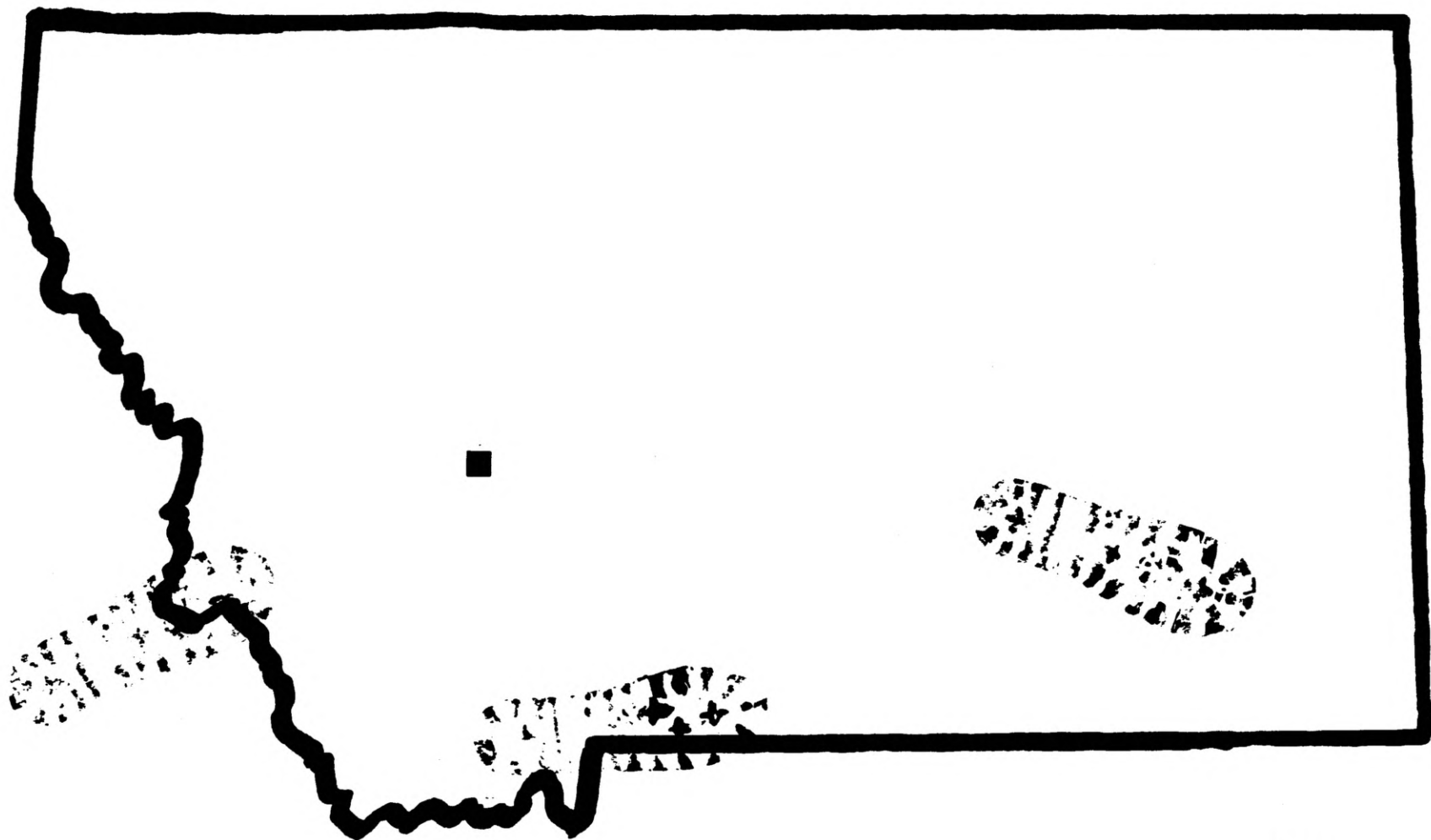


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Nina Willmuth
Department of Elementary Education
Montana State University
August 1974







HALT

Marching through this guide, you will find:

SPECIFIC FACTS which will serve as building blocks for concepts and generalizations

SKILLS which will enable your students to build with these facts.

VALUE CLARIFICATION opportunities to direct specific facts and skills.

STATE HISTORY is moving.

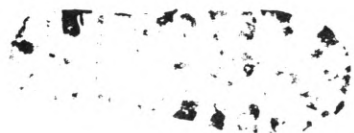
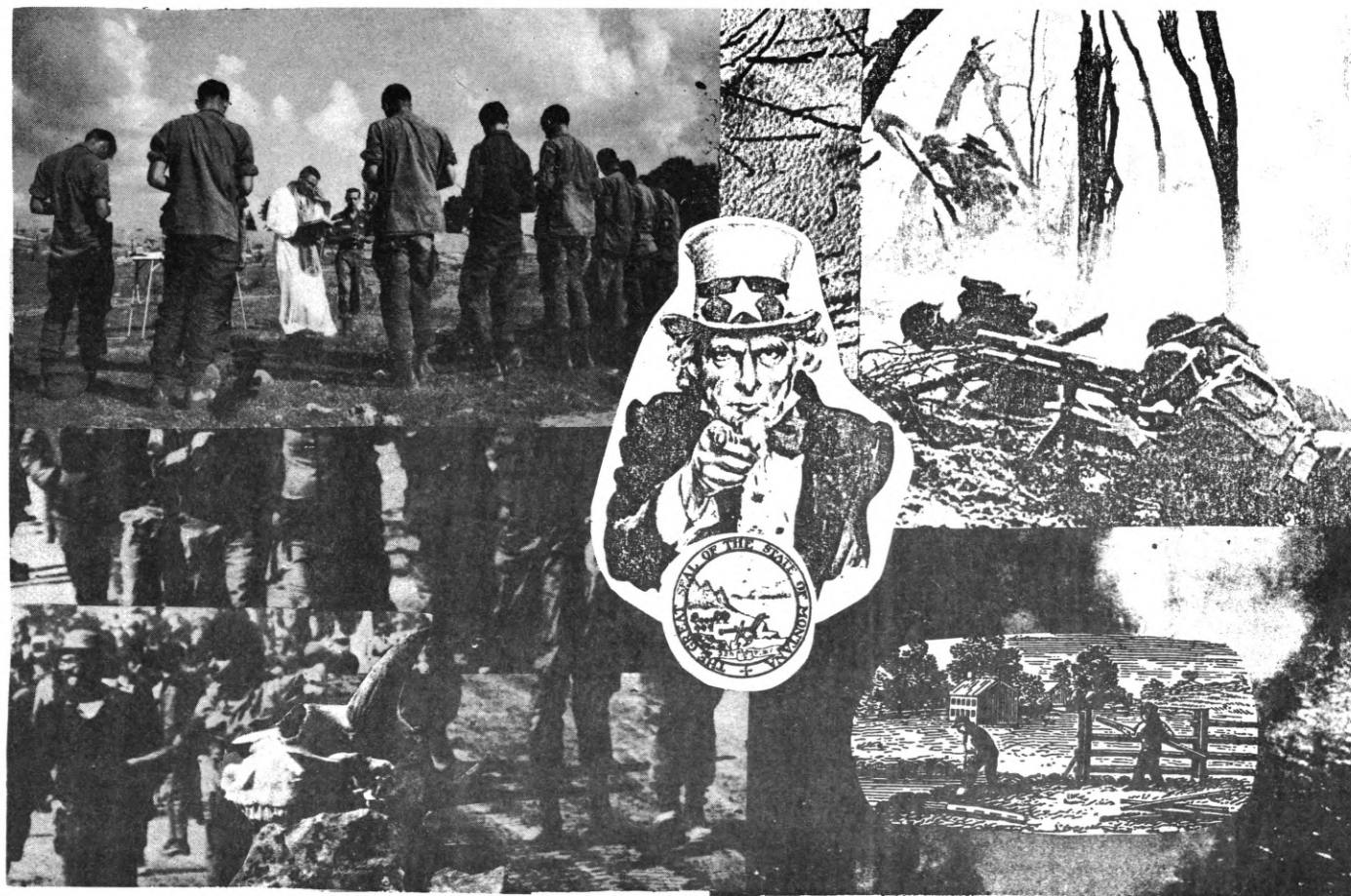
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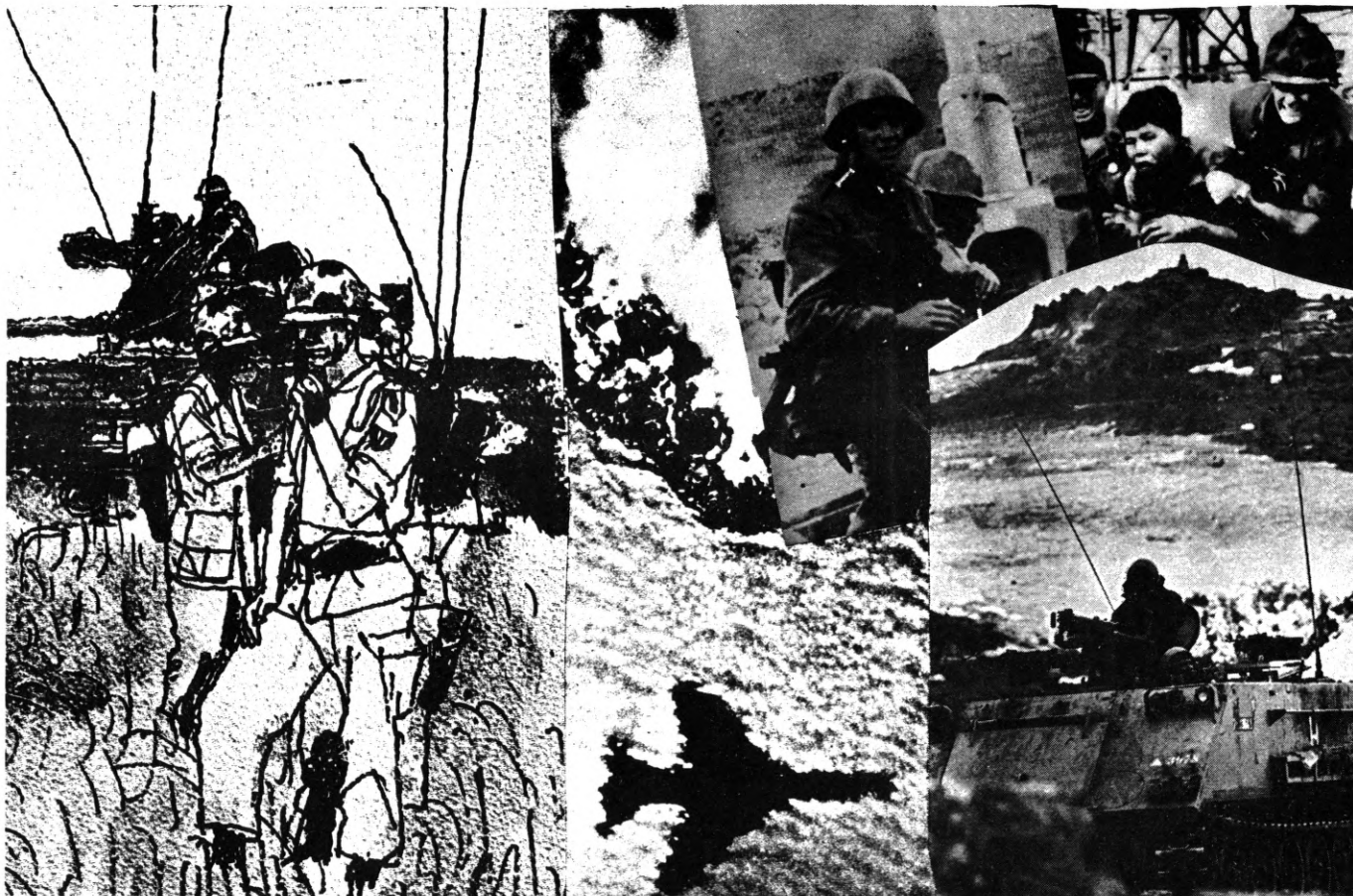
This UNIT focuses on three MAIN IDEAS:

- I. War effects the population and economy of a state.
- II. Natural Resources and Physical Phenomena effect the people and economy of a state.
- III. In times of crisis many organizations work to remediate the situation and sometimes produce new, unique solutions with far reaching effects.

INQUIRE



APR 1945



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED



ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
<u>THE PROBLEM</u>	
One - two weeks before this unit is to begin collect and display pictures from World War I and World War II. Give students time to observe and formulate opinions about these world wars. How does war effect the nation, state, individuals within the state?	<u>The First World War - The Yanks Are Coming</u> and other Life Reprints available from Life Educational Reprint Program, Box 834, Radio City Post Office, New York, New York 10019.
<u>SELF-AWARENESS</u>	
Discuss the pictures on display. Have each child make a collage to show what war means to him.	
After the above activity, on a large sheet of paper or on the board, have the class compose a list of words which they associate with the pictures of war and the	Have many magazines, newspapers, and brochures (some good ones can be obtained from the local recruiting office) for the students along with scissors, felt tip markers, rubber cement and study paper for background.

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
concept of "war." With the class group these into meaningful categories. For example, one category might be manpower. (Keep the chart for easy retrieval.)	
<u>PUZZLEMENT</u>	
Review the categories with the class and probe for further connotations of the word "war." Show the film <u>World War II</u> or any film that would cover national events of either or both world wars. Discuss the national implications of war then bring it down to the wars' effects on Montana.	Directory of 16 mm Sound Films available from the Montana State Audiovisual Library. Film number 4344, World War II, 30 minutes, for use in grades 7-12.
Did the world wars effect Montana? If so, how? How could this class find out what effects the war had on this state and this community? What are some sources for this investigation? What happened between these	Margery Brown and Virginia Griffing. <u>Montana, A Student's Guide to Localized History.</u> K. Ross Toole. <u>Twentieth Century Montana.</u> State and local newspapers. Michael Malone and Richard Roeder, <u>The Montana Past.</u> Encyclopedias

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
wars? Was this connected to the wars? If so, how?	Modified readings from the Appendix of this guide.
Give the class time to suggest ways of getting information and methods of studying this period of time.	Charts of the tables in the Appendix. Teacher-made fact sheets taken from this outline.

METHODOLOGY

Determine the number of categories to be investigated. Divide the class into groups of four-six children each to find information about their topic: Montanans in service, Civil Liberties in Montana during and between the world wars, the Depression, the New Deal Programs in Montana or any other topic the students are interested in pursuing. Let them refer to the list of resources composed earlier.

 ACTIVITIES

 RESOURCES

Since information is scarce, quotations like the following could be made available for the students to give them a better understanding of this period.

Agricultural Problems

One poor farmer "who had paid \$3,000 in 1919 for an additional quarter section (160 acres), was happy as harvest time approached in 1921; it had been another dry year, but he had a good crop. Shortly before threshing time wheat stem maggots--creatures he had never seen before and has never seen since--destroyed every head of grain. In other sections it was grasshoppers, or Mormon crickets."

The Berlin Scare

Just how and why German High Command expected to launch an invasion of the U. S. through western Montana, 6,000 miles from Berlin, never made the slightest bit of sense to me, but the reports generated by this kind of emotion could not always be brushed aside.

The Montana Past

Pg. 253

Burton K. Wheeler, concerning reports of a secret hideaway in the Bitterroot Valley from K. Ross Toole's Twentieth Century Montana, pg. 140.

ACTIVITIES

Civil Liberties

A cloud has arisen upon Montana's horizon that threatens dire consequences to the people of the state. Class is being arranged against class and bitterness is being engendered; and if the lawlessness cited is not put down and the right of free speech is not rescued from the disrepute thrown upon it, in my opinion, conditions may follow that will do the people and the fair name of the state incalculable injury.

RESOURCES

A letter to the Montana Council of Defense, 1918, from Attorney General Sam C. Ford. K. Ross Toole's Twentieth Century Montana, pg. 169.

See local and state newspapers, the front page and the editorial page, to help place state events in national perspective.



ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

Primary sources such as speeches are a valuable aid to the historian to give a feeling for the period as well as factual information about the period.

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

The Depression

"Our unlimited resources, our potential wealth and opportunities for future growth, progress, and happiness remain unchanged, and above all, the grim determination and the dauntless courage of our people remain unabated and they still retain an unwavering faith in the future of this state The ills which flow from depression and economic dislocations are not cured by legislative acts alone, but something can be done toward setting our house in order and smoothing the way for better times which we all hope are not far away.

Nothing short of an emergency of imperative nature would impel me to assemble you at this period in the state's life. Our financial situation is not such as to make it desirable to hold a costly session, and it was my hope that we might go through winter without this. But after numerous conferences with our citizens and several with those in charge of affairs at the seat of government in Washington, I have been forced to the conclusion that legislative action on the part of Montana is absolutely necessary if we are to enable ourselves to take advantage of the terms of the National Recovery Act and of National Emergency Relief Act."

Governor John Erickson, Governor's State of the State Message. 23rd Biennial Session, Helena, January 3, 1933.

Governor F. H. Cooney to the 23rd Legislative Assembly in Extraordinary Session, 1933, p. 3.

ACTIVITIES

After the groups have gathered the basic factual information, have each group share their findings in any appropriate form (charts, oral reports, panel discussions, etc.).

RESOURCES

See other State of the State messages for further readings. If your library does not have individual copies of these, try the Helena Independent for the complete text.

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
It is one thing to read about the events of the past but in order to gain greater understanding a very valuable suggested activity is ORAL HISTORY. As the students have probably discovered through the fact finding periods, histories of Montana are not complete. One way to fill the gap is <u>oral history</u>. This type of history is gathered through interviews with people who were alive during the period being investigated. In your community there are people who remember the Depression and World War II and even some remember the First World War. Some of these people will be willing to share this information with your class. Again divide the class or let the class divide into groups of four-six students to	An example of oral history in the classroom is: Lois Martin's "Oral History--How to Mesh the Process and the Substance of U. S. History," <u>The Social Studies</u>. December, 1972, pp. 322-326.

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
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formulate hypotheses to investigate through interviews. For example the students might formulate one of the following:

1. World War I did not effect the people of Montana because Montana was so far away from the war action.
2. Because so many Montanans live on farms, the Depression did not hurt them as much as people living in states where there are many big cities.
3. The New Deal programs helped Montanan's regain their economic standing after the Depression.

After the groups have decided upon an hypothesis or several hypotheses have each group draw up a list of at least 30 questions. (It will be tempting to formulate sweeping questions which

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

require only yes or no answers.) You should assist students in writing logical sequence or series that will lead to a verification or discarding of the hypothesis. During this process some groups will need to refine their hypothesis.

Time should be taken to discuss how a person's experiences or point of view might influence the actual interview. To more adequately interpret the interview certain basic questions such as the age of the person interviewed, his residence, occupation, family size, and economic standing in relation to others in the community should be answered during the interview.

Each group should determine who they will interview and how many interviews they

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
will make. Each student should write up his interview and compare it to facts the group already knows. (Some problems of evaluating evidence can be included here as the teacher helps students to see inconsistencies, misconceptions, and anachronisms.)	Where available, cassette tape recorders should be used by the interviewers. The student could then edit the tapes and record the findings.

REFLECTION

Committees or groups then analyze the evidence obtained to see if the hypothesis is tentatively supported or rejected. The findings will be presented to the whole class. There should be many fascinating episodes and stories the students will want to share at this time.

From the basic fact gathering and the interviews the students should have gained some definite ideas about how the World Wars and Depression affected Montana. There are many

ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES
ways to evaluate this learning. One method is to supply each child with a masthead from a local or state newspaper, as follows. Date one for a period during World War I, one for the Depression, and one for World War II. Have each student design at least one front page including appropriate articles. This gives them a chance to demonstrate knowledge of specific facts, an opportunity to use personal information obtained from their interviews, and a way to express their own feelings about this war period. As a final activity, show the pictures relating to the war which were used at the beginning of the unit. See how many words and categories can now be generated.	Mastheads are given here but different ones should be used for each community. General References Clifford L. Lord, <u>Teaching History with Community Resources</u>. New York: Columbia Teachers College Press, 1964. Montana State Library, <u>Montana in Print</u>. Helena, 1972.



BOZEMAN DAILY CHRONICLE

—No.

BOZEMAN, MONTANA,

COPYRIGHT 1974—GALLATIN PUBLISHING CO.

GREAT FALLS

TRIBUNE

Great Falls, Montana,

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EVALUATION

Curriculum units or complete guides serve as a beginning point for instruction. They must be adapted to the particular community, school, and class in which they are used.

Following is a sample of an instrument which should help teachers determine the effectiveness of this unit (Social Education, February, 1974, pg. 178).

Sample Instrument: Classroom Environment Checklist

Name: _____

Date: _____

I. If I had to describe this unit I would use the words: (Check no more than two from this list)

- _____ easy
- _____ confusing
- _____ hard
- _____ makes me think
- _____ fun
- _____ not very important
- _____ boring
- _____ my favorite subject
- _____ important to me
- _____ related to problems today
- _____ interesting
- _____ other (What is it? _____)

II. During the last three weeks in this class I spent most of my time: (Check three answers)

- _____ listening to what was being said
- _____ bored
- _____ interested
- _____ asking questions
- _____ answering the teacher's questions
- _____ confused
- _____ learning a lot of things I never knew before
- _____ wishing we could go more slowly
- _____ wishing we could go faster
- _____ wanting more information
- _____ taking part
- _____ other (What is it? _____)

IX. In this class, my classmates and I ask:
(Check one answer)

☐ many questions
☐ a few questions
☐ hardly any questions

X. In this class, my classmates and I ask:
(Check one answer)

☐ often
☐ sometimes
☐ never

XI. In this unit I prefer to work:
(Check one answer)

☐ by myself
☐ in a small group
☐ with one big group
(with the whole class)

XII. The most important thing I have learned
in this unit is:

XIII. If I could change anything about this
unit I would do the following:

APPENDICES

TIME LINE

Montana 1914 - 1951

- 1914 Women given complete voting rights in Montana.
Smith-Lever Act formalized cooperative agricultural extension work.
World War began in Europe.
- 1915 Amalgamated becomes Anaconda Copper Mining Company.
- 1916 Jeanette Ranken of Montana becomes first woman elected to Congress and votes against
 war with Germany in 1917.
Federal Farm Loan Act approved.
Grain Standards Act approved.
- 1917 U. S. enters World War I.
Miscalculation results in overdraft of Montana youth for war service.
Smith-Hughes Vocational Act becomes a law.
President Wilson established the Food Administration and fixed a minimum price of
 \$2.20 per bushel of wheat.
- 1918 Wave of anti-German feeling sweeps the state; German language books hidden at the
 University to prevent their destruction.

- 1924 cont. B. K. Wheeler is vice presidential candidate for defeated Progressive Party.
- 1925 Eastern Montana College of Education established.
- 1926 Successful light gasoline tractor developed.
- U. S. Congress created Division of Cooperative Marketing in the Department of Agriculture.
- 1929 Drought cycle begins. Dust storms in the West.
- 1933 Frank H. Cooney begins term as governor.
- Walsh dies before taking office as U. S. Attorney-General under F. D. Roosevelt.
- Construction of Fort Peck Dam begins.
- 1934 Taylor Grazing Act gave the Department of Interior power to regulate grazing on public domain of the West.
- 1935 W. E. Holt begins term as governor.
- Montana Highway Patrol created by legislature.
- Rural Electrification Administration established by order of the President.
- 1937 Roy E. Ayers begins term as governor.
- 1939 World War II begins in Europe.

STATE REPRESENTATION

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House of Representatives</u>
1903 - 1905 (58th)	William A. Clark (D) Butte Paris Gibson (D) Great Falls	Joseph M. Dixon (R) Missoula
1905 - 1907 (59th)	William A. Clark (D) Butte Thomas H. Carter (R) Helena	Joseph M. Dixon (R) Missoula
1907 - 1909 (60th)	Joseph M. Dixon (R) Missoula Thomas H. Carter (R) Helena	Charles N. Pray (R) Fort Benton
1909 - 1911 (61st)	Joseph M. Dixon (R) Missoula Thomas H. Carter (R) Helena	Charles N. Pray (R) Fort Benton
1911 - 1913 (62d)	Joseph M. Dixon (R) Missoula Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	Charles N. Pray (R) Fort Benton
1913 - 1915 (63d)	Thomas J. Walsh (D) Helena Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	John M. Evans (D) Missoula Tom Stout (D) Lewistown
1915 - 1917 (64th)	Thomas J. Walsh (D) Helena Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	John M. Evans (D) Missoula Tom Stout (D) Lewistown
1917 - 1919 (65th)	Thomas J. Walsh (D) Helena Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	John M. Evans (D) Missoula Jeanette Rankin (R) Missoula
1919 - 1921 (66th)	Thomas J. Walsh (D) Helena Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	John M. Evans (D) Missoula Carl M. Riddick (R) Lewistown
1921 - 1923 (67th)	Thomas J. Walsh (D) Helena Henry L. Myers (D) Hamilton	W. J. McCormick (R) Missoula Carl M. Riddick (R) Lewistown

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House of Representatives</u>
1945 - 1947 (79th)	James E. Murray (D) Butte Burton K. Wheeler (D) Butte	Mike J. Mansfield (D) Missoula ⁴ J. F. O'Connor (D) Livingston ⁵ Wesley A. D'Ewart (R) Wilsall
1947 - 1949 (80th)	James E. Murray (D) Butte Zales N. Ecton (R) Manhattan	Mike J. Mansfield (D) Missoula Wesley A. D'Ewart (R) Wilsall
1949 - 1951 (81st)	James E. Murray (D) Butte Zales N. Ecton (R) Manhattan	Mike J. Mansfield (D) Missoula Wesley A. D'Ewart (R) Wilsall

¹Walsh died March 2, 1933.

²Erickson appointed vice Walsh, deceased; served March 13, 1933 - November 6, 1935, when defeated in election for balance of term.

³Murray elected vice Walsh, deceased, served balance of term from November 7, 1933, re-elected to a full term.

⁴O'Connor died January 15, 1945.

⁵D'Ewart elected vice O'Connor; seated June 25, 1945.

Source: Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder (eds.). The Montana Past, An Anthology. Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1969, pg. 354-356.

NYA Activities, Montana, August 1939

Type of Work	Number Employed
Highway, Road, and Street	4
Public Building Projects	60
Recreational Facilities (excluding buildings)	132
Conservation	28
Sewing Projects	175
Goods Workshops	119
Resident Centers	115
Recreational Leadership	. *
Clerical	330
Professional and Technical	. *
Nursery Schools	7
Total	970

* Number employed omitted in report.

Source: Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section (mimeographed)
Report No. 10, "Montana," Vol. II, Washington, D.C., 1940, pg. 22.
(Note: Schools not in session)

Expenditures and Loans of New Deal Agricultural Agencies, 1933-1939, Montana

Agency	Total Expenditure	Per Capita Expenditure
Expenditures:		
Agricultural Adjustment Administration	\$ 49,368,190	\$241
Farm Security Administration	12,229,824	60
Soil Conservation Service	1,318,292	6
Agricultural Research and Education	2,069,672	10
Bureau of Reclamation	4,405,942	22
Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation	1,956,249	10
Sub Total	\$ 71,348,169	
Loans:		
Farm Credit Administration	\$ 94,349,943	\$461
Commodities Credit Corporation	7,127,969	35
Farm Security Administration	9,143,189	45
Rural Electricity Administration	1,104,393	5
Sub Total	\$111,725,474	
Total Expenditures and Loans	\$183,073,643	\$895

Source: Leonard J. Arrington, "Western Agriculture and the New Deal," presidential address to the annual luncheon of the Agricultural History Society, Los Angeles, California, April 17, 1970.

Federal Expenditures and Loans in Montana, 1933-1939 (Continued)

Agency Expenditures	1933	1934	1935	1936
Agency Loans:				
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	\$ 6,404,647	\$ 3,000,693	\$ 2,632,540	\$ 905,298
Farm Credit Administration	1,651,350	8,358,202	23,852,761	15,046,421
Commodity Credit Corporation	-	-	-	-
Farm Security Administration	-	-	-	1,207,224
Farm Tenant Purchase	-	-	-	-
Rural Electrification Administration	-	-	-	-
Public Works Administration	-	1,370,000	2,848,484	727,350
Home Owners Loan Corporation	-	5,522,350	782,254	986,636
Other Loans	-	-	383,750	11,600
Total Loans	\$ 8,055,997	\$18,751,245	\$30,499,789	\$18,884,529
	1937	1938	1939	Total
Expenditures for Relief:				
Federal Emergency Relief Adm.	\$ -	\$ 2,427	\$ -	\$25,522,858
Other Relief	1,862,262	1,393,061	1,348,071	5,767,618
Department of Agriculture:				
Agriculture Adjustment Adm.	9,805,996	8,383,568	8,660,170	49,368,090
Soil Conservation Service	397,052	200,557	107,961	938,202
Farm Security Administration	9,805,996	8,383,568	8,660,170	49,368,090
Research and Extension Educ.	264,496	275,299	277,365	1,623,522
Youth Programs:				
Civilian Conservation Corps	4,371,088	3,032,562	4,668,558	25,341,657
Nat. Youth Adm. (in WPA 1935-38)	-	-	561,000	561,000

Source: Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section, Report No. 10, "Montana," Vol. II, Washington, D.C., 1940.

Cash Income From 16 Selected Crops in Montana - 1929-1937
(Money Amounts in Thousands of Dollars)

Crop	1929	1939	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Hogs	\$ 5,930	\$ 4,686	\$ 3,603	\$ 1,484	\$ 1,381	\$ 1,718	\$ 1,475	\$ 1,916	\$ 1,860
Cattle/Calves	28,372	19,548	15,628	9,229	7,780	13,877	26,334	26,424	21,008
Wheat	42,819	17,141	6,197	9,154	17,985	17,693	31,022	10,203	17,538
Sheep/Lambs	12,943	9,252	7,937	4,181	5,472	8,202	10,651	9,919	10,775
Wool	9,959	7,147	5,350	2,928	7,341	8,389	6,215	7,631	7,926
Flaxseed	2,966	2,584	525	492	386	155	253	138	56
Oats	719	414	218	286	267	434	686	355	274
Barley	626	369	201	152	123	185	329	116	201
Rye	382	72	22	18	91	60	35	86	68
Potatoes	1,604	1,114	607	310	548	647	654	994	501
Chickens	1,366	1,330	930	724	645	523	598	851	752
Eggs	3,445	2,886	2,185	1,568	1,496	1,685	2,272	2,042	2,115
Hay	5,756	4,387	2,736	2,389	2,361	4,008	2,644	3,303	3,380
Dairy Prod.	12,601	10,363	7,982	6,167	6,188	6,843	7,934	8,486	8,788
Beans	2,147	2,237	562	254	500	508	547	644	699
Truck Crops	678	661	594	345	534	572	666	778	883
Total	\$132,313	\$84,191	\$55,277	\$39,681	\$53,134	\$65,499	\$92,315	\$73,886	\$76,824

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Bureau of Home Economics, Income Parity for Agriculture, "Part I, Farm Income," Sections 3-6, 8-12, 14, and 16-18 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938-1941).

Comparison of Average Farm Prices: Montana and United States - 1929-1937

Year		Chickens/ea.	Eggs/doz.	Hay/T.	Beans/cwt.	Milk/cwt.	Butter/lb.	Milk-Cream/qt.
1929	Mont.	76.0¢	27.2¢	\$10.55	\$7.48	\$2.40	46.0¢	10.8¢
	U.S.	85.6	29.8	11.72	7.84	2.53	42.2	11.5
1930	Mont.	65.0	22.2	11.54	5.34	2.10	35.0	10.6
	U.S.	68.1	23.7	11.09	5.18	2.21	36.3	11.3
1931	Mont.	54.0	15.7	9.14	2.66	1.85	26.0	9.8
	U.S.	60.1	17.6	9.66	2.74	1.68	27.2	10.1
1932	Mont.	46.0	14.7	6.87	1.41	1.50	20.0	8.8
	U.S.	45.3	14.2	6.97	1.82	1.28	20.8	8.9
1933	Mont.	41.0	13.6	5.55	2.16	1.45	20.0	8.3
	U.S.	36.4	13.8	6.63	2.43	1.30	20.1	8.6
1934	Mont.	37.0	15.2	7.98	2.81	1.55	24.0	8.7
	U.S.	42.6	17.1	9.66	3.15	1.55	22.7	9.4
1935	Mont.	53.0	23.1	10.18	2.72	1.70	30.0	9.6
	U.S.	56.6	23.4	9.44	3.09	1.74	26.7	9.8
1936	Mont.	59.0	22.9	10.18	3.52	1.90	33.0	10.0
	U.S.	60.4	21.8	8.60	3.87	1.93	28.8	10.1
1937	Mont.	68.0	24.4	9.90	3.78	2.15	35.0	10.4
	U.S.	63.5	21.3	9.83	4.23	1.97	29.6	10.5

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Bureau of Home Economics, Income Parity for Agriculture, "Part I Farm Income," Sections 3-6, 8-12, 14, and 16-18 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938-1941).

SENATORS IN CONFLICT

by Donald E. Spritzer

During most of the New Deal years and the entire duration of World War II, Montana sent two Democrats and self-avowed liberals to the United States Senate--James E. Murray and Burton K. Wheeler. Because of their seemingly similar political philosophies, most observers felt that the pair would work in harmony throughout their senatorial careers.

This outward appearance, however, masked several important differences in the personalities and philosophies of the two men. Differences which were to lead to an unresolved, bitter, and divisive political feud which has had few parallels in modern times.

B. K. Wheeler was a fiery orator and an expert campaigner, while Jim Murray was less efficient at meeting the voters than at securing passage of major legislation. Wheeler was much more politically and personally independent (and still is today, at the age of 91) than was Murray, who remained consistently devoted to the Democratic Party. Wheeler strongly feared governmental paternalism and executive power; Murray never wavered from the belief that federal size and strength were justifiable as long as they worked to improve society. Finally, as the United States gradually moved toward total participation in World War II, Wheeler proved to be far more of an isolationist opponent of American involvement than Murray, who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt in most of his foreign policy moves. Because of these conflicting qualities and convictions, any initial belief that the two Senators from Montana would have a consistently smooth relationship was soon disabused.

Prior to the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, both Murray and Wheeler had already enjoyed long and successful careers. The two had much in common in their backgrounds. Both had come to Montana from eastern states. Murray was born in 1876 in Ontario and became a naturalized citizen in New York in 1900, the same year he graduated in law from New York University. Wheeler, born in 1882 in Massachusetts, had graduated in 1905 from the University of Michigan's law school. Both migrated to Butte shortly after receiving their degrees and began law careers in Montana's bustling mining city. Although Burton Wheeler achieved national prominence earlier, both became well known Democrats. Murray served from 1906 to 1908 as Silver Bow County Attorney, while Wheeler was a member of the state legislature from 1909 to 1911 and in 1913 became U. S. District Attorney for Montana. Periodically, both young lawyers denounced and clashed with the forces of Montana's corporate giant, the Anaconda Company.

often defended clients prosecuted by Murray. Clashes in court apparently caused no animosity between the two, and in the early 1930's, they united in support of the presidential candidacy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Throughout the 1932 campaign, Murray and Wheeler were two of the candidate's hardest workers. Wheeler toured the West to get convention votes for the New York Governor, and at the national convention helped convince Louisiana's Huey Long to back him. Following the convention, Wheeler and Montana's Senior Senator, Thomas J. Walsh, accompanied Roosevelt on his western campaign tour. Murray's campaigning, although limited to Montana, was just as enthusiastic. In July, 1933, in return for his efforts, Roosevelt appointed Murray as a Montana administrator for the Public Works Administration--a position he held until he ran for the Senate a year later.³

During the first two years of the New Deal, while Murray served in his PWA position and began his senatorial campaign, Wheeler supported most of the Roosevelt program. Even during these years, however, when most regarded Wheeler as an avid New Dealer, the Senator backed only those measures which were consistent with his own principles. He voted against the National Industrial Recovery Act in its final form because, in his words, "it permitted trusts and corporations to do the price fixing."

Wheeler devoted most of his energy during the first New Deal congress to his ill-fated crusade for the free coinage of silver at a sixteen-to-one ratio. Shortly after the passage of the Thomas Amendment which gave Roosevelt wide powers in monetary matters, Wheeler expressed apprehension that such action by Congress might lead to "setting up a dictatorship in the White House." He came to repeat this warning with increasing frequency in later years.⁴

The differences with Roosevelt over the silver issue proved to be temporary. Thus, the 1934 election campaign found Wheeler and the President on good terms. In that year, Wheeler sought reelection, and a sizable number of Democrats hoped to serve the remaining two years of the late Thomas J. Walsh's unexpired Senate term. Among the candidates seeking this seat in the July Democratic primary was James E. Murray. Although Wheeler made no attempt to influence

³Anaconda Standard, April 3, 1907, p. 9, May 10, 1907, p. 9; Butte InterMountain, May 12, 1908, p. 1, Aug. 4, 1908, p. 1; Hubert Kay, "Boss Isolationist: Burton K. Wheeler," Life, May 19, 1941, p. 117; Ruetten, pp. 91, 103-07; Wheeler, pp. 66, 266, 285-87; James A. Farley, Behind the Ballots, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), p. 83-89.

⁴C. R., 73rd Cong., 1st Sess., April 22, 1933, June 13, 1933, LXXVII, 2149, 5861; Miles City Star, Sept. 7, 1938, p. 3; Ruetten, pp. 122-25.

As a freshman legislator on a two-year term, Murray played a minor role in Senate debates and legislative action during the "second hundred days" of 1935. Wheeler engaged in a long struggle to secure passage of the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill which sought to place public utility holding companies under strict federal control. Murray also did what he could to assure the bill's passage.

In other areas, Wheeler's beliefs and the New Deal did not correspond as closely. Early in 1935, the Supreme Court invalidated the National Recovery Act. Wheeler was quick to praise the Court's decision from the Senate floor. Murray, however, criticized the ruling and praised the NRA for saving the country from industrial disaster.⁶

Another area of difference which led to a more direct dispute was that of partisan politics in appointments to the Montana Works Progress Administration. Early in 1935, Wheeler recommended the appointment of a Republican, Ray Hart, to the position of Montana WPA director. Hart proceeded to name a number of Republicans to district directorships, whereupon both Senators were flooded with complaints from Montana Democrats. Wheeler refused to listen to such complaint, but Murray proved more receptive.

Throughout the summer of 1935, while Wheeler pressed for the Senate confirmation of Hart's appointment, Murray tried and failed to block the nomination. After continued laments from disgruntled Democrats, Murray wrote to Roosevelt's office early in 1936 to ask that pressure be brought upon Hart to rescind his Republican appointments. In February, Hart resigned to return to private business before any such pressure could be applied.

Murray and Wheeler jointly announced that Hart would be replaced by Joseph E. Parker, a loyal Democrat and Murray's former campaign manager. Wheeler expressed deep regret over Hart's resignation, but Murray regarded the change in WPA directors as a personal victory.⁷

⁶Great Falls Tribune, Sept. 3, 1935, p. 1; C. R., 74th Cong., 1st Sess., May 29, 1935, LXXXIX, 8399; Montana Standard, June 3, 1935, p. 1.

⁷Letter from Burton K. Wheeler to Aubrey Williams, Feb. 25, 1938, James E. Murray Papers, University of Montana archives, Missoula; Murray papers hereafter cited as Murray MSS; Great Falls Tribune, July 24, 1935, p. 3, Aug. 2, 1935, p. 3; Feb. 9, 1936, p. 1; C. R. 74th Cong., 1st Sess., Aug. 22, 1935, LXXIX, 14, 112; Letters from James E. Murray to M. H. McIntyre, Jan. 14, Feb. 20, 1936, file of photostats of Murray materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, University of Montana Archives, hereafter cited as Roosevelt file. Wheeler later wrote that he had agreed to Parker's appointment only to appease Murray's political appetite. Letter from Wheeler to Williams, Feb. 25, 1938, Murray MSS.

As the debate dragged on, the Court seemed to be taking a more liberal stand in upholding New Deal legislation. Murray felt that the agitation over the bill was responsible for this, and he looked forward to a compromise solution. In the end, he became convinced that the bill in its final form could not pass, and on July 22, he voted with Wheeler and sixty-eight other senators to recommit it.

Although the Supreme Court Bill disappeared, the fight over the measure left wounds in the Democratic Party which were long in healing. The dispute polarized Montana's congressional delegation as Murray and Congressmen Jerry O'Connell and James O'Connor all sided with the President. Of the three, young western district Congressman O'Connell, who planned to see Wheeler's Senate seat in 1940, was the most vehement in his attacks against Wheeler. Indeed, many historians doubt that the eventual antagonism between the two Montana Senators would have reached such bitter proportions had it not been for the activities of Jerry O'Connell.

In a speech in Butte on Labor Day, 1937, James E. Murray made his position clear. He never mentioned Wheeler by name, but he called the fight against the court measure "a fight against the New Deal." While he had hesitated when the issue was in doubt, Murray now threw his full support behind Roosevelt. Wheeler, meanwhile, toured the state to defend his position against O'Connell's flaming denunciations.¹⁰

In the wake of the split among Montana's Democrats, the President made his second tour of the state in three years. In order to avoid a potentially embarrassing situation, Wheeler remained out of Montana during Roosevelt's early October visit. Murray, along with Montana's two Congressmen and Governor Roy Ayers, accompanied the President throughout the tour. In his speech at Fort Peck Dam in Eastern Montana, Roosevelt carefully avoided any mention of Wheeler's name, but he praised Murray, O'Connell, and O'Connor. He limited his retaliation against Wheeler to this obvious snub and considerable favoritism shown to Murray in patronage matters.¹¹

¹⁰Letters from James E. Murray to James W. Masterson, March 19, 1937, to W. D. Murray, April 10, 1937, Murray MSS; C. R. 75th Cong., 1st Sess., July 22, 1937, LXXXI, 7381; Great Falls Tribune, Sept. 5, 1937, p. 2; Sept. 6, 1937, p. 2; Sept. 7, 1937, p. 2; Sept. 8, 1937, p. 1; Text of Murray's Butte speech in three installments in Montana Labor News, Sept. 9, 16, 23, 1937.

¹¹Great Falls Tribune, Oct. 3, 1937, p. 1; Oct. 4, 1937, p. 1; The Glasgow Courier, Oct. 5, 1937, p. 6; New York Times, Oct. 4, 1937, p. 1; Ruetten, pp. 230-32; The best secondary account of Roosevelt's visit is in Richard T. Ruetten, "Showdown in Montana, 1938," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Jan., 1963, pp. 19-30.

In his columns, Stortz frequently had referred to the differences between Murray and Wheeler over matters of political appointees. As in 1936, these differences centered around the Montana WPA. Wheeler became irate when he learned that Murray had threatened to fire his friend and appointee, Jim Love, from his post as state director of the National Youth Administration. Wheeler wrote NYA national director Aubrey Williams and threatened a full investigation of the Montana WPA if Love was fired. He stated that Murray's family had interfered with the Butte organization "to such an extent that it is a stench in the nostrils of decent people of the state."

The senior Senator also expressed his disgust on the Senate floor: "I think the way politics has been played with the WPA in my state is a scandal." Two weeks later, in a letter to national WPA director Harry Hopkins that made front page news throughout Montana, Wheeler alluded to fraudulent practices by the WPA in several counties. He specifically referred to the "petty politics, favoritism and inefficiency" of the Butte organization and asked Hopkins to look into the matter at once. Parker emphatically denied the charges and welcomed any investigation.

Following this brief confrontation, the matter died down temporarily, but by late May, after Roosevelt began his attempts to purge insurgent Democrats in the primary elections, Wheeler renewed his charges of politics in the WPA. In the Senate he announced that he had already had Hopkins caution Montana WPA workers about playing politics. From the same floor, Murray denied the existence of any political activity in the Montana WPA.¹⁴ Although Wheeler had been hostile to Roosevelt's attempts to purge political rivals in the 1938 primaries, he was not reluctant to engage in such activities himself. The senior Senator disregarded party loyalty and supported Jerry O'Connell's Republican opponent, Dr. Jacob Thorkelson, in the general election.

Senator Murray also played a very active role throughout the 1938 campaign. He toured the state, lauded the New Deal, and urged the reelection of both Democratic congressmen.

¹⁴Letters from B. K. Wheeler to Aubrey Williams, Feb. 25, 1938, March 7, 1938; from Wheeler to Harry Hopkins, March 21, 1938, Murray MSS; C.R. 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., March 8, 1938, LXXXIII, 8111; Billings Gazette, March 22, 1938, pp. 1-2. In 1939, Murray met further threats to remove Parker. The federal government eventually sent investigators into Montana and found the state's WPA to have a clean record. Parker remained in charge of the organization until 1943 when it was disbanded. The Catholic Register, Nov. 4, 1945; "Memorandum Re. Montana Politics," June 5, 1940, Murray MSS.

White House, the junior Senator announced that Montana's Democrats were "harmonious" and that the President definitely would support Wheeler's senatorial candidacy in 1940.¹⁷

The events of late 1939 dealt a serious blow to the efforts of Murray and Wheeler to present a front of unity. Prior to this time, both had usually taken similar isolationist positions on matters of defense and foreign relations despite their other differences. Wheeler had spoken out often in the Senate against American involvement in Europe's affairs. One of Murray's first acts as a new senator in 1935 was a request that a Wheeler speech against America's entrance into the World Court be put in the Congressional Record, and both men often voted against military and naval appropriations.¹⁸

After the war broke out, in September, 1939, Roosevelt called a special session of Congress to amend America's neutrality laws. The Montana press speculated that Wheeler and Murray would work in harmony with the President to help draft a program to keep the nation out of the European conflict. When the proposal to repeal the embargo on American arms shipments reached the Senate, however, Wheeler opposed it. His desire to maintain good relations with the administration prevented him from making any long speeches against the measure, but brief remarks such as those on October 12 made his position clear: "Perhaps I am too idealistic, but I cannot conceive that the American people, in their idealism, desire to put guns and powder and bombs into the hands of any people with which to kill others."

Murray felt differently and argued that the repeal of the embargo would keep America out of the war by enabling the opponents of aggression to defend themselves without American military aid.¹⁹

¹⁷Boston Post, Feb. 27, 1938; Washington Evening Star, June 8, 1938, clippings in Murray MSS; Form letter of Wheeler for President Club No. 1, Dec. 28, 1938, Murray MSS: Donahoe, p. 120; Ruetten, "Progressive Between Wars," p. 280; Great Falls Tribune, Aug. 17, 1938, p. 3; Oct. 17, 1938, p. 1; Nov. 17, 1939, p. 1

¹⁸Wheeler, pp. 380-87; C. R. 74th Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 29, 1935, LXXXIX, 1147; For Murray's and Wheeler's votes on military and naval appropriations see C. R. 74th Cong., 1st Sess., May 24, 1935, LXXIX, 8161; 75th Cong., 1st Sess., March 22, 1937, LXXXI, 2554; 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., Ap. 6, 1938, May 3, 1938, LXXXIII, 4850, 6135.

¹⁹Great Falls Tribune, Sept. 17, 1939, p. 1; Montana Press clipping (untitled) Sept. 19, 1939, Murray MSS; Ruetten, "Progressive Between Wars," p. 285; C. R. 76th Cong., 2nd Sess., Oct. 12, 1939, LXXXV, 311; Oct. 26, 1939, LXXXV, 906-11.

Following the convention, Wheeler vigorously resumed his crusade to keep the United States out of the war. Beginning in late 1940, he delivered numerous speeches on behalf of the newly-formed America First Committee. He directed his efforts in the Senate against the administration's peacetime draft bill. In a stirring appeal to his fellow senators, he concluded: "If you pass this bill, you slit the throat of the last democracy still living: you accord Hitler his greatest and cheapest victory, to date."

The draft bill also marked one of the few times Montana's junior Senator broke with the Roosevelt administration. He never spoke publicly against the bill, but let his constituents know that he regarded conscription as an "imitation of Fascism."

Murray's opposition to the draft, however, caused no permanent break between him and Roosevelt. After Congress adjourned he spoke throughout Montana for the President. He made every effort to maintain appearances of unity between himself and Wheeler as he carefully avoided criticising the Senator's latest attacks on Roosevelt's foreign policy. Wheeler's aversion to the President's diplomacy prevented him from speaking on behalf of the administration--a fact which Murray pointed out in a telegram to the President on the eve of the election.²²

In the campaign for Montana's other offices, Murray stood firmly behind the Democratic candidates. Wheeler's supporters, however, worked to defeat Roy Ayers, Democratic candidate for governor. Wheeler also threw his support behind antiwar congressional candidate, Jeannette Rankin. Miss Rankin gained the Republican nomination and in the general election defeated O'Connell in the state's western district. Thus, after the 1940 elections, Murray's Senate seat remained one of the few major political offices in Montana not tied to Wheeler's powerful bipartisan political organization.²³

Following the election, Murray and Wheeler abandoned any attempts to gloss over their differences. When Congress reconvened and began to debate the Lend-Lease Bill, their divergent foreign policy views again surfaced. Murray became one of the leaders in the Senate fight for the measure. In a moving address, he warned his colleagues that a victory for Hitler would lead to totalitarianism in the United States. Three days after Murray's speech, Wheeler took the

²²Wayne S. Cole, American First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), pp. 12-15; C. R. 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., Aug. 13, 1940, LXXXVI, 10225-39; Letters from James E. Murray to Veronica Caslite, Aug. 6, 1940, Mrs. R. A. Sanford, Sept. 11, 1940, Murray MSS; Great Falls Tribune, Oct. 29, 1940, p. 10; Oct. 31, 1940, p. 5; Nov. 1, 1940, p. 1; Nov. 4, 1940, p. 5.

²³Howard, p. 230; Kelly, pp. 7-20, Ruetten, "Progressive Between Wars," p. 307.

future was a definite possibility. At the same time, Wheeler told the press that war with the Japanese seemed unlikely. After the Japanese attack, when the Senate voted to declare war, Wheeler was not present. Even though he had his affirmative votes on the war declarations announced for him, his absence during the war vote along with his former antiwar posture gave his opponents further ammunition.²⁵

After American entry into the war, Wheeler continued to find fault with the President's actions. His new targets included wasteful wartime spending and profiteering, inefficiency in the enlarged wartime bureaucracy, and the overall American war strategy. To a lesser extent, Murray also voiced disapproval of American war policy. During the war he devoted much effort to a struggle for small business enterprises. He criticized the government policy of awarding virtually every war contract to giant business concerns.²⁶

The July Democratic primary in Montana interrupted Murray's efforts on behalf of small business. It was not Murray's opponent, Joseph Monaghan, but Burton K. Wheeler who assumed the role of Murray's chief adversary in the primary.

The senior Senator toured eastern Montana, reportedly to check agricultural conditions, but his speeches denounced administration foreign policy and alluded to Murray when he proclaimed, "I do not care who the people of Montana elect to the Senate, except that I would like to see them elect someone who will fight for Montana rather than be a yes man for the bureaucrats in Washington, and who will be more interested in the problems of our people than in political jobs for a few favorites."²⁷

²⁵Washington News, Sept. 6, 1941; Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, "Washington Merry-go-Round," Philadelphia Record, Oct. 23, 1941, clippings in Murray MSS: Letters from James E. Murray to Thomas Colton, Dan O'Hern, Miles Romney, Lou Flaherty, and Lou Boedecker, Oct. 20, 1941, Murray MSS: Great Falls Tribune, Nov. 14, 1941, p. 4; C. R. 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 8, 11, 1941, LXXXVII, 9506, 9653. Murray was present and voted yes on the war declarations.

²⁶"Wheeler of Montana," The New Republic, Sept. 20, 1943, p. 390; C. R. 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., Oct. 2, 1942, LXXXVIII, 7707; 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Sept. 28, Oct. 6, 1943, LXXXIX, 7846-58; 8145-54; For Murray and small business see C. R. 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., Feb. 5, March 31, June 15, 1942, LXXXVIII, 1044-47, 3225, 5180.

²⁷Great Falls Tribune, July 14, 1942, p. 2; For other reports on Wheeler's pre-primary activities in Montana see Helen Fuller, "Voting for Victory," The New Republic, June 1, 1942, p. 764; June 15, 1942, p. 812, July 29, 1942, p. 892.

political career as he defeated Rankin by only 1,212 votes. In his victory statement Murray noted that he had been forced to overcome both "a strong Republican state organization and the powerful opposition of Senator Wheeler's Democratic machine."

Wheeler could not resist replying to Murray's statement. He told the press: "If I were Senator Murray and had lost my home town, a Democratic stronghold, and only won by such a small margin, I wouldn't do any boasting. I would realize that the people of my state expected me to get back to Washington and do a much better job in the future than I did in the past."²⁹

Despite the closeness of the election, Murray had achieved something a powerful New Deal congressman and an incumbent governor had failed to achieve. He had won reelection over the opposition of Burton K. Wheeler and his powerful political alliance.

Wheeler's actions against Murray during the campaign helped cost him the support of more leading Democrats in the state. In early 1943, a New York newspaper reported that Montanans regarded the senior Senator as a Democrat "in name only" and that the anti-Wheeler forces led by Murray controlled the state's party machinery. In March, a group of about forty Democratic state legislators met in Helena and endorsed a statement very critical of Wheeler's opposition to Murray, the administration, and the war effort.

Following the 1942 election, the feud between the two Senators subsided, but they continued to oppose each other on matters of national importance. When Congress reconvened Wheeler resumed his caustic statements against American war policy. He warned against any American involvement in an entangling world organization after the war. In place of this involvement, the Senator advocated an economic "United States of Europe" as the best hope for world peace. As early as the 1942 campaign, Murray had called for the establishment of a new world peace keeping tribunal immediately after the war.³⁰

²⁹Great Falls Tribune, Nov. 7, 1942, p. 1; Other information on Murray's 1942 campaign in Great Falls Tribune, Oct. 30, 1942, p. 1; Oct. 31, 1942, p. 1; Nov. 2, 1942, p. 3; Nov. 6, 1942, p. 1; Romney interview; Letter from Barclay Craighead to the author, April 19, 1971; Craighead, a close Wheeler associate, said in an Aug. 17, 1943 Chicago Sun interview that Wheeler had thrown everything except public utterances on Rankin's side. Clipping in Murray MSS.

³⁰New York Post, Feb. 17, 1943, Clipping in Murray MSS; Statement by Montana Legislators enclosed in a letter from E. J. Byrne to B. K. Wheeler, March 8, 1943. Murray MSS: Great Falls Tribune, Oct. 29, 1942, p. 1; Oct. 30, 1942, p. 1; Aug. 21, 1943, p. 1; Remarks by Wheeler on "The American Forum of the Air," June 17, 1943; C. R. 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 31, 1944, LXXX, A-482-83.

Murray opposed Wheeler's positions on defense policy and the U. N., but he said little about these issues. He devoted most of his efforts during the final months of the war to advancing two major pieces of domestic legislation. In 1946, he gained congressional approval for his Full Employment Bill. Wheeler, although expressing apprehension about the possible growth of federal power entailed by the measure, voted for it.

Murray's second big project, a bill to establish a Missouri Valley Authority similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, did not meet the same success. The measure never passed, but it provided a major topic of debate among Montana's politicians. Wheeler and Governor Sam Ford led the opposition and received support from Anaconda Copper and the Montana Power Company. The senior Senator felt that Communists as well as the Farmers Union were the chief backers of the bill, and that the larger cities and states at the lower end of the Missouri River would use the MVA to control Montana water.³³

The MVA remained an issue in the July, 1946 Montana Democratic primary when Wheeler faced Leif Erickson, the man whom Sam Ford had defeated for governor in 1944. Erickson's political views corresponded with Murray's in many ways. He had been the chairman of the MVA regional committee and had been a long time Roosevelt supporter. He also strongly backed international cooperation and the United Nations. Murray's main hope in 1946 was that Wheeler would be defeated in the primary regardless of his opponent. Murray's office worked in harmony with the state Democratic organization before the campaign in an effort to achieve a unified, well financed party to use against Wheeler.

Murray, however, made every effort to avoid personal involvement in the campaign. His son, Charles, carried on most of the correspondence between the Senator's office and Wheeler's opponents in Montana, and the Senator rejected requests by several leading Democrats that he go to Montana and speak on Erickson's behalf.³⁴

³³Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law, (New York: Vintage Books, 1950); C. R. 79th Cong., 1st Sess., Sept. 28, 1945, LXXXXI, 9153; 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., Aug. 18, 1944, LXXXX, 7082-88; Howard, pp. 228-233; Great Falls Tribune, Nov. 14, 1945, p. 1; The Peoples Voice, (Helena), May 17, 1945, pp. 1-2; May 31, 1946, p. 1; June 21, 1946, p. 4; St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 7, 1946, pp. 1B-4B; Letter from B. K. Wheeler to William Honey, (undated), file of Burton K. Wheeler materials, University of Montana Archives.

³⁴Kelly, p. 18; Letters from Charles Murray to Miles Romney, Sept. 6, 1945; Lester Loble to Charles Murray, Dec. 5, 1945; Murray to Loble, Dec. 21, 1945; Telegram from Murray to Loble, Feb. 16, 1946, Murray MSS: Loble was chairman of the Montana Democratic Party and a staunch Wheeler opponent.

lack of party loyalty.³⁶

After leaving the Senate, Wheeler established a private law practice in Washington. Murray remained in the Senate until his retirement in 1960. During the remainder of Murray's public career, Wheeler continued to condemn his actions periodically, especially during election campaigns. But the man who had once nearly secured Murray's defeat could do nothing to alter the sizable electoral majorities the Senator received in 1948 and 1954. Still, the ill feelings aroused between the two strong-willed Montanans did not subside simply because one of them no longer served in public office. The wounds which had been inflicted during a conflict over New Deal legislation and had deepened with the aroused emotions of World War II were never to heal.³⁷

³⁶Press coverage of the investigation in Great Falls Tribune, July 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Aug. 2, 1946, p. 1 on all cited dates. Chicago Tribune, Aug. 2, 1946, clipping in Murray MSS: For Murray's telegram to Erickson see The Peoples Voice, July 19, 1946, p. 1. Wheeler's views of the election in Wheeler, pp. 414-20; Letter from Wheeler to the author, Jan. 11, 1971; Other observations in Great Falls Tribune, July 19, 1946, p. 2; Kelly, p. 74.

³⁷Joseph K. Howard, "Jim Murray's Chances," The Nation, Oct. 9, 1948, p. 397; George L. Bousliman, "The 1954 Campaign of Senator James E. Murray," (Unpublished MA Thesis, Montana State University, 1964), pp. 26-44; Letter from Miles Romney to the author, March 13, 1971.

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fact, supported conservative Democrat "Honest John" Erickson, an Anaconda favorite, against Dixon in 1924.²

Regardless of leftist or rightist leanings, Treasure State Democrats sensed victory in 1932, and they closed ranks behind their party's leading presidential aspirant, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Indeed, Montanans played an important role in FDR's presidential drive. Wheeler was the first prominent senator to support Roosevelt. And conservative J. Bruce Kremer, Montana's powerful veteran national committeeman, also pushed the New Yorker's candidacy. At the July Democratic convention in Chicago, the Montana delegation solidly backed Roosevelt, and Thomas Walsh served as permanent chairman of the gathering.³

In the Montana campaign of 1932, interest centered upon the two congressional races and upon Democratic Governor John E. Erickson's bid for a third four-year term. Clearly a conservative, Erickson once again enjoyed Anaconda support, and he spoke to the voters of littler more than his budget-slashing. FDR provided the only high point of the campaign when he addressed a record crowd in Butte on September 19 and promised agricultural relief and immediate efforts to remonetize silver.

In the November 8, 1932, election, Roosevelt scored a landslide victory in Montana, trouncing Herbert Hoover by a vote of 126,493 to 77,039. On his coattails, liberal congressional candidates Joseph P. Monaghan and Roy E. Ayers coasted to easy victory. Governor Erickson barely won a third term, and the voters chose a solidly Democratic legislature.⁴ Obviously, Montana joined the New Deal coalition with enthusiasm in 1932, and the Democratic future there seemed rosy indeed.

²K. Ross Toole, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), chap. X, esp. pp. 222-227; Jules A. Karlin, "Progressive Politics in Montana," in A History of Montana, ed. M. G. Burlingame and K. R. Toole (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1957), I, 247-280; see also J. Leonard Bates, "Senator Walsh of Montana, 1918-1924; A Liberal Under Pressure" (unpublished PH.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1952); Burton K. Wheeler and P. F. Healy, Yankee from the West (Garden City, N. Y., : Doubleday, 1962); and Richard T. Ruetten, "Burton K. Wheeler of Montana: A Progressive Between the Wars" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Oregon, 1961).

³Official File 300-Montana (MSS in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y.), James A. Farley to FDR, May 12, May 18, 1932; Wheeler and Healy, Yankee from the West, pp. 285-287, 294-298; New York Times, May 15, 1932, p. 27; May 18, 1932, p. 4; July 29, 1932, pp. 1, 14.

⁴The Montana Standard (Butte), Sept. 20, 1932, pp. 1, 8; Oct. 11, 1932, p. 1; Nov. 10, 1932, p. 4; Billings Gazette, Oct. 18, 1932, pp. 1-2; Nov. 10, 1932, p. 4; Helena Independent, Nov. 9, 1932, p. 4; The Western Progressive (Helena), Nov. 11, 1932, p. 1; Ellis L. Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864; An Atlas of Elections (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1958), pp. 240-251.

Among the many New Deal programs in Montana, agricultural and work-relief endeavors proved most important. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which Montanans like M. L. Wilson and Chester Davis helped devise and implement, poured over \$40 million into state crop-adjustment payments and to a large degree underwrote the recovery of this stricken farming region. Fluctuating relief efforts, as will be noted, became locally popular but also politically divisive. Several minor programs, like the popular Civilian Conservation Corps and the Rural Electrification Administration, offered much to mountainous and rural Montana.⁸

Throughout the New Deal era, the Public Works Administration and other agencies developed the most spectacular of all federal projects in Montana, the giant, earth-filled Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri. At the peak of construction in 1935-36 some 10,000 men labored at the site, living in raucous, hell-for-leather towns like New Deal, Delano Heights, and Wheeler.⁹ Fort Peck Dam stood, at the close of the Depression Decade, as a symbol of New Deal achievement in Montana.

The Roosevelt Administration's expansion of federal activities became the central issue in the hotly contested mid-term elections of 1934. Montana's two Democratic congressmen, Roy Ayers and Joseph Monaghan, both ran as New Dealers against conservative opponents. More importantly, both Senate seats were up for reelection. Colorful Burton K. Wheeler, now seeking a third term, campaigned as a solid Roosevelt supporter and the darling of local progressives.

A powerful new liberal Democrat also emerged in the person of wealthy Butte attorney James E. Murray. Having defeated the hapless Senator Erickson in the primary, Murray now sought election to the remaining two years of Walsh's unexpired term.

Democratic unity and fierce partisan rivalry keynoted the 1934 campaign. Wheeler and Murray lauded the Roosevelt Administration and the benefits of federal largesse, while their

⁸"Report No. 10, Volume II, Montana: Federal Loans and Expenditures 1933-1939 . . . Work Accomplishments," mimeo. copy (n.p.: Office of Government Reports, Statistical Section, 1940), pp. 10-11, 18, 20-21, 44. I wish to thank Dr. Leonard Arrington of Utah State University for supplying me with this extremely valuable report. See also Roy E. Huffman, "Montana's Contributions to New Deal Farm Policy," Agricultural History, XXXIII (Oct., 1959), 164-167; and William D. Rowley, M. L. Wilson and the Campaign for the Domestic Allotment (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).

⁹John T. Ryan, "Chapters on the Fort Peck Development" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Montana, 1961), pp. 51-53 and passim; James Rorty, "Fort Peck: An American Siberia," The Nation, CXLI (Sept. 11, 1935), 300-391.

ailment in December of 1935. As president pro tem of the senate Elmer Holt succeeded Cooney, state affairs returned to normal conservative rule.¹²

Factional unrest, aroused both by the relief fracas and by the surplus of ambitious, new Democratic personalities, rose to the surface in the 1936 campaign. In the primaries, Senator Murray barely overcame the effort of Congressman Joseph Monaghan to unseat him, and lukewarm liberal Congressman Roy Ayers defeated incumbent Elmer Holt for the gubernatorial bid. The autumn election races then became less an inter-party rivalry than a fratricidal war between competing Democrats. Monaghan again opposed Murray, this time as an independent backed by the powerful Townsend old-age pension organization. And the embittered Elmer Holt, a conservative, turned against Ayers and endorsed his Republican opponent for governor.¹³

Despite these factional spats, the New Deal tide swept Montana Democrats to another overwhelming victory in the November, 1936, election. FDR crushed Alf Landon by a better than two-to-one margin. Murray coasted to easy reelection, and Ayers won the gubernatorial race by a narrower majority. Two new liberal Democrats won election to Congress—James F. O'Connor in the eastern district and outspokenly radical Jerry J. O'Connell in the west.¹⁴

It was a glorious year for New Dealers. Murray, O'Connell, and O'Connor were all solid Roosevelt men, and all three were very much "on the make."

Viewed in the wake of the 1936 landslide, three strains of liberalism blended within the Democratic Party of Montana; the 100 per cent New Dealism of Murray and O'Connor, the class-conscious radicalism of Jerry O'Connell, and the old-fashioned, individualistic progressivism of Wheeler.¹⁵ These three varieties of liberalism formed a highly unstable compound, and in 1937 it decomposed.

¹²FERA State File (Montana), (MSS in Record Group 69, National Archives), Box 167, Clarence King to Harry Hopkins, Jan. 20, Feb. 9, March 7, 1934; John Carmody to T. J. Edmonds, Dec. 29, 31, 1934; T. J. Edmonds to Aubrey Williams, March 5, 14, 1934; New York Times, Aug. 26, 1934, Sec. IV, p. 6; Jan. 17, 1934, p. 7; Dec. 16, 1935, p. 27; The Western Progressive (Helena), Jan. 19, 1934, p. 1; Dec. 20, 1935, p. 1.

¹³James E. Murray Papers (MSS in University of Montana Archives), Box 100, Murray to M. S. Gunn, Oct. 24, 1935; Official File 300-Montana (MSS in Roosevelt Library), G. C. Cisel to James A. Farley, July 23, 1936; James E. Murray to Farley, July 27, 1936; Billings Gazette, Oct. 23, 1936, p. 1; Butte Daily Post, Oct. 22, 1936, p. 1.

¹⁴Waldron, Montana Politics since 1864, pp. 264-274.

¹⁵Cf. Otis L. Graham, Jr., An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Graham regrettably did not include Wheeler in his "sample" of progressives and their reaction to the New Deal, but see his cogent comments regarding Wheeler on pp. 115n and 147n; see also Ruetten, "Burton K. Wheeler . . ." op. cit., p. 235.

would attempt to capture his Senate seat in 1940. O'Connell seemed to have the President's tacit approval. He claimed that FDR had told him to "go out there and fight like hell to defeat Senator Wheeler's machine." When Roosevelt visited Fort Peck in October, 1937, he surrounded himself with local Democrats but cold-shouldered Wheeler, who hurriedly left the state "on business" to avoid embarrassment.¹⁸ It seemed that, by opposing the President, Senator Wheeler had lost his liberal constituency and sacrificed his political future.

But Burton Wheeler was no stranger to political intrigue. With the aid of Governor Ayers and the Anaconda Press, Wheeler Democrats set out to dispose of the ambitious Mr. O'Connell--before 1940. After failing to defeat O'Connell for renomination to Congress in the 1938 primary, the Wheeler forces began working behind the scenes to elect his eccentric Republican opponent, Dr. Jacob Thorkelson.¹⁹

The O'Connell-Thorkelson race in 1938 became a fierce battle, pitting liberal Democrats against an informal alliance of Republicans and increasingly conservative Wheeler Democrats. Secretly but effectively, Wheeler used his great influence with labor and the locally powerful Townsend organization to pry these two key groups away from O'Connell.

In the 1938 election, Jerry O'Connell suffered an amazing upset defeat. Thorkelson tripled his GOP primary total and beat him by an 8,000-vote margin. Wheeler's role in all this was obvious: thousands of his admirers had voted for Thorkelson merely to torpedo O'Connell. This soon became embarrassing, when Dr. Thorkelson began to demonstrate Fascist sympathies in Congress. But the 1938 Montana election also embarrassed President Roosevelt, who learned here as in other states the futility of intervening in local political struggles. Wheeler had protected his left flank and defeated his liberal enemies. Richard T. Ruetten seems correct

¹⁸Richard T. Ruetten, "Showdown in Montana, 1938: Burton Wheeler's Role in the Defeat of Jerry O'Connell," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LIV (January, 1963), 19-21; New York Times, Oct. 3, 1937, p. 42; July 20, 1938, p. 1; President's Personal File 723 (MSS in Roosevelt Library), telegram, Wheeler to FDR, Oct. 2, 1937.

¹⁹Ruetten, "Showdown in Montana," pp. 24-25; Official File 300-Montana (MSS in Roosevelt Library), John E. Kennedy, "Confidential Report of Campaign of Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana for Re-election at the Primary Election, July 19, 1938"; C. H. McLeod Papers (MSS in University of Montana Archives), Mrs. Lulu Wheeler to McLeod, Oct. 21, 1938.

Viewed in retrospect, the New Deal worked no apparent revolution in Montana politics. The state produced neither a flowering of local progressivism nor an enduring liberal coalition during the 1930s. As James T. Patterson notes, political attitudes and loyalties in most states often fluctuated but seldom really changed during the Age of Roosevelt, and Montana seems no exception.²³

The Democratic party of Montana, which stood in 1932 as an uneasy grouping of liberals and conservatives, enjoyed an interlude of leftist enthusiasm during the New Deal. But by 1938, ideological and personal factions were again dividing its ranks.

Since 1938, Montana has with few exceptions returned to its familiar patterns of party irregularity and of conservatism at the local and liberalism at the federal levels. The same voters who have sent James E. Murray, Mike Mansfield and Lee Metcalf to the Senate have enthroned conservatives like Hugo Aronson, Donald Nutter, and Tim Babcock in Helena. The basic causes of this long-standing "political schizophrenia" remain a matter of conjecture. Perhaps, as Professor Thomas Payne speculates, Montana voters merely pursue their own self-interest by sending free-spending liberals to Congress and favoring parsimonious conservatives at home. One suspects, however, that the problem is much more complex than that.²⁴ This historian can only conclude that the "Roosevelt Revolution" shifted but hardly recast the paradoxical politics of the "Big Sky" state.

²³Patterson, "The New Deal in the West," op. cit., pp. 319-320, 325-327; and Patterson, The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1969), chap. 6, 7, 8.

²⁴Cf. Thomas Payne, "Montana: Politics under the Copper Dome," Politics in the American West, ed. F. H. Jonas (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), reprinted in The Montana Past, op. cit., pp. 298-332, esp. p. 332.

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