

ILOHI Interview with Morris Mills

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Ladoga, Indiana

Interview by Dr. Michella M. Marino

Transcribed by Mary Kelley

MP3 file, Sony

Morris Mills=MM

Michella Marino=DMM

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DMM: Alright, so that one should be all set and ready to go as well. So, I will just start and say on the record that my name is Michella Marino and today's date is Tuesday, August 28, I thought it was the 27th but it is the 28th and I am here interviewing Morris Mills and do you go by Morrie?

MM: Well as a legislator that's the only place I was ever called that, but.

DMM: Oh yeah? Ok, so Morris? We'll go with Morris then. And we are at his home in Ladoga, Indiana and this is an audio interview. (clunk) So I will start with some easy questions. When and where were you born?

MM: I was born in Decatur township in Valley Mills in 1927.

DMM: Ok.

MM: So, I will be 91 in another 30 days. (chuckles)

DMM: A young spry 91, right?

MM: (chuckles)

DMM: What were your parents' names?

MM: Howard and Vernas Mills. Howard S. and Vernas Hadley Mills.

DMM: Ok. Where's your family from originally?

MM: Well, the Mills' have been in Decatur township since it was settled.

DMM: Oh really?

MM: We still have the homestead farm down there.

DMM: Wow!

MM: And the Hadleys' [0:01:00] were settlers, original settlers in Hendricks County, in a little town of Hadley so uh.

DMM: Ok, so that's where the name, the middle name comes from.

MM: Yeah. (chuckles)

DMM: How did they get to Indiana originally?

MM: Well they came with the Quakers when they came up out of North Carolina. And they both were Quakers. They came up about the same period of time of.

DMM: So, ok, been here a while then?

MM: Oh yeah. Yeah, yeah.

DMM: What were your parents' occupations?

MM: Well, Dad was a farmer all his life. Mother was a, they both went to Earlham College. Mother taught school for four years before they got married and uh, then she was a housewife for the rest of her life, mother. There were five of us kids so that kept us busy.

DMM: Sounds like a full-time job to me probably.

MM: (Laughs)

DMM: So, you had five...four siblings?

MM: Yeah. Three, three brothers and a sister.

DMM: Ok. And where did you fall on that line up?

MM: I'm the oldest. I'm...

DMM: You're the oldest?

MM: ...the first one. Yeah.

DMM: Ok. What were their names?

MM: Well, Howard Jr., [0:02:01] Murray, Helen and Amos.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And they're all still living. Murray's, my brother Murray is in pretty bad shape. He's got Parkinsons but uh, my sister lost her husband a couple years ago. She's up in Michigan.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And uh, went up there to teach school, married a guy up there and never came home. (chuckles)

DMM: (chuckles) town happens sometimes. How would you describe your childhood?

MM: Well, of course, we grew up during the depression when there wasn't any money, so we didn't spend any money. Always had plenty to eat. Dad always had a big garden. We always worked hard. We had 20 cows that had to be milked before we went to school. But the family's always been interested in education and uh I was the fourth generation to go to Earlham so.

DMM: Wow.

MM: So, dad, his parents and so that was a foregone conclusion [0:03:00] about where I went to school.

DMM: Ok. Who were the most influential people when you were growing up?

MM: Well, I don't know who the most influential people were. We were active in the church and went to school. I suppose my father probably was more because I worked with him all the time. He was a pretty unusual fella. He was ended up as a farmer, but he was ended up a presiding clerk of the National Friends Organization. And he was a chairman of the board of trustees at Earlham College and the longest serving trustee. So, he was quite an interesting guy to be around my whole life.

DMM: Yeah, huh. What understanding, if any, did you have as a child about your family's politics or political beliefs? Is that something you talked about?

MM: Well, a little bit. Dad um, my [0:04:00] grandfather was a trustee, I guess, and built the first high school outside the city limits in Indianapolis. So, they've always been active in community affairs. Dad, one time ran for the legi... he served on a advisory board, I think, one time. When there...and one day he ran for the legislature one time when they ran at large in Marion County and they promised this lady even then they only did it in two townships so (laughs). That was the end of that.

DMM: (laughs)

MM: So, his real interest was over in Earlham and with the Quaker activities.

DMM: Um hmm. Ok. Well you've mentioned growing up Quaker a couple of times and did your family raise you in a religious environment? Did that...

MM: Well, we uh, not, well yeah, I assume so. We always went to meeting every Sunday and Sunday school and vacation bible school and all that kind of stuff so.

DMM: Um hmm. Yeah. Did that influence your child any differently? [0:05:00]

MM: No, I don't think so. Most every kids did that time. See there were only what, there were about 40 in my class at school, I guess. So, it wasn't a big mob.

DMM: Ok.

MM: Not like now.

DMM: What schools did you attend then as a child and teenager?

MM: Why?

DMM: What schools.

MM: Why I just went to one school.

DMM: OK (laughs).

MM: The old Decatur Central High School.

DMM: Ok.

MM: I started in the north end in the first grade and it took me six years to get to the south end and six years to get back. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) A nice orderly movement there, I guess. How would you describe your education experiences growing up?

MM: Well, I was a pretty good student, so I didn't have to work very hard. Graduated at the top of the class. Had one or two boys, that were, one fella real competitor academically, but he decided that, Decatur had very limited offering, and he wanted to be [0:06:00] a doctor so he transferred into Tech to go to high school, so my competition disappeared. I only had, I think I graduated with a whole point ahead, grade point ahead of everybody else in the class so...

DMM: Oh, that's impressive.

MM: ...a couple of girls did the same thing, so I didn't have any competition at that time in my life.

DMM: What were your favorite subjects in school?

MM: Well, I always liked math, some history. I got through Latin and a little math. I wasn't a real good mathematician but just general interest in it. I think I've always had an interest in economics from that point of view.

DMM: Yeah. Did, were you involved in any clubs, or did they have any sports or anything?

MM: Well I tried, I had new... I had a uh...they thought I may, had a heart murmur they picked up when I was a freshman in high school. At that time well the treatment was for to be physically inactive so for a year I was supposed to go to bed every day after I got home from school. [0:07:00] So I didn't get to play athletics until I was a senior, but I was both little and slow so. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs)

MM: (laughing) I played a little football in my senior year.

DMM: Um hmm. Ok. As a child or a young man growing up here what were your views about the State of Indiana or being a Hoosier?

MM: Well, I don't think I had much of a, I didn't even...I didn't get much else out of my local world.

DMM: Um hmm. Ok. Well if I understand the timeline correctly World War II would have started when you were entering high school is that right?

MM: Yeah that's right yeah.

DMM: How did that affect your high school or family life?

MM: Well, um, um personally, our family, we were too young to get affected by the draft. Of course, we were affected by rationing and what not but farmers got extra tickets for gasoline so we always had gasoline. We could get tickets [0:08:00] and tires and gasoline so it didn't affect us that much. We, of course, always had plenty of food. Dad had had a humongous garden. And uh so we all worked in the garden. He probably had an acre of garden most the time.

DMM: So, but you're...you were being the oldest your siblings were still too young that's what you were saying.

MM: Oh, yeah, yeah. Well they started working early on I mean you know.

DMM: Did anyone in your family have to take, you know, a war job or anything like that?

MM: No, uh huh, no.

DMM: Just on the farm?

MM: Just on the farm you know. I had a couple of older cousins that were, uh they were conscientious objectors. And they did conscientious objectors' service. My second, my second boy got caught in the in the uh...I elected to go into service in...I, well I graduated '45, in the summer of '45, [0:09:00] spring of '45 and I assumed I was going to get drafted to do something in September and I uh...my dad had gotten a notice so I, dad was a trustee at Earlham at that time so I called up Earlham and said I'm gonna be over tomorrow to enroll (laughs).

DMM: (laughs) Yeah.

MM: And of course, they had plenty of room in the dormitory. So, I got in a quarter of a year, they were on thirds then and then I got a notice about halfway. And I finally decided after a good deal of debate war was alright. I'd just join the army.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: It um, evidently, I scored pretty high on the tests for uh placement. Like the top 1 % or something like that. So, I got sent to the corps of engineers.

DMM: Oh.

MM: And went to Washington and learned to be a topographical surveyor...

DMM: Huh.

MM: ...and down at Belfour (?) was about fifteen miles out of Washington. [0:10:00]

DMM: Ok.

MM: I don't know if you've ever been to Washington or not. But at that time there was no, nothing between Fort Belfour and the city except the Pentagon. And uh, I could get a weekend pass to Washington for stay all night for fifty cents and uh...

DMM: Wow.

MM: ...oh, what's the...I forget what they call those clubs, USO Clubs...

DMM: The Servicemen's clubs.

MM: ...oh yes, to poke around Washington for...

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: ...I was there for about five and a half months, I guess.

DMM: Ok. So, were you shipped anywhere else after that?

MM: Yeah, then, then I was shipped ... and then I got trained...I went to engineers' school and then they gave me to the graduate program [0:11:00] to be a topographical surveyor and I got shipped over to join a little unit outside of Tokyo.

DMM: Wow.

MM: And uh it was a little camp about...wasn't any much, most of us from college. We had all the kids in my...I had four of us in a room and they were all my kind of kids. All had been to college a little bit...bright kids. And it was a very pleasant experience. Except we had to guard, do guard duty once in a while all night but other than that.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: And we were out walking around through the people and doing some surveying here or there.

DMM: Um hmm. So how long were you there then in Tokyo?

MM: Well I was there from September till... I got there I guess 1st of October...I was over there September until the end of June and um, we did some surveying around Tachika Air Force Base. And then they sent us down to Kukura which was at the southern end of the main island. I think we just, [0:12:00] we took a train down there and went through Hiroshima about eight months after it was over.

DMM: What was that like?

MM: Well it was just flat. We had another city um between us and Tokyo that you could stand on one side, it was a city of about 100,000 people, you could stand on, they were very susceptible to fire bombing, and you could stand on one side of the city and see across this whole town.

DMM: (softly) Wow.

MM: Just the whole thing burned down.

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: And the same thing with Hiroshima, there just wasn't anything left there.

DMM: Was there any awareness, like was it dangerous to go there still with the fallout or anything?

MM: No, the people, the people were very very nice. I uh, Earlham had always had a little connection with Japanese people and the dean of uh women at Earlham, [0:13:00] my uncle had a friend at Earlham who was from Tokyo and he wanted me to look him up and so one day I was out wandering around Tokyo and trying to find where he lived and couldn't find him. There was a Japanese gentleman on the street, and I asked him, if you saw a Japanese fellow in a western suit he could speak a little English, so he said yeah I'll take you down but we couldn't find the house but he insisted that I come home and have lunch with him. And then, the last Sunday before I was there why there was a Japanese lady that had gone to Earlham and was in the same

class as my aunt and uncle and she was real active in founding [0:14:00] the Japanese YMCA YWCA and they had a school also, well anyway, so they wanted me to look her up so I did the last Sunday which was devastating I had waited that long. They had a girl about my age, and I get in this house and there was an American general's picture on the mantle. And he had been a pretty successful businessman, but it turns out that he'd gone to Earlham and was in the same class at Earlham and they'd kept in contact all these years. He was McArthur's G-4, which is the guy that took care of the relations with the Japanese people. And the story goes, and I can't stand for sure, that he consulted with her frequently about what they ought to do with the Emperor.

DMM: Wow!

MM: And uh, I guess he, she strongly recommended, she and another Japanese lady of similar status, that Tojo was fair game, they could do whatever they wanted to him, but just not to mess with the Emperor. And uh, so I guess that's the case. [0:15:00] And then uh to show you how small the world is why I got back to Earlham and had a date with the General's daughter one time (laughs).

DMM: (laughs) Come full circle there.

MM: And the girl came back to Earlham while I was at Harvard and she, but we missed connections, so I didn't get to see her again. Her mother got sick, so she wasn't there very long. Went home.

DMM: Yeah. That's a fascinating story.

MM: Yeah it was. But that was just life. You could go anywhere you wanted to, you could...bus rides. And then we got our pay was I started over there at \$29 a month but I got promoted finally getting \$120 a month but we got a carton of cigarettes and the yen was supposed to be 10 yens to a dollar I think or something like that and but you could sell those cigarettes for 200 yen and so at a yen my haircut we had an old Japanese lady [0:16:00] that gave you a haircut in the bar, in the PX for 3 yen and (chuckles) which would be a third of a cigarette (laughs)...

DMM: (chuckles) It'd be a pretty good exchange rate there for ya.

MM: Yeah, pretty good exchange rate. So, I would, you know, life over there was...we really enjoyed it. Catch a train downtown to Tokyo and walk around.

DMM Yeah, that's interesting. So, when did you come back then?

MM: Then I I got...I decided when I...in the army they gave us a chance for to enlist for eighteen months or you could take a chance of getting out early. I said well that's a time to fit to go back to school, so I just took it. And uh, did that.

DMM: Ok. So, eighteen months then? So, when you came back did you go right to Earlham or?

MM: Yeah, I went right to Earlham that following fall and I got...I got had ten credits [0:17:00] I guess the first semester and then I decided that uh I could uh maybe finish in three years. I took twenty hours a semester after the first year. The first year I got uh, the first semester at Earlham I got 3 C's and a B or something like that (chuckles).

DMM: Everyone's got one semester like that.

MM: And uh, well I finally graduated with honors in Economics. And uh, I went out of that service in Japan I got four and a half years of college...

DMM: On the G.I. bill?

MM: ...on the G.I. bill. And uh, our economics professor got sick at Earlham the last semester. And they went and hired a young guy from I.U. who just graduated from Harvard Business School. And he said you...why don't you apply for a Harvard. And I said why not? (laughs)

DMM: So, I take it that's how you got to Harvard then?

MM: That's the way I got to Harvard yeah.

DMM: Uh huh. So, you finished [0:18:00] in three years and then you went straight...

MM: Straight to Harvard, yeah.

DMM: ...straight to Harvard. And how long was that?

MM: A two-year course yeah.

DMM: Yeah, ok. And that was for an MBA?

MM: Yeah, um hmm, yeah.

DMM: Ok.

MM: I went to Harvard Business School yeah.

DMM: What was it like being on the east coast after growing up on a farm here?

MM: (laughs) Well, we uh, you know, the uh (pause) I'd never been to the east except my uncle, who was a professor at I.U., when we were, I don't know, he took three of his nephews and his son to New York when we were in, before the war started. So that's the only other time I'd ever been to the east coast. We took a...drove a car, you know, and stayed in the motels and whatnot. Went to Yankee Stadium to see a basketball game. But uh, I did some traveling now in the army, but we had a real...I mean it was a really a great bunch of guys at Harvard. I mean some had [0:19:00] lots of money and some didn't have any. I wasn't the best student there I mean I didn't graduate with honors. But I...

DMM: I think a degree from Harvard stands for itself. (laughs)

MM: (laughs) It, uh, I wasn't a Baker scholar but uh I got along alright.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And I just, uh, I, I...we had uh...my two uncles had started a milk processing plant in Indianapolis and so I decided that I was going to come home and do that. So, I didn't do any hard interviewing out of Harvard for a job and came straight home. I don't know... one of the bridges you do...I might have tried to do something else with it but I didn't.

DMM: So, did you major in Business or Econ at Earlham?

MM: I majored in Econ.

DMM: Ok.

MM: I took a couple of...I took a bookkeeping course in high school. And then I...Earlham didn't teach accounting but I.U. had a...started an extension over there. They had a guy come over and taught two years [0:20:00] ... a year of accounting, or regular accounting, cost accounting. I had taken that which was a great help when I got to Harvard because most the kids there hadn't had any college, any accounting and they had a course called through... called Control and you're supposed to learn how accounting works the first three weeks and then what do you do the rest of the time?

DMM: Right. (laughs) In what ways did your awareness of politics evolve as you matured or even as you were in the war?

MM: Aaaah. Well, as I grew up as a kid, um, um, we were Quakers and my uncle, one uncle had introduced Her...um Hoover had a convention at Earlham one time, so the Quakers were completely ticked off at Roosevelt [0:21:00] for being president (laughs). And McNutt was the democrat, I think, and on 40 West of Indianapolis they built an overpass over the railroad on 40 and everybody called it, the family called it McNutt's monument so (chuckles). So, we were always Republican and um and even Grandfather Mills and all of them were active in politics. The fact is, I don't know, during, uh, I think there were two precincts in the county, but Grandfather Mills and two other older residents one day before the election ran over the poll books and said how everybody'd vote in the coming election and they missed it by three votes. (laughs)

DMM: It's a close one. That's funny. So, you were kind of aware of...

MM: I was aware...

DMM: ...of the family politics ...

MM: ...one time they asked me to run for the school board and I...or for variety board and we got beat by the democrats on that so, you know, I didn't work on that very hard.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And then one night, I don't know if you want me to get into this, but one night at the Lions Club, which I joined soon after, why Republicans in Marion County were having a big fight, [0:22:00] um Keith Bulin and some insurgents were trying to throw out Dale Brown, the incumbent county chairman. And the bunch of the candidates who were the recruits and uh, with the new bunch and so the old bunch were badly looking for candidates and at that time you ran at large in Marion County...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...for fifteen seats and uh so if you weren't supported by somebody you couldn't do anything.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And um one night the local township chairman, who was a former...also a Lion, said you've got some interesting credentials would you consider running for the Legislature? And I said why not. And so, we did and uh we got smashed in the primary (chuckles). And I thought well that's the end of my political career but uh. A member of the Lions Club and a [0:23:00] member of the winning ticket, a good friend, was uh Richard Given, who was a state rep at the time, and he came to me after the, uh '68 or whenever that election was, and said I'm a member of the Supreme Court how about I just give you my seat? So, I went down and interviewed with four people and they said ok and that was the campaign. (big laugh)

DMM: (laughs) Well there you go! Well I've read a little bit about Keith Bulin. What was his position at that time? With the Party?

MM: Well at that time he was county chairman.

DMM: Ok.

MM: He won... the year before he won the uh...they won the precinct...they ran a full slate of precinct committees, so they put his people in and pitched Dale Brown and his bunch out. So, he was the county chairman then and he and two or three other people I interviewed with and uh.

DMM: Um hmm. And so that was sort of mid [0:24:00] to late 60's when you were really starting to get into that?

MM: Yeah, right yeah. The first time I ran was in '66. The second time...

DMM: Was '68 into '69.

MM: ...yeah, yeah. Right, yeah.

DMM: So, it...coming back from the war...finishing your degrees did you then start with Mill Brothers Farms or was it appointment...?

MM: No, I spent, I spent the first ten years out at the processing plant, milk processing plant.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And we got into, finally got into trouble and sold out and I went back to the farm.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And uh, did that then.

DMM: Now was the family farm called Maplehurst? I've seen that name...

MM: Well Maplehurst, Maplehurst was the name of the processing plant.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And it was...my grandmother...when she got married...she was from Plainfield...

DMM: Ok.

MM: ...my great grandfather had graduated from Earlham in 1850 and he went out and surveyed southwestern Iowa. A surveyor and pretty good mathematician, [0:25:01] he came back and made enough money to build a big Georgian House back of the lane of the wood house and there

were maple trees down this lane...I don't know the lane was 150 yards long...she called it Maplehurst... the home of maples. And so that's where Maplehurst name came. So, they called the bakery I mean the dairy Maplehurst Farms.

DMM: Ok. Did your family farm have a name or?

MM: We always operated it...originally it was Edwin S. Mills and Sons and then we switched to Mills Brothers a little later on.

DMM: Ok. So, you worked, you said ten years for the processing plant and then went back to farming?

MM: Farming, yeah.

DMM: Ok. Um, is that what you wanted to do long term, or did you have other career aspiration?

MM: Well, I don't know, I...you know I was a little defeated by the way the dairy business had gone [0:26:00] but it uh, was just inevitable. The way our customer bases dried up. My dad...I just went to see my sister Helen last week and so...we were probably by the time I left, one of the larger, fairly significant dairies but there were 40 dairies, 30 dairies in Indianapolis at that time. Anyway I went up to see my sister, my son drove me up there, I said, ah, let's look at the Walmart built a new plant in Fort Wayne...they're just by Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois...this plant is absolutely humongous...it's got five unloading docks...they unload five semi-tankers of ...

DMM: Wow.

MM: ...milk at a time and you know, that's just a whole different world.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: And um, so I farmed for a... in '52... [0:27:00] I mean I was at the dairy for ten years, came back in '52 and then I did that until I got elected in '66. I still farm. I have one brother, Murray, back on the farm, so he...he carried it, kept the thing running while I was out horsing around in the Legislature.

DMM: (laughs) Horsing around. Thinking back to term.

MM: But one of the things that probably, two things on account about the Legislature. One, when we were farming, I was renting some farm from a neighbor lady and the property taxes that she was paying were a third of the rent. And so, I wrote...when Doc Bowen got elected... I wrote Doc Bowen a letter. He was very interested in the property tax revolution.

DMM: And was he the speaker at this time?

MM: Yeah.

DMM: Ok.

MM: I told him I was very interested about doing something on property taxes. He put me on Ways and Means the first year. [0:28:00] Which was almost unheard of.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And um, the second year I ended up chairing the appropriations part of it, I guess. Ah, second term. So, I got off to a running start there. Then the other unique role I tend to play pretty quickly was uh...this started in the house I guess...I was able to communicate with a Harvard degree, a business degree and a farmer, I could kind of bridge between the rural communities and the urban business communities...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...so I introduced the first bill to uh, I guess in the second term of the house...the banks were getting to talk about banking and John Musk came to me, he was working for Merchants Bank, he said I can't carry this thing, would you carry this bill to expand banking? And, uh, so I did that for...it took thirteen years to pass that thing and meanwhile the banking industry got wiped out in Indiana. I mean...

DMM: That's...I've read a little about that and my understanding, and please correct me if this is wrong, but it was necessary legislation, [0:29:00] but it almost came too late...

MM: Oh yeah, it came way too late, yeah.

DMM: ...Yeah.?

MM: And uh because the high banks had already consolidated and just came down and scooped up everything in Indiana.

DMM: Um hmm. So why were people so resistant to that? How come it took thirteen years?

MM: Well, uh, the number one opponent was a guy out here in Fountain County. The independent bankers were opposed to it. And most of those guys had little monopolies. You couldn't, you couldn't lay banking in their county and uh, the White family controlled Fountain County Bank and Trust Company. They had a law office. You had to even go through the law office to get a bank loan. (chuckles)

DMM: Goodness.

MM: So anyway, it was very much a personal. They maintained the local interest there but uh.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: But it...by that time, you know, most of those guys couldn't even finance a good farm anymore. [0:30:00]

DMM: Yeah, so did that Legislation pass then mid 80's? Late 80's?

MM: Yeah, something like that.

DMM: Ok. Why I want to get back here to the politics but real quick when did you get married?

MM: Why I got married...in Feb...I graduated Harvard in '52 and we got married in '54.

DMM: Ok. And where did you meet Mary Ann?

MM: Well, we were both Quakers and the families had known each other. My brother roomed with her brother I think one semester. I even had one date with her older sister.

DMM: (laughs)

MM: But I think I had one date...her older sister was a year older ahead of me or two years ahead of me in school. She lived down Mooresville which was right down the road. But uh, I think I took her to a dance one time at Earlham. I was a Senior and she was a freshman and we hadn't had any contact till I dated a few other girls around until Christmas [0:31:00] of '53. And I called her up and asked her for a date. She said ok and by that time she had taken a job up at...she was majored in elementary music and took a job up at Gas City and was home for the holidays. So, I took a job with her and uh, I mean she came home and I called her up for a date (giggles) and then one of my room...college friends called me and said I've got a date with Mary Ann tomorrow night and I said you're out (laughs).

DMM: (laughs).

MM: But I won that race. And so, we hit it off pretty quickly and decided to get married.

DMM: Well good for you. Um...

MM: I did well. (laughs)

DMM: Yes, yes. I'd say so. Um, and did you have any children?

MM: What?

DMM: Did you have children?

MM: I have three boys. [0:32:00]

DMM: Three boys. And what are their age ranges?

MM: Well we were married in (pause) uh August of fifty-sss...fifty (pause)...well yeah, August of '54 and we were uh...Doug was born in January of '56. And then Fred was born in uh, December of, uh November of '57 and Gordon was '62.

DMM: Ok.

MM: Have you run into Fred any or not?

DMM: I don't think so.

MM: Well he's a...he worked for the dairy for a while. He went to get an MBA at I.U. but he's now the governmental affairs for the Indianapolis Power and Light Company. He's on the list for all time now.

DMM: Yes, I bet I will then in the future.

MM: (chuckles).

DMM: So, how did your family influence your career decisions or getting into politics?

MM: Well, I don't think they...of course [0:33:00] her dad's uh was dabbled in politics a little bit too but the Quakers had always been somewhat interested in politics. When I went to the

house of uh well she went to church down in Mooresville, Friends Meeting, and at that time that little friends meeting had a U.S. congressman, a state senator, a state rep and a senator all (laughs)

DMM: Wow.

MM: So, you know, just always in politics. And not politics per se, just being active in the community type politics.

DMM: Sure. Well, as you initially, in some ways you have already answered this, but as you initially became more involved in politics and considered running what were key issues or legislation that you championed or fought against. I know you mentioned the banking but is there anything else, and the property taxes, but is there... [0:34:00] did you come into it with knowing these are the things I want to do?

MM: No, no, not particularly. I think one, you may know, from an economist or a business person I always wanted to see the governor run as well as possible I mean. You know a good budget. I mean fund the things you need to fund and don't fund the messin' around things. I was not an advocate of the union. We had a real nasty strike while I was at the dairy. And so, we, I had no use at all for unions and they almost bankrupted the company. So, I went in with that prejudice. But other than that, I just, I found it fascinating. And then I got to participate in a major decision early.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And that made it...you know I got into working on the budget my second year in the House. Then I got interested in somewhat in educational funding. Her father, at that time I guess, was trustee and they were having a heck of a time running financing at schools. The State [0:35:00] in the 60's, the only support that the State gave local schools, they had a \$40 flat grant and per kid, and your first use of that was for debt service. And then if you had any left over, you could use it for the general fund. Well the spread between the poorest school and the wealthiest school was ten to one.

DMM: hmm.

MM: Whiting with the [unintelligible] finances the highest, Park County, southeastern, southwestern, southeastern Park County was the poorest in the State and they didn't have a nickel to do anything with.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: And so, I got interested in that. Uh, I uh, the first bill that ever did anything, I guess this is the year I got to the Senate, [0:36:00] the [unintelligible] about equalizing, Larry Borst was chairman of Senate Finance, I had this idea of uh, that if a school corpora...at that time there was a maximum amount of taxes you could levy for a school and I went to him and I said well how about saying if this levy doesn't raise 400 bucks or something like that the State will make up the difference. So that was the first equalization formula that the State did on that. And it went from there to evolved into [unintelligible]

DMM: Ok. So, I think I read about a bill where you wanted to take money from the construction fund to pull into the general fund or something like that?

MM: Well, I don't know the...I don't remember that issue per se but uh...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: There was, there was ability, some [0:37:00] school corporations had more money, to construction money and you...

DMM: Yeah, I think that was it. So. But you were involved in sort of pushing for the equalization throughout your tenure.

MM: Yeah, the whole time and then I wrote the school formula for twenty-five years. And uh...

DMM: Ok.

MM: On that type thing and uh...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...then of course, one of the next issue... just coming... started to come on about 1990 was the shift in enrollments, the decline of the urban schools and the uh expansion of those uh suburban schools. We started to have the...we talked about ghost students (chuckles) and that type thing.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So, we first started to move, and they probably gone overboard on per student financing cause they you just can't collapse school districts as fast as IPS or Gary or some of those have.

DMM: Um hmm. Yeah, that's...a lot of that's up in the air right now, I think. [0:38:00]

MM: Oh yeah. Oh yeah. (chuckles)

DMM: So, well, who...as you were entering politics in the 60's and 70's who were your national political heroes? Did you have any sort of politicians you looked up to?

MM: Um, (long pause) not really um well, one of my early connections was that uh we were farmers down in Decatur Township and Dick Lugar had run for the school board I think but his family had a farm down there and I went up and talked about him farming his farm...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...and about a year later I guess it had become vacant, so we started farming it about... hmm I don't know if I was in the house...the legislature then or not but anyway by the time he was mayor I was farming [0:39:00] and of course all the time I was in the Senate why and he'd stop by the house every once in a while, I'd chat with him. And so, I got to know him pretty well.

DMM: Yeah. Ok.

MM: And of course, Nixon was a Quaker and uh you know he ended up in a kind of mess but his, his family grew up in uh Whittier California and my aunt and uncle were out there to Whittier. My grandmother had a brother and sister went out to Whittier when it was founded and were in that same community and then my uncle also named Buell went out why uh they worked

for the Nixon filling station for a while so they knew Richard when he was a kid in school and... (chuckles)

DMM: Really, that's interesting.

MM: ...there was some, you know, closer association with him...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...even though he kinda turned out not the way they... (giggles)

DMM: (laughs) Yeah. I don't think that's the way they wanted that to end up probably but. [0:40:00] Um, what was your first election day like?

MM: First election day uh. Well, I guess I knew we were going to get beat pretty badly but I went downtown. I think I remember the most is I went downtown to the county chairman's office and he was run out of money and everything else deal around and I spent the evening with him as he got beat. (laughs) And I thought that was the end of my political career until Dick Garan came by two years later and said how about that [unintelligible] and I said ok so. (laughs)

DMM: So, you'd already had the sort of let down one. [unintelligible] second one.

MM: Yeah. I had, I had, at that time, at that time when you ran for the legislature you only met 60 days every other year so it was just a very small part time job and uh. So, it didn't make a whole lot of difference.

DMM: Well you then served for thirty-two years...

MM: Yeah.

DMM ...is that right? So, did...were you nervous [0:41:00] each election or was it kind of what happens will happen? How did you feel?

MM: Well no. After the first election I didn't have, I didn't have any anxiety much at all. I mean I thought we were gonna win and the party was very strong in Marion County at that time and I always had a precinct down by the stockyards that I had. And you could go with that bridge 'bout to tell how the county election was gonna turn out (laughs). It was a working-class neighborhood. If you were a republican, you knew you were going to win if you didn't then you didn't. I didn't have any anxiety.

DMM: Did you run? Did you have campaign strategy? Did you do a lot of campaigning? What did that look like?

MM: No, no I mean the thing I is I don't think I could have survived today. I uh I never spent \$2000 on any campaign. [0:42:00] I did buy yard signs finally.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: One year we had a fund raiser and I raised 40,000 bucks on a dinner out the farm, but I gave it all away and I didn't do...at that time the legislature didn't do any mailings. When anybody...when Chip Edgers, was president pro tem, he started slipping newspapers but this whole bunch of crap of mailing all that stuff all out...the parties ran the thing and I think that's a real disaster right now. Is everybody's a maverick running on a cause.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And uh, we used to have...Marion County had a caucus every before the legislature we'd decide what we were going to work on. And uh those were the issues that uh we dealt with and uh. That pretty well...we went in as a party we didn't go in as a bunch of independents of people.

DMM: Um hmm. Well when you were starting then in the late 60's and into the 70's what was the Republican [0:43:00] Party like? What were the main issues that you were focused on?

MM: (pause) Ahh. (pause) Well of course you always asked to be in control. I think we were always on...well it's just nice to be running things...I mean that was the first issue is to run things. Well, course uh we were having a meeting one time and they were talking about opening a federal chamber of commerce, an Indianapolis office and uh somebody said well what's the purpose of that and Gordon Dendale was a active at things well that's another appointee we can get. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs)

MM: (laughing) But I didn't have any, I didn't have any, uh you know, I didn't have any vested interest in it one way or the other.

DMM: Well what would you say, I guess, what was the political philosophy of the Republicans? What were the key things you stood for?

MM: Well, I I I think we had a really uh Bulen really rounded up a unique bunch of people in that first group. He had Larry Borst, Ned [0:44:00] Lankin, he was on and his wife uh what was her...ha...John Mutz, um, um, oh a black fellow uh coach of Crispus Attucks, uh won the basketball tourney...anyway it was just a bunch of bright guys in there and uh they were interested in government. Interested in good government not per se. Dad served a little bit on the county, I guess the Juliette Board for a while, which was the County Home, and he was just completely disgusted with the Democrats wanting it to make packages of a point out of it. I'd say the real interest was really just good government. The point he got organized with [0:45:00] Bulen, well John Burkhart funded the first go round. John Burkhart was a DePauw graduate and he started selling life insurance to his fellow students and then founded College Life and then finally ended up founding oh, the loan thing up at...which is now Sallie Mae.

DMM: Oh.

MM: And uh, so he funded the thing. He uh...I just want people to, good people to run good government.

DMM: um hmm.

MM: And that was the agenda.

DMM: Ok. What were you thinking as you walked into the State House the first day.

MM: (laughs) Well, I, I, I served a page one time, so I'd been in the State House one time. And uh, but you know, you know you're...it's...of course at that time the building's not near as impressive as now cause it got redecorated by Warren. So it was kind of gunggoy. The House chamber was pretty extensive but the State House itself [0:46:00] was a pretty down place. But

you know, you were there, you had a parking spot. But you know I always said everybody it takes two years to learn where the bathroom is. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) Learning process. Well how did you learn the ends and outs of state government?

MM: Well I always managed to be where the action was. And of course, the action [unintelligible] I was active in the Farm Bureau people. We'd always had been members of the Farm Bureau, so I had that bloc. The business community picked me up real quick. So, I had the two major blocs that were active in operating the state. And moved into that from the outside and internally I guess somebody thought I was worth promoting. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) Did you have any [0:47:00] political mentors as you were coming into the General Assembly that sort of helped you learn the ropes?

MM: No, not per se.

DMM: Not per se, ok.

MM: Of course, the first thing was only 60 days and we went home. So. (laughs)

DMM: Right, right.

MM: It was kind of like surprise you're here and business and boom (slaps hand down) you're gone. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs)

MM: You didn't know if you'd be back or not. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) That's true. Um, well, how did you know the needs and wants of your constituents?

MM: Aaaah, you didn't pay much attention. Per se. I mean I, I'd say at that time people were generally elected to do the best they do.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: Period. And not, say as kitchen didn't work, or all those kinds of issues. Just you run the schools as well as you could, you ran the government as well as you could, you fix the roads, you took care of the mental health...

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: ...and uh I was in the House for two years and they redistricted in the fall after the second term. And I was at that time set to be ranking member or chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. And Keith Bulen called me in and said why don't you run for the Senate? And I said I don't wanna run for the Senate. I got this position in the House. And he said I think you're better running for the Senate. [0:48:00] (laughs). And I was running against Bob O'Neill who'd been the County Sheriff and about that time we had a district who was really Wayne Township, Speedway, Ben Davis and whatnot. And he said I'll get you a, I'll get you a good aide, it was Mitch Daniels. (laughs)

DMM: Well there you go! I doubt many people can say Mitch Daniels was their aide.

MM: (laughs) Well he was my campaign aide.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: He'd do stuff like that.

DMM: Uh huh. Did you stay in touch with him when he was working his way through government?

MM: Yeah, I'd see him once in a while. We'd always [unintelligible] each other and uh what not and uh.

DMM: That's funny.

MM: And the county organizations spent some money on and I'd say I won comfortably and uh there was another guy in the House who [0:49:00] wanted that seat and I think he maybe filed for it or something and he got beat and uh so he run and filed Independent or wanted to file maybe the next year even. Anyway, the next year they passed a bill that a guy if you got beat in the primary you couldn't file as an Independent for the same seat.

DMM: Um hmm. Interesting.

MM: But then after that why I...Wayne Township was the center of that thing and uh they had the world's largest volunteer fire department. I think there were seven stations in Wayne Township...

DMM: Oh.

MM: ...and the trustee was in cahoots with him so the only thing he had to do to get reelected was eat fish at all of seven fish fries. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) That was a busy summer for him I bet.

MM: (laughing) Yeah.

DMM: That's funny.

MM: So I did all that and of course [0:50:00] ...but we never had any...there were some Republicans at Ben Davis, Township Republicans that I went to a few of those but nobody ever you know, asked me, about how I voted on something or uh.

DMM: So, is the mentality more like, you know, we trust you, we sort of think you're a good guy to lead us whereas I'm not going to necessarily call you on every issue?

MM: Oh yeah, I never got any calls at all. And the school, the school teacher, I didn't like this union and they had a horrible time with me because I usually tried to get them a little more money but they... I voted against everything else they wanted, and they said what, the lobbyist came and said why can't you just give us one little (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) Well...

MM: But they never ran anybody against me so.

DMM: Um hmm. When the Teachers Union had a lot of power in Indiana didn't they?

MM: Yeah, at that time yeah. [0:51:00]

DMM: Yeah.

MM: And so, it was kinda funny. By that time, of course the business community picked up and I got, you know, some advice here and there.

DMM: What was the first bill you sponsored? Do you remember?

MM: The first bill I sponsored? (pause)

DMM: Or maybe the first issue that really mattered to you that you wanted to work on.

MM: Well, first fight I got in to...

DMM: That seems like a good story.

MM: Uh, Was it...I think it was when Pat Bower went to the phosphate in detergents was an issue and the business community that I did came and asked me [0:52:00] if I could carry a bill to uh allow phosphates to be used. And he led the opposition and I forget, I forget whether I won or not but anyway when we got to committee and I thought I had it out of committee. I did have it out of committee but two of the people who opposed the bill weren't there and he could file a minority report for the committee and he found the two guys that weren't there they signed the majority report. So, the minority report had more signatures than the majority report.

DMM: Oops.

MM: Well he got dealt with that issue after that. You could ... minority couldn't sign the bill if they weren't there at the committee. But I think, well early on I think uh, [0:53:00] I don't remember, I had one bill...they told you at that time you were supposed to get a fellow, a democrat co-author. I got John Buscemi to be the author, he was from Lake County, but I don't have a clue what the bill was. And uh, but I started working on the budget pretty soon.

DMM: Um hmm. Yeah.

MM: One of the first bills I tried, I guess it was in the House, and uh, uh, I think I was still in the House, and uh the head of the independent colleges came to me and said will you, we got an idea, he said, the Freedom of Choice bill. Are you familiar with it?

DMM: I looked a little into it.

MM: And uh, it was for independent colleges if you were a student in need you could get a state scholarship equal to the state expenditures for the cheapest schools which was Vincennes University. And uh, I uh, I [0:54:00] said wait a...at that time dad was a trustee at Earlham and I looked up, so I said, I said yeah I'll carry that bill and we passed it.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And I think this year we passed out 50 million bucks.

DMM: Wow.

MM: To independent colleges and so schools like Marian and those guys just live off that bill.

DMM: Um hmm. I'm sure that changed the game for them.

MM: Oh yeah, a lot for those types of schools and uh. And then I got active in the independent colleges after I left the Legislature. I guess they always had some lay members and I acted with them. About three years ago I got an award from the National Association of Independent Colleges for being the most significant guy in independent education in the United States.

DMM: Wow. Congratulations. That's a big honor.

MM: On account of that bill. I carried that, and of course I had the banking bill. I always had the budget.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: You get, you know, screwy things about politics. One year I introduced a bill, we were in the dairy business, [0:55:00] we always had trouble with the dang college kids carrying off the milk cases to build shelves and the Kroger was having trouble with people pushing off the shopping carts and so the Kroger guy and I introduced a bill to make it a felony or a misdemeanor to steal a milk cart or a grocery cart and then that made the papers as a special interest bit of legislation. I don't know if it passed or not. (laughs)

DMM: That's funny.

MM: Outlawing somebody from stealing your goods I didn't think it was necessarily a special interest but. (chuckles)

DMM: Apparently it is. Well, I noticed looking back through the legislation that you sponsored it seems that very frequently you put forth um a bill to get rid of the death penalty.

MM: Yeah, I did do that to partly the, partly the Friends background and even [0:56:00] the Catholic Church was promoting that I think.

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: [unintelligible] do it

DMM: It...that never passed did it?

MM: No

DMM: The federal law changed somewhat.

MM: The federal law changed somewhat and it uh I introduced a ...why I did get a hearing one time and Meek mentioned but I won't give you a vote. (laughs) And uh another bill I uh, I uh, when Mutz was president of the Senate, I introduced a bill from uh, Friends National Committee on trying to deal with reduction of uh nuclear weapons and uh I guess I...it was a resolution or something and I guess the national republicans were opposed anyway Mutz killed the thing (laughs) before we ever had a vote. Had a real quick gavel or something. And uh well I did a little work on that and uh. Maybe I [0:57:00] ...the Quakers kind of always dabble in things we got interested one time in a, some Quaker lady in Washington decided that foreign diplomats ought to see more than Washington D.C. and she formed a group to take them out on tours in the

Midwest and all over the country, but they had one and I.U. kind of participated in. So, one year we hosted them out at the farm and well the first year I think we had and then I think they put them up in peoples' houses but anyway we had we ended up with the ambassador from Algeria as an overnight guest...

DMM: Wow.

MM: ...and uh he stayed with us and uh...

DMM: Did you say Nigeria?

MM: Yeah.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: No, Algeria.

DMM: Algeria, ok.

MM: And he, and he was talking about how he got to be that he said he was studying government in NYU and he counted with a side they had a revolution, and he was kind of helping those guys and he got a call from them and they said we won [0:58:00] you come home and help organize the government. (laughs) and he got the appointment as... so when the Nigerian, when the Algerian president came to visit the White House why uh the protocol is the Vice the uh ambassador and the President is supposed to hold a reception for the Vice President. So, we got an invitation to, Maryann and I go to Washington to attend this reception with the President. Of course, at that time the Vice President was Quayle...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...and uh I knew Quayle back when he was a...when I first worked at the Governor's Office under Whitcomb why Quayle was a kid around the Governor's Office. And uh one time one of the lobbyists had a, made a golf outing up at Monticello [0:59:00] and he said I'd like for you to come up and I'll get you a ride and it was Quayle. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) You've got Daniels as your aide. You've got Quayle as your chauffeur. Yeah.

MM: (laughs) So I knew Dan all along.

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: So that was kind of fun. So yeah, it's a funny thing in the world of...

DMM: Yeah. What were interactions like between the Republicans and the Democrats when you were in the General Assembly?

MM: Well, um, course at the...it depended on who was in charge and whatnot. Frank O'Bannon's... was uh uh a very uh uh easy guy to get along with but I was governor for a little bit along with him. Evan Bayh, I uh was a [unintelligible] year because he beat Doc Bowens son for governor...or for Secretary of State and then went on and he beat Mutz, and that a little harsh there then. [1:00:04] But uh at the Budget Committee level we got along pretty well and uh. The Republicans were usually completely in control. And uh I don't know how it'd be to serve on the minority I never did do that. (chuckles)

DMM: You shouldn't have to do that.

MM: One time we were at a...we had one we were one vote short of having a quorum and we were passing bills... you had to have a quorum to...you could pass a vote with 26 bills... 26 votes...you had to have quorum to start but anyway so them guys walked out, and we were passing bills and they were all standing there looking in and one of them stepped in the door and made a quorum so they couldn't challenge it. (laughs)

DMM: Oh no.

MM: And uh you know some of my good friends were uh... I knew, oh uh most of the uh Budget Directors [1:01:00] that were Democrats and were still good friends of all those people...

DMM: Um hmm. So, would you describe it, I know you served over the course of thirty years, but at least somewhat of a spirit of bipartisanship or at least a willingness to be friendly to each other?

MM: I think friendliness were a lot more present. We didn't have the people...we didn't have any messing around with social issues.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: None of that was there. The only...we had one gal that got all exercised about there were some sewer uh cure with apricots in Mexico for cancer or something in that bill...made a lot of fuss. And then Equal Rights Amendment got to be a little hot issue for a while. You know, I couldn't see any problem with that.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: The real conservative people thought that was terrible but uh I thought women at least a had fair shot at it.

DMM: I do too. I'm sure I know I'm not supposed to say that. But ok. (chuckles) [1:02:00]

MM: (laughs) Oh yeah. But they didn't have the social issues at all. I was a pretty good friend with the Governor. One time, I forget what the bill was my secretary got a threatening letter from somebody and I guess she told the press in the Pro Tem's Office and they informed the Governor and uh Maryann got a phone call one day from uh, she said the guy on the phone said this is Evan Bayh, she said oh no no...

DMM: (gasp)

MM: ...and he said yeah it is. Said would you like police protection? (chuckles)

DMM: Oh no.

MM: She said no I get along alright so.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: You know we were in... Evan and I were pretty good friends.

DMM: Was this the death threat over the local phone measure? [1:03:00] Was that...

MM: I forget...

DMM: ...I read in the paper something about that.

MM: Yeah, something like that. I forget what the issue was.

DMM: Yeah. But you ...what... did that bother you?

MM: No, no. I didn't take it, I didn't take it very seriously.

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: Really, I had been through a...when we had the union strike, we had...it was nasty. I mean people put down uh a little wire device to flatten tires ... and tires... the whole thing, we had to get everything...so, I mean I lost the union thing real early on that issue and uh.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: Then later on after about ten years after I was out of the legisla...fifteen years after the legislature my brother who kind of kept the milk plant going, he found somebody else to put some money it in, well he started a little company called the Maplehurst Deli-Bake. And um he bought a franchise to make uh (coughs) uh frozen uncooked donuts.

DMM: Hmm.

MM: They were gonna take those to shop and all you had to do was let them warm them up and then you could fry them and have fresh donuts. A pud...spudnut [1:04:00] I'm trying to say. Well, that was about the time, that was in, I don't know, 1970 or something like that, anyway, um, he and another guy started that and then they...that's the time that the supermarket decided they wanted to sell fresh donuts. So, we, that business grew like wildfire for a while then we ended up with, I think, we made a quar...half a billion donuts one year.

DMM: Oh my goodness.

MM: We were in all the Kroger stores and all over the south, they built a plant down in Carrollton, Georgia. Couldn't get it full so we started baking cakes and then they'd sell them to supermarkets frozen and they could decorate them. My brother, younger brother started selling everything to decorate a cake with and so...

DMM: What was the name of the company?

MM: Maplehurst Deli-Bake. And it's uh, it's still...then by that time the supermarkets...then about 1994 [1:05:00] why the supermarkets were getting tired of doing that and Kroger built their own plant that's was the end of it. So, my brother sold that company in '94 I guess and uh. But I made, we made some money on that.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: But uh at the time why we uh... I don't know, I spent five years...his partner left so I did the financial work for that thing for a while and uh. So, I did...helped him do finances for five years and then he decided to split so I came back home to the farm again.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: And so, the Harvard Business Degree worked in several issues. I guess I dealt with bankers and...

DMM: Uh huh.

MM: ...whatnot. I got to be...I was real...I knew Doc Bowen pretty well. I knew Bob Orr real well cause we were both Harvard guys and uh.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: We drove to his house every once in a while. Went to the theatre a few times with him [1:06:00] and uh then I went with him when we went to Japan and for the Suburu trip.

DMM: Hmm.

MM: And uh, to get the Suburu work plant and uh, knew him real well. And uh, that uh made two trips with Bob Orr. We went on one trip when he was Lt. Governor to South America, uh Brazil.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And then I went with Bob Orr to Japan then with Frank O'Bannon [unintelligible] we did one of Yugoslavia...Russia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia and Poland.

DMM: Wow.

MM: And that was seven-day day trip. So those were real...

DMM: Did you get to go on those as well?

MM: No, no. (chuckles)

DMM: Well I have a few more questions for you if you have time. But if not, I can...

MM: Sure, I don't have anything to do.

(Woman's voice: The cleaning lady's coming and she will run the sweeper over...)

Well she can do that in another room.

DMM: Well one question I had, which you had mentioned this earlier, I was just curious what it felt like being in the house and then the Senate also when they shift from the biennial to the annual sessions? [1:07:00]

MM: Well of course we did that in the House. We had... I was in the first short session in the House. I don't know, the same stuff really, it didn't...the whole second session never turned out to be what it was supposed to be. It was supposed to be for emergencies use only and everything became an emergency. So, that issue kind of perverted the thing.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: Ah, but it just took another...course it was the end of...what I was going to say it was just a short session, so it wasn't like the main session. But uh...

DMM: Um hmm

(Woman voice: Well it made a whole lot of difference with your life too.)

MM: ...yeah but then when it...when you went with the short session, the second short session, then I became a member of the Budget Committee (pause)...

(Woman's voice: That when you become...)

...my [1:08:00] second term in the House maybe. You know the Budget Committee goes out four days every...four times every summer for three days and tours the state.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So that's when it started. And then the hearings start in the fall. So, that's what it became. I think the last year I was there I got per diem for 179 days.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: I started the upper over 60

DMM: Um hmm. So, a lot longer sessions then. Um. You mentioned this earlier and I think I read an article maybe that you were quoted in the Indianapolis Business Journal where you would say there was often a rural/urban divide. And a lot of times politicians would sort of, you know, you said, I think, Indianapolis has always been a rallying cry for someone on the outside. That's the way you do it. You yell them out Indianapolis and you build up your candidate.

MM: Did I say that?

DMM: I think so. Or something to that effect.

MM: Well there was a very...Indianapolis has never elected a governor.

DMM: Hmm. [1:09:00]

MM: Ah, till who. I don't think there has ever been a Marion County governor elected president. So that, you always have that issue.

DMM: Did that...do you think that helped you coming from the farm but also being a business guy and sort of bridging...

MM: Well, I, I was the guy that did an awful lot of bridging the gap.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: I could understand both sides of the issue. I understood the urban problems, I understood the business community, I understood the rural life. Of course, her dad was trustee, so we knew a little bit about what was going on even in rural schools. And so, it was a real, it was a real, I think, benefit to not only for my knowledge but for being able to move up to where I got to be [unintelligible]. I finally ended up in the Senate. I chaired, I chaired the Appropriations Committee I was still under Larry Borst the chairman. I went to Bob Garton and said I'd like to be a committee chairman. So, he named me chairman of the Commerce and Consumer Affairs [1:10:00] committee and chairman of the Budget subcommittee. I had two major committees I chaired which nobody else has done since that time.

DMM: Wow.

MM: Commerce Committee regulated utilities. They regulated some of the manufacturing business, it doubled the laws, I mean I created LLC corporations in Indiana with that committee. A lot of work on telephone de-regulation and a whole lot of that stuff.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So, I really, really had a pretty wide...and I was very fortunate to two real good aides. I had Kevin Brinegar was my first aide. And you know where he is right now? He's in the State Chamber of Commerce.

DMM: Oh, there you go. Wow.

MM: He went and got his MBA while he was in school and then my second one was Bridget Bulen and she'd been with a tax and policy finance institute. Her dad had been in the Legislature.

DMM: Was that [unintelligible] Goodman? [1:10:00]

MM: She's now senior vice president out of Koch Industries in Bloomington.

DMM: Wow, yeah. So, sounds like you had good help there.

MM: Yeah. But these two people really did a lot of the ideas. You could just tell what you're thinking about and they'd convert it to paper.

DMM: Uh huh. Sure. What was your relationship like with your seatmates?

MM: My seatmates? Most the time pretty good. One of the seatmates I had in the House next to me was Virginia Blankenbaker. And Virginia and I grew up...we were neighbors as kids...

DMM: Huh.

MM: ...and I had a few dates with her older sister. And uh Virginia used to always go off on her own and they claimed that, she claimed, that they put me, her next to me so I would keep her under control. (laughs)

DMM: (chuckles) That's good.

MM: But generally speaking, I mean real good. Oh, I didn't uh, I don't think I ended up being real close friends with any of them but uh, except I say Virginia, we knew way [1:12:00] way way back. And then of course the Marion County group was always pretty close...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...and Larry Borst and I finally got to be very close friends. Our wives uh...

DMM: Well, can you walk me briefly through the process of generating a bill? How did that work during your time?

MM: Well, most of the time somebody else had an idea.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And uh about the idea you took it down to the Legislative council and put it into a bill form. And uh, do that uh, I say 80 percent of the ...we're not talking about the financing schools

or local issues... a lot of that stuff you, I put in committee reports after the thing was in process. But most the bills were somebody...the banking bills somebody brought, I don't know, the stealing the grocery carts bill I told them to draft the bill and uh...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...the independent colleges [1:13:00] somebody had already brought that bill...

DMM: So how did you um, I guess, garner support for the bill? How did you put it through?

MM: Mostly, I didn't go around beating anybody on the head...

DMM: Um hmm. (chuckles)

MM: I mean you had to make a good argument in committee uh about what you were trying to do. You had to get it out of committee and then uh get support on the floor. And it was, I never approached anybody individually I think all the time I was there...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...about asking for a vote on a bill.

DMM: So, did you usually have a sense of how you thought people might vote?

MM: Well, um, most the time you knew about where the sentiment was or you'd hear, you heard the discussion in the committee as to how the people thought about it.

DMM: Uh huh. So, you could kind of estimate from there what might happen.

MM: Yeah, I uh, in some of the bills you know, the death penalty bill, Meeks was chairman of the committee, said I don't like the bill he said but I'll give you a vote. [1:14:00] So he got it out of committee and...but he wouldn't give you...I'll give you a committee hearing...and then I knew they weren't going to take a vote. So, a lot of those things ended up that way. You'd get a hearing, but you don't get a vote.

DMM: Yeah.

MM: That's the chair makes that decision.

DMM: Well, that leads to my next question of what role did party leadership play? Or leadership within the House and the Senate?

MM: Well, generally speaking, although we didn't do it somewhat. But uh leaders would kind of uh...some of the leaders were real active in organizing the thing. Garton tended be more of a hands-off...he was there most the time I was there. He was pretty much a hands-off leader. He would uh he didn't, he didn't take very strong positions on anything. And so, we, mostly it was how you developed on the floor. Now, when you got to the uh [1:15:00] Budget Conference Committee then you had to take the bill to the uh your caucus and we could spend three or four hours on the budget bill just everybody complaining and what you had to do to it to get your caucus' support you didn't worry about the other side. And you didn't try to pass any bills with uh that had any political conflicts if your caucus didn't pass it you just didn't generally try to do it.

DMM: um hmm. What did it...what does the public not know about the General Assembly and how it operates? What would be helpful information for the public to know just about how...it worked?

MM: I, I think the public assumes there's a lot more shenanigans going on in the process than there is. I, I think that would be my number one issue...I think most of these uh I never participated in trading votes or any of that kind of stuff. [1:16:00] And there wasn't much I know of a little bit I think would do it every once in a while but I think the public thinks there's a lot more secrecy and shenanigans than actually takes place.

DMM: Why do you think the public thinks that?

MM: Well, I think you have the caucuses, the newspapers don't help any. I mean what...they always want to know what went on in the caucus or what went on in this type of thing I mean. Those were private discussions and they think things are settled in the caucus and all you have to arrive at a consensus I mean but the legislative process is really a matter of consensus, you have to...and I guess maybe being a Quaker (chuckles) it's a benefit...cause they...at Quaker meeting always had to have consensus in any of their business you never voted. And so, I...the Legislature was a lot like that, and you didn't have a vote in the caucuses.

DMM: Well, you've talked a little bit about this, and we'll go through these kind of quickly but what was the most controversial legislative issues during your time in the Assembly? [1:17:00]

MM: Bank bill went on a long time.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: Always going on was um always some labor issues. Uh. uh, school funding was uh always an issue. Teacher relative positions and whatnot was an issue and uh what with subject to collective bargaining and whatnot. And then there'd be oh certain issues in the year when we passed the Unigov bill in Marion County was a real hot issue and uh, uh and then when Bowen's tax package was passed. I always say that um a lot of those things have long... I always say, uh John Mutz lost the governorship [1:18:00] because he voted against Bowen's tax cuts.

DMM: um hmm.

MM: Because he was Marion County and he, people didn't want to pay income taxes and but uh Bowen had a memory like an elephant...

DMM: (chuckles)

MM: ...and I say it really soured a bunch of support in the rural communities and uh, so you get those kind of issues that have long lasting effects. Nobody's, nobody's ever talked anything about it but I'm most sure that's an issue.

DMM: Uh huh. Well, we keep talking about the property tax. Now Bowen started pushing for this when he was speaker right? But it wasn't until he was governor that he got it through.

MM: That's right. Yeah. That's right. We passed some bills in the House and somewhere in the Senate they killed them. Yeah, but it got to the Senate...and then it was a tight issue then it passed by one vote uh I think. The vote...we had a winning vote... a fella from down south who had been a Congressman, and he [1:19:00] had a alcohol problem but he took off that day and he

was the 26th vote to pass the bill and they finally sent the State Police out to find him. The board stayed open for three hours until they finally got him in to vote the bill to pass the package. (laughs)

DMM: Well, what legislation did you work hardest on then? Would it be property taxes or the banking bill or...?

MM: Well, I know, I suppose I spent more time on the budget. I mean over year in year out I mean.

DMM: Um hmm. You were on Ways and Means in the House right and Senate Finance...

MM: Yeah. Right.

DMM: So then, so, still learning the ins and outs of all this. So, was the state budget committee separate from Senate finance or...?

MM: The state budget committee is made up of the director of the budget agency and the four... the chairman of the Senate Finance or whoever they appoint, [1:20:00] chairman of the House Ways and Means committee and the ranking minority member of each one, so you have two, a republican and a democrat plus the state budget director.

DMM: Ok. So, you were on State Budget for a long time?

MM: Yeah, I was on it from...I got well on the budget committee my uh second term in the second or my second Senate year...in the Senate I was getting ready...

DMM: Ok. How did you get to be appointed by President Reagan to the National Advisory Council on, was it Continuing Education, I think?

MM: I don't know. (laughs) Somebody in the Governor's Office or somebody in the state...probably the State Chairman of the Republican Party. That was a lot of fun but a waste of the government money. (laughs)

DMM: There you go. How long were you on that?

MM: I was appointed for two terms and they finally [1:21:00] did away with it the second term, I think. Disbanded it halfway through the second term.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: But we were supposed to write a report. We met four times a year. Twice a year in Washington and twice somewhere in the United States and look at things and have three people on a staff in an office in Washington you know.

DMM: Um hmm. But nothing really came out of it?

MM: Nothing ever came...we told people they ought to continue to learn. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) Wise advice.

MM: Well you know it's still an issue. I mean a number one issue right now. How you start out. How you get workforce training and we looked at how some different crimes that people were doing in different areas and whatnot.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: But it was too political. I mean, it's, they're all political appointments.

DMM: Um hmm. What, in your opinion, is the most important work of the General Assembly?

MM: Well, of course I think, you gotta run the state government. I mean that's, [1:22:00] with all the things I provided, I provide your educational system, your transportation system, your legal system, your law and order, public health. So, you've got all those issues you got to deal with.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And you've gotta know something, especially on the Budget Committee, you gotta know a little something about what things cost and what...it just used to bug the heck out of me, when I was on the Budget Committee, I'd put up...spent the day before putting up hay and then go down to the state prison, there was a hundred guys in there doing nothing (laughs). Just sitting around. I just couldn't figure out... they should have been home putting up hay and I (laughs)

...

DMM: Yeah, instead of you.

MM: But they always try to make people work in a prison. Everything...those people...I had a friend of ours that went to work down in Putnamville, and they had a silo down there, and uh they had to pitch up silage with a fork, you know, and one guy dropped a fork on top [1:23:00] him coming up the shoot...and then they had a tire, some places they work like crazy. Up at the state prison they used to make license plates and they'd have to, they had a press there and they had to put in a number like 22222 and they'd put the three in and he'd have to get that thing in there before it came down and those guys worked like crazy all day.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: And there was a place up at LaPorte they were recapping tires and those guys worked like crazy and they tried to build, have a machine repair shop. They were doing pretty well until a bunch of nuts started, screwballs started putting a nut on top of the piston after they got the machine done. And you know, the thing would fly apart.

DMM: Oh no.

MM: So that's the kind of people you are dealing with.

DMM: Um hmm. Um, I should have asked, followed up with this earlier. How involved were you with the Unigov? [1:24:00] Planning?

MM: Well, I was the co-sponsor with the House.

DMM: Ok.

MM: And I uh, that was very controversial. I, I was a firm believer that that's the way it had to go.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: There were two limitations put in. Well one of the things that happened was they froze the Indianapolis school district which was a mistake. But the worst thing that happened was that the stupid federal judge ordered busing. And there were no bill houses, built in Marion County for twenty years. And that really messed up the whole mess.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So now you've got a city that's bankrupt and you don't have the people in the four corners of the county...

DMM: Um hmm. Ok. Well, when did you leave the Indiana General Assembly?

MM: What'd I what?

DMM: When did you leave the General Assembly?

MM: I left it in...my last meeting was a budget meeting in South Bend or somewhere in [1:25:00] August I guess.

DMM: So, then 2000? That's right?

MM: Yes.

DMM: So, did you just decide to retire or?

MM: I told them, I told them four years before...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...at the screening committee that I would not be back.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So, I didn't have to go through the maj... decide whether to retire or not and I liked the idea that both Garden and Borst got beat the next election.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: I had some people chomping at the bit.

DMM: Um hmm. How would you summarize your time overall as a legislator?

MM: Well, I had a...I think I had a I enjoyed it. I think I was constructive. Uh, uh, I think I served the State well. Uh, I guess that summarizes it.

DMM: Um hmm. What your favorite story or anecdote from your time in the Assembly?

MM: I don't know whether...we had a awful lot of... [1:26:00] we had a lot of fun on the Budget Committee in spite of the report on that. Um, one time we were ...when Judy Palmer, Doc Bowen was president uh governor, and uh Judy Palmer, I don't know whether you knew Judy or not, she ended up being treasurer at I.U. after, she was Budget Director for a while under Bowen and uh she...we were up at Pokagen because the Assistant Budget Director loved the Department of Natural Resources and he always wanted to stay all night in the state park so anytime there was one near-by...we were up at Pokagen and uh they always had a penny ante poker game to get started so we were all in somebody's bedroom playing poker with Judy and

we had a call from the governor. (laughs) She wanted to talk to Judy about some issue. I don't know if she ever told him what she was doing or not. (laughs)

DMM: (laughs) That's funny. Are there any lessons that or overarching themes or lessons [1:27:00] that you learned in your service?

MM: Well, um I don't know uh (long pause) I think first place you need to kind of establish your goals or what you're interested in and don't get caught up in too many petty issues. Uh, and how you campaign and how you campaign with... first thing that Mary Ann did after she got over here about two years later was to help a local guy run for Senate and uh, I think, he still thinks that instructions we gave him, he's still there, were essential in not getting yourself too far out on a limb and don't promise this or don't promise that or that [1:28:00] kind of thing. I think that's a number one issue you can... it's a, it's a pretty, pretty complicated business and I, it's one of the reasons I am not for short term limits because it takes you, I say it takes you two years to find where the restrooms are and takes you six years to understand state government...

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: ...and I don't think you ought to stay till you're old and feeble, but every dog has his day and I think you need to retire like corporate executives when you're at the top of the pile and not... I mean Pat Bowers hanging around now and... uh he's just a nuisance for everybody around in terms of has no say so on anything anymore and ...so I think one of the things...it's like what there's a times you do this...she's always quoting Ecclesiastes, Enclusiastices about there's a what?... there's a time to win or a time to quit...(laughs) [1:29:00]

DMM: (laughs) Right. So how would you say that the State has changed over the course of your lifetime or your service?

MM: Well, uh (pause) it's uh a lot more complicated personally. Um, in all kinds of ways. Education...I can remember, my uncle was a professor at I.U. and he had a cousin a son my age and I used to go down to I.U. with him before the war there were 3000 students at I.U. and I went to Purdue one time to a 4-H thing, 3000 at Purdue and now you have 40,000-50,000 so the whole educational thing is completely... [1:30:00] that's a whole new major enterprise. Ivy Tech was created by when I was first served in the Senate. So, you've got the whole shift to mental health from when I went there there were 3000 in the prisons and 12,000 in the mental hospitals. Now there's 30,000 in prison and 3,000 in the hospitals. So, you had that whole shift to the thing. Uh, foreign competition and production of automobiles that whole thing I mean I guess the whole automobile industry collapsed when I was in the Legislature. From uh you know, Indianapolis, had a Chevrolet body plant, uh Chrysler had a plant, Ford had a plant, International made trucks. You had that whole thing disappear. This whole new uh social media, [1:31:00] electronic all that kind of thing has uh how far it's gone...my granddaughter just came back, moved back to Crawfordsville and she, she was a claims adjuster on workers compensation...she was in Des Moines working for Nationwide but she's now working for Ohio County gonna do it at home. You can adjust claims there just as well.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: So, you've got that whole shift in employment. What people work at. It takes a lot more education for some of it.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: Uh, so it's getting more complicated I guess is what I'm saying.

DMM: Well, how do you think the General Assembly changed during your tenure there?

MM: Well, I think you have the firebrands that we didn't tolerate. [1:32:00] Um, um that we didn't have. I mean the real conservative tea party guys and uh the liberal democrats and the, all the social issues about gay marriages and same-sex marriage and all that. One of the Budget Directors happened to be, a girl was a...a uh...would be a...you'd call her a lesbian, but she, you'd never knew it, I mean she just didn't never walk that around. So that's all the way out front now. You've got all those issues which add to the thing here.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: The Tea Party people maybe that's the wrong...there wasn't anybody like that when I was there.

DMM: So, I don't want to put words in your mouth, [1:33:00] but do you feel that it's more polarizing today?

MM: Oh yeah, much more.

DMM: It was more middle of the road when you were there?

MM: Oh yeah, much more middle of the road in terms of, I mean you'd have urban democrats and the rural republicans but their idea about most things were the same except how you dealt with labor issues and some of that.

DMM: Um hmm.

MM: We, we, I really didn't know anybody when I grew up that was divorced. I didn't know anybody when I grew up that was divorced.

DMM: So just sort of social changes?

MM: And a few, every once in a while, a out of wedlock kid. That was a no-no too. Well...

DMM: So, you've said a lot about change what, if any, enduring quality do Hoosiers have or still hold dear?

MM: Well, I think in general I would say the moderate Republicans uh still hold family life, [1:34:00] I don't know how they think now, but I think, you know, you pick your life's mate, you save for the rest of your life, you raise kids, you live within your means, ...we grew up without any money when we were kids. I think dad took \$10 a week in cash for five kids and a live-in girl. I mean money just wasn't existing then. And uh we both grew up in that kind circumstance uh, so I think, I mean I'm just shocked at kids with a ten, 1,000 dollar telephone cause I haven't got one myself yet.

DMM: Well, I think that's really the last of my questions. Is there any sort of final thoughts or anything?

MM: I'm still sitting over there. (laughs)

DMM: That's still, that is modern [1:35:00] technology. You've got the flip-flip.

MM: That's always to save if I get stuck somewhere.

DMM: Yeah, yeah but does it make you feel safe when you have one with you when you're traveling. So. Well, I think that that's all. I feel that we've covered a lot of material today. And I really...

MM: Yeah, now what are you gonna do with it (laughs)

DMM: Now that's the question isn't it. Yes. I'll just state for the record thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me and is there any final parting messages?

MM: No, it's been a pleasant experience.

DMM: Yeah, I've enjoyed it. So, thank you very much.

1:35:33