the only time they put a little pressure on, in terms of, "Hey, you sure you're not all screwed up on this one? All the mail we're getting...." So I just went up and I said, "I'm not a social chairman, you know. I'm Democratic national committeeman, and this guy you're all recommending to me, he's a hell of a nice guy, but he's not a Democrat, and the only person that I ever worked with was this gal." So then I think I got a little irritated after that and I just resubmitted her name, and I wanted her appointed, and I got up and spoke, but I didn't change anybody's mind, and they put it right through.

HACKMAN: Bill Brawley [H.W. Brawley], may be the guy?

DUNFEY: Well, Bill was on facilities, wasn't he, more?

HACKMAN: Yes, I think so, but I've forgotten.... Well, it wasn't Dick Murphy [Richard J. Murphy].

DUNFEY: No. Was Dick there by then? Dick was personnel. There was another guy.

HACKMAN: I can't remember.

DUNFEY: Whoever it was, anyway, it didn't bother me too much because I was getting to the point I'd call Ken on it if I didn't think it was going to move. But it didn't get that They were nice about it. They just said, you know, "With all this mail, and all the pressure how about just...." And they were insisting, they wanted me to come up, and of course, they were all my neighbors. I knew all the attorneys, the judges and everything. So I went up. I brought with me the record of who had been appointed postmasters in Rockingham County, and I failed to see any Democrats in the period of the Eisenhower [Dwight D. Eisenhower]....

HACKMAN: How did things work after McIntyre [Thomas J. McIntyre] was elected in '62? Did he ever have, from what you know of, many problems with the Administration on routine patronage or anything?

DUNFEY: Yes, I think so. Mainly because Tom, I turned everything over to him and he was appalled at how

difficult it was to handle them. I was probably lucky because I could say, "Hey, I'm doing the best I can, but it is a part-time thing." You know, there would be three candidates, or six, for everyone. But with Tom, his process and procedure had to be a lot more. He just thoroughly, like most senators on the thing, wished he had never heard of the postal appointments. He didn't have the same feel for what to do with people who applied for appointments, that there was no way, you knew, from the outset that they could get them. We used to talk about this and it used to frustrate the hell out of him because Tom, he's a very.... At that time anyway he would just want to say to the guy, "Hey, you could never get an appointment like that", which didn't help him any. But he didn't know how to go in between listening to the guy and hearing the guy out without committing himself, and that kind of thing.

Yes, he was in on the Pat Greene one, I think, ambassador to Ireland. Yes, and he was frustrated as hell with that because Pat was a mayor and so forth. Tom didn't feel that they listened to him at all over in the White House. This was probably a carry-over. I had set up some contacts, but Tom's A.A. [administrative assistant] was my first cousin Jim Keefe [James T. Keefe] who worked for me for ten years, so Jim and I related very easily. Tom used to wonder if we were playing games with him, which wasn't so, but Jim was very easy to work with. He established pretty fast relations with Ken O'Donnell, and Milt McGuire [?] and O'Brien. I think Tom was trying to find out more about what was going on and why couldn't they do more and why couldn't they get more appointments.

HACKMAN: One of the things that's turned up there in that folder, I think, is in about May of '62, when you are considering taking McIntyre down with you and maybe meeting with McGuire because McIntyre doesn't want to run in '62?

DUNFEY: Yes.

HACKMAN: Did that actually happen?

DUNFEY: No, it ended up Emmet Kelley [Emmet J. Kelley] and myself went up to Laconia in late May I think, just before Memorial Day, and just had a long, difficult three-hour session with Tom in Ed Gallagher's [Edward J. Gallagher] office, the publisher of the *Laconia Citizen* [Laconia Evening Citizen]. I had primed Ed who was really a great guy. Ed was probably in his sixties then, he must be eighty now. Tom had a lot of respect for Ed and I knew he liked Emmet. Emmet was from Berlin [New Hampshire]. And we just put Tom in the corner because he had turned us down.

We had had so many things, and no, he would not run, and

then we were getting very, very desperate. We went up and really went at him that afternoon and got him to rethink it. King [John W. King] wasn't anxious at all for him to run. In fact, he kept needling me saying, you know, "You're stupid. Why don't you run?" Yet every once

in a while he says that to me, and I have no intention of running, no interest in running. I'd have to say that we didn't get a firm commitment out of Tom that day, but Emmet Kelley came back down through Berlin. Emmet and I talked over the weekend, and Emmet got back and he called me as soon as he left Tom's house. He said, "I think we've got him." So Tom was extremely reluctant to run. Really all through the summer and through the campaign, Myrtle [Myrtle Ann Clement McIntyre] was.... She called me a couple of nights to say, "What the hell did you ever get us into?" because she was against it, and came around to it and did enormous work. Once she got onto it, she was as effective as Tom out campaigning. But that's how Tom got into it.

HACKMAN: There's also, I believe in that same memo or that same letter, some talk of going down and meeting with Pell and Hartke [Vance Hartke]. Can you remember what that would have been about in '62? On something for New Hampshire?

DUNFEY: This is in a memo that I did or something?

HACKMAN: Let's see. Look at this. From you to J. Murray Devine. Hartke's going to run for president.

DUNFEY: Wow. Jeez, when I think of him now. Boy I can't, because Hartke and [?] were bitter enemies. April 20, '62. So Pell's been in there now.... He's not up for reelection [inaudible], let's see when.... He's up now, '72, '60—I can't figure it. No, it doesn't ring any kind of a bell.

HACKMAN: Also there is some mention of some contact with Chuck Roche [Charles D. Roche] at the D.N.C. [Democratic National Committee] on the poll situation we discussed in New Hampshire.

DUNFEY: [Inaudible] That was February, then Pell called in April. What was that?

HACKMAN: Some contact with Chuck Roche. And I think you.... About the poll situation you discussed in New Hampshire. Do you remember discussing anything with him about the polls in New Hampshire?

DUNFEY: This would be, what Do you have a date?

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HACKMAN: That's right. It's the other thing. It must be this. [Goes through files] No, I'm sorry. There was also some discussion of Murray Devine resigning as state chairman, and Royal Dion taking over. What was that all about? Is that Devine's health that early?

DUNFEY: Yes. Or Murray, he liked it, but he recognized that, for what the work was,

he wasn't keeping up and couldn't, between his law practice and his family. He'd stay in as long as you wanted him to do it, and he was great because he really could handle himself, he was a good speaker. But I think it was more pressure from home and from his law office. They really wanted him the hell out. Did Dion go in as state chairman?

HACKMAN: I don't think so.

DUNFEY: No, he went on as executive director. Yes, paid executive director.

HACKMAN: In '63 you were writing to Bruno [Gerald J. Bruno] quite a bit. In November of '63, I think, one of the things is about the possible Wallace [George C. Wallace] entry into New Hampshire, and the New Hampshire primary of '64. I just wondered why you were sending a number of things to Bruno in that period. You don't remember much with him?

DUNFEY: I always thought it was just during an election. What time in '63 would this be?

HACKMAN: This was in October or November of '63, if I remember correctly. Here's a memo to Bruno on November 9, '63 regarding the possibility of Wallace coming in in '64, and Loeb [William Loeb] helping Wallace, I suppose.

DUNFEY: Well, I met with Dick Maguire, Larry, and Ken at Toots Shor's [Toots Shor Restaurant] in New York, October of '63. That's where we were talking about me going on full time January of '64 for the campaign. We left it very vague. We were talking probably National Committee or, you know, and no direct idea, and I said I probably could get freed up for it. All I can guess is, whether Ken had said, "Well, where the New Hampshire primary is first, if this stuff should have been gone over...." I don't remember.

HACKMAN: Do you remember....

DUNFEY: Were those memos in my files?

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HACKMAN: Yes, they're in yours.

DUNFEY: Are they?

HACKMAN: There are copies of a number of things you sent to Bruno. They're in a file labeled Steve Smith and there's a variety of stuff in there. I wondered

whether there was.... None of the stuff in the Steve Smith folder, or not much of it anyway, seems to relate directly to Steve Smith. It's with Bruno, or other kinds of things.

DUNFEY: I think Maguire and Ken and Larry were telling me—this is when we were talking about shaping up the campaign, “Hey, Steve’s going to go in.” —but he wasn’t showing up there. He wasn’t at the Committee, but they kept talking that he was going to move in there.

HACKMAN: Yes, I think he came over occasionally. Probably didn’t find that too many people over there were anxious to have him around, and didn’t enjoy it.

DUNFEY: He would have found it difficult working on it. So that I think I was setting everything up with an idea, well, Steve would be getting in there sooner or later. Maybe just through knowing Bruno, I would shift.... Was Bruno at the Committee then?

HACKMAN: Yes. I think he had gone over to the Democratic National Committee.

DUNFEY: And Matt Reese [Matt A. Reese, Jr.]?

HACKMAN: Matt Reese doesn’t show up in the folder at all.

DUNFEY: Because I was talking to Matt a lot then.

HACKMAN: Was he interested in doing some of the things that you were interested in doing? More so than other people at the Committee?

DUNFEY: Oh, yes. Matt and I were very.... Matt was savvy enough through—was it Bob McDonough [Robert P. McDonough] in West Virginia?—that he could quickly begin to relate to the Donahues and all of them, whereas Drex couldn’t. And I think Matt liked Drex enough, but Matt was enormously frustrated, he really was. Because he was keeping up with C.O.P.E. and registration and other things, and just felt that he was locked up in a little box the size of this, with nothing happening.

HACKMAN: Did you have any conversations with Smith in that period about ‘64 planning, or get any feeling for

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how sympathetic he might have been to...

DUNFEY: The only conversations I had with Steve were when he was up here on Ted’s campaign, ‘62. I used to meet with Steve and others down in Massachusetts

on that. And then, beyond that, in talking to Ken or Larry, it was just, well, Steve will be getting over there. But I think I talked to him. I don't think so.

HACKMAN: You seem to be writing a lot, having correspondence back and forth with Doris Fleeson. How does that come about and how do you...

DUNFEY: Well, Doris Fleeson, Mary McGrory, and one other gal I can't think of now, somehow or other we struck up a very friendly relationship here in '60, and they used to call me a lot. We'd talk a lot, and any time I went to Washington one way or another, either through Bernie or somebody they'd hear I was in town. We'd go out, we'd have a drink and we'd talk. I was very friendly with Doris, and then really developed a close friendship with Mary McGrory through that.

We used to talk a lot about the Committee, because McGrory, Fleeson, they had the same feel that, boy, Kennedy has a chance here now to build a national party; there really isn't one, and will he do it? They used to really bang me to try to get me to bring pressure on Ken, on O'Brien, on Smith to make it happen.

HACKMAN: Any of the columns that they wrote ever get you in any dutch with anyone around the Committee?

DUNFEY: I think so, because Bernie used to think I was going too far, and what I was saying and what I was doing. Of course he was there and trying to protect things, and I was trying to jab a little.

HACKMAN: That's really all I've got through the Kennedy Administration, unless you can think of other obvious things. I know if I went through piece by piece I'd probably find a few things. So maybe we can pick up....

You talked a little bit about your resignation last time, and going down when Johnson gave the harangue on Vietnam, and going up with Robert Kennedy and everything. Maybe you can carry on a little bit on the thing you were talking about earlier, the Jones [James Robert Jones] letter?

DUNFEY: Yes, when I saw Jones's thing in there it just recalled to me his conversation with Bernie Boutin. Bernie called me and the effect or the impact that

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Bernie made on me was pretty much that, "You know, Bill, for all the years you put into politics and everything, you just come down here and you blew it all, because what you said...." Billy Parnum was at the National Committee from Michigan, and for what I said to him and what I said to Jim Jones, and then what I said to Lester Hyman [Lester S. Hyman] and George Mitchell [George J. Mitchell], I just went too far, and why the hell did I have to do it? It didn't make sense. He was getting on quite well, even though he disagreed with some things. There was one other....

Oh, I unloaded on Chuck Roche then, too, at a cocktail party that day. Chuck just pooh-poohed everything and sort of, you know “...trying to solve international issues.” Chuck and I didn’t hit it off very well anyway.

The following day they had some sort of a presentation. They had all the budget people and Katzenbach [Nicholas deB. Katzenbach] and they were doing a show for all the state chairmen, kind of a state-of-the-union thing, each one. This was going on and on. They had all the cabinet people there. Each one got up did a half-hour thing—Wilbur Cohen [Wilbur J. Cohen]—and they had.... You know, we’re all watching it. Billy Parnum came over to me and he said, “Can you get over to the White House?” And I said, “No, catch a plane, my wife and I are going to a show in New York, and if I don’t get....” Oh, God, he made it seem very, very important, so finally I figured, well, I can’t be rude. I’ll go. But not saying.... And ask for so-and-so. He gave me a name—I can’t think of it now—some guy from California. A crazy thing, ‘cause I was...

HACKMAN: DeVier Pierson [W. DeVier Pierson], was he...

DUNFEY: No. Just appointed out of California from Pat Brown’s [Edmund G. Brown] office. But this is crazy. I know everything is breaking off right about now, and I figured, well, I just can’t.... I was saying to Bill, “What do you want me to go over there for?” He says, “Well, see so-and-so.” He gives me this name. So over I go. I go up. The guy, I could tell, he’s got my name, he’s expecting me. He sits there, and we come in, and I’m wondering what the hell he wants me for. He knows he’s supposed to talk to me, but doesn’t know what the hell to say. It just was funny and awkward. “You’re from New Hampshire, huh? Gee, and how long did you....” [Laugh] So I said, “Well, is there anything else?” “No, but it was real nice meeting you.” I said, “Well, I’ve got to try to catch a plane.” And I went off.

HACKMAN: God almighty.

DUNFEY: As I say, I don’t know if something misfired, that Billy Parnum was trying to get something set up, and

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he did get it set up, and then for some reason it fell apart. Where I was supposed to go with Guy, I couldn’t go. So I never knew what the hell happened. So that was my last visit over there.

HACKMAN: At the time you resigned did you ever consider making it public? At least from the clippings and things I have seen, that the resignation was clearly over Vietnam and that that was the issue.

DUNFEY: No, they weren’t that way. It went pretty much the way in my letter. I said to Bill Craig, “I’m not going to go out and blow my stack, but I just....”

Everything I'm coming to I'm uncomfortable doing, and I know you are all looking at me cross-eyed wondering how I'm going to act because I don't feel the same." So that King especially and McIntyre were very upset with it. They knew how I felt. I said, "Hey, you know, I'm not going to do anything that will screw things up here. It's just that I'm not much good because I don't see it the same way." It all stayed pretty much that way, but King and McIntyre knew how I felt.

Later on as we got into the presidential primary and they started to do the things they were doing, well, we were talking and I was really unloading on them. I said, yes, that I wasn't going to get involved, but I never thought you guys would be going the way you're going. So that's the way it unfolded. But for that whole period....

Bob Kennedy knew. It was funny. When I discussed it with him, he said, "Are you definitely getting out?" And I said, "Oh, yeah, because it's crazy. The communication is weird. It's all double-talk and double-speak now." He stood for a minute and said, "Well, I suppose if you've made up your mind..." It seemed to me he was trying to debate whether, should he say to me, "Why don't you hang in anyway? You are a state chairman." But he didn't want to say that, and I don't think he was sure himself what the hell was the best thing to even say, if anything. So it was just understood when I was leaving him, well, I would get out.

HACKMAN: Why don't you just pick up that fall then on contact... You said once McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy] decided to run, you started talking to McCarthy and Goodwin [Richard N. Goodwin] especially.

DUNFEY: No, that's pretty late.

HACKMAN: What is there before that?

DUNFEY: Well, the meeting down in Ted's house with Tom Watson [Thomas J. Watson, Jr.], Bob Kennedy....

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HACKMAN: Right. We went over that.

DUNFEY: Then Angie made a call asking if I'd meet with Goodwin and Ted in Boston, which I did. Then just constant calls and conversations with Joe Dolan [Joseph F. Dolan]. Back and forth and back and forth once a week. Then Angie called and said the Senator was coming to Waterville [Maine] and I met with him at Waterville. That's when he....

[END OF SIDE I]

[BEGIN SIDE II]

DUNFEY: He just thought it up as a name. How would a guy like McCarthy do it?

HACKMAN: Yeah. Okay.

DUNFEY: So that's when Bob Kennedy said to me, "Dick Goodwin is a good friend. He's coming up and he's going to work for...." He said, "He has your name, he's going to call you." So Dick went up and met with him in Littleton [New Hampshire] that night. By the time, that I came back from Waterville there was a call. It was from Dick, and so I went over to Manchester and we met. And it was just kind of an overall review of where things were, and him trying to get a sense of what the Johnson people were doing and where they were headed.

HACKMAN: How did you handle this in this period personally in terms of relationships with King and McIntyre and Boutin, and at the same time talking with Goodwin and...

DUNFEY: Well, it was getting.... By the time Goodwin came in... When did he come in? The last... I don't know. It was pretty late.

HACKMAN: It was fairly late. That's probably in February.

DUNFEY: Yeah. The last three and four weeks. And things had got pretty edgy by then. I had had a wild session with McIntyre on the phone and got him to retract on one statement. But then by the time we got to Manchester, the White House and Bernie and all of them got to him and got him to turn it around again, so we were getting pretty damn edgy by then over, you know, how they were just treating with the war issue, and treating people who were not supporting Johnson. Even if they weren't supporting McCarthy, if they went with Johnson, the kind of pressure they were bringing and the kind of thing they were saying. You know,

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"Help if you...." You know, and that kind of thing. My communication to them had ended, even with Bernie by this time. You know, Bernie was really turned off on me because he knew I wasn't being active and that I wouldn't help. And I said, "What the hell? I told you that's why I was resigning. I can't do it now so...."

By then I was just getting more and more hot under the collar about what I thought was just Loeb-type stuff. It was the worst form of what we always lived with and what we were always fighting. This is what I was hitting King with, and the same with McIntyre. You guys have been subjected to it and now you're doing it, and you are joining in with Loeb doing it. So that by the time Goodwin started to talk with me, I was looking for somebody to jab and offset it. You know, I didn't like King at that. He and Jerry Eller [Jerome N. Eller] met with me here. So many things about the guy that I just couldn't relate to, although I liked everything he was saying and what he was attempting to do. [Interruption]

HACKMAN: ...McIntyre, Boutin and King, and I don't know whether you had anything

more to say about your contacts with them in that period or not.

DUNFEY: Well, you know, for people that I had known a long time like Bernie and the governor and the senator, it was unusual because for the first time there was a big campaign going on and we weren't talking at all. Not that we weren't still reasonably friendly, but we certainly didn't discuss anything politically any more.

HACKMAN: Yeah. Had you been involved in the fall in any polling up here on behalf of RFK? There was a poll done on New Hampshire, I think, in November or something, along that time.

DUNFEY: I think Dolan, in a sideways, made some sort of a reference that they were checking around quite a few places and would probably check New Hampshire, but no, I didn't know anything about it.

HACKMAN: What then, once McCarthy's campaign gets going up here? First, can you remember any of the specific advice that you gave Goodwin that he should be doing, or that you gave McCarthy when McCarthy and Eller came by on what they should do, how they should run things?

DUNFEY: Not McCarthy and Eller, because that was just a very strained conversation. It never really came down to anything. He was here because Jim Keefe, who was McIntyre's A.A., was very friendly with Jerry. They were great buddies. Always out together and everything. When Jerry said, "Hey, who's somebody I can see?", he said, "Be sure to go in

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to see Bill." I think that's the only reason he was here. I had the feeling that McCarthy didn't.... He wasn't looking to talk to any ex-state chairman or those types, you know. And I think that's the bag he had. So I think he came by because Eller kind of pushed him into it. You know, there wasn't anything come out of it, really. I think all I kept saying—and that was easy for Dick to do, and he was probably going that way without me saying it—was the identification with JFK. But that was enormously important. And he started in with the pitch, what's happened to the country since '63? And really played that very strongly as kind of a theme that he hung a lot of faith on.

HACKMAN: What about the youth aspect of the McCarthy campaign? First, I know—is it David Hoeh [David G. Hoeh]—was at least hoping you'd get involved and had written to you a couple of times or something.

DUNFEY: We talked a lot, because Dave was a guy that I got going in politics, worked several campaigns. So that we had a lot of discussions and, I think, right up through the week he used to call me and we'd talk a lot. I just made it very plain to him. I said that, you know, with guys like particularly McIntyre I just wasn't

going to cross all the way the hell over, as much as I had got the feeling at the end to do it, but I said I wasn't going to. I was saying to him, too, you know, "It's not going to make a hell of a lot of difference. I don't think you need my type there, for what McCarthy's going to get up here anyway."

HACKMAN: Yeah. From what you could see though, how effective were the kids in McCarthy's campaign? Or was it strictly an anti-Johnson vote that basically would have been there anyway?

DUNFEY: No. I don't think it would have been there. I think that it was one of the first signs that, you know, if you tried to recreate the mood of the country, then, as far as what was going on in the college campuses in Berkeley, and I guess Columbia [University] had happened by then, it was still very, very fringy in terms of how people living in Manchester or Nashua or other areas related to it. I really think that the young people going out—and although Mary McGrory in a lot of respects maybe greatly overstated it, she still had the right kind of a feel of how the average person was reacting when some young person knocked on the door. I think they had some sort of a feeling about the war, but they didn't know what the hell it was. And this did start to stir them a little.

HACKMAN: What kind of further conversations did you have then with Robert Kennedy or with Dolan or with O'Donnell

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then, on to spring of '68 as Robert Kennedy's announcement gets closer, particularly in terms of reporting on what's going on up here with McCarthy, but...

DUNFEY: Well, I think by then I was saying, they were probably hearing from Goodwin, but Dolan and I talked with Bob Kennedy a couple of times. You know, I was saying from just flat zero of really nothing happening in December, or.... Oh, Blair Clark had come up a couple of times, and then we talked a lot on the phone. He got McCarthy switched around in January, I think, with a couple of other people, to get him to put in some time up here. Early in the game, at least from what I was hearing from Blair and others, you know, he'd come up and almost was going to go at it. You know, "Well, I'll come up once a week," or something like that. Then they turned him on.

So that it took a while. Probably the first four or five weeks they didn't see any movement at all. It was almost coincidental that, about the time that Goodwin did show up, the fact that McCarthy was spending some time, young people were turning out to start to listen to him. Then, I think, the kinds of ads they started running. Weston [Weston Associates] advertising, I think, did an unusually good job for him up here—Merv Weston [Mervin Weston]. I think the style of what they said and laid out, it started to help a lot. So that I think late February I was saying to him, you know, "Three weeks ago I wouldn't have given him five percent." The Johnson people, they were telling everybody including me that he was 75 and 81 percent, you know. But you could really start to sense that the Johnson thing wasn't holding. Even people who were working for him, people that I knew around

here—Jack Sanders [Wilfred L. Sanders, Jr.] who was First [Congressional] District chairman, Mel Bolden. They were talking to me now, you know.... A lot of them were delegates, and a lot of them, they'd had official positions with it, that were just completely turned off by the tone of what was being said and how it was being done; and did stop working, really stopped working. [Interruption]

HACKMAN: Robert Kennedy called you on either February 16 or 17, it was on a Sunday morning. I don't know if you remember that. He had just learned from Salinger [Pierre E.G. Salinger] that Howard Stein, who was working for McCarthy up here, had a poll showing McCarthy was going to get forty percent of the vote. Do you remember a call from Robert Kennedy in which that was specifically discussed?

DUNFEY: Is that early?

HACKMAN: It was the weekend of, there was a telethon in Washington, D.C., a D.C. [Junior] Village telethon Robert Kennedy participated in, and that's the

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weekend of February 15 and 16, I think.

DUNFEY: Gee, that early. I'm surprised at it, because I wouldn't have thought any poll that early would have showed it. Did they actually take one, or was it a phony?

HACKMAN: It wasn't their poll. It was a poll that....

DUNFEY: He called several times. I don't specifically remember that. And I do remember at least in one call him saying, you know, "We're hearing that McCarthy is really gaining up there." And I said, "Yeah, it's true. He is." And he said, "Well, how much?" And I said, "You know, I'd say where he was a five or six or seven percent, he's in the twenty-five, twenty-eight percent category now." I said, "It's not going to be a wipe out. Three weeks ago it was, but he is doing better and he's probably even going to gain more from where he is now." But I don't remember him saying about a poll.

HACKMAN: Were there a lot of conversations with O'Donnell in this period, too?

DUNFEY: No. In fact, more Dolan, some Angie and—who else? No, not with Ken. In fact, Ken I don't really think got in on much of this until right after the primary when they had the meeting in New York the night after.

HACKMAN: What do you remember, then, right after the primary? What happens right after the New Hampshire primary?

DUNFEY: Well, the night of the primary we talked on the phone. I called Steve Smith.

Oh yeah, that's right. Steve and I had been talking. Yeah, Steve and I had talked in that last week or so. So Steve told me that the Senator was going to be with him in New York, and would I give him a call the night of the primary once I had an idea of what was going on, and could tell him what I thought it meant. So I did that and he put Senator Kennedy on the line and we chatted about it, and I think my comment at the time was that He said, "Were you surprised?" And I said, "Yes, it's better than I thought. I thought McCarthy was going to be..." What was it?

HACKMAN: Forty-two.

DUNFEY: He got 42. I was saying, I think that afternoon, I think I told McGrory I thought he was going to be 33, 35 percent which, you know, I thought was quite good, so that the 42 did surprise me, and I just said it was much better than I thought. And he was being, you know,

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"Well, where did you think he got it?" And I said, "Well, it is hard to say how much you have to credit to him, or put in the other side in terms of the way the Johnson people were doing it and the resentment that developed with people over..." You know, anybody who lived with Loeb in this state, you're almost conditioned when you see certain things happening. You'll almost go the other way even if it isn't exciting you, among liberals and among Democrats anyway. Then he said something about, "We have to do some things fast. Would you be available? Could you come to a meeting?" And I said yes. So he said, "Well, Steve will give you a call in the morning." So that was the end of it that night. Oh, no, we talked again. Goodwin grabbed me. Did Senator McCarthy talk to him that night?

HACKMAN: Yeah, I think he did.

DUNFEY: Yeah, I set up from the Wayfarer [Sheraton-Wayfarer Motor Inn] cottage, I think, now. This may be wrong, so.... Goodwin grabbed me and took me over to the Wayfarer cottage where we had McCarthy, and we went in. I hadn't seen McCarthy since.... Well, yeah. I had seen him once the Sunday night before at the Wayfarer, I had seen him briefly. I think Goodwin placed a call to Bob Kennedy. But somehow I had a sense, that I seem to remember, that Goodwin was talking about Kennedy and he put McCarthy on the line, but it was just, there was no conversation, it was just kind of....

HACKMAN: No, I think there was a conversation, but I don't remember where it came from.

DUNFEY: I think that was where it happened, was out at the Wayfarer cottage where McCarthy was working out of. So I went over there that night and we stood around, talked, had a drink. Then McCarthy went out for his appearance at the convention hall.

The next day it snows like hell, really a bad storm. I get a call from Steve Smith about eleven in the morning and he said, “Can you be down in my apartment for a six o’clock meeting?” that night. Well, then it’s snowing and it’s foggy, with a combination of heavy overcast and light snow or something, and there were no planes flying. So I tried what I could up until about three or four, and it was obvious that I wasn’t going to get out and I called Steve and I just said that I couldn’t make it. I guess O’Donnell drove down and he made the meeting. And then they called me the day after that meeting—Friday, was it?—or I think Thursday. Yeah.

HACKMAN: It might be Thursday.

DUNFEY: And just said, well, some things are going to be

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happening, and where would I be Saturday? And so forth. I don’t think I heard anything else. Oh, yeah, Ken O’Donnell called me and said he made the meeting, and he pretty well told me, you know, “Well, he’s going.” That was the weekend I went up with Tom Watson to Stowe [Vermont] and while we were up there Bob called right after he made his announcement, and we chatted then. I guess I put that on the last time, did I?

HACKMAN: No.

DUNFEY: You sure?

HACKMAN: You had mentioned Watson and the thing on Watson, but I don’t remember you telling me about the conversation with Robert Kennedy that day.

DUNFEY: Oh, yeah. Let’s see. Tom Watson invited Ruth and I over and we went skiing. We met Joan Kennedy [Joan Bennett Kennedy], and so she came over to Tom’s place. Wait a minute that’s another time.

The Saturday after the New Hampshire primary when Bob Kennedy announced we were at Tom Watson’s. We went up there on a Friday, the announcement was on a Saturday morning and we sat there and watched it, and then we were having our coffee and Bob Kennedy called Tom Watson and talked to Tom, and asked him if he’d help and he said he would. And then Tom told him I was there and then I got on the line with him and he said, “I’m going to be going elsewhere. Will you get Hoff [Philip H. Hoff] and Curtis [Kenneth M. Curtis] right away?” He said, “I know you’re friendly with them and I won’t even get a chance to get a phone call in to them.” So I said that I would. He asked me, would I get going in a few other areas, and that I’d be hearing from Joe and some others. I’d thought I’d mentioned that before. I think I had told him I was going up there, but I think he was going to call Tom anyway. That afternoon we met, or another time, but it doesn’t matter because there wasn’t anything that went on from that.

HACKMAN: And then what happens in terms of the way your own role develops in the campaign?

DUNFEY: Well, I did call Hoff, and then I think you've got the rough draft of the statement I worked out with Hoff. It's in there somewhere.

HACKMAN: Yeah. I saw the statement.

DUNFEY: I flew up, and then we went through the same thing with Curtis, and then I think they asked me to go to Indiana and I said no on that. Pretty generally then just started working on the Vermont thing for the

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delegation. Talking to some of the Johnson people up here. I wasn't getting anywhere there, as far as where they were going to go.

HACKMAN: Even before Johnson pulled out, you mean?

DUNFEY: Well, no, as he pulled out. Once he did pull out there was nowhere to go there.

HACKMAN: Did you go down to Washington headquarters at all and meet with anyone down there during the campaign?

DUNFEY: No. When I think of campaign headquarters, I really get.... I'm thinking now, more New York, when he ran for senator, in those offices. No, I don't recall. No, I don't believe I did.

HACKMAN: How did you keep in touch, or who did you keep in touch with? Mainly through the Boiler-room operation and Maryellen Lyons, or was there a lot through other people?

DUNFEY: Always with Ken, because Ken and I had got very friendly by then, and Joe used to call all the time. And Goodwin and I used to talk a lot through this, because Dick knew, up and down, the ins and outs. It feels like the same thing going on right now again with Dick. He's back up here now, just left Illinois from the McCarthy thing. But talked a lot with Dick, talked a lot with McGrory, talked a lot with Ken and Joe, and they knew I was quite friendly with McGrory and she was still totally McCarthy, and so I used to.... Gee, maybe I did go to Washington once there, but I didn't go to any headquarters. I can remember being down there during that period and going out for dinner or for a drink with Mary McGrory and Bob Healy [Robert Healy], I think, and a couple of other people. But I don't remember any headquarters thing, and my contact was Maryellen, Joe Dolan, Angie some, and Ken.

HACKMAN: Why don't we run through the three New England states then. First, just in New Hampshire, after the New Hampshire primary what is there to do here in terms of....

DUNFEY: They kept asking me, could I talk to any of the delegates. I kept saying, "Hey, kiss them off," you know. "The McCarthy ones are the disciples, and Johnson ones, they're so scarred and wounded, forget it." Then they had Gerry Doherty [Gerard F. Doherty] and this other attorney get in touch with me on Vermont, and arranged to have Ted Kennedy come up to that state convention, and worked with Dan O'Brien [Daniel John O'Brien] and Leo [Leo O'Brien],

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Phil Hoff on trying to get the delegates up there. I don't know how much detail you want on that.

HACKMAN: Let me just ask you, can you remember making any efforts at all with McIntyre, to tell Craig and a guy named, is it Millimet [Joseph A. Millimet]?....

DUNFEY: Joe Millimet.

HACKMAN: ...that it was okay for Robert Kennedy? It seems to me that there is a memo in there that says that if McIntyre will okay it, it's okay, or something like that. [Interruption] I had mentioned to you I came across this in a Black Book, something to the effect that maybe McIntyre could be talked to, in the '68 primary, on saying something to the guy who is the U.S. attorney...

DUNFEY: ...Joe...

HACKMAN: Yeah, Millimet...

DUNFEY: ...Bill Craig

HACKMAN: ...and Craig. Do you remember that at all?

DUNFEY: Boy, very, very vaguely. There was some sort of discussion or conversation where Millimet was trying to tone things down and.... Yeah, there was some sort of a discussion, but I can't really And I don't know if it's very significant. I think along about that time Oh, yeah, King was coming up for.... Oh, I know, I was running my ad series on the Vietnam war and really getting on.... I was directing it towards Cotton-Wyman [Louis C. Wyman] because we didn't have one official up here. They were all totally.... And I think in the process of that, Millimet who was the governor's legislative assistant, Joe and I were friendly and he was talking to me, and Joe was saying, "Well, you know, the governor is going to run. All these issues on race, poverty, the war, you

know, really surface. King has to get a new position if he is going against Cotton.” We started to get into a little conversation there in terms of, well, “Johnson’s out and, you know, the positions Kennedy’s trying now, maybe a couple of the people should go that way.”

HACKMAN: Yeah.

DUNFEY: I was trying to figure how heck I could have got in on it, but I think that was just where I was staying on those issues.

HACKMAN: Yes. From what you said a while ago, you didn’t expect that there would be much movement among

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the McCarthy delegates possibly to Robert Kennedy?

DUNFEY: No. I didn’t.

HACKMAN: Even in terms of a release of delegates at the Convention or something?

DUNFEY: No, the bitterness.... Paul McEachern, yes... [inaudible]. They were so bitter, how quick Robert Kennedy announced after this primary. You know, to other people in the country, they felt that maybe a little; but to these people, you know, it was unbelievable that it happened.

HACKMAN: Let me just skip back to something. Had you been at all involved in when Daniell [Eugene S. Daniell, J.] earlier had been putting that together? Had you been in close contact with him?

DUNFEY: Oh, no. Other than, Dolan was talking to me and I was trying to smush it a little, but I was telling them the people involved were pretty wild-eyed, and if I got near them I’d probably just stimulate them. Then when it got to the point that it got unwieldy Sorensen called me and I set up the trust (slush?) fund from scratch.

HACKMAN: There is quite a bit of material in your file with a guy—was it Peter Smith?

DUNFEY: No, Larry Smith [Larry K. Smith].

HACKMAN: Larry Smith.

DUNFEY: He’s McIntyre’s administrative assistant.

HACKMAN: Oh, is that where that comes from? I didn’t know that.

DUNFEY: No, he is now, but he wasn't then.

HACKMAN: It didn't seem to me, from the material....

DUNFEY: He was an instructor over at Dartmouth [College], and just getting involved in politics for the first time, and really trying to get planted with a candidate, but not sure who to be with. He's a real mover. But that's who that is, Larry Smith. He's now McIntyre's A.A.

HACKMAN: Okay. Any plans shaping up for anything at all that could be done here in New Hampshire at the time that Robert Kennedy is assassinated? Pretty hard.

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DUNFEY: No. In fact, anything we would do was either fundraising or planning or trying to get some people to California or stuff like that.

HACKMAN: Yeah, that's one thing I wanted to ask you. How many people did you arrange either from New Hampshire, from Vermont, and Maine to go out and speak elsewhere? Curtis, for instance, goes to Oregon. Were you....

DUNFEY: No, the reason I didn't is my brother Bob [Robert J. Dunfey] did. Bob went to Oregon and Colorado, then California with Ken. And then Bob, for what he was doing. I forget where Phil went, but Phil made trips around, too. Yeah, Phil went to California. Other than that I volunteered attorney Jack Sanders, Harold Scott [Harold W. Scott], Mel Bolden, Paul Sheehan about the confusion of things that was going on. I left it with both Jerry Doherty and Ken that I didn't want to just ship them out. If they got out there and they saw what they needed them for, okay, I'd let them go. But that never worked; they didn't go.

HACKMAN: On Vermont, was there ever any reluctance for Hoff to endorse Robert Kennedy, or was that very easy?

DUNFEY: No, I'd have to say I got a lot of credit for it, and I know they thought I was something [inaudible] doing the job I had been doing, but really, I have to give Hoff and Curtis credit because they were both gutsy, and it wasn't really a selling job. We did a lot of talking about how and what we'd do and how we'd do, but they came through, you know, very satisfied. It was then a matter of preparing how they would say it and how to handle it.

HACKMAN: Yeah. Can you remember personally working on other people in Vermont—Daley [John J. Daley], or Hunter [William A. Hunter] was a state chairman, or Ryan [William J. Ryan]?

DUNFEY: O'Brien, I did. Ryan I did, but I got nowhere. He was Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey], right? Bill Ryan was a committeeman.

HACKMAN: Yeah, I think so.

DUNFEY: The lady that was a national committeewoman, I worked on her, and I got nowhere. I worked on the mayor of Burlington. I was trying to get Bob Kennedy to call him, and I'm sure we would have got him if I ever got in touch.

It's amazing, but usually when I think back now and even just to recently even with Paul Kirk [Paul Grattan Kirk] in Ted

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Kennedy's office now, how quick you can do things with him and how difficult it is with others, based on how their staff operates. That was the one thing we never brought off. It was amazing, with all of this going on, that you got in a request that was reasonably important, it got treated with.... But that was one we didn't bring off, and it was really.... Well, it wouldn't have made a big difference, just a small difference....

HACKMAN: Can you remember any of the details in Vermont in terms of trying to put together something with the McCarthy people, like in Burlington where there's....

DUNFEY: Yeah, I came in a little late, and Doherty and this young attorney, I can't think his name. Out of Boston, a Jewish name....

HACKMAN: Not Beryl Cohen [Beryl W. Cohen]?

DUNFEY: No, no. But he was kind of running things up there because Doherty was only in and out, and when I looked over things and I knew O'Brien very well because I worked up there a lot, Leo O'Brien and I were convinced that....

HACKMAN: You don't mean Lester Hyman?

DUNFEY: No. I asked you his name the last time and you gave it to me. Swart?

HACKMAN: There's a guy named Mike Schwartz [Michael Schwartz], but that's....

DUNFEY: But, anyway, he was the guy that Doherty left up there. They were riding high, feeling, "Well, we don't have enough delegate strength now and so forth in the convention, but once Ted comes in Saturday morning—boom, boom—we'll pull more in." After our return to Maine, we were all.... I was really, with O'Brien, trying to work out a, "Let's make a deal with the McCarthy people and smush

Humphrey. This is a rerun.” Now, I didn’t push it too strong because I could tell both Doherty and this attorney, special, you know.... Jeez, they were disturbed that I was coming in and even suggesting this. But I knew a lot of the McCarthy people, and I felt it was more important at that stage of the game. Humphrey came out of the place very weak. As it was, Humphrey came out pretty good. We could have taken the thing and given Humphrey nothing. And I would say Phil, was inclined this way, too, except every time someone said, “Hey, gee, that’s why Ted’s coming. We want to sweep the whole thing,” you know, we backed down a little on that.

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HACKMAN: Can you remember how the details then, right at the time of the Convention, were worked out on the slate? There was a slate proposed by the Kennedy forces, I think, that would have given McCarthy only one delegate, Kennedy 14, Humphrey the rest, and—I can’t remember how many that was—and the McCarthy people got very bitter....

DUNFEY: Yeah, and they had a right to be, because we had done the same thing to them in Maine and over here it was more obvious what they did have out there in strength. Am I right now, that they passed a resolution that each one would take a total delegate vote and each one would get the proportion?

HACKMAN: That’s what happened. Humphrey, 8; Kennedy, 7; McCarthy, 5.

DUNFEY: Right. Of course, what we were trying to do prior to this was saying, let’s put McCarthy and Kennedy together and take the whole thing. As it ended up I was upset because I thought Humphrey had come out of the thing to good. And of course King had come over to campaign. He left and kind of made statements like, he was going over and carry this for the country.

HACKMAN: But this was primarily Doherty?

DUNFEY: No, I think Gerry was playing the role of, well, this attorney was here and he had been there all week and was doing the job, and he kind of had to go by his assessments. I think he was thinking a little more like Massachusetts in Ted’s campaign. You know, when he moved in, you know when finally everybody would come to you. I knew the Humphrey people up there weren’t going to leave, and McCarthy wasn’t.

HACKMAN: Did Edward Kennedy show up? I’ve forgotten.

DUNFEY: Yeah, he showed up and made a good appearance, and they all wanted to meet him and all wanted to talk to him, but it didn’t change any votes. And that was at that crazy, crazy stage of the game. Every Humphrey supporter, first Fred Fayette [Frederick J. Fayette], Bill Ryan, all of them came to me and said, “Oh, you

know, Bill, if it was only him now.” This was when Bob’s stand on the issues, it had a lot of them very, very edgy. As I say, I knew all these guys and was friendly with all of them, and they knew I was working with Bob Kennedy . And it was obvious to me then, even as they’re saying that, the night before and the next morning, that I knew they weren’t going to vote for Robert Kennedy in the Convention. This was their way out in

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the way of telling me, “Boy, you know, if it was Ted, you know, I’d go all the way.”

HACKMAN: What about Maine then? How much time did you spend in the state, or was that primarily your brother Bob?

DUNFEY: I did it all from here, but I didn’t go up there because it was very edgy and very tough, and we were trying to make it homegrown because Hathaway [William Dodd Hathaway] was in on it and Ken was in on it. Jack Sanders went up from here, Mel Bolden, Harold Scott—I arranged for them—Sumner Winebaum. I was in touch with them all the time by phone the night of the Convention, and the build-up to it. And arranged the songs and.... Ken O’Donnell to visit a couple of times.

HACKMAN: How much did those visits accomplish?

DUNFEY: Well, I think they were good because they gave you something to build something around where you couldn’t bring Bob Kennedy up. The governor had come out for him, and Hathaway was for Kennedy. They all knew Hathaway and they all knew the governor, and there was still, at that time, more glow and glamour from ex-White House aides than officials of today.

HACKMAN: Any problems at all with Hathaway? How was that?

DUNFEY: Well, no. Hathaway was another guy that I don’t think anyone ever sold. He is just that kind of a.... Bob and I were enormously surprised at him doing it, coming along. And I don’t think anybody really got him to do it. I think it was just the way the guy felt on issues.

HACKMAN: Did you have conversations with Muskie [Edmund S. Muskie] right after Robert Kennedy announced, or do you know where he was initially, before Johnson was through?

DUNFEY: Oh, I didn’t believe it, but my brother Bob is telling me Humphrey has got a good line on vice president. That’s very early. Then I said, “That’s crazy, they’re fighting. They won’t pick some guy from some small state up here. I hope he isn’t falling for that just to be kept in there.” And we really believed it. I was the most shocked man in the world when he was selected because I never thought that Humphrey would come that way.

HACKMAN: But when Johnson was still in, did you ever get any feeling that Muskie was working, even very much

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behind the scenes, for Johnson as opposed to Robert, right after Robert Kennedy announced? At the end of March before Johnson withdraws?

DUNFEY: I don't think he came here. I'm trying to think, did he come here?

HACKMAN: Did who? Muskie? No, I'm just....

DUNFEY: Do you mean, to the campaign for Johnson? Well, I'm trying to think, did he do it? Wasn't he out in the open for him, or not?

HACKMAN: For Johnson?

DUNFEY: I don't know. Ask Burns [?]. Burns will know, because I can't.... I mean a lot of people came in here, Orville Freeman [Orville L. Freeman] and a whole slew of them, and I'm just wondering, did they use Muskie here?

HACKMAN: I don't know.

DUNFEY: I can't recall.

HACKMAN: The period I'm talking about is just after the New Hampshire primary and until the end of March when Johnson was through. And I've seen a hint somewhere that some people at least felt that Muskie didn't maintain neutrality, and but was out, not openly for Johnson, but was doing some behind-the-scenes things.

DUNFEY: He could have been. Of course, our feeling was, this fostering-the-favorite-son role was a ploy that just had to hurt Kennedy. You know, that's the way we.... And, you know, we said it, but I can't remember anything else.

HACKMAN: Ever any possibility of—I don't know how you pronounce it, Kyros [Peter N. Kyros], Peter Kyros?—coming out for Robert Kennedy?

DUNFEY: No, he's a different person. No, he'd play it as safe as it had to be played at all times. I don't think. I think if somebody else had a [?] to tell, we wouldn't even have approached him on this.

HACKMAN: At that time, on April 21 when the Maine Democratic State Committee came out and unanimously endorsed the idea of Muskie as a favorite son,

can you remember doing any work at that point, with that meeting specifically in mind, to try to scare that off?

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DUNFEY: Yeah, Bob did stuff and he'd recall it all very vividly, but I can't. I can remember him talking to me about it, and I didn't place his.... But he was involved in it because he had to be there and he was on the state committee, but I don't recall.

HACKMAN: What do you remember then, as the state convention came up? What had to be decided as to how to go about....

DUNFEY: It was more on-the-spot stuff that happened based on things that were happening, the seats that Hathaway made, and just how upset Muskie was. In his own state I don't think that they—Kenneth Mitchell and Muskie—had quite realized how determined some of the people were. Then it almost was hour by hour based on how things were happening. Ken O'Donnell was up there and they were off in different motel rooms and trying to come up with strategy. No way to really totally carry it. Not getting on well with the McCarthy people, no trust on either side. As I say, that was the kind of thing, you know, where you don't have any notes on it. There was no real strategy. Just go in and get all you could. Then they made a deal with the McCarthy people that fell apart.

HACKMAN: Do you remember getting involved in a decision when your brother made a seconding? He seconded his motion to return the slate to the committee for reconsideration after the slate had been put forward, and the McCarthy people were very, very dissatisfied with it.

DUNFEY: Uh....

HACKMAN: There was a question then whether the Kennedy forces were working with the McCarthy forces, and whether your brother's seconding motion was a sop or whether it was a legitimate concern to get the thing taken back to the state [?] committee.

DUNFEY: I don't know. I should know, because I can remember that was a very tricky thing and all the McCarthy people who I was friendly with over here came back and they.... I'm trying to remember what Which way did it mean something? That he did second it, or he.... What do you mean? He seconded it, but didn't really support it?

HACKMAN: Yeah.

DUNFEY: Is that what they felt?

HACKMAN: Yeah. They felt that then the slate wasn't recommitted. I think it lost, five hundred and

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something to three hundred and something on the vote....

DUNFEY: Oh, and that the Kennedy people didn't support it, was that it?

HACKMAN: Yeah.

DUNFEY: Yeah, if I remember all the guys who came back, O'Callaghan [Ronald J. O'Callaghan].... They felt that, I guess, what Bob did was, he did what they asked him to do, but I knew that, I think, in his county they did support it. But as far as the rest of them, they didn't pay any attention, or something like that.

HACKMAN: Yeah. After the convention I believe most of the press reports at that point said that Humphrey had, like, 18 and you were writing back I think to Ken O'Donnell after that Convention saying, "Actually there are only 10 solid Humphrey delegates. There's 7 or 8 uncommitted." That was a legitimate feeling?

DUNFEY: Yeah, it was pretty accurate. Bob had the reading of who they were, and they were just names to me, but I knew Bob well enough at what he was saying, and he and Curtis were saying it; it was accurate. They knew who the people were. I remember it specifically, but again it would be just five or six names—so and so, the insurance guy.... But I felt it was accurate enough to give it to Ken that way.

HACKMAN: Are there other things you can recall from the '68 campaign that you were involved in other than the effort up here in these three states?

DUNFEY: I don't think so. It was a matter, I was gearing up based on once these got over. Where Bob went traveling with Curtis, we both couldn't go, and he and Ken are very friendly. They went out to Wisconsin together.... So he took the time off. I didn't go, but I was just trying to get everything in order then, to prepare for California. But no, I don't think I can give much more to you than that.

HACKMAN: That's really all I've got.

DUNFEY: That's fine.

[END OF SIDE II]

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