

**Edwin R. Bayley, Oral History Interview – JFK#1, 10/10/1968**  
Administrative Information

**Creator:** Edwin R. Bayley  
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**Biographical Note**

Bayley was press secretary to Governor Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin (1959-1961); Director of Public Information for the Peace Corps (1961); Special Assistant to the Office of the White House Press Secretary (1961-1962); and Director of the Information Staff for the Agency for International Development (1962-1964). In this interview, Bayley discusses the 1960 primary and presidential campaigns in Wisconsin, including Governor Gaylord Nelson's role in the campaigns; the 1960 Democratic National Convention; forming the Peace Corps administration and mission; and attempts to fix the Kennedy Administration's public image, as well as improve the operations of the White House Press Secretary, among other issues.

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Edwin R. Bayley—JFK#1

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First of Two Oral History Interviews

with

Edwin R. Bayley

October 10, 1968  
New York, New York

By Larry J. Hackman

For the John F. Kennedy Library

HACKMAN: Why don't you just take off by going back to your earliest recollections of the Kennedy people coming into Wisconsin and who you dealt with that you can recall?

BAYLEY: All right. I first met Jack Kennedy [John F. Kennedy] in 1957 when I was a political reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*. He came out to help Bill Proxmire [William Proxmire] in his campaign in the special election that followed Joe McCarthy's [Joseph R. McCarthy] death. And I got to know him quite well because he rode around in my car all day. He preferred to travel with a newspaper reporter rather than with the other people. There were several meetings, and he visited several plant gates. That was Proxmire's particular style of campaigning. He shook hands at the plant gates, too, but without really much interest in it.

He talked to me a great deal, he sort of drew me out on newspapers, and how our particular paper worked, and what the editors did to... [Interruption] He asked how the editors handled my copy, how much interference there was, how much freedom reporters had at the *Journal*, and things like that. Very great interest. He talked a little bit about his own time of being connected with the

newspaper in Chicago. Well, I had the feeling we got to be pretty good friends. Nothing that was continued or anything.

I covered him a couple more times in that period. He was getting out more and more in those years laying a base for what he obviously was planning to do in 1960. The next time we.... In the meantime, I changed jobs. In 1959 I became executive secretary to Governor Nelson [Gaylord Nelson]. In that capacity we had quite a bit to do with the Kennedys. I remember making several trips with Nelson out to Washington or New York. More than Nelson, several of us on the staff were kind of flirting with the idea that Gaylord might be a suitable vice presidential candidate if Kennedy got the nomination. We never did anything active about it, but we were just promoting it silently a little bit. It never came to anything, but he might have been a good Midwestern liberal.

HACKMAN: Can you remember any of the people that you did talk to about that?

BAYLEY: We never approached it that directly. It was more planting seeds here and there either with reporters or with various politicians. I can remember a lot of people we had contact with, but I can't remember approaching it directly to anyone.

HACKMAN: No discussions with the Kennedy staff people on this at all?

BAYLEY: No, not directly. You know how you talk around things like that.

HACKMAN: Was Nelson talking to Kennedy and his staff when he would go on these trips to Washington?

BAYLEY: Yes.

HACKMAN: What was the relationship between the two at that point?

BAYLEY: Well, it was just one of interest. It wasn't

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allegiance or anything of that kind. He didn't ever propose leading a campaign for Jack Kennedy. It was just maintaining contacts, really. The first definite thing, really, is when we got into the Wisconsin primary. A lot has been written about that primary, and a lot of it's wrong, or slightly wrong. And I don't know that my own impression of what happened is more accurate, except I do know some things from our end of it. It got to be a very tense period, and it had a lot of repercussions in later years.

Nelson began as, basically, being for Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson]. I can remember one long conversation, which was a crucial one, between Gaylord and Stevenson after it was apparent that Kennedy and Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey] were going to meet in that primary. At this time it was clear that Kennedy was going to be a very strong contender. Gaylord was on the spot because Humphrey was an old associate who had come in to help

during the lean years in Wisconsin; we had no Democratic officeholders in any major position; he came in time and again, campaigned for our people and helped raise money and everything else. There really was a debt owed there. At the same time, Gaylord knew—he's a practical and realistic politician, and from his own soundings he knew—that Kennedy was going to win. We also had the feeling that Humphrey wasn't a real candidate, that even if he won in Wisconsin, he wasn't going to be the nominee or the President. There's just something you can feel about situations like that.

Being for Stevenson had two or three advantages for Gaylord, beside the fact that there was a friendship there from other campaigns. All of Nelson's most ardent supporters were ardent Stevensonians. And the typical one, who became an issue later, was Jim Doyle [James E. Doyle], who went on to run the Stevenson campaign stage and headquarters at Los Angeles. Jim had been chairman of every one of Gaylord's campaigns, and there were many more like him. From that standpoint, it was convenient for Gaylord to be for Stevenson. The other thing was, it prevented him from having to choose sides between Kennedy and Humphrey.

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Well, in this conversation with Stevenson, Gaylord pleaded with him for an hour to give him an indication of what he wanted him to do. He didn't have to make an announcement, he didn't have to make any open commitment whatever, but just, "What do you really want? Do you want to try for the nomination?" And Stevenson wouldn't say. I was listening on the other phone. I heard this whole painful conversation. And it was at that time that I—I'd been for Stevenson, too, personally, but I dropped it at that time because I could see there was absolutely no point in it.... Gaylord did everything he could to get even the tiniest hint; that's all it would have taken for him to announce that he was for Stevenson without any commitment on Stevenson's part. But Stevenson wouldn't give him even that little bit of go-ahead.

It was just about that time, too, that Newt Minow [Newton N. Minow] and Bill Blair [William McCormick Blair, Jr.] dropped Stevenson entirely as a candidate. I realized from that conversation that Stevenson was not going to run, that he wasn't going to do enough to be a candidate, and I never really considered him seriously as a candidate after that.

HACKMAN: Did other people come off of Stevenson at that point, and did Nelson talk with the other people about his conversation with Stevenson?

BAYLEY: I don't think he made any particular secret of it, although he didn't make any public announcement, but all of us on the staff, and that spread, you know, there were quite a few people in Madison who knew about this conversation.

HACKMAN: I was going to ask you if you can remember any contacts with either John Kennedy or with Bobby [Robert F. Kennedy] or any of his staff at that point in trying to get Nelson to take a different role, come out?



BAYLEY: There were contacts. I'm not sure who they were. Our principal contact, of course, was Pat Lucey [Patrick J. Lucey] who was the state Democratic chairman and who already was on Kennedy's team. That had its own repercussions internally, sort of like the California

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situation between Pat Brown [Edmund G. Brown] and Jess Unruh [Jesse M. Unruh]. Gaylord and Lucey just didn't hit it off, and for a long time.... They originally had been friends, and they were both in the legislature in the early days. But when Gaylord became governor and Pat was state chairman, they couldn't stay friends for very long periods of time. John Reynolds [John W. Reynolds], who was Attorney General, and I used to try to patch this up and paper it over and kept them talking together, but it would break apart every time. That added to the difficulty with the Kennedy people; that made it more sensitive because Pat was handling things in the state at that time pretty much; and that made Gaylord less inclined to cooperate with him. Now, Pat probably remembers whether there were direct contacts between Gaylord and the Kennedy staff or family. I just can't remember.

HACKMAN: What about Proxmire? How did he fit into this relationship?

BAYLEY: Proxmire was always on the Lucey side, and Nelson and Proxmire never got along too well either. They always were openly helpful, but privately hostile. They're such different people, Proxmire being abstemious, an health nut, and austere in many ways and a little demagogic in other ways; and Gaylord being a hail-fellow-well-met who liked to drink with friends and had a whole different approach to politics than Proxmire.

HACKMAN: Can you remember any contacts in the period before the primary about the possibility that Nelson might have gone as a favorite son?

BAYLEY: I believe that Proxmire proposed that at one time. It never was taken seriously...

HACKMAN: Proposed it to Nelson?

BAYLEY: He announced it. He announced that he suggested this. He's done that several times. He did it again even this year; he proposed Gaylord as a

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vice presidential candidate, a proposition in which Gaylord had no interest. I think it was just a publicity thing to show that he was friendly with Nelson. And it never was taken seriously by our staff.

HACKMAN: Salinger [Pierre E.G. Salinger] in his book talks about the Kennedy

camp being very upset because the rumors were coming out, supposedly, from the Nelson camp that Kennedy should carry all ten districts. Can you...

BAYLEY: I was the one there; I was the one directly involved.

HACKMAN: You're the one that Salinger is talking about?

BAYLEY: Yes. In fact, I've written Pierre a letter after the book came out protesting what he said about me, and telling him just what I did do. [See appendix] Now, maybe I can find that correspondence. I'll see. He wrote back and apologized and said that he realized that he might have been wrong, but he went on what information he had at the time. I wrote back one further letter, which didn't require an answer, explaining a little further. And I think that correspondence would be helpful. But he didn't have it exactly right.

Then the next thing that happened was Gaylord then announced he was going to be neutral, which is probably all right from his standpoint. See, he felt very strongly that we'd worked on organizing that little weak Democratic Party in Wisconsin, and these primaries can rip a party apart, and that this one looked as if it were going to. Gaylord wanted to hold that organization together at all costs. He thought the best way to do that would be for him to remain neutral and try to hold the party together while the others fought it out. I think that was probably a good decision from his standpoint.

I think he made a bad decision in announcing about a week later that he was going to be referee as well as being neutral. What that led to was.... He did that in an effort to keep the campaign clean and from being too acrimonious. And it wasn't, really, too acrimonious.

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They both exercised a good deal of restraint in their public statements, although once in awhile they'd get out of line. The first one, I think, to get out of line was Humphrey, and it was a speech about Kennedy's farm record which wasn't a very good record because he'd never had a farm or a rural constituency or anything like that. But it was a pretty devastating criticism. What made it worse was that one of Gaylord's own staff members wrote it for him, Bob Lewis [Robert G. Lewis].

HACKMAN: Right, he was working in Madison.

BAYLEY: He was the agricultural aide to the Governor. Our whole staff split all over the lot on this. John Gronouski [John A. Gronouski, Jr.] and Howard Koop were openly for Kennedy and had parties in their house with the sisters, and that sort of thing, during the campaign. Bob Lewis was openly for Humphrey. Bill Fairfield, the press secretary, hung on doggedly for Stevenson even after the discouraging conversation.

HACKMAN: Did Nelson try to keep all these people in line, or did this upset him

particularly?

BAYLEY: It upset him. But they were strong-minded people who were determined to go ahead and do this, and Gaylord wasn't going to fire them off the staff for it. They were good staff men. Koop was financial secretary.

HACKMAN: Can you remember other people around the state, party leaders who he made attempts with to keep in line more than.... And Nash [Philleo Nash] who was Lieutenant Governor at that point, wasn't he?

BAYLEY: Nash was Lieutenant Governor, and he was openly for Humphrey.

HACKMAN: Right.

BAYLEY: No. Gaylord didn't try to make anybody else

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stay neutral or anything. He just tried to keep the campaign on a high level and stay out of it himself. Part of this is selfish on his part; he likes to stay out of these controversies. He stayed out of the primary this year even though all his supporters, his ardent supporters again, were for Gene McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy]. And Bob Kastenmeier [Robert W. Kastenmeier] and Henry Reuss [Henry S. Reuss] openly announced for McCarthy, but he didn't even think that might have been his inclination. No, he didn't try to influence other people to stay neutral. He knew about these activities on the part of the staff people, but took the position that he couldn't control them, what they did as far as that went. I was the only one that preserved a similar neutrality. I was so close to him that I thought I had to.

Where I got into trouble and this canard about my predicting that he would carry ten districts came about this way. For many, many years at the *Journal*, I had been the point at which all the visiting reporters would stop to get their basic information about what's going on. These guys were my friends and had been going through this for years and years. Well, I was too naive, really, too new to actual participation in politics to realize I couldn't keep on doing that, give disinterested advice that would be taken that way. And so these same guys stopped in at my office in the Capitol for the same kind of conversations, and I told them candidly what I thought about the race.

And what I thought—well, I knew about the polls that had been taken, and all of us who were at all inside knew about these polls, although the Kennedys tried to keep them secret. They tried to play Jack Kennedy as an underdog, you know, all that talk about Humphrey's back yard. Well, it isn't really Humphrey's back yard. But from a national standpoint, it was a good ploy. I told reporters about these polls. I didn't have any secret information. I didn't know about them from the Kennedys, but I knew about them. That changed the tone of the stories that were being written out of there to make it look like

more of an even race, and even Kennedy being a slight favorite.

Toward the end of the campaign, I felt a swing toward Kennedy, and I think it really did take place. I was getting a lot of information from the assemblymen. I did liaison with the legislators, and they dropped into my office all of the time. The assemblymen from northern Wisconsin were about the only people that knew what was going on up there because nobody traveled up there much. All in all, I thought there was a turn taking place toward Kennedy, more all the time. I still think that was true, that in the last two weeks he came ahead very fast. I thought—and I may have told a couple of guys that I thought—he could carry seven districts, and possibly even eight. He had an outside chance to carry eight.

Well, one of the people I told this to—and that's where I made a mistake—was Ben Bradlee [Benjamin C. Bradlee]. Now, I didn't know Ben Bradlee, he was a newcomer on the political scene. The same kind of thing I told to Eddie Folliard [Edward T. Folliard], Al Otten [Alan L. Otten], Art Sylvester [Arthur Sylvester], the old guys, they knew I wasn't talking for quotation. They knew I wasn't trying to steer anything. But Bradlee—I didn't even know this at the time—was very close to Kennedy. If you were talking to him, you were talking to them. I told them about this swing, and I thought that it was possible that he would carry as many as eight.

Well, the next week I was shocked to see this item in the Periscope column of *Newsweek*, quotating me, misspelling my name, ascribing to me the wrong title, and misquoting me to the effect that I was predicting that Kennedy would carry all ten districts. It was ridiculous ever to think of him carrying the ninth district; and almost as ridiculous to carry the tenth district. I did think he had a chance in the second district. He lost that narrowly.

HACKMAN: That's Madison.

BAYLEY: Madison district, right. I was a little too optimistic, but I wasn't as bad as Bradlee ascribed to me. This whole thing was mis-

interpreted by the Kennedy people—and this was the thing that Pierre reflects in his book; I know I talked all this over with Kenny O'Donnell [Kenneth P. O'Donnell] later on in Washington, too—they thought what I was doing was a tactical thing; they didn't understand my naïveté.

HACKMAN: Did they come over and talk to you about this during this particular period, or complain to Nelson personally?

BAYLEY: No, no, no. We just kept getting feedback from other reporters. I don't think there was any direct contact of that kind. Another thing Gaylord did is Gaylord went to rallies and took part in activities of both candidates without taking sides.

I remember a very pleasant evening after a rally at the East Side Businessmen's Association in Madison. Kennedy and a few reporters came over to the Governor's Mansion for drinks for a couple of hours starting at 10 o'clock. At that time, Gaylord and Kennedy were friendly, but not intimate or anything. I remember asking Gaylord.... I talked a lot more to Kennedy than he did, and my wife [Edwin Worsley Bayley], who was entranced with this whole thing, talked to Jackie [Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy] a lot. At that point they were keeping Jackie bottled up. My wife thought that was terrible, from a feminist point of view. So she went over and talked to Jackie a lot. And then Paul Ringler, chief editorial writer for the *Milwaukee Journal*, came over and talked to Jackie, and later wrote some kind of editorial comment about it to the effect that Jackie was being misjudged, and she wasn't at all that naïve about politics and so forth. She really wasn't. I think they were unnecessarily frightened by that.

But anyway, Kennedy was very candid and frank about things, I remember him saying to me in front of Damon Stetson of the *New York Times* that.... We were talking about vice presidential possibilities—no, he was talking about vice presidential possibilities. Symington [Stuart Symington II] at that time was still in the running, and Kennedy said in the living room there, he said that if Symington ever got the nomination, he'd move to England. I thought this was a little unwise to be that open. Actually, he did get

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burned later in the campaign when Bob Azerbarjan of *Time* reported a whole lot of those off-the-record remarks. It was a damaging story. But nothing matters if you win. He said that about Symington.

Well, I talked to Gaylord after that about why he wasn't more cordial to Kennedy. He was polite and everything, but he just wasn't like he was when he got together with Stevenson or Humphrey, when he just opened up. And he said, "I guess it's the Eastern mannerisms," or something like that. But there was something about Kennedy that put him off. He said, "I'm going to have to work to overcome that, but I just don't feel immediately friendly toward him the way I do about some of the others." I think that's the only time that Kennedy and Gaylord were together informally. At that kind of session it was strictly social, no strategy was discussed between them at all or no politics really.

HACKMAN: I wondered if there were specific issues that upset Governor Nelson and yourself and some of the other people. Was the McCarthy thing, at that point, really big with you people?

BAYLEY: Well, that gets into Miles McMillin [Miles J. McMillin].

HACKMAN: Yes, why don't you go into that.

BAYLEY: That's always been a very sore point with the Kennedys, and rightly so. Miles, he's so prejudiced and so rigid in his thinking and so vindictive not only in his writing but in what he does that I don't blame them for being mad at him. Miles was an influence on Gaylord. And I think that, probably

more than any one thing, kept them apart. I kept urging him to.... I was the opposite. I liked Kennedy immediately, and ever since I spent that day with him in '57. I kept trying to make Gaylord more sympathetic. Miles, on the other hand, never forgave him for the McCarthy thing. I had as much of a role in fighting McCarthy as Miles did. In fact the *Milwaukee Journal* had a much more important influence than the *Capital Times*. But once you get in Miles' bad books, you never get out. And he just couldn't forgive Jack Kennedy for his tolerance of Joe McCarthy, and, of course, this was double for Bobby because he had actually been on the staff.

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Oh, this is just as a footnote, but I got to know Bobby at the time of Joe McCarthy's funeral. He slipped in very quietly. I was still at the paper, and my assignment was to cover the politicians who attended the funeral. It was one of those things that was an all-out occasion where everybody on the staff had some kind of assignment. At least I didn't have to cover the funeral part of it. And I went up to Green Bay, which was the nearest airport to Appleton where the funeral took place—the nearest jet airport—and the press came along. Whatever press came from Washington came in up there. Bobby was a little disappointed that—well, not disappointed, but dismayed, I guess, at having somebody from a Wisconsin newspaper discover he was there. He asked the other reporters not to write that he was present, and then he asked me the same thing, and probably wrongly, I didn't mention it either. Again, he rode around with me all day in Appleton from place to place, and I took him back to the airport. And I enjoyed it. He wasn't as fearful as they had described.

Miles found out about this later, did write something about this, about the fact that Bobby came. Miles was just implacable, and he was an influence on Gaylord. I think he kept them apart. I think it's very possible that without his influence, Gaylord might have come over to Kennedy before the end of that primary. And it went back primarily to the McCarthy thing, but it also involved Miles' dislike of people with money—he thought them snobs—and the whole Eastern thing. Jack Kennedy went over to see Bill Evjue [William T. Evjue] at the paper and Miles, as Miles was the only editorial writer outside of Evjue. And they had a breakfast, I believe, at which Miles was just vituperative and just lectured him. And Jack Kennedy came back visibly upset.

And Miles was an influence on Gaylord, and that threw.... And then well, this skips a while, but later on at the Kennedy Inaugural, Miles rode with Gaylord in the Governor's car at the Inaugural. This was noted by everybody was considered by some an affront, and this didn't help things at that point. I don't remember just where we got off the track.

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HACKMAN: Let me ask you another question. Do you know what Evjue's attitude was after that meeting? Did he come over at all, or do you know if he attempted to do anything with McMillin, or could he?

BAYLEY: I think that—I don't think Evjue's feeling about it was as strong, but it was the same. Everything Evjue said in print—I never heard of

anything else in private—was along the same lines. It was unforgiving on the Joe McCarthy issue. I don't think he ever tried to change Miles' attitude about that.

HACKMAN: Do you know anything about any efforts that the Kennedys made with any other press people particularly in Wisconsin, over at the *Journal*? Or were they for him at all?

BAYLEY: Yes, oh yes. There were two reporters sharing the regular political reporting for the *Journal*, and they took sides. This wouldn't have happened during my time there, and I was surprised the paper permitted it. They started out, each covering one of the two candidates for an extended period of time. Ken Fry was covering Humphrey, and Ira Kapenstein was covering Kennedy. They both became partisans of the man they were covering, primarily, openly, not openly, but obviously conspiring to do what they could to help, advising. And this got to be kind of a sticky situation, too. I don't think the paper should have permitted it.

Ira, for example, became so closely intertwined with the Kennedy campaign that about two weeks before the primary, or maybe a week, he got an offer to become Pierre's assistant if he'd leave right then and continue on the rest of the trip. Well, Ira was always very careful. He doesn't jump until he knows it's something good, and he's pretty sure. Well, he bargained out of them the fact that if Kennedy did lose that the Kennedy family would find him something pleasant to do. Then he called me. He had been my assistant at one time, and he was young, and he sort of relied on me for advice. And he called me, should he take this or shouldn't he? I didn't tell him right out what to do, but I totaled up all the factors for him and

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said, "Well, I think if you are willing to take a chance you ought to do this." Well, I think his wife was about to have a child, and he decided he couldn't leave at that point. I'm sure he's been sorry ever since. I just mention that because it showed how partisan they were. They'd never have offered him that had not they felt he was whole-heartedly for him. And the writing showed that, too. And it got so that they were almost debating in the paper in parallel columns the merits of their favorite candidates.

Other press. Let's see. I don't know of any others. The Kennedys were, you know, very effective in buttering up the press, as is only intelligent. I think they made a lot of friends there although I don't recall anybody else taking sides like that. The other newspapers in Wisconsin at that time were, outside of Milwaukee and Madison, were almost solidly Republican. They wouldn't think of, really, getting into it.

HACKMAN: What can you remember at the time of the state convention? There was a change, I believe, in the delegate system whereby more of them became district by district that had previously been elected at large. The Kennedys were upset that this was going to cost him votes in the districts he might lose. Can you remember anything about how Governor Nelson and yourself decided what position to take?

BAYLEY: No, I can't remember that. I guess I didn't get involved in it.

HACKMAN: On the second district, on the Madison district, which apparently was so important in Humphrey's decision to go ahead into West Virginia, what can you remember about your own views, and possibly Governor Nelson's views, on why Kennedy lost, or Humphrey won that? James Loeb [James I. Loeb] was running it for Humphrey. How much of this was due to his effectiveness?

BAYLEY: I like Jim, he's still a friend of mine, but I don't think he did a particularly good job at all. In fact, the Humphrey campaign in that primary

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reminds me something of the current one. That's the district in which Stevenson was strongest. And the *Cap Times* is influential in that district, particularly in the city—no, more than the city of Madison, the rural areas, too. A lot of those old Norwegians out there live and die on what Bill Evjue said. I think those are the two main factors. It wasn't a pro-Humphrey thing because when everything's out of the way, it's the kind of a district that naturally would gravitate to Kennedy. The University people are important. Oh, that's another thing that happened there that was botched by the Kennedy people. You might find somebody else who knows more about this.

HACKMAN: This isn't the Jackie Robinson thing?

BAYLEY: No, this was when Ted Sorensen [Theodore C. Sorensen] came out to the University of Wisconsin. Louis Kaplan was the university librarian and the husband of Esther Kaplan, who was Gaylord's personal secretary, and he was the center of the pro-Kennedy activity at the University of Wisconsin. The University, like Madison itself, was strongly pro-Stevenson—or for Humphrey on a different basis. The agriculture school there is strongly in the old populist-agrarian tradition.

However, they got together sixty or so professors who were for Kennedy; and Ted Sorensen came to address them. And he did the worst possible thing. People always seem to do this when they come into Wisconsin, national candidates do it. They assume that Wisconsin is just a farm state. The rural population then was about 12%. Really, without doing enough homework and finding out what kind of professors these were, Sorensen went in there and said, in effect, “We're happy to have you with us. We're going to rely on you for certain help in the campaign and afterwards. Now what we want from you,” he said, “we have our foreign policy experts at Harvard, we have our economists at Yale or Columbia and so forth and from you we'd like advice on farm and conservation stuff.” Something like that.

Well, they weren't that bunch. That bunch was with Humphrey. These were specialists in history, economics,



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foreign policy. I remember one of them who was just furious was George Mosse [George L. Mosse] who is a famous man in the area of European History, one of the best people in the country. Well, this whole outfit just blew apart, and a lot of them walked out, insulted, saying there was nothing they could contribute. It was a fiasco. It would be interesting sometime to hear from someone who was there. It would be a good interview about that Madison thing someday.

Well, I got off the track again. You asked me a question?

HACKMAN: The question was about the second district.

BAYLEY: At the same time I felt the second district was swinging. And if I'd had to bet, I think I would have bet that Kennedy would carry it. And it was close. I can't remember the vote anymore, but it was close.

HACKMAN: It was very close. What can you remember were your impressions of the organizational problems that the Humphrey operation was having? A lot of people have talked about it, that it wasn't very good.

BAYLEY: Oh, let me see. Was Philleo Nash the nominal chairman? I believe he was, wasn't he? Or he was at least the highest office holder they had.

HACKMAN: Yes, and they had Loeb, and Gerry Heaney [Gerald W. Heaney] was in. Somebody was....

BAYLEY: Max Kampelman [Max M. Kampelman] was in. He is right across the hall here now. Max was in. Jim Rowe [James H. Rowe] was in for somebody.

HACKMAN: He was in for Humphrey.

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BAYLEY: Humphrey. Right.

HACKMAN: He said he was for Humphrey.

BAYLEY: Yes. There was always that—the Lyndon Johnson [Lyndon Baines Johnson] thing came in there somewhere. And the Kennedy people felt that some of those in the Humphrey camp were touting the idea that people in Wisconsin were friendly to Johnson. I don't think that was true. There were two people in Wisconsin who were in favor of Johnson. One was Paul Ringler, the editorial writer, who had met Johnson in Washington, not as a candidate or anything, but just had been tremendously impressed by him as an individual and as majority leader. And the other was

Carlisle Runge [Carlisle P. Runge] of the law school who later was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower.

HACKMAN: Yes, yes.

BAYLEY: I saw him a little while ago in Chicago. He was wearing a Humphrey button. But there wasn't any Johnson movement. I think that—you may have come across this with other people—that somehow they thought that either Gaylord somehow was fronting for Johnson, and the truth was, Gaylord didn't like Lyndon Johnson at all. And even as a reporter, I wrote about that, about his attitude toward Johnson. Now, that matter was absolutely false. I should think that historians in the future should look at that very carefully. Pierre said something like that. I think he considered the Stevenson holding operation a Johnson operation somehow. And that's way off the track.

HACKMAN: Jumping back to just one other thing, in that first trip when Kennedy was out for Proxmire, can you remember anything about the relationship between the two of them at that point? How did he get along with Proxmire?

BAYLEY: Oh, quite well. How else? Here he was doing him a favor. Proxmire was grateful for any help. And Kennedy was not unknown at that

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point. He'd almost won the vice presidential nomination in '56 and had made a marvelous television appearance there. And Kennedy was already somewhat of a celebrity. Prox appreciated that. Again, I don't feel there was any rapport between the two of them. Prox was grateful, and Kennedy was helpful, but I wouldn't say they.... Prox is a difficult person to warm up to. He's basically cold and ambitious. I don't think he'd hurt other people, but he's single-minded about that. While Kennedy was terribly ambitious, of course, too, he had a warmth about him that Prox didn't have. And I don't think that they would have ever become friends.

HACKMAN: Wasn't there at one time somebody that married somebody else's wife out there? McMillin married Proxmire's wife?

BAYLEY: Oh, yes. Yes. Elsie Proxmire McMillin [Elsie Rockefeller McMillin] was Prox's first wife. That story could go on for half an hour. But, anyway, Prox was out campaigning all the time, and Elsie liked parties. And Miles and his wife were separated at that time. Miles' wife had run off with one of Gaylord Nelson's best friends, a guy from Minneapolis. He'd been his best friend in the Army. He came out to visit, and the two of them struck it off. And so they went off. Oh, what a tangled web.

HACKMAN: Let me ask you about the period after the primary. What comes back to you on the relationships between the primary and Convention time? Anything on contacts with the Kennedy camp?

BAYLEY: Well, I can remember some problems on picking delegates to the Convention.

HACKMAN: Nestingen [Ivan A. Nestigen] was chairman, right?

BAYLEY: Nestingen was chairman. Jean Lucey, a Greek girl, was Pat Lucey's wife and had been very active in Democratic politics in an office staff kind of way, before Pat became state chairman, at Democratic headquarters. She is very emotional, as Greeks

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sometimes are. She became hysterical about this whole thing. And the delegation, which had a Kennedy majority, decided to make Gaylord an alternate. No, I guess he was an actual delegate. This may have been where the at large thing came in. There was a fight about some of this, and I wish I could remember more of the details.

They did make Gaylord a delegate, and they made me an alternate, and Bill Fairfield an alternate. They had a big fight in the caucus there, it went on all night, about whether they should take back Fairfield and my credentials because we hadn't been for Kennedy beforehand and so forth and so on. It all came to nothing, but there was that feeling in the delegation. It was a tense delegation. At the Convention, I was rooming with Gaylord, I had a room with him. We had a suite up there in some crummy hotel. And there were some exciting things there, too.

At 8 o'clock on Tuesday morning—I could be wrong on this, but I think it was Tuesday morning—Bobby Kennedy called Gaylord. I took the call first. And [Bobby] told him that they wanted him to nominate Kennedy. Gaylord had to make a decision real fast. And he hadn't committed himself anywhere at that point. We talked real fast and hard for an hour, and he finally decided to do it. At this moment, Pat Lucey arrived. Oh, we were leaving the room. We were going over somewhere, we had an appointment somewhere.... I know what it was. We had to meet Bobby someplace in an hour with our decision, with Gaylord's decision. As we left the room, we met Pat Lucey who had climbed thirteen flights of stairs because the elevators were, you know, as they always were at a Convention, full or not working. And he was coming with the retraction of the offer.

In a way, Gaylord was relieved because we had telegrams pouring into that room by the bushel baskets from people back in Wisconsin. And we knew every name on those telegrams, too. They were real. And they were Stevenson Democrats. So in a way, Gaylord was relieved that he didn't have to make this break with the Stevenson people. Gaylord had at that point, and may still have, a political theory that it is better to support the losers than the winners because the losers appreciate it and the

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winners forget about it. This was mostly for issues, but it goes a little bit here. I really think he was rather disappointed. And I was disappointed because I was ready to start to write the speech. But it all fell through after that, and they got Orville Freeman [Orville L. Freeman] to do it. I'm sorry they didn't get Gaylord to do it. Gaylord could have done a much better job.

Then there was a point when the Stevenson people approached Gaylord to give the nominating speech for Stevenson. Well, that never came to a decision because Gene McCarthy appeared. And so he never had to make that painful decision. But things were pretty lively there for a little while.

The only other thing I remember about the Convention, besides the impression that everybody else has.... Again the day is either Wednesday or Thursday—no, this would have been Thursday because this is the day we select the Vice President. And this is a little incident that a lot of people have written about. Gaylord got a call to come over and see Jack Kennedy at 4 o'clock Thursday afternoon in his suite. I went over with him, but I didn't get in. I think there was one other person in there with Kennedy. I was in the room just outside. According to Gaylord, Kennedy said that Sam Rayburn [Samuel Taliaferro Rayburn] had come to him that morning about 11 o'clock and told him that he had to choose Lyndon Johnson as his running mate and holding over him a threat that his legislation and his program was going to be in the hands of Lyndon Johnson and himself in the two houses and that he wouldn't get anywhere. And Kennedy told Gaylord, according to Gaylord, that he really didn't want to do this. And he knew the feeling of both Wisconsin senators about Lyndon Johnson and that he just felt he had to, and hoped Gaylord would understand. And Gaylord said, of course, he understood.

Then he asked him further, he said, "Would you do me a great favor now? Would you talk to Bill Proxmire and ask him not to get up on the floor tonight and oppose this nomination?" Because Proxmire, in his campaigns—he had run against Lyndon Johnson in that special election, and it was a good issue in Wisconsin, gas rates, and that sort of thing, Texas interests. And Kennedy thought that Proxmire might get up and say a lot of demagogic things about this and make a big mess of it. Prox was out at Convention hall. Gaylord and I went on out there and found him. Prox couldn't have been happier about the whole thing. He said, "Oh, that's a great choice. I'd like to make a seconding speech."

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And so we called back to Kennedy headquarters and told him there was no problem. There's been several versions of what happened that day.

HACKMAN: Do you recall who else was in the room with Senator Kennedy?

BAYLEY: No, I don't remember.

HACKMAN: Did you get any feeling or any indication that Kennedy was telling this same thing to other governors and senators?

BAYLEY: I think it was Bobby, I think it was Bobby.

HACKMAN: From your contacts with other governors or senators and other people?

BAYLEY: That's hard to sort out. There were so many rumors floating around about the circumstances of that time that I can't remember anything else first-hand.

HACKMAN: How much of a problem were people in the delegation other than Proxmire?

BAYLEY: Oh, it wasn't a popular choice by any means. The delegation was disappointed, but the Kennedy people in the delegation didn't care. They got their candidate nominated. The Humphrey people who lost didn't care because they had lost. And there really wasn't any great resistance on this.

HACKMAN: Do you remember who in the Kennedy camp had been working closely with the delegation? Did they have a regular liaison? I know Lem Billings [Kirk LeMoyne Billings] had worked a lot out there.

BAYLEY: Yes, Lem Billings had worked a lot with the delegation, and he was around. Pat Lucey had contacts with Bobby all the time. And there wasn't as much necessity for liaison as with some delegations. You remember the system of one staff person to every two delegates. Well, quite a few of the Wisconsin delegates were functioning with other delegations in that role. Paul Corbin was around. He was working on some Hawaiian delegates.

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HACKMAN: What kind of reputation did Corbin have out there?

BAYLEY: Oh, that's a long story, too. He was and remains a friend of Gaylord's. In a way, he was a bridge between these two camps because he remained friendly with Gaylord all through the campaign. Gaylord got a kick out of him, just as Bobby did. We didn't trust him very far. His reputation in Wisconsin was twofold. One, he at one time was for Joe McCarthy, but McCarthy had turned around and accused him of being a Communist. And I suspect there was enough there to cause some apprehension on the part of the security people because it later became apparent that Paul couldn't hold a government job, that he had to be on personal staff or the Democratic National Committee.

The other reputation was kind of a shady con man. He once was a flag salesman, sold American flags. And he'd go into town, and he'd get them all stirred up about Joe McCarthy, then he'd sell them all kinds of flags. [Laughter] That was part of his sales pitch. He'd go in there and say to the Chamber of Commerce, to get large orders he said, "What kind of town is this? You haven't got any flags. You've only got five flags (or something) that your city owns. I think I'll talk to my friend Joe McCarthy about that." He was at one point friendly

with McCarthy. He'd been all over the political spectrum. And he'd scare them with Joe McCarthy into buying flags. You know, for a while, he was just an adventurer.

He came to us first as a fund raiser, potential fund raiser. He wanted a commission from Gaylord to go around the state raising funds of which he'd take a percentage. I guess he made one such trip. He was out three weeks, and he came back with three hundred dollars. We never knew how much he actually raised. He had one guy in Oshkosh he used to get money out of regularly, Baldy something. He raised money for Stevenson for awhile, too. He got four thousand dollars out of some friend of his in Oshkosh, Baldy somebody, a big industrialist. He would be raising money for four or five different people at the same time. [Laughter]

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We never wanted to let Gaylord be openly associated with him because reporters were all watching him. We thought some scandal might occur, you know. In Wisconsin, a scandal is enough to put somebody out of office. Some states it doesn't matter, but it's that kind of a state. And Paul was a danger. I was the most vehement in not letting him take an active part in the campaign. Strangely enough, Paul liked that. And out of all the people involved, he and I eventually became the most friendly.

HACKMAN:           You mean during the presidential campaign?

BAYLEY:            No, even today. I saw him a month ago in Chicago. He was up there with Steve Smith [Stephen E. Smith]. He gave me his private phone number out there in case I wanted to call and find out what was going on in Chicago. But we've been friends ever since. And I really liked Paul, he's a real character. I don't think—of course, I'm sure he changed his ways. But I think much of this stuff about him is a myth, a legend.

He handled the seventh district in that primary. He used to come back.... And he was the one continuing contact for Gaylord and me with the Kennedy camp all through that campaign. Paul would drop in every couple days. He'd tell anecdotes about what was going on in the seventh district, and how he laid down the law to all the priests and nuns that they weren't to appear openly at rallies and things like—they could come to the rallies, but they couldn't take a leading part. He always got a Lutheran there heading it up. And he organized a church bell ringing thing all through the seventh district. All the Catholic churches rang their bell all day on election day. [Laughter]

And he used to tell about how he got money out of Steve Smith. He turned in an expense account that had for three days or something, it had nineteen hundred miles of travel. And Steve Smith figured it up and told Paul if he'd gone eighty-five miles an hour twenty-four hours a day for three days, he couldn't have gone that far. [Laughter] This kind of thing.

HACKMAN:           Were the Kennedys aware of the security thing with him all along?

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BAYLEY: I don't think they were at that time, no. I think they knew what kind of a guy he was. It's obvious, he's a con man, or it looks that way on the surface. I think right away, Bobby liked him. He's the kind of guy, you tell him to do something, he does it, doesn't matter what it is. "Go hit that fellow in the stomach." He'll do it. I don't think that they'd really discovered that until things calmed down.

HACKMAN: Back before the Convention again, can you remember making efforts on Governor Nelson's behalf to get an important role for him at the Convention—the keynote speech or something else?

BAYLEY: Now, let's see. How did we do that? There were direct applications to the Kennedy people I talked to at Jack's house at Georgetown. There was some kind of an affair there. And I talked to Sorensen, and I don't know who else. I remember those two. It was nip and tuck. He almost did get to make the keynote. They fobbed him off with this movie that was made out in Hollywood with, oh, Dore Schary had something to do with it and some other person more directly in charge of the production. It wasn't much, really. It wasn't as important a post as the keynote by any means. He had enough—they were anxious to placate Gaylord, or to get him thoroughly on their side that they wanted to give him something. I was always sorry he didn't make the keynote because he is an excellent speaker, and he'd have done a much better job than Frank Church. He and I sat and watched Church together way up in the top of the gallery on the television screen in the Convention Hall. That was a disgusting speech. It put a lot of people off.

HACKMAN: Can you remember any contacts with Paul Butler [Paul M. Butler] in that period? Did you people work directly with the Kennedys on attempting to get this? Or did you regard Paul Butler as a Kennedy man at that point clearly? Do you remember anything on that?

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BAYLEY: Well, we talked to Paul Butler. We knew him, of course. But, I don't think we worked through him at all. No, we worked directly on this. I don't think we regarded Butler as being really very important in this role. Was Butler national chairman?

HACKMAN: Yes. Then Scoop Jackson [Henry M. Jackson] just for the campaign and then Bailey [John Moran Bailey] came in.

BAYLEY: They were paying Gaylord quite a bit of attention at that time. I know Scoop Jackson came out the first week after he got that and spent a day with Gaylord in Madison. They wanted to make sure they had Gaylord on their side after it's all over. And they were very nice about things at that time. There wasn't really any problem. Gaylord was a loyal Democrat, and he had known for a long time,

or he had guessed for a long time, that Kennedy was going to be the nominee. And he certainly didn't have any animosity toward him.

HACKMAN: No, problem in working out what his role would be in the campaign?

BAYLEY: No. He was all for Kennedy in the campaign. I started something I didn't quite finish that I said about Gaylord being neutral in the primary, and being a referee. He called foul twice, once on each man. There was the farm speech written by Bob Lewis which pushed things too far. It was an unfair campaign statement. It would have been possibly criticized by the Committee for Fair Campaign Practices. And it was vicious in tone. Then he started to worry, "Now, I've called one against Humphrey, I've got to call one against Kennedy." And so we looked at everything there was, and the only thing that we ever came up with was FDR, Jr., [Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.] out in La Crosse. And I can't remember what the statement was, but it was a vicious personal attack. And so Gaylord finally found somebody on that side to criticize. So the score would be one-to-one.

HACKMAN: There was some issue that came up concerning Bobby and Hoffa [James Riddle Hoffa]. I can't remember

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exactly what it was. Does that ring a bell with you at all?

BAYLEY: Well, there's been so much about Bobby and Hoffa, I can't remember...

HACKMAN: In Wisconsin, I can't remember what the accusations were. Bobby was...

BAYLEY: Maybe, would that have been FDR? No, FDR was campaigning for the Kennedys.

HACKMAN: Maybe I can come back with that next time. It just popped in my...

BAYLEY: I'll tell you who might know about that is John Pomfret [John D. Pomfret] now of the *New York Times*, then the labor reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*. And John covered Bobby and Hoffa for many years, and had quite strong feelings about it, thought some of the tactics were a little rough. I can't remember that coming into the campaign. It's very likely that the charge would have been made.

HACKMAN: Do you remember anything during the campaign on Kennedy's—I think he took one trip in October into Wisconsin. Or anything about efforts to get him into the state more frequently which failed?



BAYLEY: Right, that's in October. The primary's in April. He came out to Madison for a day, and he made a speech at a law fraternity dinner.

HACKMAN: During the presidential campaign?

BAYLEY: No, this must have been in the interim, this must have been in '58 because he did come back several times. I just can't recall that. I do remember they wanted him in more than he could come. When he finally came all the way and he came out there for intensive campaigning, they felt much better about it.

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HACKMAN: Do you remember having any impressions of the operation they had going during the campaign? I guess Billings was still out there.

BAYLEY: Yes, Billings was there through most of it. Shriver [R. Sargent Shriver, Jr.] was there part of the time. Shriver was setting up some of these parties for the sisters. Well, again I didn't have direct contact with it. I don't remember, other than the ones we've mentioned.

HACKMAN: You were continuing to work for Nelson during the campaign?

BAYLEY: Yes.

HACKMAN: Can you remember any Kennedy issue stands that created any particular problems for Nelson at that time?

BAYLEY: No, I don't think there were any. The only thing that became an issue at all, really, was the farm thing. There weren't any issues of foreign policy between Humphrey and Kennedy.

HACKMAN: I'm talking about Nixon [Richard Milhous Nixon] and Kennedy in the presidential campaign.

BAYLEY: Oh, you meant the presidential campaign, I'm sorry. Well, the presidential campaign was not a matter of issues. That's simply anti-Catholic feeling, and the fact that the Republican Catholics went back to vote for Nixon. Well, I'd better explain that further. It has to do with the Wisconsin primary law which lets a voter mark either ballot in the primary without any registration or anything like that. What happened in that—a big factor in that spring primary was the fact that Catholic Republicans crossed over to vote for Kennedy. I can think of one real Catholic township, St. Cloud in Fond du Lac County, which is al-

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most all German Catholic Republican, normally. They went for Kennedy three-to-one over Humphrey in the primary, and that was a pretty substantial vote. They went for Nixon three-to-one over Kennedy in the election. And there were other instances of that, so that they swung back.

But I don't think there were any issues between Kennedy and Nixon in that that made a great deal of difference. It was personalities. On the other hand, Kennedy, I'm sure, did better than he might have because of the Kennedy-Nixon debates. They were sold on the basis of that television debate. I cannot remember any issue of substance between Nixon and Kennedy.

HACKMAN: My question, then, on the trips out, was the trip in the campaign. There was one swing through during the fall campaign.

BAYLEY: There was a swing, and then there was a last minute visit to the airports. There was one at the Madison airport just before the election. I remember that because I took my kids out there. I had a teen-age daughter and a ten year old boy, and they were just crazy about Kennedy. And we went out there to the airport and shook hands with him.

I remember Stevenson made an appearance. I'm not sure if it was with Kennedy. No, Stevenson had a major dinner at which he urged all his supporters to get behind Kennedy. And he was campaigning full time for awhile, swinging through Wisconsin. They sent him in thinking that whatever residue there is of bitterness among Stevenson's former supporters that he could help with them. I remember when he started the meeting over at Doyle's house in which there were people there still recalcitrant. And Stevenson was very eloquent in telling them they had to forget that.

HACKMAN: Can you remember, did Doyle come around fairly well at that point?

BAYLEY: Yes, Yes. And he went out campaigning. He went out to California for a couple of weeks, and he did active campaigning for him, too. I

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guess everybody came around except Miles. Of course, Miles couldn't come out for Nixon because he dislikes him even more.

HACKMAN: Can you remember any particular problems with Pat Lucey, between the Governor and Pat Lucey, during the campaign?

BAYLEY: Not at that time. Well, there was a general coolness.

HACKMAN: Do you have any recollections of Johnson coming into the state in that campaign?

BAYLEY: I don't think he came in. I'm sure they had enough sense not to send him in there. Let's see, more on the campaign. Nothing else occurs to me, unless you have questions. I'm sure there were a lot of things that happened in that period. Oh, there was one more little thing about myself on primary election night. I was hired as a consultant by CBS [Columbia Broadcasting System] to advise them on local aspects, the Wisconsin aspects of the primary. That's the first indication I had of this feeling that the whole Kennedy camp had about my role and Gaylord's role in this thing. And the Kennedy people were over at WTMJ-TV the NBC [National Broadcasting Company] station where I had handled election nights for years and years. And when the results were pretty apparent, they swung around to the other television stations.

They came to the CBS station. And Humphrey had been through a few minutes before, and Humphrey was jubilant. He'd won four districts, he was still alive, he was going to West Virginia, and so forth. [Interruption] Kennedy and his people came through then, and they were not happy. Salinger said something to me, something to the effect that, "I hope you are satisfied," clearly indicating that they didn't consider six districts a victory because of my having laid the foundation for that as sort of the breaking point. And that's really the way it was popularly considered, that Kennedy won, but that's what he was expected to do. It wasn't a surge for either man. They

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had hoped to get more momentum out of it.

HACKMAN: You don't remember the Humphrey camp talking to you or to Governor Nelson about whether to move on or not?

BAYLEY: No. We were truly neutral in this thing. And Humphrey.... I forgot to say this, but during the campaign again I heard a phone call, I listened on the other phone, when Humphrey chewed Gaylord out, foul language, as a traitor to his old friend, and so forth and so on.

HACKMAN: This was before the primary?

BAYLEY: Yes. This is back about the time that Gaylord said he was neutral. And, in fact, it followed that decision, the announcement that he was neutral. Because Humphrey, I think, had counted on swinging Gaylord over to his side. Once he made this public statement, that was over. And Humphrey can be very rough. I've had him myself in Washington on the phone that way. Gaylord was shaken by this some, as anybody would be, because he knew this guy really well. It didn't make any lasting difference in the Humphrey-Nelson relationship, but it was pretty sore, pretty hard for awhile there. And that's why it was always particularly painful to Gaylord when he got accused of favoring Humphrey.

Oh, I know what it was now, it comes back to me. The Kennedys considered Humphrey a stalking horse for Johnson. That was it, wasn't it? Sure. That's what Pierre said. Well, we certainly didn't consider it that, and I'm sure Humphrey didn't consider himself that.

It was bitter. And this was repeated, this sort of thing, Humphrey being angry with Gaylord. So Gaylord thought he had really done something. He actually had made a move toward Kennedy without saying so. But his normal position would have been with Humphrey, and a swing away from that position to one of neutrality was a move toward Kennedy, and I'm sure helped Kennedy in that time because Gaylord was at the height of his popularity then.

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HACKMAN: After the election, then, what were you doing in the interim period?  
How did you get to the Peace Corps?

BAYLEY: Well, Pat Lucey sent in three lists of people. All through this, Pat and I always maintained a consistent friendship. I had known Pat as a reporter when he was the state chairman; even going back to 1951, I think it was, or '49, when Pat was an assemblyman, we'd been friends. So I got to know both Gaylord and Pat. Well, I always found him a good honest source when I was a reporter. I'd ask him a question, I'd get an honest answer, very good relationship. One of my principal responsibilities in the Governor's office was to keep a relationship with Pat. And whatever we had, I did. And John Reynolds was very helpful in that. And so, we'd always been on good terms. Pat also knew—because I'd been confidential with him enough, he knew that I personally had voted for Kennedy in the primary, had favored Kennedy, but I felt I couldn't do anything about it because of my position with the Governor. Okay, that's sort of background on that.

So he sent in three lists of names. One was names of little people who worked hard in the campaign and should get some little reward. The next list was people who made major contributions to the campaign, either running for office—a man like Philleo, for example. Philleo had come over strong immediately after the Convention, and had taken an active part in the campaign. And Philleo had lost his lieutenant-governorship, and it was because of the anti-Catholic, anti-Kennedy swing in Wisconsin. Gaylord and Reynolds were the only ones that survived. And Pat felt they owed something to people like Jim Megellas [James Megellas] and Norman Clapp [Norman M. Clapp] who both had run for Congress and who might have had a chance to win if it hadn't been for the trend and who had been worked hard, people like that, the second list.

The third list was people to whom they owed nothing but who might be useful. I was on that list. And with all credit for Pat, Jim Doyle was on that list. Tom Fairchild [Thomas E. Fairchild] was on that list. I've forgotten who else. I knew more of them. And I didn't ask Pat to do this. Nobody on that list had asked him. This was purely...

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HACKMAN: Talent search type of thing.

BAYLEY: Yes. It was out of that that my name got to Shriver. And I heard later there were.... Shriver had been doing this executive recruiting, and he

had that list, and other people on that list were chosen, too. I remember hearing—O'Donnell told me later after he and I got to be sort of friends—that when Shriver settled on me as the one he wanted to be director of information for the Peace Corps, there was all hell to pay; there was a big argument in the White House. Pierre said that he'd never stand for this, and Kenny said he was against it.

Shriver carried through with it I think only because he was determined to get the best people he could for the Peace Corps. He had turned from the executive recruiting to Peace Corps recruiting. Harris Wofford [Harris L. Wofford, Jr.] was working with him, and he had Harris check me out. And Harris checked fifteen people, and the last one was Nathan Pusey [Nathan Marsh Pusey], from Harvard, and that was the key recommendation Harris told me. So at that point, they settled on me as the one they wanted, and Shriver wanted the best even if it was a political problem for Salinger and O'Donnell. And they gave in. I don't know how high it went, but Sarge got his way. And gradually, relations became better.

That leads up to the next.... Well, no. Here's what happened: I didn't even know I was on this list at this point. Pat hadn't told me. He told me later. Pat called Wednesday night and said, "You're probably going to receive a call from Sarge Shriver tomorrow." I said, "What about?" He said, "Well, something about the Peace Corps." I wasn't even very sure what the Peace Corps was at that time, although my kids knew. They told me. The next day Sarge did call about 11 at night, I guess, still working—that's the way we worked on the Peace Corps—and he said he wanted to talk to me, could I come down to Washington tomorrow?

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So I got on a plane the next morning, flew out there, and met with Sarge for an hour and a half or so, at the end of which he offered me the job. I accepted, flew back that Friday night, the same night, got in the car at 11 o'clock the next morning, after going to see Gaylord. Gaylord was very nice about it. He said, "I think it's a good thing to do. It will be exciting, and you'll have a good time. Go ahead." And I'd gotten all his messages written. It was a good time to leave. He was over the hump, and he had a period of several months in which to adapt to my leaving. So I drove right back out, got there Sunday, went to work Monday morning. And I never got home again for three months. I got back to Madison and the family going around the world the other way.

HACKMAN:           The trip that you and Shriver and Frank Williams [Franklin H. Williams] and some of these people took?

BAYLEY:             Frank Williams and Harris Wofford, the four of us.

HACKMAN:           Well, let me ask you, before starting on the Peace Corps, about other appointments in Wisconsin. Were there any problems on any of the people that you can remember coming off that Lucey list that—did Governor Nelson push people who weren't on the list or give help to people who were on the list? Bob Lewis or somebody like this?

BAYLEY:             No. Gaylord tried to help Bob Lewis directly. Bob Lewis was not on

Pat's list, although Bob Lewis, like Philleo, after the Convention had gone to work full time. Farmers for Kennedy, or some such organization. There had been a.... This reminds me of something else. I'll think of his name in a minute. He got an appointment, too. There had been a Kennedy farmers group which Pat Lucey dredged up for the primary, and if you'd suggest a name, I could remember who's the head of it. It was a guy nobody had ever heard of in Democratic politics before in upstate, the western part of the state somewhere. He was the chairman of this group. None of the people assembled on that farmers list were very good. They had to really scrape because there wasn't much sup-

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port for Kennedy in the rural areas. He had an urban image, really, and the same thing that always hurt Stevenson, Eastern, almost British, image. But this farmers committee wasn't very good.

Bob Lewis, after the Convention, headed or worked for some kind of a farmers group. Out of this, he thought that he deserved something. He was out in Washington, he made his approaches directly. But he also bludgeoned Gaylord into endorsing him for Secretary of Agriculture. Gaylord and I knew this was ridiculous, and Bob wasn't going to get it, but, nevertheless, Gaylord, out of long friendship and a former employee and all, wrote that letter, or sent that telegram or whatever it was, and helped Bob's campaign. But we didn't do anything more than that because we knew it was unrealistic. Whether Pat Lucey intervened for or against Bob, I don't know. I think he probably would have supported him for something, some job in agriculture.

Norman Clapp, of course, got the REA [Rural Electrification Administration] appointment; Philleo got the Indian commissioner. I think almost everybody on the first and second lists got something, and, some of the second list, pretty good jobs. Jim Megellas got an AID [Agency for International Development] assignment in Yemen and then Panama, and ended up in Viet Nam. I don't remember how many people on that third list, the list that I was on, were used. Some of us were. Not Jim Doyle. Later on after I was over at AID, I had become friendly with Ralph Dungan [Ralph A. Dungan], of course, I'd go over there a couple of times a week to talk to him about problems at AID. He was sitting there one night when I went in, and he said, "Think of somebody that would be a good ambassador. I need ambassadors." I said, "Well, Jim Doyle." And he said, "Yeah, you're right. He'd be a damn good one, But," he said, "I don't think we're ready to forgive him yet." They never did. I think they would have eventually, but not at that point. Ralph was ready, I guess, but he knew that the hard core wouldn't.

HACKMAN:           What stage was the Peace Corps at when you went on? Had the executive order come out yet?

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BAYLEY:            No. It was still in the formative stage. It was in February. And we had several plans. Albertson [Maurice Albertson]...

HACKMAN: Yes. Colorado State.

BAYLEY: ...had done one and somebody else had done one.

HACKMAN: Max Millikan [Max F. Millikan] had one, and Samuel Hayes [Samuel P. Hayes] had one.

BAYLEY: Yeah, that's right, Sam Hayes.

HACKMAN: There were three big ones. Can you remember those creating any problem at all? I know, the approach, of course, that evolved was quite different.

BAYLEY: There was a problem with Albertson in that he saw himself as director of this thing. I remember everybody around there knew he wasn't going to be director, but he was making things very unpleasant for people. I came in, and my first job was they said, "Write the President's remarks when he issues the executive order." Well, then I had to start reading all these papers. I didn't know anything about it even then, you know. It had been forty-eight hours or so since I'd heard of the Peace Corps for the first time. So I started reading everything that I could lay my hands on. And so I finally ended up two or three days later with a draft written. It was rewritten by others, but that was the beginning of it, the beginning paper for what was the eventual draft. of course, it forced me to try to figure out what the Peace Corps was. I think March first was the executive order, wasn't it?

HACKMAN: Right.

BAYLEY: I think then all hell broke loose, of course. And we really didn't know what the Peace Corps was at that point. And I went back, and I

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read what Henry Reuss had said about it a couple years before, what Humphrey said about it, what Kennedy said about it. What Kennedy said about it in Michigan, which was, I think, his only mention of it in the campaign, became like the Bible.

HACKMAN: The Cow Palace, there was a big Cow Palace speech.

BAYLEY: The Cow Palace, right. That's what it was.

HACKMAN: Yeah. Somebody, some people....

BAYLEY: Well, there were two references then. There was one offhand to a bunch of students.

HACKMAN: That's right, that's the Michigan one.

BAYLEY: That's the Michigan one. And then one formal statement, prepared statement, at the Cow Palace. But there wasn't much to go on. Then we had to sit down and decide what it was going to be. There was a committee, I think, of about seven people. I saw quite a few of them this weekend. I went up to Morris Abram's [Morris B. Abram] inauguration. And Harris Wofford was there, and Joe Kauffman [Joseph F. Kauffman], and a couple of others from the Peace Corps days. Warren Wiggins [Warren W. Wiggins] had come over from ICA [International Cooperation Administration].

HACKMAN: Josephson [William H. Josephson] had come over with him on this?

BAYLEY: Well, Josephson came with him. Josephson wasn't on that committee. He was on Wiggins' staff. Boyce, Gordon Boyce [F. Gordon Boyce] from the Experiment in International Living, Sims [Albert G. Sims], Al Sims from IIE [International Institute of Education], Moyers [William D. Moyers] joined us a little bit later. He wasn't there right at the beginning, but he was early on. There were one or two more who will occur to me. Most of them, like

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Boyce and Sims and Morris Abram and the ones I don't recollect, stayed for only about three months, four months. They'd taken leave from jobs they couldn't leave. And after helping to get it started, they went back to their jobs, and they were replaced by more permanent people.

HACKMAN: Let me ask you something on—Abram came over and Josephson, who also came over then, and were both working on the legal side—who had the most influence of these two? How did they split up the responsibility? Can you remember any problem in them working it out?

BAYLEY: They were occupying different roles. Morris Abram was the more influential if it came to a policy decision or anything formal. Morris was the General Counsel, and he was a member of this executive committee. I got to be friends with him because on a lot of these issues he and I took the same position. Morris had a keen sense of public relations. He'd had that kind of role in the Army, or Air Force or whatever he was in. And damn good judgment.

There were some people that were more gimmicky, wanted to be gimmicky about things, or try to fool people, or nothing bad, but just in your approach to things. And Morris and I always took the opposite approach, "Don't claim more than we can deliver. Don't get up a lot of expectation that you won't have something, really, to follow up with." Josephson's role was really more than aide to Wiggins. There was a sort of division there between the bureaucrats and the people coming in from outside. And Wiggins and Josephson and Charlie Nelson [Charles J. Nelson], the Negro, a couple more of that bunch, they came over from



AID—or it wasn't AID; ICA I guess it was. And they really thought they knew all about this, and we were a bunch of amateurs, and this and that.

Well, there was a constant conflict of that kind, but there was nothing wrong with that. It's inevitable. Josephson was sort of the lawyer for that side. I remember getting very angry with him one time. We worked so

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long, such long hours, our tempers got short sometimes. He and I were drafting something, one of the planks in this thing, one of the policies in this thing. What we'd do, we'd go out of session as task forces and come back three hours later and then we'd discuss the policy until we finally got a satisfactory draft and everything. I noticed Josephson was going through the waste basket and pulling out everything that he had written or that he had made changes on. And I asked him what he was doing this for. He said, "This thing may get us all into court some day, and I want to be able to prove what my part in this was." Well, I really lost my temper. I won't say what I said, but I felt that was the height of bureaucracy, even in a moment of creation like this when we've got a wonderful project which I felt idealistic about, here a guy is digging through the waste basket to protect himself in a court suit some years later. [Laughter] Those were hectic days. There was an administrative type that was borrowed from NASA, I believe...

HACKMAN: Young [John D. Young], Jack Young.

BAYLEY: Yes, Jack Young. He was very helpful. He kind of enjoyed this. Sarge and I were standing by the water cooler one night, and Young came up and said, "Well, you guys have had a great day today." He said, "You've broken fourteen laws." And we both laughed, and he said, "But we'll fix it up, we'll patch it up. Go right ahead." That's the way it proceeded then. Those were very exciting times.

HACKMAN: A lot of people have said that rather than these reports by Millikan or the Colorado State report the important piece of paper was a thing that Wiggins wrote, "The Towering Task." Can you remember anything?

BAYLEY: Yes, I would agree with that. Wiggins had the benefit of these other studies. And he had his own ideas, and he had his staff. And that did become the basic paper, although it was modified. On the size of the Peace Corps, Wiggins always [BEGIN SIDE 2, TAPE 1]

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had the idea that it should be a large organization, and he eventually prevailed. There were others, and I don't remember who they were now, but they felt it should be small and be careful and pinpointed. Foreign countries probably would have preferred this rather than these big influxes.

The trip that we mentioned before, taken by Shriver, Frank Williams, Harris Wofford, and myself, was really to scout out prospects for the Peace Corps. There had been only peripheral or only very casual approaches to foreign governments up to this point as to whether a country might want a Peace Corps contingent. And so we sought to really find out what possibilities there were and what kind of people were needed. We went to eleven countries in twenty-six days, sleeping mostly on planes, and encountered quite a bit of opposition here and there to the idea of young people coming over, for different reasons. We went first to Ghana, Nigeria...

HACKMAN:           Tanganyika?

BAYLEY:            No, not Tanganyika, no. Oh, that was one of the first contingents to go over. It wasn't on that trip.

HACKMAN:           Yes, yes.

BAYLEY:            Then we went up into India, East and West Pakistan, Burma, Malaysia, and the Philippines. I may have missed one. Oh yes, Monrovia, Liberia, first, very short stop there. In Ghana and Nigeria, we found a reluctance to accept ordinary university and college graduates as teachers. All the ministers of education and administrative people, generally, had gone to Cambridge or Oxford and...

HACKMAN:           Pretty conservative bunch.

BAYLEY:            I remember the minister of education in Ghana told Sarge, "Well, we'll take some of your people if they have Ph.D.s from your better universities." And Sarge said, "Well, they won't have Ph.D.s. Some will, but most of them won't. And what

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do you mean by the better universities?" He says, "Yale, Harvard, and Princeton." So Sarge really had to be a salesman to sell these people on the idea they're going to get people from, as he always mentioned, Philander Smith. Just ordinary college graduates who won't have all the skills they want.

We found that all around they wanted agriculture people; they wanted agronomists; they wanted bulldozer operators. All these countries were eager to improve their agriculture, and they didn't have much skill. We found places where AID financed tractors that were rusting because of some little part that nobody knew how to put in. They couldn't service the stuff. Really, that was about all they wanted to begin with. Some places they found it acceptable to have teachers of English. The Philippines was our best one because they'd take any number of teachers of English.

HACKMAN:           That was Wiggins big plan, a big Philippine...

BAYLEY: Yes, saturate that. Yes. And I think they did pretty well, [Interruption] This would embarrass people perhaps...

HACKMAN: You can close this for as long as you want, so that's no problem.

BAYLEY: To cut the Peace Corps business short, because you've got other sources there, in August, I believe it was, there was some dissatisfaction at the White House as to how the initial efforts of the Kennedy Administration were being received by the public. Kennedy, O'Donnell and Dick Maguire [Richard Maguire] called a meeting of all the information officers in government, about seventy people, the chief information officers of the agencies and departments. They got us over there in a room, and it was a very foolish thing to do because—I'm surprised a scandal didn't erupt—three quarters of these people are civil servants. There's only twenty or so people like myself who came in through the route of politics. Some of those

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old civil servants are capable of anything in leaking stuff around.

Well, O'Donnell made a little speech and said very bluntly that they weren't satisfied with the public image of the Kennedy Administration. They thought they were falling on their face, and, god damn it, they had to do something about it. After more of that, sort of a harangue and then a request, they asked each of us to go back and write, first, an essay on what our agency is doing of a constructive nature that could be attributed to the Kennedy Administration and, secondly, what the Kennedy Administration should do in order to improve its public appearance.

Well, I went back and wrote both these things and submitted them. And I spent, actually, quite a bit of time on that second point because I was somewhat critical of some of Pierre's operations. I thought there were things that he wasn't doing that he should have done that would result in a better relationship with the press. I criticized some basic attitudes that he took toward the press and some things that I thought could have been done better out of my experience with Governor Nelson.

So I turned these in, and about two weeks later I got another call saying, "Be over at Maguire's office in the EOB at 4 o'clock," something like that. And so that turned out to be a meeting of the dozen or so people who had taken this assignment seriously. And they had all these papers, all these essays, just the second part on what they should do, out on the desk. They gave us about two hours for each of us to read everybody else's. And I was sitting next to Bill Ruder [William M. Ruder], of Ruder and Finn, and I came across his paper toward the end. And somebody had been grading these papers and in this little, sort of crabbed handwriting, had put comments on them. I think it was Kennedy. Ruder and I thought it was. He knew all about this project; of course, it was his project. And he'd written on Bill Ruder's, "Very good." And I came across this, and I said, "God, you got a good grade." He said, "Have you seen yours?" That was

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the one I hadn't looked at because I knew what I had said. I said "No." And he handed me mine, and it said, "The best."

Well, the upshot was they drafted me partially to carry out what I had proposed in the paper, but it really didn't work out quite that way because of the intrigue in the White House. I was really working for O'Donnell, but I was nominally attached to Pierre's staff. My little commission here says, as the title, "Special Assistant in the Office of the Press Secretary for the Development of Special Projects," which is a thing that gives you a lot of freedom. But O'Donnell said to me, "Your job is to bolster Pierre's operation. The President thinks it's weak." At the same time, they didn't tell Pierre that he was being bolstered. Pierre thought I was sort of a member of his staff, although I was really reporting to O'Donnell. But I got assignments from Pierre, too. So it was sort of a funny situation.

What I did over there—I guess I was there three months, four months—the biggest single thing was I handled the publicity and helped organize that series of White House regional conferences all over the country. We dragged in about a dozen of the political information officers, guys that understood this kind of thing, and they went out to cities and organized these meetings. And then we drafted all the sub-Cabinet people and some Cabinet people to go out and speak. It was part of an effort to acquaint the public with what's going on.

Well, then I wrote various things upon order. I remember one night about 5 o'clock Pierre called and said, "Margaret Chase Smith made a speech attacking the defense policy, the move away from massive retaliation to building up a conventional force again." Well, this is something that I knew no more about than the man in the street. However, I had orders to go over to the Defense Department and see Adam Yarmolinsky and, between the two of us, to write an answer that could be delivered by Symington the next day on the floor. Well, I did that. We had four researchers working for us all night. It turned out Adam didn't know so much about it either. And I ended up having to do all the writing which I didn't

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expect to have to do. But we worked all night, and he was very helpful on a lot of policy points and made phone calls and things. I learned a lot about defense policy that night. And I wrote a draft—we finished up at 8:30 in the morning—and I had it typed and had it delivered to Symington's office. And then his fellow on his staff, who's name I've forgotten, his chief aide—or military...

HACKMAN: Well, Stanley Fike [Stanley R. Fike] is his administrative assistant. I don't think he was the military man.

BAYLEY: No, it wasn't Stanley. I know him. No, this is a military expert. It probably was Jim Gehrig. He came over. It turned out the Senator decided not to give it that day, but the next day. There were a couple of points that were sophisticated points that he wanted to change, and sure, it was all right with us. And so he delivered the speech. It's the only speech on defense policy I ever wrote.

HACKMAN: Sylvester didn't get in this at all on the Defense side?

BAYLEY: No, no. It went right past him.

HACKMAN: Can you remember what their impression of Sylvester was at this point? Were they dissatisfied with him at Defense?

BAYLEY: I didn't get any inkling of that. I had known Art for years. As everybody knows, he made some silly remarks to the press now and then, and he lost his temper too easily. But I think, as far as the White House went, I think he was in good favor. Above all, he was loyal. He was doing the job as he saw it.

HACKMAN: Can you remember some of the other people around in the departments who they were particularly high on or low on at that point? What about Tubby [Roger W. Tubby]? He didn't last long at State. He was probably still there when you were there.

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BAYLEY: Yes, I had known Roger from other campaigns, political campaigns, and liked him. There was no rapport there. They considered him a Truman [Harry S. Truman]-Stevenson guy that wasn't one of their own, and they gave him this little plum over in Geneva and got him out of there, I guess with the understanding when that ran out, that was it. Well, there were lots of people. Let me think of State first because that's where I went after that. There was Richard Goodwin [Richard N. Goodwin]. I knew more about incidents. I remember, and this led to my own.... Well, just let me finish out my own three or four months there. What happened, as it went along, was that Pierre felt me to be more and more of a threat. No one knew exactly what I was doing. Oh, one time I was acting Press Secretary on a trip to Oklahoma.

HACKMAN: The Kerr [Robert S. Kerr] thing, yes.

BAYLEY: Right. That was an interesting trip. I felt sorry as hell for the President, you know. Kerr was holding up his whole legislative program, and I could tell he despised Kerr. But he made this trip, and he had to hang around with that family just looking ahead to next year, to get the program through. The key bills were all in his committee. Kerr was just glorying in this, he's that kind of a guy, almost like, for the benefit of his home audience, making him do tricks. We stayed in that ranch house, I guess you call it, acres and acres of shaked roofs. And Kennedy had to stay there and eat with the family, and they couldn't even have a drink.

Kenny O'Donnell and I, who were friends by this time, went out together to go see the press and have dinner, and he was gently swearing at us, you know, as he would, "You lucky bastards, getting out of here." Oh, it was horrible. He had to open a highway down there which didn't need opening, and go look at all of Kerr's cows, and then hang around with

that family with whom he had about as much in common as nothing. All this to butter him up. And I could see it wasn't going to do any good anyway, Kerr being that kind of arrogant guy.

HACKMAN: Can you remember how the idea for the trip developed? Were O'Donnell and any of those

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opposed to it?

BAYLEY: I wasn't in on that. I got thrown in when they said, "Would you like to go down here?" "Fine." And it was a good experience. I enjoyed it. But oh, yes, now I skipped a whole thing. I'll come back to this though.

I'll finish with the trip and my own situation with Pierre. Pierre got the feeling that I was.... Well, no, this is part of where it came up. I had a lot of friends still among the reporters, Sandy Vanocur [Sander Vanocur], and others who were on that trip. Thinking to do me a favor—Pierre came back after this trip to Oklahoma—they made a point, I think six or eight of them did, made a point of telling Pierre what a good job I'd done on that trip. It was the worst thing they could have done. Pierre immediately sees a threat on the horizon. And he eventually concluded that I was being kept on the shelf in case he fell, and Pierre was quite insecure at that time. And, of course, he had some grounds for it because the President wasn't satisfied. And I don't know if they had an eye on me for that or not. I never was told that. I didn't go in there expecting it. But it's possible. It's a sensible thing to do. But this led to coolness with Pierre, and I didn't get any more assignments as acting Press Secretary. The only one—no, that was later on when I was in AID. They wanted me to come back and be Jackie Kennedy's press secretary on that trip to India. But for some reason or other, I couldn't do that. I had something that conflicted.

HACKMAN: Who on the staff, can you recall, were particularly down on Salinger at that point?

BAYLEY: Well, O'Donnell first of all. There was a lot of criticism. Fred Dutton [Frederick G. Dutton] was critical, but I don't think had any part in this. I really got to know more about what went on there from Fred than anybody else. Fred and I had been old friends when we were both in the governor business, when he was executive secretary for Pat Brown. I was over in the EOB, and he was physically in the West Wing. I'd drop in at least once a day to compare notes with him,

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and so I'd learn about some of these machinations.

Harking back to one other question earlier, I remember Dick Goodwin's banishment to the Alliance for Progress, which didn't want him. And that was true. I mean, they wanted

to get him out of the White House. I'm sure Rusk [Dean Rusk] made a terrible fuss about that. And it wasn't really right to have a guy who was making Latin American foreign policy in that kind of position. Rusk resented this deeply and

HACKMAN: You mean as deputy Assistant Secretary when he went over to State?

BAYLEY: No. Oh, no. This was when he was still in the White House, before he went over. As I remember, he went from there to the Alliance and then to deputy Assistant—no, maybe that's the same move, isn't it? Same move, yes. Deputy Assistant to the Secretary. Well, they didn't like that much better when they got him over there because he didn't forget his contacts at the White House, and he moved around there very independently and did what he felt like doing. And it isn't all one-sided; sometimes that State Department needs a little stirring up.

HACKMAN: Was everybody on the White House staff down on Goodwin, or was it primarily the resentment from State that led...

BAYLEY: I think it was primarily resentment from State, although Goodwin was never a very popular figure. They knew he had some ability, very good at coining slogans, sometimes slogans that proved dangerous or hard to fulfill. But I think it was primarily that State—but again, he didn't have any friends at court. I think, as I remember, Bobby used him quite a bit. But beyond that, he's not the kind of guy that develops into a friend. He's a surly, arrogant guy with ability.

HACKMAN: Can you remember anything on him while you were at the Peace Corps? Did he work on anything there?

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BAYLEY: Well, he came later. That was sort of make-work, I think, that Peace Corps job. They wanted to keep him around.

HACKMAN: The international secretariat thing?

BAYLEY: Yeah, that was a paper organization. I remember fooling around with that a little bit when I was there, and it didn't amount to anything. I think it was just a parking spot. They got him out of State by sending him over there. What he did over there mainly was write speeches for Shriver. That was my only contact with him. That was after I had left the Peace Corps. My only contact with him was to go over some of the speeches. He asked me to edit some of his speeches for Shriver, which I did. And we were on good enough terms then, and I think Sarge liked having him around. He got an extra speech writer and a good one.

HACKMAN: How did you get along with the other people in Salinger's office, Hatcher [Andrew T. Hatcher] and...

BAYLEY: Got along fine with Andy, and all the girls there, and Jay whatever his name was...

HACKMAN: Gildner?

BAYLEY: Gildner, yeah. We got along fine, and as a matter of fact, I got along fine with Pierre personally except that he just got suspicious of me. We never had a fight about anything or any kind of an argument.

HACKMAN: Other than this between yourself and Salinger, were there other tensions in that office, the Hatcher-Salinger-Gildner relationship at that point? Didn't Gildner go out about that period, somebody else come in, or had he just come in, do you remember?

BAYLEY: Gildner had just come in, but he left, too. He left when...

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HACKMAN: Kilduff [Malcolm M. Kilduff] came over at one point.

BAYLEY: Kilduff came over from State to replace Gildner. That wasn't the spot for Jay. They really just put him in there to take care of the foreign press. The foreign press is a great bother, you know. Nobody cares about it, really, and yet, they're always under foot. They have lots of time, and they want to talk to you *ad infinitum*, especially Indians. Pierre wanted to get them off his back, and Jay did that very nicely. But other than that, he didn't have much of a role there, and he knew it. He didn't aspire to that kind of a career. He wanted to get back to USIA [United States Information Agency]. No, as far as I could see, they got on well, and nobody was mad at him.

I think there were tensions between Andy and Pierre, but I really didn't know. Andy was pretty independent. He didn't take to taking orders from Pierre very much. But it wasn't a very well organized operation, to tell the truth. Andy's newspaper experience was very peripheral, and Pierre's wasn't all that solid either. I felt that they often missed things that they could have made good points of with a little more work, really, a little more imagination as to what the press would use—nothing illegitimate, not trying to manipulate them, but just making things available to them.

HACKMAN: Did you talk to them in these terms while you were there, to Salinger or to Hatcher?

BAYLEY: No. I talked to O'Donnell about these things. I once wrote a memorandum which is basic to this. I wrote this to O'Donnell. I don't have a copy of that. It was about the time that Sorensen got caught. He held an off-the-record press conference at Carroll Kilpatrick's house in which he listed



eighty-three accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration. All the reporters who were there took an oath, or agreed, not to ascribe this to anyone.

HACKMAN: This was when you were over?

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BAYLEY: No, I guess, I think.... That's a point I can't remember, whether I was there or I was at AID. I can't remember. After I went to AID, I got over there so often it's hard to distinguish incidents, you know. I still kept coming back to the White House weekly. As a matter of fact, I ate most of my lunches over there in the White House, I was a member of the White House staff mess. Until they revoked my membership for not being there anymore, I could eat lunch there.

None of the reporters who were there wrote themselves, but the *Chicago Tribune*, a very clever idea, sent a reporter around to interview all of them. And so it all was exposed as a piece of attempted news management that was universally criticized by the rest of the press, and it was a big fiasco.

Well, they were trying to put over this thing which I told O'Donnell they never would do about these accomplishments because they weren't there. I said, "You can't fool everybody." And they thought they had. They had that firmly in their minds; they had to prove they'd accomplished a lot in the first year. So I wrote O'Donnell a long memo saying that when I was with Governor Nelson, we often made more mileage on what we didn't accomplish, what we were kept from accomplishing by the legislature, as we are being kept by the Congress. And I said, "People don't care, actually, what you accomplish. They care about the attempt. And a single officeholder, a president or a governor, fighting a legislature can always win that fight. One against many, it's an unfair battle, the one has so much on its side." I wanted him to....

I wanted to have Kennedy put in the position of being a fighter for things that he thought were right and not worry so much about whether it got through. But they were playing the game with the conservatives, with that narrow margin he had, and they chose not to offend anybody, not to attack Congress, not to become a fighting kind of a thing in the hopes of getting something through. Well, I think they were betrayed by these people. Kerr was the epitome of this. They wielded their patronage; they did the other things that they could bargain out of the Administration; and yet they didn't deliver on the other end. Well, I wanted them to go on the offensive and fight, and that was the gist of my memo. But that never did become the policy of

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the Kennedy Administration.

HACKMAN: Did you ever talk to O'Brien [Lawrence F. O'Brien] on that?

BAYLEY: No. I saw O'Brien only once in a while when we had some business to do with the Hill. I went to some of his meetings when.... Well, I went

to his meetings actually when they were talking about the AID program. And other than that, I didn't see much of him. I didn't know Larry as well as I knew the other guys in the entourage.

HACKMAN: On that Oklahoma trip, can you remember there was a stop on the way out in Arkansas? Fulbright [J. William Fulbright]...

BAYLEY: Fort Smith, Arkansas.

HACKMAN: With Faubus [Orval E. Faubus]. Any problems on working this out with whether Faubus was going to come? Wasn't there some controversy at the time? Or do you remember that at all?

BAYLEY: There was. There was, yes. And wasn't that the trip that George Wallace [George C. Wallace] a problem, too?

HACKMAN: Not that I remember.

BAYLEY: There was a problem with Faubus. There's no question about it. And what they did about it, what we did about it, I'm not sure. I guess we let him come. Yeah, we let him come.

HACKMAN: He came. I think it was in the news that there was speculation as to whether he was going to come, and his answer was, "I haven't received an invitation." So a written invitation was sent or something.

BAYLEY: There wasn't an invitation, that's right. And I guess somebody had to make one. It was another

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part of placating the Southerners. Well, let's see.

I want to tell one more story. And I can give you something—I wrote this story once for the Press Club magazine back in Milwaukee as an anecdote. Well, actually I put some of the things out of the White House thing, having written things down.... I wish I'd kept a diary. I should have, you know. It was too exciting. But in October of '61 when I was on the staff there, shortly after I had joined the White House staff, my wife and I were invited to some social function, the judicial reception ostensibly for the Supreme Court justices; it's an annual affair there. And we were going through the receiving line, and I'm preceding my wife, as I guess is proper. One pleasant thing happened; Jackie Kennedy remembered seeing my wife in the Governor's Mansion living room—at that time that was some time ago—and they got to continue their conversation, mostly about antiques, from there. Well, Kennedy said, "I'm very glad you're with us," showing he knew I was on the staff, and he had known about this whole thing, had confirmed my feelings, said, "There's something that I want to talk to you about very urgently. It's really important." He said, "Tomorrow morning you tell Kenny that

I've got to see you. I want to see you tomorrow morning." Oh, it was funnier than that, he said, "When can I see you?" He asked me. I laughed, too realizing that he didn't have to request it in that way. But I promised I'd do this.

I went down the next morning and told Kenny about this conversation and said, "I'd better see him." Kenny said, "Okay. I'll get you in. I'll let you know." I called back that afternoon, "Now, just be patient. I'll get you in." I said, "Well, he wants to see me. It's not my wanting to see him." "I know, I know." Nothing happened. Nothing happened. Nothing happened.

All right, we're down in Kerr's ranch in Oklahoma. Kenny and I went out to dinner, went over with some reporters. We came back at 11 o'clock, and the Secret Service had set up a little bar in Kennedy's bedroom. And he's lying there on the bed in his underwear shorts, resting his back and reading. And so he gets up and has a drink with us. We chatted for a half hour or so. He wanted to know what all the reporters were writing, what

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the leads in their story, what's the AP [Associate Press] lead, what's the *New York Times* lead? Fortunately, I knew. I hadn't really gone to find out, but I'd just picked it up because everybody was talking. "What's there to write about?" We're leaving the room, saying good night, and he says, "By the way, I still want to talk to you about that matter I mentioned at the judicial reception." What a damn good memory. And I said, "Well, I tried to see you, but I didn't get in." He said, "I understand, but," he said, "it's still a matter of importance. And tomorrow, when we're going back, you come up in the front of the plane, and I want to talk to you about that."

So I go up in the front of the plane. I remind O'Donnell of this, and he said, "Oh, sure. I'm sorry I didn't get you in before," or something. Just then a whole bunch of Kerr's relatives invade the front of the plane. And they surrounded Kennedy. And they hang onto him and won't let him go until, finally, to get away, he says, "Well, I'm rather tired now, and I've got a strenuous schedule the rest of the day, and I'm going to take a nap." So he holed up in his bunk there in order to get away from them, and I never saw him.

To this day, I don't know what was so important. I'd give a thousand dollars to know what that was, why he wanted to see me. The mystery will never fail to intrigue me. God, it was a tantalizing thing. Well, that's a little story.

HACKMAN:           Have you complained to O'Donnell about that since?

BAYLEY:            I haven't really seen...

[END OF INTERVIEW #1]

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Edwin R. Bayley Oral History Transcript – JFK #1  
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Addendum to First Interview of Edwin Bayley:

I have one suggestion and one addition to the material I dictated earlier. The suggestion is that you interview William R. Bechtel, who is now administrative assistant to Gaylord Nelson, about those days in the Governor's office, and the Wisconsin primary, and the Convention. Bill Bechtel was covering the governor's office for the Milwaukee Journal at that time, and probably has an objective, but knowledgeable view of that affair.

The incident I wanted to add which explains one document found among my papers is the matter of an article prepared for Editor and Publishers responding to charges by the Republican national chairman that the Kennedy Administration was managing the news and practicing secrecy in government. I was given the assignment to reply to that, and out of my experience with opposing secrecy in government I was able to write quite a convincing paper, I think. This was issued under the name of John Bailey, the Democratic national chairman, who was in Europe at the time, and it went through Salinger, who didn't change anything, and then was printed in the magazine as the lead article as the charge had been. That's why that release is in my papers.