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BIPARTISAN MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

INTERVIEW WITH:

The Honorable Roger Madigan (R)

110th District

Bradford County

1977-1984

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Jesse Teitelbaum (JT): Well, good morning.

The Honorable Roger Madigan (RM): Good morning, Jesse.

JT: I'm here with Senator Roger Madigan who was Representative of the 110th District, Bradford County, between 1977 and 1984, and is currently a Senator representing the 23rd District of Pennsylvania, from 1985 to the present.

RM: Right.

JT: Good morning, and thank you for being with us today.

RM: Well, thank you for asking me to participate.

JT: Good. First off, I'd like to ask you about your background. Tell me about your family life, maybe your growing up, and then eventually how you got into politics we'll get into.

RM: Okay. I grew up on the farm in Bradford County, in a dairy farm, and actually, the house that I now live in was the house that I was born in, and it's been in our family over a hundred years, and so that's where I grew up. I went to Penn State [Pennsylvania State University] and took dairy production, and for thirteen years, I operated the dairy farm in conjunction with my

father, and at an early age, my father served in the House and Senate as I have¹. In fact, if you talk with Paul Beers², we're the oldest consecutive; he had 28 years, I will be finishing up 32 years, and that's the longest family of two generations, and actually, for many years, was the only father-son combination that had served in both the House and the Senate. And actually, Representative Gary Haluska [State Representative, Cambria County, 1995-present] and his father, Dr. Haluska [Edward J.; State Representative, Cambria County, 1981-1994], with whom I served in the House here, and also his grandfather,³ but that's three generations, and they're about two years behind us as far as total number of years. So, that and a dollar or more will get you a cup of coffee. (*laugh*) And, we were the only father-son combination until a few years ago when Hardy Williams [State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1971-1982; State Senator, 1983-1998], Senator Williams, who had served in both, and Anthony [Anthony Hardy Williams; State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1991-1998; State Senator, 1999-present] moved from the House to the Senate. Hardy and I graduated from Penn State the same year, so it was kind-of a special relationship there. But, growing up, my father went into the House then when I was eight years old and served in the House ten years and then moved to the Senate, and served 12 years there, 14 years, actually, and then in the Sixties with the one-man/one-vote, he was put into a District with Senator Berger [James S. Berger; State Senator, 1945-1968] who was from Potter County and was Pro Tem at the time, and Senator Confair [Zehnder H.; State Senator, 1959-1972] from Lycoming County, and my stepdad stepped down, and he was in the middle of his term. And at that point, the Chief Clerk of the Senate⁴ was a former Senator, and he was made Chief Clerk for two years, and here again, interestingly enough, at the end of those two years,

¹ Albert E. Madigan, served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1943-1952 and the Pennsylvania Senate from 1953-1968.

² Author of several books, including "The Pennsylvania Sampler" and "Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday"

³ John J. Haluska; State Representative, Cambria County, 1935-1936

⁴ Thomas J. Kalman; Senate Chief Clerk, 1971-1980; State Senator, Fayette, Greene, and Westmoreland Counties, 1957-1970

they could not agree. The Democrats took control. They could not agree on who would be the Senator and asked him to stay on for a few weeks. Well, he completed two years, so that's how he ended up with four years as Chief Clerk of the Senate. But again, getting back to my childhood, he was – and interestingly enough, you know, when I was younger, I did come to Harrisburg. Of course, at that time they met every second year for about four months, and so I did travel down here, and I can remember being in this building [The Matthew J. Ryan Building] when it was the State Museum, and so that's a memory I have. The other memory that really ratifies why you should never say never; he thought the trip back up the river to Bradford County was the longest, and I didn't know why anybody would want to drive that long, and then look at the years that I have done that. But, you know, I became – well, went to Penn State, we come back, and we operated a dairy herd of about 50 milking cows until [19]64 when we had a sale. And I had been very active in Farm Bureau, but I also was the director of Tuscarora-Wayne Farm Mutual in Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, and at the time, I wanted to learn more about insurance, so I took a correspondence course because our agents had previously hadn't had to be licensed, and they were doing some training, and I ended up, you know, taking the correspondence courses and applied and took the exams and passed them all, and they offered me a job, and at that point my dad and I couldn't agree on my – now, you reach the point that you want to take over and run the operation. He didn't want to give it up at that point, so we sold our milking herd but continued on the farm with, you know, we kept all of our young stock, and as they freshened, we would sell them and really didn't ship milk after that. So, that's kind of a little of the background. You know, I was on the farm for 13 years, was in the insurance industry for 13 years with Tuscarora, both as an agent and field man and was their head underwriter at the point that I decided to run for the House and was successful, actually. But, the background of

meeting people and a couple of things that I did that helped me; one year, and I don't recall the year now, oh, the Agricultural Census, and I signed up for that. I did a number of townships in Bradford County where they didn't file it. You went and had to identify every place and got to meet a lot of the people that way, and then a lot of them that I hadn't worked with in insurance got to know them as well as in some of the other counties. So, it was really good background, but the thing that really got me involved as I was back on the farm I got involved with Farm Bureau, and realizing that the decisions you make on a farm are not isolated. They're a matter of – you know, some of the decisions made in Harrisburg, Washington, and at the local level have as big of an impact as some of the decisions you make in your operation, so I became very involved with their legislative part. I served a number of years as President of the county Farm Bureau, and I was the State Director as well, and so all of the things that I say well, kind-of helped me. But I enjoyed working with and for people, and I think that's a basic part of serving your constituency and I'm not sure just when, but our local township committeeman was getting up in age, and he asked me if I would be interested in taking over that, which I did, and served on the Republican County Committee, and prior to my running for the House, I ran and became County Chairman in Bradford County, and so I was very interested. Dave Turner [State Representative, Bradford County, 1973-1976], who was the Representative preceding me at the point that he ran, and I can't recall right now who was Representative prior to him,⁵ but he, whoever it was, and I had kind-of thought about it at that time, my family was young, and my wife was not really supportive of that time, so I didn't run, but I had had my name out, and then I went to Dave and said, you know, "I'm going to support you," and he was successful. Only served two terms. He was editor and owner of the paper in Towanda. Great person, great friend, good mentor, but having been in the newspaper business, he got very frustrated with the

⁵ Andrew S. Moscrip; State Representative, Bradford County, 1953-1972

slowness of the system here, and in his last – actually, when he was running for his second term, he came to me, and he said, “If you say anything to anybody, I’ll deny it,” but he said, “I’m not going to run in two years. I want you to know, and I want you to get prepared,” and that really gave me a big jump. My first campaign I had two opponents, both good friends of mine, and I was successful in being elected, nominated and won. And being strongly Republican, about three to one at that point in Bradford County, then it was an easy coast to victory in the fall. And one of the interesting things there; the one fellow that I ran against came to me afterwards, and all two of them were good friends, and he said, “You know,” he said, “if half of the people who said they were going to vote for me had voted for me, I would have beaten you two to one.”

(laugh) So, that’s one thing that always stuck with me, and that, in a sense, probably was my toughest election, and it really wasn’t tough but getting involved – and I know at the time it was interesting to me because my dad said to me, “Well,” he said, “I don’t know why you want to run for the House.” That was his comment. A few years later when I ran for the Senate, he was very excited about it. The sad part was that in [19]84 when I was running, he passed away in August of that year, although I think he knew I was going to be elected Senator, but for whatever reason that meant a lot more to him than service in the House.

JT: Even so, did he have any influence, or did he play a role while you were in the House?

RM: Yes, actually, and I said it many times, when he was in Harrisburg and I was back on the farm milking the cows, prior to that we had had a hired man, but he would come home from Harrisburg, and if he happened to be at milking time, he would come to the barn in his good clothes and talk about what’s happened, and I said, I got the greatest political education from him

just knowing things and discussing how situations and background that, you know, I found very useful, and he certainly was one of my mentors in that, and I appreciated it very much.

JT: Did you have any differences?

RM: Oh yes. And it was interesting, you know, when we were really partners and milking cows, we probably had more differences than afterwards, and we still continued in a partnership, but we became much closer in those years. I treasure the background that he gave me that I couldn't have bought or studied in college or anything, for that. So, that was really a big plus in all of my political career.

JT: Did you like campaigning?

RM: Yes, I did. I enjoyed campaigning, enjoyed meeting and talking with people, and I think that was one of the successes of my service as being really kind-of having an open door, and in fact, when I decided to run for the Senate, the thing that concerned me was, you know, I represented Bradford County, had a great relationship with all of the people, and the fact in representing nearly five counties in a Senate District that, you know, "How am I going to get to know those people?" and I knew I wouldn't have the same hands-on relationship that I had had as a Representative, and that, that I think is important is that relationship. One story I can relate; I had been in the House two or three, a couple of terms anyway, and a fellow called me up and said, you know, "I want to come in and discuss some issues with you." Well, he came in with a whole list, and he went down, you know, his welfare and taxes and, you know, he went through

the list and we discussed them back-and-forth, and when he finished he said, “Now, my wife has three or four things,” and they were on a separate piece of paper, and we went through those, and then we discussed it some more, but he wound up by saying, he said, “You know,” he said, “I feel a lot better.” He said, “I knew,” you know, “some of these things you could do some things, some it wasn’t possible.” But he said, “You know, we look on you as a chaplain of Bradford County, and I feel much better that I’ve laid these on you today,” and that’s good. I think the ability to listen to people is a very important part of being a Legislator.

JT: Yeah. Were there major differences – I know you said in the House District it was Bradford County, but with the Senate District it was much larger – so, were there major differences in campaigning for the House than it was for the Senate?

RM: Yes, there was. You had to expand, but I was very fortunate. We put together a great team of farmers from each of the counties, contacts that I had made through the House, and here again, you know, I came to the House, and I was one of eighty-five Republicans in [19]77, and we were in the basement, and I went in an office with three other Legislators who had been – Dave Turner had been in there, and the Leadership put me in with Walt DeVerter [State Representative, Centre, Juniata, Mifflin and Perry Counties, 1973-1990], Ollie Wagner [George O.; State Representative, Montour and Northumberland Counties, 1973-1980] from Montour County, and Joe Grieco [State Representative, Lycoming and Northumberland Counties, 1973-1984] from Lycoming County. Well, Joe became – and it was a great opportunity to be in there with them because I would get a letter or call, and I’d say, “Well, gee,” you know, “here’s a problem with PennDOT [Pennsylvania Department of Transportation]. Who do I go to?” So,

the three of them were kind-of my mentors as I came in, but that was really an interesting year because of the, you know, there were only 85 of us who were Republican in the House. They had an overwhelming majority, and yet we ended up that year, and that would have been, what, the last year of the Shapp [Milton J.; Pennsylvania Governor, 1971-1979] Administration? Or getting down, and they weren't able to get their Members to vote. We did not pass the budget until the last week in August that year and we never passed the taxes for it until, you know, the week before Christmas that same year. But that summer was a real experience, because the Democrats would – well, it was interesting to me; my seat on the Floor I was next to, in the organization, next to, oh, the former Speaker, Herb Fineman [State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1955-1977; Speaker, 1969-1972 and 1975-1977], and of course, he was elected and then went up and, you know, he went boom, boom, boom, and I thought, “My God, how will I ever keep up with this?” (*laugh*) But, kind-of worked in, but then he was convicted and Leroy Irvis [K. Leroy Irvis; State Representative, Allegheny County, 1959-1988; Speaker, 1977-1978 and 1983-1988] moved up to Speaker, but they would call Session for ten o'clock in the morning. Well, at ten o'clock, it would be put back to 12; at 12 it would be put back to two; at two it would be put back to four. Then it would be put back to six, and they'd send us out for dinner, and when we would finally come back in Session about 11 o'clock at night, run till four or five in the morning, and, you know, in an effort to wear us down, and a part of that day came back to the five – we had five Members from Philadelphia at that point – and they said, “Okay, you five have to do it,” and I forget who was the Mayor,⁶ but the Mayor was saying, “You've got to put up the votes to pass it,” because every night they'd get one more vote, and the reason we waited till 11 o'clock or so (*cough*), excuse me, that was, a number of the Democrat Members would go out to Grantville to the racetrack, and until they got back, then we'd go through three or four

⁶ James Hugh Joseph Tate, Mayor of Philadelphia, 1962-1972; State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1941-1946

hours of debate and five and then take a vote, and they'd pick up one vote. It was like one vote at a time and really was – and they tried to wear us down. The Unions came tromping through the basement where we were. At that point, you know, we're four in an office, all the secretaries were lined up in the hall, and there was barely room to get between the desks to get into your office, and also at that time, if they said, you know, to the five Philadelphia Republicans that you've got to provide the votes when they got that close if they could. And I remember Speaker O'Brien [Dennis; State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1977-80, 1983-present; Speaker, 2007-2008], Denny O'Brien was a freshman, went in with my class, I believe – if not, shortly thereafter – and he was across the hall from me, and I saw a couple of fellows, and that, you know, were strangers that were around, and I kind-of wondered but didn't think about it, and then they said, well – 'cause some of them had been threatened, their homes and what have you in Philly, and, you know, bombings or whatever, and so they were provided state police protection and they were State Troopers. Well, that night as I went out to go to – and Denny was still out – that's when they ran out the back door before any of the new part was built [East Wing], and they parked in that area in back, and I said, "Denny, I thought I saw you leave five minutes ago," and he said, "Well, the Troopers are out starting my car," and then I got to thinking his car and mine, we were, you know, as you head in he was across from me, and I thought, "What if they got the wrong car?" and when I put the keys in and turned and it started that night, that was, that was quite a relief. (*laugh*) So, that's a, you know, an interesting tidbit, but it was really somewhat of a violent time at that point.

JT: Wow.

RM: But, and it's interesting, and I'm not sure of the number that came in with my class, but there were a number of us in that class. I think Denny was the class behind us, O'Brien, but of that class, I think Elinor Taylor [State Representative, Chester County, 1977-2006], Representative, was the last one in the House. Gib Armstrong [State Representative, Lancaster County, 1977-1984; State Senator, 1985-2008] and myself are retiring from the Senate this year, and Stew Greenleaf [State Representative, Bucks and Montgomery Counties, 1977-1978; State Senator, 1979-present] and Jeff Piccola [State Representative, Dauphin County, 1977-1995; State Senator, 1995-present] are the other two that are still there. So, of that class there've been a number of them that have been long-term Members and good friends, great camaraderie, actually, over the years, with them in the House and in the Senate.

JT: With regards to your first year, can you tell me about your first Swearing-In Ceremony?

RM: Well, I have to be honest; I don't remember much about it. (*laugh*) Although, I believe that was the year that Dave Richardson [State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1973-1996] was also from Philadelphia, and he insisted, because of his religious beliefs, he would not be Sworn-In. He had to have a separate Ceremony for his Swearing-In, and Dave was quite an individual, but I learned to respect him. My biggest problem with Dave; that when he'd get up on the Floor you could barely make out what he was saying. But, I know I had a situation – and I'm not sure what year it was, It wasn't my first year, but a couple years after that – with the, you know, child care in the homes. And at that point, we were working – and it was interesting because, well, what happened, my campaign treasurer, who was a lawyer in Towanda, a couple of his girls had been having children at a woman's home. She had been doing it – she wasn't

licensed as a child care at that point or home care, and they, you know, came and said, you know, they're shutting her down, and he was concerned because he was going to lose them. So, we got involved, and I worked with Dave, and we changed the law so that those taking care of four children, four or six, I'm not sure at the time, were exempt from – they had to register, but they didn't have to meet all the fire and panic codes, which they'd come in and say – and at the time and we had worked with the Secretary of Welfare, and she said, "Well, we won't enforce it," and the regional one said, "Well, we aren't going to." The middle management said, "Somewhere we're going to enforce it," and what they were doing, they would go to one if they were aware of it and, you know, cite them then ask them if they knew of any others who were taking care of one or two children for someone. Then they would go and follow up and, really, once they got involved, there was a quite a statewide group of daycare people that – and, and we had a lot of support, so we passed that legislation at that point. But it turned out that Dave was a good supporter of it, and he was, you know, on the Welfare Committee. And beyond that, I remember being Sworn-In, and as a big – and one thing I probably shouldn't tell, but I guess I can now; they had a freshmen orientation and I don't recall where it was, but I think it was at one of the hotels, motels, and they had some libations at that, and a number of us said, "Well, gee," everything, you know, everything that was provided by the House Leadership, and I think it was at that point was Leroy, and they said, "How about if we all chip in and, you know, get some more," and I recall that the last ones involved was Jim Burd [State Representative, Butler County, 1977-1990] and George [George F. Pott, Jr.; Allegheny County, 1977-1986] from Pittsburgh, one of that class, and I think one or two Democrats and myself. So, the moral of the story became that the word was, "Well, don't try to drink Roger Madigan under the table because

it won't work," (*laugh*) and it shouldn't be a claim to fame, but that's – and that boded well over the years.

JT: Before I ask you about some of the committees that you served on, I just want to back up a little bit and, in your own words, can you tell me about the 110th District, specifically the people, the issues, that were found there?

RM: Yeah, yeah. Well, I was fortunate. The 110th District was just Bradford County itself, and for many years, it was, you know, we had the population that was kind of increasing, so that it kept up with the minimum number, and it was just a one county Legislative District. Pretty much agricultural. We do have the Guthrie Medical Center, in Sayre, which is our largest municipality, and pretty much dairy farming. Actually, they went into a lot of veal farming and today they're into hog farming, but still, it's pretty much rural and forestry. Masonite has a plant there. It's not Masonite now; It's Craftmaster, but they made the original, you know, masonite fiber boards. So, it was pretty much rural, God-fearing people, which I related to very well. Conservative, for the most part.

JT: Did you happen to notice if there were any major changes with regards to the population, the issues over the time that you were a Representative until now?

RM: Not quite so much. It's more today than, than it was previously. Our population has continued to increase, not significantly, but they haven't lost. Every time I get a kick out of the census because they predict that there will be a loss. Seems though, for every ten years, and yet

when the census is done, we've gained, you know, a few hundred, a thousand, or what have you. Not a lot of outside people that moved in, and, you know, the dairy farms have gone, a lot of them, but we still have – it's probably our largest, agricultural. The veal was quite large. I think that is not quite as large now as it was. The hog operations have come into the county, but that was prior – It's been since I was Representative and during my Senate service.

JT: Now I'd like to talk to you about your House service. Well, actually, both your House and your Senate service, you served on a number of committees.

RM: Yes, yes.

JT: Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Insurance, and then in the Senate you were also on Environmental Resources, Game and Fisheries, Labor and Industry, and so on.

RM: Right.

JT: Did you have a favorite committee?

RM: Well, Agriculture was my favorite committee, and my one, I believe, well, I know I have served on the Agriculture and Rural Affairs Committee in the House and all of my years in the Senate, so I have 32 years there, and sadly, because I think it's been a big advantage to keep it, you know, on the front burner, and it tends to be downplayed, the value of agriculture in our economy in Pennsylvania, but, you know, with, you know, well, Noah Wenger [State

Representative, Lancaster County, 1977-1982; State Senator, 1983-2006], who was actually a farmer for many years that I got to know through Farm Bureau, and we both came in in the same class, and myself, Art Hershey [State Representative, Chester County, 1983-2008] who has been here who is retiring also, you know, we're leaving, and there are not that many that are in either House, I don't believe, that are actually been hands-on farmers. And to me, I think, the value of the farm community, number one; they have a great work ethic, but they have a lot of common sense. And I think that as I look at both the House and Senate, seems though we're losing some of that common sense, day-to-day common sense, in addressing some of our problems, and I'm prejudiced, I guess. But, that has been my favorite committee work on issues, and I know, you know, here again, following in my father's footsteps; he served, I believe, in both the House and Senate as Chairman of the Ag[riculture] Committees. And, I did not in the House I wasn't there long enough, (*cough*) but my service there has been interesting. I worked on a lot of farm issues in both the House and the Senate. And the other committee that, you know, isn't touted, but I served on both in the House and the Senate, has been the Ethics Committee. And fortunately, we have not had to, either in my service in the House or in the Senate, really take strong action. We've come very close many times, but the individual, before we had to make the recommendation that they be censured or anything, the individual has taken it upon themselves as to move in whatever direction was proper.

JT: Yes. You also served on the Joint State Government Commission.

RM: Yes.

JT: Could you explain to me a little bit about what the Commission's functions were and what your role was in it?

RM: Well, as Chairman, I worked closely with the Executive Director in appointing generally – and it depends on the Resolution; the Resolution comes either from the House or the Senate for a study, and study is made. If it's a full-fledged investigation, they will set up an advisory committee of outside individuals who make recommendations. The Task Force that is appointed looks at those recommendations, and if they pick a direction that they feel they should go in, then the staff works on and develops legislation to implement that, and it's been there many years, and it works well. It provides for an outside look at an issue that may be kicked around in Committees or in Caucuses of “Where do we want to go? What's a good direction?” This gives a bipartisan look. The Task Forces are bipartisan, and others may just direct the staff to do a study of an issue and make a recommendation. But generally, the reports come out and have proposed legislation, and I am not sure what the record is, but I think it's pretty high of the decisions that are made. Some of those are ongoing. One is the decedent's estates and orphans courts. That's an ongoing Task Force that periodically makes recommendations to the Judiciary Committees, and the other is the one that was implemented a number of years ago by Senator – from Lancaster County – but, it's a report on the colleges and universities; what the costs are, what the teaching – it's an in depth study and report each year of our major universities and as well as the State System and others. So, that's something that, you know, the Members of the House and Senate depend on outside agencies also and individuals like that. So, it was set up as kind-of a bipartisan thing to do research and fortunately, we've been able to keep it up to speed,

and has provided, I believe, a valuable service to both the House and Senate in developing legislation. Yes.

JT: Thank you. Through our research we found that most of your legislation that became enacted happened during your time in the Senate. Was it easier to pass legislation in the Senate, or did seniority play a role in that?

RM: Well, seniority plays a role, and in the House, I kind-of like to, and people say, “What’s the difference between the House and Senate?” The Senate, you work as an individual, but you’re also involved in every issue, whereas in the House is more you work as part of a committee, part of a group, you know, the rural group as compared to – and you work on rural issues, and here again, you know, the seniority, the Committee Chairman, many times, you work closely with them to implement your ideas, but not always do you get the opportunity. Plus, part of the time, when I went in, we were in the minority. As a result of the budget fiasco of [19]77 and some other issues, we took control in the following Session for several Sessions and then once again lost that. So, it was kind-of back-and-forth, and here again, you work as a group. One issue that I get a kick out of, and we’ve laughed about it many times; my first term I was on the Floor, kind of in the middle. A group from the Philadelphia delegation was on one side of me, and I was in the middle of a row, but I sat next to, I believe, at that time it was John Perzel [Philadelphia County, 1979-present; Speaker, 2003-2006], and whenever he came in, and there was a legislation to require sprinklers in all residential homes, and it was moving along, (*cough*) a lot of support. My concern was in the rural area that I live in, there’s no way that you can sprinkler a house without going to a, you know, some sort of an expensive system to build your

pressure, whether it's from a well or spring or whatever builds the type of pressure that you need and to maintain for a sprinkler system, and we were debating it, and I was saying, and John and I were talking, and I said, "Well, you know, sprinklers," I said, "we might better be requiring fire alarms." I said, "Fire alarms save people. Sprinklers save buildings." He said, "I like that," so he got up on the Floor (*laugh*) and, and interjected that into the (*cough*), into the debate, and we still laugh about it when we talk and see each other. And the biggest thing to me, and people say, "Well," you know, and back in those days they'd say, "Well, I suppose that you have to scratch each others' backs, so if you want a vote for the rural areas, you've got to trade off." I said, "No, it didn't happen that way." I said, "Amazing," and well, it was Hank Salvatore [Frank Salvatore; State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1973-1984; State Senator, 1985-2000] who was in the House at the same time, and Hank said – and Hank was in that group, and he'd say, you know, one of the issue – when it was a rural issue, he'd holler over and say, "Okay, farmer, how do we vote on this?" And it was a matter, you know, for many of the issues, most of the issues, you know, the issues that were important to me didn't impact on Philly, and ones that they needed didn't impact on my people. And I know one of the first things that I thought after I was in, you know, my first term, I thought, how – I'd look at another Member and, you know, as you get to know them, and I think that's the important thing to get to know your fellow Legislators and where they're coming from, and I'd think, you know, how in the heck does he ever get elected? And then I'd stop and think; well, he could not get elected in my District, and I couldn't get elected in his District. You know, Pennsylvania is so diverse and especially in the House you see those differences, those parochial issues that are important to one section of Pennsylvania really don't mean a lot in another one. So, that's part of the thing you have to

come to understand, and once you understand that, you realize that that's how you work with them.

JT: While in the House, what was your relationship with Leadership, and while there did you consider running for Leadership?

RM: I did not at the time I was there, per se. I had a good relationship with Leadership, had a good relationship with Matt Ryan [State Representative, Delaware County, 1965-2003; Speaker, 1981-1982 and 1995-2003] and his predecessor. Sam Hayes [State Representative, Blair, Centre and Huntingdon Counties, 1971-1992; Secretary of Agriculture, 1997-2003] is one of my mentors. He was a rural, was in Leadership, and here again, you know, he was very cognizant of rural Legislators making a bad vote, and that's kind-of one of the things that he pointed out, you know; "You got to vote your District, but you also have to vote for Pennsylvania." And [he] did a good job, so my relationship with Leadership was very good at that point, and I really – a couple of things; one individual who was there was Representative Jim Cumberland [State Representative, Clarion County, 1975-1976], and I think he was in either – maybe his second term, and he had been a Sheriff in one of the western counties and a very nice guy, but it was not what he wanted and he, you know, he would talk to me. He'd say, "You know, I can't wait to get the hell out of here," and I couldn't, couldn't quite comprehend how he felt that way, but that was the way he felt that, you know, he was frustrated, I think, with the process overall, and he did leave. But, that kind-of stuck with me that, you know, if you aren't enjoying and aren't fitting in, number one, you have to learn the process, you have to learn to work as a team and

with other individuals who think the same way as you do to try to build consensus for an issue that's important to you.

JT: Speaking of that, what were some of the major pieces of legislation that you were involved with?

RM: Well, I was involved early on with the State Chamber, their workers' comp[ensation], unemployment compensation. In fact, I think, as a freshman I sponsored some of that legislation, and I know the bill ended up being called the "Ripper Bill for UC [unemployment compensation]," and ironically, you know, a few years later as a Senator, I was able to get UC reform when I chaired the Labor Committee in the Senate. But, but here again, one of my mentors was Cliff Jones⁷ when I ran for the House. He had talked to me and the same when I ran for the Senate. He was supportive of that decision. He helped me and guided me to people to help plan my campaign, and I've always worked closely with the State Chamber in many issues that are important to business and creation of jobs.

JT: With regards to the creation of some of your legislation, the basis for those; constituent problems? Public hearings? Where did the creation come from?

RM: Well, most of it is, is hearing from constituents on situations that, you know, either government is not implementing it as it should be, problems that they're facing that can be addressed by government and sorting those out, and it's not always easy and sadly, I think, today

⁷ Clifford L. Jones was a former chairman of the state Republican Party, and served six governors as secretary of commerce, labor and industry and environmental resources, and also chaired the Public Utility Commission.

more people are coming to government, “Well, I have a problem. Can you fix it?” Well, no, you can’t fix everything, and maybe we as government have gotten too involved in trying to fix things that are better left done by individuals really looking at their situation. But, many of those issues that I became involved in was, you know, working through the farm groups who expressed a concern or the Chambers or my businesses that says, you know, “Here we have a problem,” and, “This tax is being assessed not uniformly,” you know, trying to address those issues, and that’s, I think, a big part of a Legislator’s job.

JT: What would you rate as your greatest accomplishment as a Senator?

RM: Well, certainly the unemployment compensation was one of them. The other was the workers’ comp[ensation] reform that I did as Labor Chairman, and it was ironic; when I went to the Senate and shortly, well, it was in that spring that Senator O’Connell [Frank J. O’Connell, Jr.; State Representative, Luzerne County, 1967-1978; State Senator, 1979-1986] resigned from the Senate and my good friend, Noah Wenger, was Chairman of the Labor Committee at that point, and Frank was Chairman of State Government [Committee]. Noah wanted that, so he moved up, and then I moved into the Labor [Committee]. In fact, it was interesting, because Gib Armstrong and I went to the Senate at the time, we had the same amount, so they flipped a coin and Gib won the toss but he said, “I don’t want Labor,” and so I said, “I’ll take it. I want to be a Chairman,” and I served eight years as Chairman, but that was really a challenge, and yet it was – and I said to my Chief of Staff at that point, I said, “You know, we’ve got all the time in the world,” and I remember setting down one of our early meetings and met with, you know, Labor and the business community, and well, in [19]70-something, when we addressed this, they

committed to this, and they committed to that, and I said, “Wait a minute.” I said, “I’m new. I wasn’t here. I don’t know who agreed to this or that. We’re going to start from here and move ahead. What can we do to address the situation?” And really, we were able to do unemployment comp[ensation] because we were – at that point, the Federal Government said, “We’ve been loaning you money,” so that over the years when we had a downturn, they loaned us money to do extended benefits, and we had a debt of over something like 200 billion dollars, and that had to be addressed, and the interest was going to be staggering on that amount. So, we worked on it so that was an advantage; we had a pressure, and we, you know, negotiated for a number of, you know, back-and-forth, and back-and – number of meetings. It kept getting closer, and the thing that we came up with was – and this came from one of the Chamber Members said in our discussion meetings – which was a trigger mechanism, which we still have today, is still working that, you know, when times are good the rates go down, but we set a level that there had to be, and if, you know, we went into a tough times like we’re facing today, then the amount the employers put in and even the workers themselves plug in, depending on what the amount is, and that has worked. And we paid off the debt. But the individual said, “Well, you’re proposing these triggers. Can we call those the ‘Madigan Triggers’?” So, that’s what they became known as, but it’s still working. It does need – and I believe, you know, that level was the level of – and I’ve forgotten now – but we set a level, so that it kept that level by increasing or decreasing, and I do believe that level probably needs to be expanded as our employment numbers have gone up, but it’s worked, rather than borrowing money. And prior to that when times were good, they’d really lower the rates; they didn’t build any reserve. This mandates that reserve that’s there to protect both the workers and employers.

JT: Tell me about Act 44 from 2007 and why that was important to you.

RM: Well, that was important – and it's ironic because in a sense, all four of the Transportation Chairs in the House and Senate agreed, you know, we've sat down and agreed that we needed additional funding in our highway trust fund. I made some proposals. Governor Rendell [Edward G. Rendell, Governor of Pennsylvania, 2003-2011] did not agree to those. [He] was opposed to raising the gas tax, raising registrations, and as a result, we had, you know, came together, had a proposal for five to eight cents. I think it was eight cents a gallon on the gas tax, but he was unwilling to move, and as we tried to negotiate with him, he flexed dollars from the Federal dollars to transit and set up the Funding and Reform Commission, which was a two-year situation that we kind-of sat and twiddled our thumbs, sad to say, and they come out with reports of what was needed, and they met, and I believe they did a great job. (*cough*) Of course, nobody wanted to increase taxes or increase revenues, per se. I'm saying generally Members and the Governor also, but once they come out with their report, he came back, and two years ago, came out with a proposal that we increase our set up fee on oil companies, which sounded good. It would only be on the five big oil companies. Well, that wasn't true; it would impact every distributor within the Commonwealth. So, (*cough*) it really wasn't a solution, and as we worked ahead and I worked within my Caucus and presented, I don't know how many times, different scenarios. We held hearings with the contractors, what have you, could not get support for any proposal, and then they came back. We started looking at Act 44, potential of bonding, and I have traditionally opposed bonding because when I came to the House in [19]77, 26 percent of our highway trust fund monies were going to debt service, because they had borrowed to build the interstates, and we have worked that off, but as we looked at and worked – we worked

closely with the Senate Democrats and looked at the proposal for bonding and bonds that which under Act 44 would be paid off in – it was a 50 year lease of the Interstate 80 to the Turnpike Commission – but that would have been paid off in 20 to 30 years. So it was sound; would require the tolling of Interstate 80, and we had the votes. It was very overwhelming in the Senate, and I forgot what it was in the House, but the votes were there, you know, and a couple of advantages in funding an additional – actually, after a few years would have been close to a billion dollars. You had additional for highway bridges and road construction set up a funding formula for mass transit that helped our rural transit agencies, provided more money, but it also had restrictions on the major ones, SEPTA [Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority] and the [Philadelphia Regional] Port Authority, to upgrade and do more on their own, and I think was a good solution. Sadly, the Federal Government would not approve it, although there were pilot programs which would allow the tolling of interstates. So, we are in a real quagmire at this point to how are we going to fund our highways and bridges, and our bridge problem is the challenge. Our infrastructure – and sad to say, at least for me, to go beyond our highways and bridges and railroads and all of the transportation issues, there are a lot of other infrastructure that is wearing out, and we're not addressing it, either at the State or Federal level. I think this is going to be, really, a drag on us as we go into the future. And this was a solution, and it was a solution that, you know, everybody, yeah, everybody, well, you know, Members were unwilling to say, "I'll put up a tax vote," or "I'll put up a vote for user fee for this," and I think we have to come up with some innovative ways to do this. It certainly, you know, God forbid that we have a situation where we have a catastrophe here in the Commonwealth, and we are improving and enhancing our bridge inspections, but here again, as in Philadelphia on I-95 this spring, that one of the structures had a minor crack in it when it was inspected, and

fortunately, somebody checked and it was not a minor crack; it was a major one. And so, that was able to be addressed, but those are the things that we have to face and one of the things, I guess, will be one of my last acts as a Senator; we're going to hold a summit the end of November to get input on, probably will be an all day meeting, but we'll get input from various areas as to how can we fund our highway transportation, and hopefully, we'll give – you know, that's been, I guess, one of my frustrations; we haven't been able to address it. And if I can leave that legacy to my colleagues in both the House and Senate, as, you know, "Here's some options. Which way do we go?"

JT: Do you have an opinion on the technological advances that are in the Capitol? Over the last thirty years there's been a number of things that have appeared on both the House and Senate Floors: laptops, the TV cameras, PCN [Pennsylvania Cable Network]. Do you have an opinion on those?

RM: Well, I think it's important that the people can see and can see us in action. Sometimes they get frustrated. Although, trying to think what the issue was – a couple of years – it related to education, and we were on the Floor debating it in the Senate, and I was getting phone calls in my office from educators who were watching it on PCN. *(laugh)* So, this can be good or bad, but that input is important, and it's good. Certainly the laptops, for me, that technology bypassed me. *(laugh)* I don't have a cell phone. I do have a computer at home, but, you know, getting involved, but I think it's important our Members use it. Hopefully, it, you know, it saves a few trees and especially in the House where you have so many amendments offered that it's – I would think it's easy to keep up with those. You have them before you on a laptop, and I think

this is important. I know when I was leaving the House they were getting into utilizing the computers more and more to keep track of constituents, to keep track of issues. That's a wave of the future.

JT: What would you say is your fondest memory of the House, and then in the Senate, as well?

RM: Well, fondest memory is the people that I served with. All of them on both sides in both the House and Senate and have a lot of respect. I know as I was winding down my first term, and you're getting ready to run for reelection, I thought to myself, you know, if I don't get reelected, I have had the opportunity to meet and work with and respect a tremendous number of people with, with various strengths of what they know, you know, they're a Constitutionalist, they're a, you know, they have a background in manufacturing, they have a background in agriculture. You know, the quality for the most part, has been tremendous, to me, the quality of people that we get to serve. Like anything else you have some bad apples, but overall, the quality has been top notch and many times you can look at some of them and say, you know, why are they giving up? And I think that, you know, why are they giving up what they have to come and serve the public? Because they have a belief that they can make a difference, and we can make a difference for the people. And some of the things that happen today tend to turn people off from offering the valuable insights and potential that they have who say, "I don't want to get involved because of the mean-spiritedness of a campaign," or, "I don't want to expose my family," and this is too bad because we need top quality with high integrity individuals to serve in the House and the Senate for the good of the people of Pennsylvania.

JT: Good. I always ask each of the Members that I interview if you can remember or would like to share a funny story or an anecdote or something that really sticks out in your head.

RM: Well, I guess I could have a lot of them, you know, some of the things that happened on the Floor and, you know, there were some characters that we had. I remember Joe Zeller [State Representative, Lehigh County, 1971-1980] who was from Berks County, I believe, or Lehigh. He was a character in the sense that he would always get up and say, “I wasn’t going to speak on this, but when Representative so-and-so said this,” but, but Joe really took off on the media. That’s when they were down in the – when I was there – in the left-hand corner of the Chamber, and that gang down there – the one day, he got to going and upset the members of the Black Caucus, and that was one of the fights, I think, that was on the Floor, and I don’t know who – I think Dave Richardson come down the aisle, and I remember that Representative Rieger [William W. Rieger; State Representative, Philadelphia County, 1967-2006] was in that battle, and the two battles on the Floor that Representative Rieger was involved in, he was involved in both of them, and one individual, they were trying to get to Joe Zeller, but there was a little individual from, I think, Berks County, and the name escapes me now, but the one time he had this whole sleeve torn off his jacket because they were tussling in the aisle. (*laugh*) I guess there were a lot of them, and well, the one thing, well, my colleague from Susquehanna County, oh, she was a little short spark plug, and I’m missing her name right now, but she was a Representative and very outspoken, good, quality individual. She had served as a aide to Representative Ken Lee [State Representative; Sullivan, Susquehanna and Wyoming Counties, 1957-1974; Speaker, 1967-1968 and 1973-1974] when he was Speaker and was a Member – Carmel Sirianni [State Representative, Sullivan, Susquehanna and Wyoming Counties, 1975-

1990] – and I remember after, well, a number of times, you know, we’d be back at our offices and kind-of people standing around, and there were several of us talking. Bill Hutchinson [State Representative, Schuylkill County, 1973-1982], who went to the Supreme Court and then passed away, Carmel, another lady, and the lady was saying, “Well, I never miss a chance when I’m speaking to push women’s rights,” and Carmel said, “Well,” she said, “I was always too busy doing what I wanted to do to even think about women’s rights,” and she was that type of a person. And when I went to the Senate, and I forget the issue, and I happened to be crossing the Senate out in the Rotunda, and she came up to me, and she said, “You know, I don’t know what ails you people when you go from the House to the Senate, but you and Noah Wenger both, I thought were better, and you voted for this,” and oh, she gave me a (*laugh*) a run down in the – but here again, she was quality lady. You knew where you stood. And the other humorous story was Senator O’Connell, and we were all part of the Northeast Caucus, and, you know, we couldn’t have a meeting, and Carmel would come in, Frank would come in, and they’d start yelling at each other about some issue, and after, you know, a couple of minutes, then it would die down. “Okay, let’s get to work,” (*laugh*) but they were, they were always at each other’s throat (*laugh*) and they both loved it.

JT: Very good. Thank you for sharing. How would you want your tenure as a State Representative to be remembered?

RM: Well, I would want it to be remembered that I was a, you know, loyal member of my Caucus. I had respect, built respect across the aisle, which I didn’t realize had been done until I did move to the Senate, and the number of my colleagues on both sides who came to me and

said, “Well, if you have legislation you’re interested in, just let us know. We respect you, and we will do what we can to help you out over here,” and I think building that kind of respect and working with the other Members is, I think, to me, is a tribute to me, and it’s the kind of tribute that I would want; that I was a team player, but also was willing to reach across on the issues.

JT: Any future plans?

RM: Not really. I have a bunch of grandchildren that I’m looking forward to, and I have not made any plans, per se, other than doing my “honey do” list. Actually, I’ll do my wife’s “honey do” list first and then probably mine and certainly keep my options open, but as someone told me just last evening, actually it was Tom Ridge [Thomas J. Ridge, Governor of Pennsylvania, 1995-2001]. I happened to run into him at a restaurant here in Harrisburg when we were out for dinner last night, and he said, “Don’t do anything for a year, and then start thinking about what you...,” *(laugh)* and I think that’s good advice. But yes, it will be a major change for me after 32 years, but it will be a pleasant change. Things that I want to do, you know, I like working with my hands. I bought a lot of woodworking equipment that I’ve never used, and hopefully, I’ll get a chance to use some of that.

JT: One final question for you: what advice would you give to someone who’s interested in becoming a Member?

RM: Well, my advice would be to get involved in politically, you know, at the local level, you know, either as a committee person, work on someone’s campaign, get to know the people in

your area. If you're looking to run as a Representative, you know, get around. Get involved, and I think it's good to get involved before you actually run. You need to get to know the people, get the feelings of them, and today, sad to say, running is expensive, and unfortunately, I think we're spending probably too much money, but here again, that's part of winning. The advantage I had as a Representative and as a Senator, that my District did not have the TV coverage. That is, in buying TV coverage, you're spending a lot of money, and you're only hitting a small portion of your District, and finding or utilizing good ways to raise funds and to spend those funds the most effectively in your campaign, but you really have to get to know your people in one form or another. I was able to through the Farm Bureau, working with my, (*cough*) excuse me, fellow farmers and in the insurance industry as I got to know a lot of people as well, which has served me well.

JT: Okay. Senator Roger Madigan, I'd like to thank you very much for participating in the House of Representatives Archives Oral History Program and sharing all of your stories with us today.

RM: Well, thank you very much. It's been a real pleasure, and I hope it's of value to some people in the future.

JT: Thank you.

RM: Thank you.