INTERVIEWEE: SENATOR CARL HAYDEN

INTERVIEWER: Joe B. Frantz

October 28, 1968, Washington, D. C., Old Senate Office Building 133

F: This is an interview with Senator Carl Hayden in his office in the Old Senate Office Building 133 on October 28, 1968 with Joe B. Frantz as the interviewer.

Senator, tell us something about your career. You span a long history of Arizona.

H: I was born in Tempe, Arizona, then called Hayden's Ferry on October 2, 1877. My father established a flour mill there, water-powered flour mill, and he had been a long time resident of Arizona, came first to Tucson in 1872 as a trader with a mule train. You buy things in the East, ship around Cape Horn to San Francisco, then go up and transfer them to a smaller ship and send them from San Diego to Guaymas. Well, the advent of the Southern Pacific railroad put him out of business, and so he came over to establish his flour mill. I was born there October 2, 1877. He married my mother in California. By the way she told me that an uncle of hers said that school teachers were needed in California, she went to Omaha, and twice on the way herds of buffalo crossed the tracks. My father met her at Visalia, California, where he stopped to see a Doctor Alford on one of his--been acquainted with him going up and down from Tucson to San Francisco. My father drove up and down with an ambulance and an Oklahoma Indian driver that he had. It took him a couple of years to persuade her to come to Arizona, but she did and I was born there. That's when it was called Hayden's

Ferry--now Tempe, Arizona. Tempe is named after the Vale of Tempe in Greece between Mt. Olympus and Mt. Athos, where when the gods wanted a little recreation, they went down there and had a picnic.

F: That must have been fairly open country when you were born there?

H: Oh, yes. And there were comparatively few people there. Phoenix is nine miles away. I went to the public schools and then to the Arizona Territorial Normal School, which my father persuaded the legislature to establish.

F: Where was that?

H: At Tempe. It's now the Arizona State University. Went to Stanford University after I graduated there and was there for three years.

F: Were you there when Herbert Hoover was there?

H: No. Herbert Hoover was there when the University first opened. He graduated in June and I went up in September. One day I saw a tall girl crossing the quad and decided to find out about her. Found out her name was Nan Downing and that she belonged to Kappa fraternity. She and--(Lou Honey) she and another young lady graduated from the Los Angeles school and then went up to Stanford. They were both Kappas. I saw this girl with a red dress crossing the quad one day and decided to find out who she was. Later, of course, I married her. The other girl, I've forgotten her name at this moment, graduated and Herbert Hoover came from England and married her.

F: Was that Lou Henry?

H: Yes, that was Lou Henry. That's who she was. He married Lou Henry and took her to China with him. I was a member of the Tempe Town Council and I was County Treasurer and then I was sheriff of Maricopa County.

F: Let's talk a moment about your period as sheriff. Had the frontier settled down by then?

H: It was a quiet agricultural community. The only recollection of the Apache Indians that I have is seeing fires on the mountains--signal fires.

F: And this is out of the ranching country, isn't it?

H: Yes. I do remember, just as a boy, hearing that they gave General Miles a sword at Tucson for capturing Geronimo.

(When) I went to the normal school, (I) rode a horse there every day. My father had influence in having it established there, but the University was down in Tucson. They were both established at the same time.

They got up a party to go to the Grand Canyon. They had Deadwood stagecoach, an old one, that carried a lot of people. I rode the horse of mile alongside up to the Canyon and rode him down the trail to the river, went in the river and took a swim with him--he was a good swimming horse--and I rode him about 600 miles that summer--the back way, the Natural Bridge and Globe--around that way.

When I graduated from the normal school, I went up to Stanford and they told me that I didn't have enough entrance credits but if I stayed there and would pass every hour, every semester, I could stay; otherwise I

was out. I didn't take Latin, Greek or mathematics and--then I got to playing football. I increased my weight while I was there from 123 to 180. I got to be a pretty husky man.

F: You grew more than intellectually there then?

H: Yes. It was very important to me. I came hone for Christmas in 1899 and my father died in February, so I never went back to Stanford or graduated. He had this flour mill and general merchandise business and I took it over. Some other people offered me very good rent; I disposed of the mercantile business, for the mill, so I became a candidate for County Treasurer and was elected. Then I was elected sheriff and then when statehood came along (I also was captain of the National Guard company in Tempe), the governor sent for me one time and I went down there and says, "If you don't take over that National Guard company, I'm going to muster it out." And I said, "Governor, I never had a military rifle in my hand," and he says, "You're a gentleman."

So I did that. I was at Camp Perry three times. I made a pretty fair record there.

F: Camp Perry?

H: Yes. I shot a possible at 800 yards.

F: Where was Camp Perry?

H: Ohio. They have annual rifle matches there now. And I was there, picked up the paper one day and saw there President Taft said if Arizona would form a Constitution, it could become a state, so I said to Mrs. Hayden, "I think I'll go back and become a candidate for Congress."

She said, "You certainly have your nerve." I had never been to a legislative body, I wasn't a lawyer or anything else. I came home and had two very good opponents. They were members of the Constitional Convention, but I got elected. I think probably the good name of my father helped me and I could illustrate--I met a prospector, I was riding a stage, and stopped the stage, and I jumped out and shook hands with him and handed him my card. He took a look at me and said, "I don't know you. You may be a damned scoundrel, but you had an honest father and I'll vote for you once."

I got elected, came back here in February, when Congress was about to adjourn. A Congressman named Shackelford was a very good friend of mine. He said, 'Now, you're a young man and you're going home and you're supposed to be a Congressman. You haven't been around here long enough to learn anything yet. You go walking along the street and you shake hands with people, as you usually do, but if anybody wants to talk about a bill, you're awfully busy and you go on up the street."

And I was in the House from 1912 until 1927, when I was elected to the Senate--defeated a Republican Senator from Arizona.

F: Who was that?

H: Ralph Cameron. By the way he occupied this--and Mark Smith, the first Senator, occupied this room and then Cameron did. Then I got it.

F: It has been the Arizona room.

H: And I've been here ever since I came to the Senate. They asked me about my committees and I took Indian affairs and irrigation affairs and public lands and things like that. And I got to be a chairman of one of

them. Then when I was elected to the Senate, Key Pittman of Nevada and Will King of Utah, two Senators, said that the southwestern part of the United States had never been represented on the appropriations committee and insisted that I go on it. So I became a member of the Appropriations Committee a week after I was over here. Ordinarily Senators wait a long time.

F: That's remarkable.

H: In due course of time I became the chairman and it has been that way up until now.

F: When did you become chairman?

H: In the 1950's. Then one year I was off--the Republican year. I came back and I've been there ever since. That has been my principal business here.

F: Were you active at all in trying to get Arizona admitted as a state?

H: No, that all happened--

F: Well, now Arizona came in in 1912 in a Republican administration and yet you were elected as a Democrat. Wasn't there strong pro-Republican feeling because the Republicans had brought it in--that didn't make any difference?

H: No, the Democrats controlled the Congress at that time. Controlled the House. So I came into a Democratic House of Representatives.

F: That's when they had revolted against Speaker Cannon?

H: Cannon was the Speaker.

F: Had been. Champ Clark, I guess, was your first Speaker, wasn't he?

H: Champ Clark was the Speaker when I came here and they had the Democratic National Convention over in Baltimore. I went over there day after day. He could get a majority but he couldn't get two-thirds. And finally they nominated Woodrow Wilson. So I started in with Taft and I've served with ten Presidents now.

F: That's better than a fourth of them. You were a major in the First World War?

H: Yes. When the war broke out, Fiorello LaGuardia--a Congressman named Gardiner from Connecticut, and a Congressman named Johnson--they got in right away. Then President Wilson said no member of Congress could get in the armed services. But the next year Secretary (Newton D.) Baker (Secretary of War) went over to Europe and while he was gone, his successor didn't know about it and Tom Connally and Myron Jones a man named Johnson and I got in. And I was assigned to Fort Lewis out in Washington. I was commander of a battalion out there. We had a very good division ready to go, but our story was, the Kaiser heard we were coming and quit. So then we came back, all of us, and returned to Congress.

F: So you were elected then to the Senate in 1927?

H: Yes.

F: And have been here now ever since? Forty-one years, right, almost forty-two years?

H: Twenty-seven from--

F: To 1968, until the end of 1968--actually it will be 1969 when you retire. And you started in March of 1927. So that's forty-two years in the Senate.

H: Forty-two years.

F: Has anyone been Senator longer than you?

H: No.

F: You hold the all-time record?

H: Longer than anybody.

F: How did you first meet Mr. Johnson?

H: I first met Lyndon when he was a member of the House of Representatives. He first came to Washington as secretary of a Congressman from Texas, whose name I've forgotten.

F: Kleberg.

H: Kleberg, that's right. Then Kleberg decided not to run, Lyndon went back and was elected in his place, and I knew him as a member of the House. And then when we went over to the Senate, we got well acquainted.

F: You didn't know him too well when he was in the House, did you?

H: I had met him a number of times.

F: But your close acquaintance came after he came into the Senate?

H: Yes. He then ran from the Senate and there was a contest. I was on the Senate Committee on Rules. We counted the ballots and he didn't have much of a margin, but we elected him to the Senate. Then later, of course, he became Majority Leader. We've always been very good friends.

F: Did you have a hand in making him Majority Leader?

H: I voted for him.

F: Did you sponsor him?

H: No. I just was among those that voted for him.

F: Yes sir. Now then, you were then on his Committee on Appropriations when he was Majority Leader?

H: Yes.

F: Did he take much of a hand in the Appropriations Committee?

H: No, he was never on it as far as I know.

F: I didn't know whether you worked with him on that--

H: No, I just ran the committee and of course Lyndon or any other Senator with interest in some particular project, why we'd have a hearing and see what about it.

F: You made a particular study of irrigation problems, reclamation problems, and so forth, and of course President Johnson had been very interested in that. Would you like to trace a bit the development of your irrigation problems and your reclamation problems? You go all the way back--you must remember the very first dam in Arizona that was built?

H: It was on Salt River. And it was in flood every year. That's why my father had the ferry. The Reclamation Act was passed in 1902. This Salt River Project was the first project in the United States undertaken under that law. They built a dam in the river that backed the water up and a canal system. It is one of the most successful irrigation products in America. Has a good water supply and it's built up there. Then

also in later years we had difficulty with California. We passed a bill authorizing the Colorado River Commission, which was to work out a problem between the States--Colorado River water. We persuaded Herbert Hoover to become the chairman because he was a Californian. And he went out and visited all the states. When he came back and I saw him here and he said, "They'll never get anywhere, can't get any agreement to anything."

F: When was this--when he was Secretary of Commerce or was this--

H: No, it was before that.

F: It was before that.

H: And I said, "You're not a politician. You go call the commission back after the election and you'll get a compact." He did, and the compact was Santa Fe. Because of bad advice from a man named George Maxwell, the Arizona Legislature failed to ratify it. So we had a lot of trouble in California about that.

F: Who was Maxwell?

H: He was an alleged water authority. I thought he was a faker myself.

F: An Arizonian?

H: No, no, he had some kind of water development scheme here in the East. He was originally a California lawyer. But he was supposed to be an authority on water when he came there. Anyway, he was a bad influence and the legislature didn't ratify the compact, so then we had trouble of course with California from then on. Henry Ashurst and I opposed the construction of the Boulder Canyon Project.

F: Ashurst was Senator then?

H: Yes. He and I were here together at the Senate at that time. We got the Boulder Canyon Project bill amended by a concession that one of the generators should send power to Arizona, and that has been very helpful to Phoenix because an abundance of electric power resulted in a large amount of manufacturing industry out there in addition to what would have been possible for the power from the Salt River. There are lots of industries out there now.

F: Why do you think they picked the Salt River for the first dam? Arizona wasn't even in the Union at that time.

H: It was the only feasible thing they could do. The Colorado River had not been agreed upon how it would take to get that water out of there. Then finally, you see, they had a lawsuit in California about it, and it dragged along and dragged along until here in this last Congress, they passed a bill that provides for the Central Arizona Project, the projects in Colorado and California and Nevada and so on. So we've got the whole thing wiped up now and I've been fighting over that project since 1922, but I'm very happy to leave here knowing that everything is all right. It'll take some eight or ten years to construct the project. If they didn't have that extra water from the Colorado River--they're depending now upon the Salt River water supply--but it isn't enough when they're pumping underground. And if that went on long enough, that country would go back to the desert. This saves it from the desert.

F: Well, now you had a contest between the conservationists and the business interests here on this. You will recall some of the argument over the

fact you were going to destroy some of the natural beauties of the Grand Canyon--

H: We didn't do that.

F: Were you caught in a kind of cross fire on that?

H: Oh yes, there was a lot of--the bill that we had provided for power to develop above the canyon and below the canyon--put some water back into it. The nature lovers didn't like that at all, so in this bill we provided for a steam plant. There are large coal deposits up in the Navajo country; and there will be a big plant up there to generate the power and do the pumping.

F: Did you know Secretary of the Interior (Stewart) Udall before he became Secretary?

H: Yes, I had met him out in Arizona. I've known the Udall family a long time. I think in 1913 I bought a little over-land car for about $600--it was an odd year and I was around Tempe and around visiting my friends and things like that. I went up into where the Udalls lived, he was Bishop Udall then, the grandfather of Stewart and Mo Udall--a Mormon Bishop, Mormon father. Strange thing, the Mormon colonists who came first to Arizona settled around near Tempe and Mesa and some of them in Southern Arizona, they were Democrats. They had been converted to the South, but Udall and his colony were from the North or somewhere. They were Republicans and I had quite a time converting him, but I did and he supported me as long as he lived.

F: This was Secretary Udall's father?

H: Grandfather.

F: Grandfather, I see, and you converted him.

H: Yes, and so he voted for me. I don't think he had changed his politics, but the Udalls ever since have been--this generation--have been Democrats.

F: Did you and Senator Johnson, or later Vice-President and President Johnson work together on any reclamation projects?

H: He was helpful but he had no projects in Texas.

F: Did he help you with your Arizona projects?

H: Oh, yes, always very helpful.

F: Has there been any change in the attitude toward both water conservation and reclamation since Mr. Johnson became President?

H: Not at all. He had been for it right along. He was very happy to sign the Central Arizona Project bill.

F: Which bill is this?

H: The Central Arizona Project Bill.

F: Has he had more aggressive attitude toward conservation than his predecessors or about the same? Do you see any difference between him and others?

H: He had always been interested in conservation, I think. I would say more perhaps than others.

F: On the Glen Canyon Project, the dam and the Lake Powell backup from it, were you active in getting that passed?

H: Yes I introduced the bill over here and worked for it very hard and very glad to see it constructed. Went up there when it was dedicated.

F: Now this was passed during the Eisenhower years, wasn't it?

H: Yes.

F: Were the Republicans for it?

H: Oh everybody was for it--actually Utah's Senators, Republican at that time--it's located near there, they were very much interested in it.

F: You've been on the Agriculture Committee?

H: No. I've been on the Appropriations Committee over here; I was for a long time on the Committee on Rules and that's how I come to be on the elections. Then they decided you couldn't have more than two committees so I wanted the Interior and Insular Affairs because that had jurisdiction over this water bill.

F: And you worked that then over forty-five years and made it?

H: Long on that committee and the Appropriations Committee.

F: As President, have Mr. Johnson and you had regular conversations on appropriations?

H: We were always--didn't have any reasons--to particularly have any talks about it. He was for it and so was I. You see when President Kennedy died and the Vice-President became President, I was President Pro-Tem of the Senate until there was a new election. I went down to the White House regularly to all those conferences, he called them once a week. I go down there now when I have any particular business with him. Then I had to go every week.

F: How have techniques changed on arriving at appropriations since you've been on the committee?

H: Oh, there's been very little legislation on appropriation bills. Occasionally, why, we vote to suspend the roles on something that has to be done in a hurry, but that takes a two-thirds vote.

F: Well, now the Bureau of the Budget takes a bigger hand now than it used to--?

H: The Bureau of the Budget was established, I think, in 1922 and from then on, you see, they'd make budget estimates of what the amounts of money will be appropriated for various purposes and make a total of it.

Another man that I've known very well here is J. Edgar Hoover. I met him first when he was a clerk down in the Department of Justice and got to talking to him and he said there ought to be a fingerprint bureau. A murder was committed in Phoenix and I heard the man had been in the Ohio penitentiary and I sent back there and got his fingerprints and they caught him for me with his fingerprints out in San Francisco. So I knew about him. So I told J. Edgar we'd fix up a bill and create the fingerprint bureau. And that's where he started. And then later, of course, it has been built up into this Bureau of Investigation.

F: Were you helpful in making Mr. Hoover the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation? Did you play any role in J. Edgar Hoover's rise?

H: I don't remember anything about that.

F: You were on the subcommittee for the District of Columbia, or have been?

H: No, I haven't bothered much with subcommittees. Turn them over to different Senators. I can sit as chairman and vote on any subcommittee, attend the hearing and then when it comes to mark up the bill, I can vote on it as chairman. In other words I'm ex-officio member of all sub-

committees. So whenever they mark up a bill, I generally go there. And when it's reported to the Senate, I go there because we have to have a quorum of the committee to report it.

F: You were on the Rules Committee then when Mr. Johnson came into the Senate?

H: Yes.

F: Now, how much of a contest was there over seating him at that time?

H: They filed a contest and demanded a recount and we recounted the ballots. When we got through, we found that Lyndon was elected.

F: How did you count the ballots? Did you just take the--

H: You take one ballot after another and record it. It was a long job.

F: Do you have a staff to do this?

H: Yes, you have a staff and you have the members there.

F: That must be tedious.

H: On any argument about a ballot, you see, whether it's acceptable or not, mutilated or something else, you argue about whether the ballot ought to be counted.

F: Would you take the totals from various precincts and counties that were not contested and accept them, or do you actually do a count?

H: You count the whole thing. Mr recollection was we had a long, long time on that count.

F: But you confirmed the Texas result then that Johnson was the new Senator?

H: Yes.

F: Then there was no problem after that?

H: Not at all. He was seated by the Senate.

F: Did you work with Mr. Kennedy when he was a Senator?

H: Oh, yes, I wasn't on any committee with him but I got to know him.

F: But you knew Mr. Johnson better?

H: Oh, yes.

F: How was Mr. Johnson to work with?

H: Oh, easy. He was no trouble. Mr. Johnson gets a quick grasp of things.

F: Did he initiate much legislation or did he pretty well put though legislation that others had initiated?

H: As Majority Leader he couldn't be--a committee chairman. Oh I suppose if he had a preference, he would tell the chairman what he would like to do but he didn't sit on the committee to vote on.

F: Did you get to observe his working relationship with President Eisenhower because you were, you know, different parties?

H: Of course, I didn't know anything about him so--except it was a funny thing. Before the European war, when it looked like we might get into it--General Marshall came over the Senate Committee on Appropriations one day and said he wanted to have a very confidential talk with us so we put the reporters out and so on. He said that it looked like we were going to get into the war, and if we did we'd need troops trained, men that could handle troops, and he wanted to hold some maneuvers down in Louisiana to see who would be men of ability to command the men--the troops. So Jim Byrnes and I--we put thing through and authorized it without any budget estimate or anything. The maneuvers were held down there and as a result of that, they picked Eisenhower and ... (Walter) Krueger. Those two men obtained their positions as a result of their

showing their ability in the maneuvers in Louisiana.

F: Krueger had come up from private.

H: Yes.

F: So you played a bit of a role in the rise of General Eisenhower then?

H: When he became President, I got acquainted with him--very well acquainted with him--we got to be good friends.

F: Did you take any active part in the campaign of 1956, in the preconvention campaign when Adlai Stevenson was chosen a second time?

H: No, I tried to help Adlai out in Arizona.

F: There was a little bit of a boom for Mr. Johnson at that time that never really got started; particularly there was also some boom for him for Vice-President. This was when Kefauver and Kennedy ran. Were you active in that at all? In the Kefauver-Kennedy contest for the vice-presidential nomination?

H: No, I didn't go to that convention.

F: In 1960 were you active in the preconvention planning?

H: I haven't been to any of the national conventions in later years. My first national convention was in 1904. (The State Convention) was held in Tucson, and they elected me a delegate. I don't know why and I went down there. And a wise old man said to me, he had in mind being chairman of the Resolutions Committee, he said, "Young man, I'd like to see you made chairman of this delegation." I was kind of flattered. I went to St. Louis and my sole duty was to get upon a chair and say in a loud tone of voice, "Arizona casts four votes for William Randolph Hearst."

I attended the Denver convention the next (time); I've never been a delegate again.

F: Just been in attendance?

H: Yes.

F: Did you anticipate that Mr. Johnson would accept the vice-presidential nomination under Mr. Kennedy?

H: That all happened out in Los Angeles, and there was no way of telling. A lot of his friends first advised him not to and then they changed their minds and told him to take it.

F: Were you surprised at his taking it?

H: I was here; I wasn't there and I don't know just what happened.

F: Did you take any active part in the campaign in 1960?

H: Only in Arizona.

F: You will recall that at the convention Arizona went for Kennedy instead of Johnson?

H: Yes. Stewart Udall arranged that.

F: Were you mixed up at all in that?

H: No.

F: Did you work with Ernest McFarland when he was Senator?

H: Oh, yes. Yes, we got along very well; he was Majority Leader, you know.

F: I know.

H: Ernest and I got along very well. We're good friends now. Ernest has had every kind of experience that you can have in the government. He's now

judge of the Supreme Court (in Arizona); he has been governor of Arizona, and he has been senator.

F: Have you made any essential changes in the Rules Committee since you have been on it?

H: No. They've been trying to change this cloture rule--I've always opposed it. If it hadn't been for freedom of debate in the Senate, I'd never have been here.

F: Why not?

H: President (Theodore) Roosevelt recommended that Oklahoma and the Indian Territory be admitted as one state. The migration to Arizona was from the South and they knew that it would be a Democratic state. To make up for two Senators that way, President Roosevelt and a Republican Congress said we could put Arizona and New Mexico together and that would be a Republican state because New Mexico had more people and was primarily Republican. Throughout it was Republican, too, because you remember Albert B. Fall and the rest of--- But the ability of the Democrats over here at the Senate to filibuster wouldn't allow that--too unsavory a bill to pass. And then finally they undid it. I'd never have been here but for the right to filibuster.

F: Do you think over the long run the filibuster has saved us from more mistakes than it has caused trouble?

H: I think so. I think it's a good procedure.

F: When Mr. Johnson was Senate Majority Leader, he always upheld cloture, didn't he?

H: Yes. We never had much trouble any time to get the majority. There were times they offered amendments to amend the rules to make it a mere majority. They never could get the majority of the Senate to do it.

F: Do you think that this recent vote against Mr. Fortas was an anti-Johnson vote or--

H: I've known Abe Fortas for about twenty years. I know he's an able man and I was pleased to see him appointed, but all this ruckus came up and he couldn't be confirmed.

F: Since then the Senate has refused other confirmations that ordinarily would seem to have been routine--right?

H: Yes. Ordinarily it would be, but I don't--they made an awful lot of fuss about Abe and all kinds of misrepresentations about him.

F: What I was trying to establish, do you think that there is a coalition that is sort of determined to embarrass Mr. Johnson at this stage?

H: I don't know about that. They just did it. Of course, it was going to be embarrassing to the President.

F: You've been very active in federal highway development, haven't you?

H: Yes. When I came over to the Senate, Senator Kenneth McKellar (of Tennessee) was just a little bit ahead of me. He was elected in December and I didn't come until February--he was senior to me. We were both on a committee--we had two committees. I don't remember what one he wanted, but anyway, he came to me and said, "You take the Public Roads and I'll take this other one." And so I did and along about 1933 or 1934, I forget exactly the date, we'd passed several bills before, but they

came in from all over the country, from the state highway departments, to get together another bill. And I told them, I said, "You go back home; come back here in a month with a bill providing for a national system of highways." And they did that.

F: This was during the New Deal days?

H: Yes. It was in about 1933 if I remember right, 1933, or 1934.

F: Were you active in this passage of the Interstate Highway provisions in the Eisenhower Administration when they set up this system of interstate super-highways?

H: I wasn't on the committee then. I had to get off in order to get on--they put me on the Committee on Rules, and I had to get off, because you couldn't have two committees.

F: Is the Rules Committee as powerful as the press plays it in its ability to control legislation?

H: It's very different from the House, you see. The House determines whether a bill shall be voted on or not. Here, it's just part of a general supervisory committee for the Senate; it has to do with printing and things of that kind.

F: You've also been rather active in Indian affairs, haven't you?

H: Yes, because we have more Indians than any other state in the Union.

F: What legislation have you been identified with?

H: I've been trying to get the Indians educated, and then also right now I've got authorized and begin building next year, a very fine Indian hospital in

Phoenix to serve all the Indians in Arizona, where they have to leave the reservation and are seriously ill. They've needed it for a long time.

F: There was an Indian bill--Indian Affairs Bill passed last year--right?

H: Oh, yes, they appropriate money for the Indian bill every year.

F: But didn't you pass a new bill dealing with the Indians last year?

H: There have been a number of bills. This Indian Claims Commission down here--they keep picking up some other claims and doing something else--keep the thing going, but I've never been on that.

F: Is there much sentiment in Arizona along the line that the Indian has been neglected more than other minority groups?

H: Oh, I don't think so. Everybody's glad to see any young Indians go to school and learn to be Americans. The Navajos for a long time kind of opposed--they wanted to herd the sheep. The Second World War came along and quite a number of young Navajos were drafted and they got out to see the world. When they came back, they said, "This is all wrong. We want to have an educated people," and they've been taking kind of charge of the reservation and asking Congress for appropriations. And we've been providing money for them. They couldn't have a little school in every Indian village or you couldn't have a Navajo, because they move from one place to another with the sheep. It has to be--take the children and put them in a school. The Navajos, for quite a time, objected to that--didn't like the child away from home. Now, they're all going to school very well and some will go on and get higher educations.

F: Do you have effective political leadership among the Navajos?

H: Yes, they have a tribal council that does very well. They have the largest reservation in the United States--it's as big as all of the New England states put together. It is in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah.

F: They're that Four Corners area. Has the Latin American vote become--or Mexican-American vote become significant in Arizona?

H: No, one thing that the Mexican population there has done is that when the Negro came west, the Mexicans had the jobs and the Negro didn't stay. He went on to California.

F: It just acted as a channel to California?

H: Yes. The common labor and all those things--the Mexicans have supplied that from the beginning.

F: Have you had any occasion to form opinion on President Johnson's handling of minority problems?

H: No, I haven't had anything to do with that. I remember there were a few Yaqui Indians in Arizona, some in Tucson and around Phoenix, too--they're very good Indians. They got out of Mexico to do away with the persecution. And I remember one Indian, when I was a boy, that was working and I said, "What are you going to do with your money?" He said, "I'm going to buy a rifle and go back and kill Mexicans."

F: That's educating him for something, isn't it?

H: But when the Mexican Revolution started, somebody smart in Sonora--the leadership there--they went down to the Zagis, "You come with us and fight

the Revolution, we'll give you back your country." And the Yaquis went into the revolution; they were wonderful fighters. The Mexican women used to scare their children by saying, "The Yaquis will get you."

F: Do you remember the Zimmerman letter that the German foreign minister sent to the minister in Mexico during the First World War in which Germany promised Mexico that she would help her recover her lost provinces of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona?

H: I read about that.

F: It didn't make a very lasting impression in Arizona?

H: No. I've had a very interesting life here. I came back, as I told you, green as a gourd and saw a chance to come to the Senate after serving fifteen years in the House. I was eight times over there in the House. They've been very kind to me here. I've done all right.

F: Did you have any idea--

H: Had a close race in the primary. Had a young man running against me and nobody thought he had a chance and they were very anxious to defeat--get rid of Governor Hunt. He had been the Governor, elected more times than any man in the United States. And I'd go around telling--he ran me a close race and that's the only one I ever had.

F: Who do you think is going to take your place next week?

H: I don't know. I hope Roy Elson does. I'm going out and make a talk for him.

F: Did it create much of a problem when you and Senator Goldwater were here together, or was one being from one party and one from the other--?

H: No. Goldwater was not interested in appropriations or anything like that. Then later, of course, he got to be chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee. That's how he got, really, the background for nomination as President of the United States. He flies his own plane. He went into every state in the Union and got acquainted with the leading Republicans and built quite a foundation for running for President.

F: But the two of you--Arizona never caught in a sort of a crossfire because it had one Republican and one Democrat? You stayed out of each other's way?

H: I told you about my father and mother being married in California. Did I tell you about his grandfather taking care of my mother?

F: No.

H: Well, the railroad was built down as far as San Bernadino. That's why my father had to take a team and drive all day long across the desert to get to the Colorado River. And on the other side, there was a town there named La Paz, where Barry Goldwater's grandfather had a store--a business there. That was the beginning of the Goldwater business; they went to Prescott afterwards. And old man Goldwater took my mother in and just welcomed her. Of course, she was tired and worn out--she always liked the Goldwaters. And Barry and I are good enough personal friends. I knew his father and I know his uncle--he was in the legislature. I know all them.

The original Goldwaters were Polish-Jews. They came to England and Barry's grandfather married an English girl. They heard about the gold

strike in California; they went from England around Cape Horn to California. And I don't know how they came to work back down in Southern California or over to La Paz--I don't know how that happened--but they were out there in about 1850, I think, about a year after the gold discovery.

F: How did your father happen to come to Arizona?

H: He was a young man and--well-educated in Connecticut, where he was born. He came west and taught school along the way. At one school I think would be a part of St. Louis now, or the suburbs, a big boy licked the teacher--he took that school and finished it out. Then he went up to Independence, there was no Kansas City in those days, but Independence was where they came in--the fur traders--and where they traded with New Mexico when it was a part of Old Mexico. But then the Mexican War--we took New Mexico and he loaded a stock of goods, ox trains, and went out there and established a store. In 1848, in 1849, they struck gold in California. What he had there to sell, he got a very fine price for it, made a killing. He traded down the Rio Grande in Chihuahua. He told me that at one time he went down there and there was a battle on between two governors, candidates for governor. He picked up the wounded and took them into town after it was over. He heard of the Gadsden Purchase taking in Tucson in 1872/1853/ and moved his stock of goods down there. He lost the New Mexico business by the Confederate division of New Mexico. Remained in Tucson, as I explained to you--he married my mother and she said that the Yankees burned the fence rails off her father's farm in

Arkansas and did a lot of damage. She owed a debt to the Confederacy and the only way she could pay it was marry an old Yankee for life.

F: You've been President pro-tempore of the Senate now for almost a dozen years--right?

H: When was it? Then the Republicans got it for two years. And then I went back again. I've forgotten when I became President pro-tem.

F: I don't know when you first became but you definitely--in January 1957, you became President pro-tempore.

In that period between November 1963, when John Kennedy was murdered, and January 1965, when Hubert Humphrey became Vice-President, we had no Vice-President. Did the President--President Johnson--ever confer with you and Speaker McCormack in that period on what--?

H: We went down to the White House once a week.

F: Just to stay up in case something happened to him.

H: He'd discuss--he wanted to know what's going on in the House and what's going on in the Senate and what could be done. His knowledge, you see, of procedure up here helped him to suggest--he might tell Carl Albert, "Carl, I think you'd better go get this thing going." He was very intimately acquainted--

F: What I was thinking of, in case something happened to him, you would have been in line to move up to the Presidency, you and Speaker McCormack.

H: It was McCormack first.

F: And I wondered whether there were any talks on how this would be accomplished in case--

H: I thought it was in the very, very distant future.

F: It wasn't really a prime concern?

H: I never heard any talk about it.

F: Now, you said the President knew all about how both Houses worked. Do you think that has been an advantage to him in getting programs through?

H: Oh, he knew how the House worked and he knew how the Senate worked. He knew the ins and outs of Congress as good as anybody.

F: I don't want to tire you, but would you like to run down the ten Presidents you've served with and give me a little critique of how effective you think they were?

H: Sure.

F: Because you do have a unique experience here. Start back with Wilson--did you ever meet either William Howard Taft or Theodore Roosevelt?

H: Theodore Roosevelt came out to Arizona one time and campaigned. I heard him talk out there--that's all. When I came here, Taft was finishing out his term. I remember that I went into to be sworn in on the floor of the Senate. I took the oath and stepped out in the corridor. And I heard Uncle Joe say--and that day was the day that Taft came out against Roosevelt, he had been silent about it, Roosevelt's abuse of him--but that day he came back at him and Uncle Joe said, "I thought Taft had more sense than to get in a pissing match with a skunk."

When I had occasion to go down to the White House, Mr. Taft was always very obliging and in a very pleasant way, he was a heavy fat man. I remember going down there with a prominent citizen from home. He greeted us very well. Then one time after he came to the Supreme Court--a Justice of the Supreme Court from Arizona came in and said he wanted to meet him. And I thought he would be over at the Capitol and I called up over there and they said, "Just a minute," and he answered--said, "Bring him up." I said, "Where?" and he said, "My home."

Well, we went out to his home and there I saw that great big chair that he had when he was in the (Presidency). It was a whale of a big chair, and I said, "That's a relic of the White House." And he said, "Yes." And he met this Justice and we talked for a--he was always very, very friendly with me.

F: What did you think of him as a President--observing him from the people's standpoint?

H: Oh, I thought he was a good man, he was all right. Woodrow Wilson came in for eight years. And I told you I was over at the convention where he was nominated and then elected. Of course, I was for Champ Clark at that time.

I never could get close to Woodrow. He kind of talked above me. He was too highly educated and I didn't have one. You know what I mean, I never was a real buddy with him. Then--

F: Harding.

H: I got to know him but had not much to do with him. And Hoover--

F: You've got Coolidge in there.

H: Well, Coolidge--oh yes! I never did go down and ask Cal to do anything for me, but he'd want me to do something for him up here. He always had some bill or something he was interested in. He was a Yankee trader.

I remember that story about him. He and Mrs. Coolidge were walking along the street one time; as I remember it with their staff--and she stopped to look in at store windows. And they said, "Mr. President, your wife is getting pretty far behind," and he said, "She'll catch up." Good old Yankee.

Well, then, he decided he wouldn't run and

F: Who?

H: Hoover. Hoover just hit the damndest mess of bad luck that anybody could. The depression was here--he had an awful time. He did the best he could. I respected him for the struggle he made.

F: You don't really agree with those people who spoke of a "Hoover Depression," as if he caused it?

H: I think he was just in a hell of a fix and did the best he could. That's what I thought about him.

F: I think so.

H: Well then, of course, Roosevelt came in and I got to know him because I handled this highway business. He wanted to put people to work and I got to figuring one day and I went down to see him and explained to him that every state highway commission not only had plans for the year but they had plans ahead. I said if we could give them money unmatched, the way

it was, you see, the states had to put up an equal amount--give them unmatched money, where they would be able to build a lot of roads and it would be good, constructive work. It wouldn't be wasted. And he said, "How much money will it take?" I said, "$400,000,000,000." He said, "How did you get that?" I said, "I sent a telegram to every state highway department and asked them how much they could spend." He said, "Go tell Bob Wagner to put it in the bill."

F: And that's how that got in?

H: Yes.

F: Was he pretty easy to work with on things like that?

H: Oh, yes.

F: You could go to him with suggestions?

H: Yes. We got along very well.

F: Then you had Mr. Truman?

H: Harry Truman--

F: You've seen four of them come out of the Senate now--Harding and Truman and Kennedy and Johnson have all come from the Senate.

H: Truman came here from Kansas City and he told me afterwards that people kind of turned up their noses at him, said Pendergast--well, as a matter of fact he wasn't connected with Pendergast at all. He was County Commissioner outside--covered the whole country.

Anyway, the Vice-President said to me one day, "I'm going to appoint you on this investigating committee." And I said, "Don't--I don't want to go on." Well, he appointed me anyhow and so I went to (Truman) and said, "I don't want to serve on your damned committee. You find a good

lawyer like one you need, let me know, and I'll resign."

F: Is this the famous (Truman) Committee?

H: Yes. And so he came around to me in a little while, after a few weeks, I said, "Get Carl Hatch of New Mexico, he's a very good lawyer."

And then he got into these investigations all over the United States. That really made (Truman's) reputation. Harry came to me one day and said, "I've got to make an investigation in California, Northern California, and another one in Texas. I've got to fly over to Phoenix. Why can't we fix up some place and let me say a good word for you?" Of course, he was getting pretty famous then. I said, "I don't think I need it." And he says, "Well, I'll do it." And I went out and fixed it up. He made a very fine talk for me out there. He was always my friend.

When he was President, he counted me--because I had been appointed on it--he counted me as a member of the (Truman) Commission. Whenever they had the old timers in there down to dinner or anything like that at night, I'd go down there and we'd have a party. This is a reminiscence, if you want anything like that. I got to know him very well. He was a very good friend of mine.

F: A fine man.

H: I liked him very much.

F: Then you had Eisenhower.

H: Eisenhower came in. Of course I didn't know him, but I got acquainted with him. We got to be good friends before he left. I did him some favors.

F: May I ask what kind?

H: They weren't big things, but things he wanted done I'd take care of. I know we'd go down there sometimes arguing about what should be done, members of the Senate itself, and so on. I stood up for him and he liked it.

F: Then President Kennedy?

H: Jack I knew in the Senate, well not intimately, but I talked with him. I remember one time I interrupted him and asked him some questions-- he was making a speech. He was very kind to me too. I remember one time I heard that there might be somebody that really wasn't qualified trying to be head of the Forest Service vacancy. I knew the ranking man down there was a very good man, and could he have it. So I had some other business down there and I mentioned this matter to him, and said don't let a mistake be made. He picked up the phone right away and told them to get busy on that--took my word for it.

F: How would you characterize Mr. Johnson as President, his effectiveness as President?

H: Lyndon?

F: Yes.

H: I said I knew him very well up here and were always very good friends. When he went in from Vice-President, why I would be down there once a week till the next election, he ran the rest of that term. Then I would go do there, oh, when I had a bill for him to sign or some business or someting else I wanted to talk to him about. Went down and talked to him about this Central Arizona Project. He has been helpful there.

F: Do you think he has been a better President for having been a Senator for a long time or do you think that has tended to hamper him by--?

H: Lyndon, with that background of experience that he had in the Congress, I think made an excellent President. He knew the ropes. He knew how to get along with people and a lot of things--he had finesse. He has been a great President.

F: Do you think that history is going to be kind to him?

H: I think so. I don't see why it shouldn't. Because he has made a real record. Picked up there when Jack Kennedy was shot and has carried the load ever since.

F: What were your feelings when you knew Kennedy had been shot and that Johnson was President? Did you think that the country was in good hands and was going to move on all right?

H: I was terribly shocked when I heard that, but I just got a feeling that things would be in good hands.

F: Some of Johnson's critics have said that after he became President he tried to continue--or really after he became Vice-President--he tried to continue as the senior Senator from Texas also. Do you see any evidence of that? That is, that he tried to play that role since he had been Senate Majority Leader and in effect, the Senate had--?

H: I don't know anything about that. Never heard it.

F: Do you think of anything else, Senator?

H: No, I guess we've emptied the bucket.

F: Well, it has been a privilege for me, sir.

(After tape was shut off, Senator Hayden told a story he had heard from--)

H: I think it was Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, if I remember right--his name was R. L. Long.

F: This is back in Territory days?

H: When we were a territory. On election day he got pretty lonesome. There weren't many Republicans around there then. You see the migration had been from the South--it was a southern area, you know. So somebody said to him after he had voted, "Long, how do you account for so many Democrats here in Arizona?"

The Senator said, "Vigilance of the peace officers in Texas."

F: That's very good.

F: Senator Hayden told me one more story after the tape was shut down the second time. His father took a mule team from Guaymas and then on up through the Santa Cruz Valley to Tucson. A Mexican there outside Tucson, where they left the mules for the night, suggested that since the grass was so good in the valley the mules should be turned loose just to forage. They had come across the desert area and they would appreciate it. So the father turned the mules loose and that night the Apaches came in from the surrounding hills and ran them all off. This was, the Senator thinks, early in the 1860's. The Apaches, he said, like mule meat very much and they pushed the mules back into the hills and hit them. The only thing which his father recovered was his bell mare and one mule.

Later on, when the Court of Claims was established, his father put in a claim for his lost mules. His father died finally in 1900 and in

1908, or nearly fifty years after he had first put in his claim, Senator Hayden and his sister received a check for the lost mules at a rate of $50 per mule.

Gift of Personal Statement

By CARL HAYDEN

to the

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

In accordance with Sec. 507 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (44 U.S.C. 397) and regulations issued thereunder (41 CFR 101-10), I, Carl Hayden, hereinafter referred to as the donor, hereby give, donate, and convey to the United States of America for eventual deposit in the proposed Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, and for administration therein by the authorities thereof, a tape and transcript of a personal statement approved by me and prepared for the purpose of deposit in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The gift of this material is made subject to the following terms and conditions:

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Signed Carl Hayden

Date March 18 1970

Accepted Harry Middleton, for
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Dec 11, 1972

March 19, 1970

Mr. Joe B. Frantz
Director Oral History Project
University of Texas
Box 8900 University Station
Austin, Texas 78712

Dear Mr. Frantz:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the transcript you sent me September 25th which I have corrected. I have also enclosed an executed Gift of Personal Statement.

Please excuse the delay in the return of the transcript.

Yours very truly,

Carl Hayden

CARL HAYDEN
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