Ernest F. “Fritz” Hollings Collection  
Personal Papers and Campaign Files, 1947-2004  
Boxes 604-687

Please see the website for the Hollings Papers for additional collection finding aids.

**Description of Materials**


**General** files (2 ft.) are organized chronologically and include correspondence and documents from 1947 to 2004; a majority of folders are from the years before Hollings entered the U.S. Senate in 1966. Of note are numerous letters from good friends, federal judge Sol Blatt, Jr., and SC Governor John West, and from people responding to the last speech he gave to the General Assembly in Jan., 1963. In this speech, then-Governor Hollings called upon the Assembly and the public to accept the court-ordered integration of the public schools and admission to Clemson University of Harvey Gantt and urged that the Assembly must “make clear South Carolina’s choice, a government of laws rather than a government of men.”

**Biographical** information (.5 ft.) includes brief bios and timelines compiled by the press office, brochures, published profiles, remarks made about the Senator (notably, on his retirement), pre-Senate biographical material, and military records. **Biography** files (1.5 ft.) consist of the research files and drafts of an early version of the Senator’s biography.

**Campaign Files**, 59 cartons, is the largest series by far within Personal Papers. The files are organized chronologically and include Hollings’ successful 1950 re-election to a SC House seat, successful campaigns for lieutenant governor and governor in 1954 and 1958, failed 1962 bid for U.S. Senate, subsequent successful senatorial campaigns (1966, 1968, 1974, 1980, 1986, 1992, and 1998), and his 1984 run at the presidency. Also included is material from the years when Hollings was not up for re-election but was aiding in the election of fellow Democrats, particularly during presidential campaign years. This includes 1960 when Hollings supported John F. Kennedy in his presidential bid (JFK carried South Carolina) and 1972 when Hollings was chair of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Campaign Files do not include records from his first election bid in 1948, a
successful run for a SC House Seat. Files start with his success in the 1950 re-election campaign. Further below are descriptions of each of Hollings’ campaigns, as well as his work in some of the off-year election cycles.

*The Case Against Hunger: A Demand for A National Policy* (1.5 ft.) was a book authored by Hollings and published in 1970. Files here include rough drafts of the book, correspondence between Hollings and the publisher, and notes concerning the book (mostly thank you notes from people who received copies).

The *Family* files (6.5 ft.) include correspondence between family members and the Senator (children, siblings, and extended family), information about some family members, and condolences following the deaths of Hollings’ two brothers and his daughter, Salley. The papers of *Rita Liddy “Peatsy” Hollings* consume most of the family files (5.5 ft). Mrs. Hollings, a teacher from Charleston, became interested in politics while attending graduate school at USC and worked on Hollings’ successful campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1966. Afterward, she joined his staff as a research assistant in the Washington, D.C., office. Peatsy Hollings died in 2012 after a long struggle with Alzheimer’s disease.

Among other causes in the D.C. and Charleston areas, Peatsy devoted her time and energy to such organizations as the American Heart Association, March of Dimes, and the American Cancer Society. Notably, her papers cover her efforts as co–chair of the Ford’s Theatre annual gala salute to the President and First Lady from 1990 to 2000, her work as Chairman of the March of Dimes Gourmet Gala in 1986 (and continued involvement with the gala at other levels), and her four-year tenure on the National Advisory Mental Health Council, to which President Bush nominated her in 1991. Her public service announcements (PSAs) and appearances from the 1980s and 1990s, recorded on a variety of formats and related to drunk driving, drug abuse, education, and health care, are in box 758 with other audio-visual materials.

Ten folders hold letters from friends and colleagues in the wake of a *fire* that destroyed the Hollings’ home and possessions on the Isle of Palms in August, 1999. This includes cards received by Peatsy in December of that year when Senate wives and other prominent women held a surprise party with gift Christmas tree ornaments representing everyone’s home state.

*Guaranty Insurance Trust* files (1.5 ft.), 1954 to 1968, partially document an insurance company that Hollings helped to start and for which he sat on the Board. The trust began in South Carolina, but was expanded to include Georgia and Virginia.
The **Law Career and Practices** files (4.5 ft.) document the Law Offices of Ernest F. Hollings in the 1950s (through 1958) while a member of the General Assembly and Lt. Governor and the practice of Hollings and Hawkins (Falcon Hawkins) in the 1960s in the years between his service as Governor and U.S. Senator. Files on significant cases from the Law Offices of Ernest F. Hollings involving the Carolina Pipeline Co. and Julian Williams have been kept. Files from Hollings and Hawkins in the 1960s include documentation of the Godchaux Sugar Co. case against a Pepsi Cola bottling plant.

Topical files (4.5 ft.) pertain to issues such as segregation, women serving on juries, the Hoover Commission on which Hollings served, the Sea-Space Symposium, and Snee Farm, a golf resort and development that Hollings held shares in; document boards on which Hollings served such as the Board of Visitors for the Air Force Academy and Boy Scouts of America; and highlight fun endeavors of the Senator, such as his role in the 1996 Al Pacino movie, *City Hall* (in which Hollings played a prominent Democratic Senator) and his love of tennis. Files on the Hollings Cancer Center at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston follow the groundbreaking and dedication of the Center, development efforts, and the work of the Board of Directors. Five folders document Hollings’ relationship to the Kennedy family, particularly in the wake of John F. Kennedy’s assassination and in Hollings’ efforts as State Chairman of the JFK Memorial Library Committee to raise funds throughout the state for the Kennedy Presidential Library.

The Lutheran Church in America (LCA) files pertain to Hollings’ service on the Executive Council from mid-1962 through early 1966. Hollings served on the Council’s Committee on Legal Matters. Documents relate to the business of the executive council and include correspondence between Hollings and other Lutheran church leaders on general church affairs and press releases from the national church. Other papers relate to the South Carolina Synod and include a controversial protest from the Synod to the LCA Executive Council concerning "political" pronouncement of the National Council of Churches, to which the LCA belonged.

Three folders of financial records include a general file and documents related to property and memberships. Eight folders hold birthday greetings sent to the Senator in 1970, 1984, and several later years. One foot of material (one carton) is Christmas cards and letters received and information on gifts received. Six folders hold letters from admirers (and a few detractors) upon announcement of Hollings’ retirement from the U.S. Senate.

**Campaign for SC House of Representatives, 1950** (go to box list for 1950)

The earliest campaign records date from Hollings 1950 successful re-election bid for the South Carolina House where he represented Charleston County. During his freshman term, Hollings established himself as an influential legislator and in 1950 campaigned as the next likely Speaker Pro Tempore (and indeed was elected Pro Tem twice--in 1951 and 1953). The 1950 file consists mainly of speech material.
Campaign for Lieutenant Governor, 1954 (go to box list for 1954)


“My opponent…was a farmer, teacher, lawyer, and navy veteran. He had won his Senate seat in 1952 and, earlier in his career, had served a term in the House. Campaigning was easy during that period. You didn’t have to run around the state raising money because you had no staff. Candidates relied on volunteers. There was no need to spend on media—no TV or radio or direct mail or even yard signs. We went around the state making ‘stump’ speeches. ....Because I didn’t have to pay pollsters or consultants and had no focus groups, my race cost a grand total of $11,000!”

Three folders from this campaign consist of organizational and financial records, including acknowledgements to campaign donors.

Campaign for Governor, 1958 (go to box list for 1958)

In 1958, Hollings ran for Governor against University of South Carolina president Donald Russell and Mayor William Johnston of Anderson, brother of Olin D. Johnston. Hollings announced his candidacy on January 29, 1958, citing his ten years of public service that included presiding over both the State House and Senate. Hollings ran on his record and emphasized the need to attract more industry to the state. He fought Russell’s charge that he was connected to the Barnwell Ring, a group of powerful rural legislators that included Edgar Brown and House Speaker Solomon Blatt. In Making Government Work, Hollings says Russell was “highly intelligent but also somewhat remote and not a natural politician.”

In the first Democratic Primary, Johnston came in third, leading to a two-week run-off between Russell and Hollings. Though Russell won many major newspaper endorsements and had a lot of money and James Byrnes’ backing, Hollings emerged from the second Democratic Primary victorious, something Hollings attributed to Russell’s remote nature and his own hustle and willingness to talk to as many voters as possible. Little material remains from this campaign. Financial records comprise most of the seven folders. Four of these contain lists of contributors.

1960 (go to box list for 1960)

Although not a candidate himself, Hollings’ played a major role in the 1960 presidential election which is reflected in the campaign materials for 1960. Despite his initial support for Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson prior to the national convention, Hollings became an enthusiastic supporter of John F. Kennedy in the fall campaign. The governor was given much of the credit by contemporaries for carrying the
Palmetto State for the Democratic ticket. Included in the 1960 materials are two folders dealing with patronage appointments in the new Kennedy administration. The appointments files highlight disagreements between Hollings and U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston over patronage in South Carolina, perhaps the first salvo in their 1962 Senate primary fight. Also included is information on the national Democratic Party, the Democratic National Convention, and party finances.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1962** ([go to box list for 1962](#))

In 1962, fresh from his term as governor, Hollings challenged three-term U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston in the Democratic primary. Hollings knew he would have to “out-hustle” Johnston to make his case to the voters, as he discusses in *Making Government Work*. Well before the election in December 1961, South Carolina journalist Charles Wickenberg noted, “Both Johnston and Hollings act like the election is tomorrow. Both are beating the bushes, talking at the drop of an invitation. South Carolina has never seen anything like this before.” In the end, Hollings carried only Calhoun County. Though he was unsuccessful in this effort, he ultimately would win the seat in 1966 following Johnston’s untimely death in office.

Four feet of material document this campaign. Of particular interest in the General file is a document listing the two opponents’ respective strengths and likely strategies, and a preliminary timetable for the Hollings campaign. Also included are letters from supporters suggesting political strategy and interoffice memos between the candidate and campaign manager (and state senator) James Waddell of Beaufort concerning scheduling and important contacts to be made. Campaign organization files contain extensive records of the operation of the Hollings Senate campaign. Included among the organization files are lists of and correspondence to county campaign leaders (managers, women, youth, and farm organization chairmen), and records of the headquarters office personnel. Correspondence includes good luck messages and condolences from the governor’s supporters, and thank you and other brief notes from Hollings. At right, “Dollars for Hollings” was a fundraising effort for the campaign.

Files on Olin Johnston contain the campaign’s opposition research and are a sizable portion of the 1962 election records. Much of the research was done by an assistant to Frank van der Linden, the Washington correspondent for the *Greenville News*. Included is material on the Impostato case (in which Johnston sponsored a bill to prevent the deportation of a reputed drug dealer), Johnston's ties to organized labor and his opposition to right-to-work legislation, the senator's chairmanship of the Post Office and Civil Service committee (particularly a case involving the reinstatement of a black mail carrier in Savannah), and ratings by various organizations of Johnston's voting record.

Publicity files mainly concern a two-hour question-and-answer telethon which aired in late May, 1962, and includes lists of anticipated questions and actual questions received on the night of the broadcast. Additional records concern the purchase of television time for political programs. Topical files primarily contain background research on various issues. Prominent among those issues are Hollings' record regarding industrial recruitment and economic development, labor and the governor's stand in favor of
right-to-work laws, agricultural concerns, and Hollings' opposition to the Kennedy administration health insurance bill.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1966** *(go to box list for 1966)*

In the 1966 Senate campaign, former governor Ernest Hollings challenged the incumbent, Donald Russell, in the June Democratic primary. Russell, who followed Hollings as governor in 1963, resigned the governor's office in 1965 following the death of Senator Olin D. Johnston, and was then appointed by the new governor, Robert McNair, to fill the vacant U.S. Senate seat. After winning the Democratic nomination, Hollings went on to narrowly defeat the Republican nominee, Marshall J. Parker, a state senator from Oconee, in the general election.

Six feet of material document this campaign. Hollings' early interest in the vacated Johnston seat, campaign strategy, and the political climate in South Carolina are discussed with a great deal of candor in correspondence in the General file. The file is comprised mainly of correspondence, 1964-1966. Most of the correspondence deals with the Democratic primary rather than the general election. Crawford Cook, a frequent correspondent, served as director of public relations for the Municipal Association of South Carolina. Cook became Hollings' campaign manager in 1966. Of particular interest is a letter, January 11, 1966, from Hollings to John E. Kraft, a New York pollster. Hollings offered a blunt appraisal of politics in South Carolina in the mid-1960s. Commenting upon the farm vote Hollings said-"The farm vote in the Pee Dee and Lowcountry can be looked upon as an indication by group. They recite the Declaration of Independence at sunrise and are prepared to assault the central government in Washington, but in Balinese fashion they have one hand out behind willingly accepting all subsidies. Their vote differs from their conservative speech in that they vote controls and subsidies. And what disturbs them should prove interesting."

The Correspondence files contain numerous responses to an inquiry Hollings mailed to supporters throughout the state early in 1966 which raised the possibility of his challenging Russell and asked their opinion of his chances. Responses come from virtually every county across the state and do not necessarily represent the established political leadership. The letters present a fascinating insight into the political climate of the time. Comments were not limited to the upcoming Senate race, but covered the whole spectrum of South Carolina politics in the mid-1960s. These letters are arranged by county and include correspondence with supporters in Washington, D.C.

An extensive file on the national Democratic Party chiefly contains information provided the candidate by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee concerning Great Society legislation. Files on particular persons include newsletters from both the Russell and Thurmond offices, and files on Donald Russell and Marshall Parker. A file on New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy indicates the trouble Hollings faced in the general election explaining his past ties to the Kennedy family. Publicity files include records of Hollings' advertising spending, negotiations with newspapers, television and radio stations, copies of radio scripts, and drafts of television commercials. Topical files include information on labor, health care, and the state Republican Party.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1968** *(go to box list for 1968)*
In 1968, Hollings defeated primary challenger John Bolt Culbertson, a labor lawyer from Greenville who had served one term in the S.C. House twenty years earlier. In the general election, Hollings again faced Republican Marshall Parker and won with approximately 61 percent of the vote. Though the election went smoothly for Hollings, news broke during the campaign that prior to his winning the Senate race in 1966, Hollings was approached by Republican Party members about his future with the Democratic Party. In a meeting requested by Mrs. Francis Dougherty, a Republican candidate for mayor in Charleston, Hollings was asked if he “would be interested” in joining the GOP. The transcript also states that Hollings was told by Arthur Ravenel, Jr. that “money is no object. We don’t care if it costs a half million dollars…."

Only two feet of material document this campaign. Of particular interest are letters written by George Croffead, a leader in the Greek community in Charleston, and a letter written by A.G. Hollings, the Senator’s brother. Each letter was written as a part of the letter writing campaign that Hollings’ used in the election. Finance files contain information on events, such as the Appreciation Dinner held in Hollings’ honor in February, 1968, information on contributors, and thank-you notes to donors. Hollings utilized polling in his campaign. Two polls were conducted in January and July, 1968. Topical contains the transcript mentioned above detailing a meeting between Hollings and members of the Republican Party.

1970-1972 (go to box list for 1970-72)

In the years between campaigns, Hollings remained active in the party. In the early 1970s he served on the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC). He kept records of the DSCC as well as the Democratic National Committee and South Carolina Democratic Party. Along with these, Hollings maintained files on the Republican Party and Strom Thurmond’s 1972 campaign.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1974 (go to box list for 1974)

Senator Hollings had little trouble with his opponent, Gwen Bush, in his 1974 re-election, which is reflected in the 1 ½ feet of campaign materials. This campaign saw endorsements from several elected officials, notable among them a letter from Governor Jimmy Carter who pledged his support to Hollings. Financial files include the usual contributor lists and acknowledgements and information on a series of fundraising events including the Appreciation Dinner held in the Senator’s honor in February, 1974. In Publicity, of particular interest are transcripts of the debate between Hollings and Gwen Bush. Voter research files include polls conducted by Kraft and a state profile from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Under Topical are two files of interest. A file on the environment reflects both the salience of the issue in the early 1970s and the senator's interest in protecting the coastal environment of South Carolina. A file on the 1974 gubernatorial race includes information on a possible amendment to the SC Constitution that would allow Charles “Pug” Ravenel to run after the state Supreme Court decided that he was not in compliance with the resident requirements for governors.

1976 (go to box list for 1976)
Between campaigns, Hollings continued to serve with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He also began exploring the idea of running for president himself. After exploring the possibility in 1975, Hollings decided not to run in 1976. In 1976, however, he did keep files on all of the Democratic candidates for president. He also maintained a file on Gerald Ford.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1980** *(go to box list for 1980)*

Senator Hollings ran nearly unopposed in the democratic primary for his Senate seat in 1980. His primary opposition was Bill Kreml, a University of South Carolina professor who was running against Hollings mainly as a protest against the Senator’s policies. Hollings won easily and faced Republican Marshall Mays in the general election. The Hollings campaign worked diligently to minimize Mays in the state, painting the former OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) chairman as a Republican politico from Washington who was not a true South Carolinian. The campaign made extensive advertising buys on radio and television stations across the state, created thorough background files on Mays, and established a loyal donor network. Hollings won with over 70% of the vote in a year when Democrats fared poorly nationwide with popular Republican Ronald Reagan heading the ticket.

The 2.5 feet of 1980 campaign material includes campaign overviews, correspondence, Democratic Party files, financial files, opposition research, post-election, publicity, schedules, and strategy. The financial files are broken down amongst contacts, donors, and fundraising receptions. The opposition research files cover OPIC, the corporation that Mays chaired prior to running for Senate, and strategy and print materials from Hollings’ opponents. Publicity consists of print media information and stories, press releases by the campaign, radio ad buys, and television commercial transcripts and ad buys. Schedule information included is sparse and covers mostly October 1979 and 1980. Strategy breaks down the campaign’s strategy county-by-county in each region of the state and also includes national issues and polling data.

**Campaign for the Presidency, 1984** *(go to box list for 1984)*

Hollings announced his candidacy for U.S. President on April 18, 1983. He joined a number of hopefuls seeking the Democratic nomination for the 1984 race, including front runner former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, and Ohio Senator John Glenn, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, former Florida governor Reuben Askew, Senator Alan Cranston of California, former South Dakota Senator (and 1972 Democratic presidential nominee) George McGovern, and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. These contenders sought to unseat the incumbent Republican president, Ronald Reagan. Although Reagan was extremely popular personally, his first term had seen unemployment, inflation, interest rates, and federal deficits reach post-World War II highs. Hollings' concern about these economic problems, particularly the federal budget deficit, was the primary motivation behind his run for the presidency.

Hollings began testing the water long before his formal announcement. During 1982, Hollings visited some thirty-six states exploring interest in a Hollings candidacy. A political action committee, Citizens for a Competitive America, was established to help fund the campaign. An undated prospectus states,
“Those of us who have organized this committee have been closely associated with the political career of Senator Ernest F. “Fritz” Hollings and believe that he has something unique to offer the American political system… Hollings wants to make America work again - - to make her more productive, more economically sound and more competitive.” The prospectus went on to note Hollings “has become one of the nation’s leading economic spokesmen.” A financial report shows the PAC received over $140,000 between January 1 and March 31 of 1982. By January, 1983, Hollings had formed an exploratory committee and was staffing management level positions.

His campaign focused on three major issues: reducing the deficit, improving economic competitiveness, and strengthening national defense. As a staunch advocate of balancing the federal budget, Hollings criticized fellow Democrats for their tendency to throw money at problems and for gaining a reputation as the party of big spenders, arguing that they would never regain the White House unless they demonstrated a commitment to fiscal restraint. At the same time, he lambasted President Reagan for creating unprecedented federal budget deficits by cutting taxes while drastically increasing defense spending. The solution to the deficit problem was the proposed Hollings Budget Plan. As president, Hollings would freeze entitlements, federal pay, defense spending, and discretionary expenditures. He would also reduce the 1981 tax cut and forego future ones. This plan was outlined as early as March 1982 and promised to balance the budget within four years.

Hollings believed these moves were essential to implementing his second campaign plank, industrial policy. If government and business were to have the available capital to invest in long-term economic growth, the government could not continue to run large deficits and thereby soak up available financial resources. Along with deficit reduction, Hollings called for a tough trade policy, a federal industrial investment program, and technical education initiatives. Hollings spoke out for a competitive America, arguing that increasing imports and the rise of Japanese economic might was endangering America's future. His industrial policy would be essential in making America more economically powerful.

Senator Hollings was also determined that America remains militarily powerful. Thus, he forwarded what he called a "strong but sensible" policy, a fundamental (and quite controversial) component of which was the reinstatement of the military draft. Hollings contended that it was a "civil wrong" for minorities and the poor, who were disproportionately represented in the armed forces, to bear the majority of the burden of defending the United States. His plan for a stronger military also called for improving the readiness of conventional troops, increasing Rapid Deployment Forces, and enhancing benefits for veterans. Defense budgets would be "mission based" and procurement would be streamlined in order to reduce waste and fraud. This emphasis on cost savings and conventional forces also led Hollings to favor a nuclear freeze and to oppose the B-1 bomber and MX missile projects.

From January, 1983, through February, 1984, Fritz and Peatsy Hollings spent the majority of their time traversing the nation to promote Hollings' prescription for a strong, competitive, and prosperous America. Unfortunately, while his platform was credible and popular with the press (he was called "The Thinking Man's Dark Horse" by columnist Bill Grieder), the public did not embrace his message of tough choices and sacrifice. Mondale and Glenn, buoyed by good name recognition, emerged as the early front-runners. Hollings used his biting wit to try and cut into their leads. Referring to John Glenn's inconsistency on the issues, he quipped that the Ohio senator and former astronaut was "orbiting the issues faster than he orbited the earth."
Peatsy was recognized as an able campaigner and a strong presence. Parade Magazine [31 July 1983], in an article on the Democratic candidates’ wives, notes she “by far, has the most dynamic style of the candidates’ wives” and quoted her characterization of her role in the campaign, “the wife is an integral part of a Presidential campaign…. I consider myself a working partner, another set of eyes and ears for Fritz. I understand where he’s coming from, where he hopes to go, and I think I can articulate his positions as well as anybody else.”

Hollings never lost his upbeat demeanor, even after finishing last in the Iowa Caucus. During a February 23, 1984, debate in New Hampshire, he remarked “People say...that they're for me, but I can't win. If you're for me, I can't lose!” Hollings placed sixth in the New Hampshire primary, garnering a mere 3.5% of the vote (though, the photo at right shows that he did well in Dixville, a village that holds midnight voting for the New Hampshire primary). On March 1, 1984, the day after the primary, Senator Hollings bowed out of the race with the classic line: "Well, nothing happened to me on the way to the White House..."

While Hollings failed to capture the nomination, the concepts he argued so persuasively during his campaign were clear winners. When Hollings announced his withdrawal from the race, he said "I didn't craft my message to win a campaign, I crafted my message to win a country." In some sense he did accomplish this goal. Fritz Hollings was instrumental in framing the agenda for the 1984 presidential campaign. All three of his major messages--balancing the budget, toughening trade policy, and beefing up conventional military forces--became central issues of the national debate. In particular, Hollings’ emphasis on balancing the budget demonstrated his remarkable foresight: though few were decrying the federal deficit at the time, in less than a decade it came to be seen as perhaps the single most important political issue in the United States. Hollings even had an impact after withdrawing from the race, for it was widely acknowledged that his announcement of support for Gary Hart sparked the Colorado senator's dramatic but short-lived challenge to Mondale and Glenn. Hollings former Senate colleague, Birch Bayh, noted in a letter of consolation, “Your service in the Senate will be even more valuable as a result of your having the opportunity to view America and our problems from the perspective of a Presidential candidate.”

Description of Materials for 1984 Presidential Campaign

The almost eleven feet of Presidential Campaign records consist of campaign organization files that include communication and strategy documents, correspondence, financial records, persons files, state files, and topical files. Most of the material is dated between January 1983 and March 1984.
General and campaign organization files offer a good deal of insight into the campaign. For example, although Hollings’ announcement came in April of 1983, campaign strategy documents reveal that "target states" for the campaign had been chosen as early as January 1982, just over a year after Reagan had taken office. An undated, hand-written document with "top secret" scrawled across the top outlines what appears to be an early campaign plan, perhaps from 1982. Memos from mid-1983 discuss internal debate over themes and issues in the campaign, and a fall 1983 campaign manual delineates how to achieve the goals of increasing name recognition, broadening support, and raising funds. Of considerable interest is a detailed but undated schematic diagram showing the organizational structure of the campaign. Weekly reports provide evaluations of the events and progress of the past week, sent by the campaign departments and field staff to the campaign coordinator.

Schedules and staff files are found with campaign organization files. The schedules provide rich and detailed information on the Senator’s and Peatsy’s travels and appearances. The schedules often provide hourly information on their locations, the meetings and functions attended, and background on the individuals, organizations, and issues involved. Staff files contain campaign and senate staff listings and background information about some staff members. Michael Copps, the Senate office Administrative Assistant, was not an official member of the campaign staff but he played a key role formulating campaign strategy and overseeing the development of campaign issue papers. His files include significant memorandum prepared by Copps that sought to crystallize the campaign’s intellectual content and set Hollings apart from the pack seeking the Democratic nomination. Mark Epstein served as the campaign issues coordinator and his file relates to the development of issue statements.

Documents detailing the campaign’s communications effort are rich and provide valuable insights on decision making and the theme, goals, slogans, and media approach of the campaign. These coalesced into a March 1983 packet that served as a campaign communications manifesto. Also of note is a confidential January 31, 1983, memo to the senator from John Patterson frankly evaluating Hollings' presentation style and clarity of message.

Finance files document all aspects of the fundraising effort so critical to the campaign. In a memo dated Sept. 27, 1982, goals and plans for one fundraising endeavor are outlined and prospective campaign finance committee members are suggested. Long-time Hollings friend and Charleston businessman Henry Tecklenburg was an unofficial but central figure in fundraising for the campaign. A political action committee, Citizens for a Competitive America, was established to help fund the campaign. An undated prospectus states, “Those of us who have organized this committee have been closely associated with the political career of Senator Ernest F. “Fritz” Hollings and believe that he has something unique to offer the American political system…. Hollings wants to make America work again -- to make her more productive, more economically sound and more competitive”, and noted Hollings “has become one of the nation’s leading economic spokesmen.” A financial report shows the PAC received over $140,000 between January 1 and March 31 of 1982.

Two feet of documents, filed according to state, reflect the campaign's national reach. These files include state strategies, analyses of state campaign efforts, travel itineraries, guest lists for events, state campaign staff and volunteers, and important persons and issues in the state. Alabama, Hollings' target state in the South, boasts eight files and offers the most detailed insight into campaign activities at the state level. Activities in New Hampshire and New York are also well-represented, relative to work in other states. An illuminating letter and memo are found in the New York file. New York City Mayor
Edward Koch asked about the senator's stands on welfare and the Middle East in an August 4, 1983, letter. Issues director Mark Epstein's illuminating memo, which suggested responses to Koch's inquiries, notes that the questions were formulated with "cogency, restraint, politesse, and discretion" and advises on a sensitive question about Israeli settlements: "duck it." Another revealing document is a confidential October 15, 1983, essay entitled "The Present Situation of the Hollings Campaign in Maryland." In the Massachusetts file are documents, including a letter from Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, about the "sewergate" incident. On November 5, 1983, Hollings was to visit the Deer Island waste treatment plant in connection with concerns over the pollution of Boston Harbor. When the senator and his team reached the facility, police, under orders from District Commissioners, refused to let them in. This created a media firestorm and Hollings dubbed the incident "sewergate," implicating Dukakis in an apparent cover-up of the state's pollution problems.

Women's issues played a large role in the campaign, and it is no coincidence that a woman, New York Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, became the Democratic nominee for Vice President. Five folders under "Women" at the end of the Topical files document the role of women and women's issues in the campaign. Two additional files cover former SC Lt. Governor (1979-83) Nancy Stevenson's work with the campaign. She was a high-profile contributor to the campaign and informal advisor to the Senator who traveled as a surrogate speaker speaking to women’s groups and appearing at forums across the country.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1986** (go to box list for 1986)

In 1986, the national Republican Party targeted Hollings’ seat as winnable. In the Republican primary, Henry D. McMaster, Columbia attorney and former U.S. Attorney for the District of South Carolina (1981 to 1985), defeated Anderson surgeon Henry Jordan by a slim margin. A poll publicized during the primary indicated 45% of South Carolinians wanted to see Hollings ousted from Washington. McMaster’s campaign received very significant support from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

McMaster attacked Hollings’ voting record while extolling his own accomplishments as District Attorney. In an ad that first ran on September 22, McMaster took advantage of the Senator’s forced absences while campaigning for president and criticized Hollings for having missed 309 floor votes between 1981 and 1985. At the same time, McMaster lauded the successes of his Operation Jackpot, “the most effective investigation and prosecution of drug smugglers in U.S. history.”

On the whole, the McMaster campaign was negative, going so far as to call the senator a “liar” and “political prostitute.” Two hand-delivered letters, dated October 16, contain a terse exchange between the outraged Hollings and McMaster, who was seeking the exposure a televised debate, would provide his sagging campaign. Hollings
contended that McMaster’s strategy was “imported from Washington” and had been shipped along with a “check for $211,000 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee to buy the South Carolina senate seat.” He castigated the challenger for his “numerous distortions” and stated that he had “no idea of appearing with [McMaster] anywhere.” McMaster apologized, but reminded Hollings that the Senator had also called him a “charlatan” and “rascal”. Both sides reached a debate agreement the following day.

Seeking to capitalize on the popularity of the state’s senior senator, McMaster publicized the fact that Hollings and the Republican Strom Thurmond often cancelled out each other’s senate vote. When the Hollings campaign countered with a television ad showing the two senators working together on a textile bill, McMaster complained the ad implied an endorsement of Hollings by Thurmond. McMaster may have been venting his frustration for although Thurmond had endorsed him, he refused to stump for McMaster in South Carolina. In the general election, Hollings captured nearly 65% of the vote. Many Republicans felt that a stronger candidate might have succeeded in winning the seat for the party and looked to 1992 for another chance to overthrow the Senate’s most senior junior senator.

**Description of Materials for 1986 Senatorial Campaign**

The almost nine feet of 1986 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, county files, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).

The campaign organization records include a notebook on county coordinators, memos between the staff (which includes staff meeting minutes), and office policy/procedure. Of particular interest are meeting minutes from the Citizens Committee for Ernest Hollings.

The bulk of the 1986 files are county files. These files consist of information relating to people in the individual counties and background information on the county. This information may include polls taken in the county, information on news and events in the county, and correspondence from members of the community.

Financial records include campaign budget records and information on fundraising events held across the state. Of note are the records of “Home Parties” held in several counties and town meeting information.

This campaign also saw an increase in files kept on opponents. Hollings has a significant amount of information on Henry McMaster and Henry Jordan, who lost to McMaster in the Republican Primary. Particularly of interest in the Jordan files is a list of deeds and mortgages held in his name. The files on McMaster include information on his ad campaigns as well as his finances and his time as U.S. Attorney.

In the years 1986 and his re-election in 1992, Hollings was involved in Democratic Party affairs and other candidates’ election efforts. Files from 1987 and 1991 center on the Democratic Party. In 1988, the bulk of the material relates to the Democratic National Convention and the democratic presidential
candidates. By 1991, files on finances and Tommy Hartnett begin to reflect the build-up to what would be an intense 1992 re-election campaign.

**Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1992** (go to box list for 1992)


An increasingly conservative South Carolina electorate and fervent anti-incumbency sentiment combined to make Hollings a prime target for GOP strategists in 1992. As early as June, 1991, political analysts at Cook and Company rated his seat a "toss-up." By May, 1992, the Rothenberg Report, citing the Senator's "weak poll numbers and...credible opponent," labeled him "highly vulnerable."

Three elements of a vigorous Hollings' campaign were instrumental in helping him meet Hartnett’s challenge and win reelection while incumbents across the country were thrown out of office. First, he ran a strong advertising campaign which began very early in the race. Second, he was able define Hartnett as "Washington's candidate," and mute his opponent's vitriolic attacks. Third, he out raised and out spent Hartnett throughout the campaign.

After a rocky start to Hartnett’s campaign, the Republican National Senatorial Committee (RNSC) dispatched several staff members to South Carolina to bolster Hartnett’s faltering fundraising and organizational efforts and pledged the maximum $340,000 of "coordinated expenses" for the campaign. Responding to his obvious vulnerability and attempting to head off serious difficulty later in the race, Hollings ran a series of positive ads very early in the campaign. In June, ads demonstrating his commitment to fiscal conservatism aired throughout the state. A June 16 draft statement indicated that Hollings intended to run a "clean, positive campaign...stressing South Carolina's achievements during his terms as governor and senator." Hartnett went negative early in the campaign, attacking Hollings' record on taxes, crime, the Gulf War, and the line-item veto as early as April 15. Hollings provided rapid and effective responses to the opposition's attacks.

Hartnett's strategy was to denounce Hollings as a Washington insider who had amassed a war chest full of out-of-state funds. He brought nationally prominent Republicans such as Vice President Dan Quayle, Senators Phil Gramm and Bob Dole, and even President Bush to South Carolina. The Senator seizing this opportunity to brand Hartnett as "Washington's candidate." Though this at first seemed an absurd tactic by a man who had spent the last twenty-five years in the Senate, it was extremely effective. Hollings' team presented an image of the opponent as a cardboard cutout propped up by the GOP establishment in the nation's capital. It was revealed that Hartnett's Congressional reform plan was exactly the same as that of Republican candidates in five other states, that Hartnett was being shadowed by a RNSC media specialist on trips across the state, that the RNSC had provided him with free polling data which it did not offer his primary opponent, and that Hartnett's campaign received in excess of $300,000 from national GOP coffers.
Hollings stayed well ahead of Hartnett in the crucial fundraising game. On March 31, 1992, Hollings had already banked nearly $2 million while Hartnett had less than $100,000 on hand. Throughout the year, the Senator out paced his challenger in both PAC and private contributions, and easily overcame the significant funding the Hartnett campaign secured from the RNSC. Ultimately, Hollings won a narrow victory, receiving just over 51% of the vote.

**Description of Materials for 1992 Senatorial Campaign**

The ten feet of 1992 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).

The campaign organization records include schedules, staff notebooks and memos, and the files of Andy Brack, campaign spokesman and press contact, and Tom Mullikin, campaign manager. Financial Records include standard campaign budget information, as well as contact lists, divided by group (mayors and county council chairs, for example) and by county, and an extensive run of folders detailing fundraising events and rallies going back to March, 1991.

The amount of opposition research collected exploded in this campaign. The persons files include over two feet of information on Hartnett, including extensive background research into Hartnett’s personal finances and life in general and his stance on a number of issues like workfare, product liability, and health care. Hartnett’s files also include information on Hartnett’s research on Hollings. Of interest is a transcript of the testimony Hartnett gave in the Leach vs. Westvaco Development Corporation in 1992.

Publicity files provide an in-depth view of the strategies and tactics employed to mold the candidate's image and obtain favorable press coverage. Of note in the strategy files are the Coordinated Campaign files, which outline the South Carolina Democratic Party’s strategy for 1992, and the weekly updates on the campaigns.

Topical consists of Hollings’ stances on the issues of the campaign such as budget, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Hugo, textiles, and trade. The FEMA folder involved Hollings' response to the (as he saw) poor performance of the Federal Emergency Management Agency in responding to Hurricane Hugo. 1992's Hurricane Andrew, in Florida, rekindled this issue. Included also is a lengthy booklet, “Issues Guide,” compiled by Hollings' staff with outlines of the Senator's positions on numerous issues.

This campaign saw a surge in voter research by the campaign. Several polls, surveys, and analyses are included in Voter Research, including 5 books of “South Carolina Precinct Analysis” and “A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina,” eight notebooks with results from surveys conducted from June, 1991, to October, 1992.
The files between the 1992 and 1998 elections consist mainly of Democratic Party files. Of interest are the files from the 1996 National Convention and information on “precinct targeting” in South Carolina. In preparation for the 1998 campaign, several surveys were completed in five districts.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1998 (go to box list for 1998)

In 1998, Hollings overcame a challenge by Congressman Robert D. “Bob” Inglis. In 1992, Inglis shocked incumbent 4th District Congresswomen Liz Patterson by wrestling the seat from her with a last minute campaign blitz and the support of the Christian right. A term limits proponent, Inglis honored his commitment not to seek a fourth term in the House, and instead sought to unseat Hollings. After a tough 1998 Republican Primary against Stephen Brown, the chairman of the Greenville County GOP, Inglis became Hollings’ opponent for the General Election.

As in the 1992 election, Hollings faced an increasingly Republican and conservative electorate whose main focus was on ideological issues. Realizing the potential difficulties in this type of political atmosphere, the Hollings campaign went into action fast and strong. According to the Hollings for Senate Campaign Plan: March 1998, the Hollings campaign had two main strategies: “one, ‘localize’ the race (which candidate is best for South Carolina) and two, blur the ideological differences between Senator Hollings and Representative Inglis.” These strategies were implemented in Hollings’ vast media campaign which began before the primary election determined his Republican challenger. Hollings’ TV ads focused on what Hollings had done for South Carolina during his tenure as Senator. In an attempt to gain more support among the more conservative populace, these ads portrayed Hollings as a fiscal conservative who had done great things for the state of South Carolina and its citizens. The campaign also produced ads contrasting Hollings and Inglis, such as one comparing Hollings’ and Inglis’ records on veterans’ benefits and pensions.

Finances and term limits were two of the main issues in the 1998 Senate race. Bob Inglis ran on the promise of never taking PAC money. In an article by Dan Hoover in the Greenville News (12/24/97), Inglis stated that his reasoning for his call for the elimination of PACs was because “PACs can focus significant money on a narrow cause and advance that cause disproportionate to their support level within the general population.” Inglis also pushed for the addition of term limits to both houses of Congress. Hollings fired back with accusations that Inglis’ acceptance of money from the Republican Party (which receives its money from PACs) was the equivalent of receiving PAC money and that Inglis’ running for the Senate breaks his own promise about keeping to only three terms in Congress.

Finances were also a logistical issue in the 1998 Senate race. Bolstered by funds from in-state and out-of-state supporters, the Democratic Party, and PACs, Hollings’ campaign budget was approximately $5.3 million. Inglis, on the other hand, raised much less due to his refusal to accept PAC money. The Hollings campaign exploited this difference in funding by producing large amounts of different TV ads in varying markets, thereby forcing Inglis to spend his money in responses to these ads. In fact, almost 80% of the budget for the Hollings campaign was set aside for paid media.

Even with all of the media advertisements, however, Hollings was still in a very tight race with Inglis. In the July 14, 1998 edition of the National Journal’s CongressDaily/A.M., Charlie Cook wrote: “[P]olls show the race is very close. Hollings went on the air in May, but was unable to put any distance between
himself and Inglis. Despite Inglis’ early missteps, the strong Republican and conservative trend in the state has kept the 38-year-old challenger within striking distance.”

Both candidates spent their campaigns traveling to every corner of the state. The Hollings’ campaign’s “localization” strategy was very effective on this level. Unlike the 1992 campaign, the field level operation was organized, efficient, and coordinated with the rest of the campaign. Reporter Lee Bandy from The State noted that “the Hollings Team compiled a list of the work that the Senator had done on behalf of every county and made sure residents were reminded of this information before they cast their votes” (11/4/98). Meanwhile, Inglis traveled with his family in a large red RV named the “Spirit of South Carolina” that doubled as a moving billboard for his campaign.

In late June, Inglis made public his Contract for a Courteous Campaign. Based on similar Republican proposals from around the country, the Contract required the candidate to be the main speaker in TV ads, to keep the opposing candidate informed about press conferences and press releases, and to “reaffirm the pledge of no race baiting.” The Hollings’ campaign refused to sign the contract stating that Inglis’ conduct was not in keeping with the Contract. In a letter from campaign manager John Tecklenberg to Inglis, he states, “Frankly, this conduct is disappointing. I hope you are not using this important issue as an effort to gather media attention to your campaign rather than a genuine attempt for a meaningful dialogue.”

Until the day of the election, the race was very close. Polls as late as October 31 had Hollings’ lead over Inglis within the margin of error. As such, the tension level was quite high on both sides. In October, Hollings let fly some of his more colorful remarks of the campaign, comparing Inglis to a skunk. The public’s outcry over this remark lead to Hollings offering an apology, but not before political commentators predicted that it could lead to his downfall in November.

On Election Day, however, Hollings pulled out a win over Inglis with 51.1% of the vote. At right, Hollings greets campaign supporters. That night he stated, “Tonight, we have won a great victory, and tomorrow, we will continue to make life better for working families in South Carolina.” The day after the election, reporter Lee Bandy of The State summarized how Hollings was able to be successful: “he focused his campaign message and turned back the ‘out of touch’ charges by building a solid field organization and an aggressive paid media strategy that emphasized the work he has done in South Carolina and why Bob Inglis should not be elected.”

Description of Materials for 1998 Senatorial Campaign

The eight feet of 1998 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).

Campaign organization records take up less of the 1998 campaign records than in other election years. However,
information on staff and volunteers as well as memos and county information are present. 
Correspondence records consist mainly of congratulatory mail which includes letters from supporters across the United States, both civilians and colleagues and government officials.

Financial records make up a significant amount of the 1998 campaign records. In this case, the lists of contributors have been broken down into categories based on the person’s residence (county) and in some cases by career (SC Lawyers). The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee also provided the Senator with a list of their contributors in the form of a notebook.

As with the 1992 campaign, the campaign records here include significant opposition research. A 164-page report, Campaign Research Report on Robert Durden Inglis, dated Spring, 1992, lays out Inglis’ life and stands on various issues. It notes, “the extreme conservatism that has guided him through six years in Washington remains both his greatest asset and his most damning liability. …Extreme he is, but Inglis is also - by all appearances - principled, consistent and sincerely dedicated to these beliefs. …Inglis has proven himself so ideologically rigid, so uncompromisingly conservative, that his election to the U.S. Senate would be a catastrophe for South Carolina’s working families, seniors and children.”

Publicity and strategy records consist of records related to the campaign’s advertisements and tactics used in the campaign. Of particular interest in publicity are scripts for ads including “Cookie Jar” and “Gonzales Gardens.” Also in publicity are speeches made by the Senator and information related to his website. Strategy includes not only strategy for just the Hollings campaign, but also for the “coordinated campaign” of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

One foot of voter research files includes surveys of voter attitudes in South Carolina from June, 1996, through September, 1998, and extensive tracking polling from October, 1998. Voting record documents Hollings’ record in the Senate and his accomplishments as well as a comparison of Hollings’ and Thurmond’s votes to show that their votes did not necessarily cancel each other out.

Though Hollings did not seek reelection in 2004, files were maintained to tie loose ends of his campaign. Hollings also continued to keep files on other campaigns as well. In 2000, for example, Hollings had a file relating to the Democratic National Convention and in 2001 he has a file on the Presidential Inauguration. In 2003 he began files on those who would be running in state campaigns in 2004, including Jim DeMint the Republican who succeeded Hollings in the Senate. He also maintained files on John Kerry and John Edwards who ran for president and vice president, respectively, in 2004.

**Box List**

General:
- 1947-1948
- 1949
- 1950
- 1951
- 1952
- 1953
- 1954
- 1955
- 1956
- 1957-1958

Box 604
1959:
   Jan.-Mar.
   Apr.-Aug.
   Sept.-Dec.
1960:
   Jan.-May
1961:
   Jan.-Sept.
1962
1963:
   Jan.: 3-12
   14
   15-19
   20-31
   Feb.: 1-14
   15-28
   Mar.
   Apr.-May
   June-Dec.
1964-1966
1967, 1970-71
1972-75
1976-81
1983-90
1991-93
1993, Feb. (surgery well-wishes)
1994-97
1998
1999-2000
2001:
   Jan.-June
   July-Dec.
2002
2003
2004
Biographical Information:
   General (3 folders)

   Attendance in the Senate
   Brochures (mostly campaign-related)
   Military Record
   Pre-Senate
   Published Profiles
   Remarks about the Senator (including those from his retirement year) (2 folders)

Biography, John Hammond Moore’s Drafts and Research Material:
   General (3 folders)
   Chapters 1-3:
      Drafts (2 folders)
      Notes:
         General
         1960 Campaign

Box 605
Box 606
Chapters 4-6:
Drafts (2 folders)
Notes

Chapters 7-9:
Drafts (2 folders)
Notes

Chapters 10-11:
Drafts
Notes

Draft #1 (all chapters) (2 folders)
Draft #2 (all chapters) (2 folders)

Box 607

Birthday greetings to the Senator (Hollings’ birthday is Jan. 1, 1922):
1970
1984, 1987
1994
1999
2000-2001
2002
2003
2004

Campaign Files:

Box 608

1950-1952 (go to description of materials for 1950)
1954: (go to description of materials for 1954)
General
Finance:
  General
  Contribution Acknowledgements
1956
1958 (Gubernatorial Campaign--Hollings defeated Donald Russell in the Democratic Primary):
  General (go to description of materials for 1958)
  Finance:
    General (2 folders)
    Contributor Lists (4 folders)
1960: (go to description of materials for 1960)
General:
  Feb. - Sept.
  Oct. - Nov. 14
  Nov. 15 – Dec.
  c. 1960
Appointments (Kennedy Administration):
Charleston County
Correspondence, post-election congratulatory
Democratic Party:
  General
  Finance
  National Convention
1962 (First Senate Campaign-- lost to Olin D. Johnston in the Democratic Primary):
  General (2 folders) (go to description of materials for 1962)
  Campaign organization:
    General
    County Managers
Farmers
Personnel
Schedules
Sunday Meeting (Feb. 25)
Volunteers
Winds Effort
Women
Youth

Contact Lists:
  County (7 folders)
  Misc. (5 folders)

Correspondence:
  County:
    Abbeville – Calhoun (10 folders)
    Charleston – Saluda (33 folders)
    Spartanburg – York (7 folders)
  Incoming (2 folders)
  Outgoing (2 folders)

Finance:
  General
  Bills (2 folders)
  Checkbook
  Contributor Lists (3 folders)

Persons:
  Johnston, Olin D.:
    General
    Housing
    Impostato case (bill sponsored by Johnston to prevent the deportation of a reputed drug dealer)
    Labor
    Pay raises
    Payroll
    Post office:
      General
      Savannah Case

  Spending, federal
  Van Der Linden, Frank (Washington correspondent for Greenville News)
  Vote ratings by various groups

Minor Candidates
  Steen, John
  Workman, William D.

Publicity:
  General
  Products, TV Program
  Telethon questions
  TV program draft statements

Topical:
  Agriculture
  Foreign Policy
  Health care
  Industry
  Labor
  Liquor
  Urban affairs

Contact Lists:
  County (7 folders)
  Misc. (5 folders)

Correspondence:
  County:
    Abbeville – Calhoun (10 folders)
    Charleston – Saluda (33 folders)
    Spartanburg – York (7 folders)
  Incoming (2 folders)
  Outgoing (2 folders)

Finance:
  General
  Bills (2 folders)
  Checkbook
  Contributor Lists (3 folders)

Persons:
  Johnston, Olin D.:
    General
    Housing
    Impostato case (bill sponsored by Johnston to prevent the deportation of a reputed drug dealer)
    Labor
    Pay raises
    Payroll
    Post office:
      General
      Savannah Case

  Spending, federal
  Van Der Linden, Frank (Washington correspondent for Greenville News)
  Vote ratings by various groups

Minor Candidates
  Steen, John
  Workman, William D.

Publicity:
  General
  Products, TV Program
  Telethon questions
  TV program draft statements

Topical:
  Agriculture
  Foreign Policy
  Health care
  Industry
  Labor
  Liquor
  Urban affairs
1966 (defeated Donald Russell in the Democratic primary and Marshall Parker in the General Election):

**General:**

- 1964-1965
- 1966

**Campaign organization:**

- General
- Airplane
- Schedule
- Staff and Volunteers
- Strategy

**Contact Lists:**

- General
- Abbeville Co. – Pickens Co. (5 folders)

- Richland Co. – York Co.

**Correspondence:**

- Gen. (2 folders)
- Congratulations:
  - General (3 folders)
  - Charleston (2 folders)
  - Out-of-State (2 folders)

**County:**

- Abbeville – Charleston (15 folders)

- Charleston - Laurens (29 folders)

- Lee - York (27 folders)

**Invitations**

- Luncheon for Russell supporters
- Outgoing campaign letters

- Thank you letters, Charleston volunteers (2 folders)
- Washington, D.C. (2 folders)

**Democratic Party:**

- Charleston

**National:**

- General
  - Great Society (2 folders) (See also: Topical, Poverty)
  - Various programs (2 folders)

**South Carolina**

**Election Results**

**Finance:**

- General
  - Bills (2 folders)
  - Charleston County
  - Checkbook Stubs
  - Contribution Thank You Letters (1-8 of 17 folders)

- Contribution Thank You Letters (9-17 of 17 folders)

**Contributor Ledger**

**Contributor Lists (3 folders)**

**Persons:**

- General
- Kennedy, Robert
- Miliken, Roger
Morton, Thurst B. (U.S. Senator from Kentucky)
Parker, Marshall
Russell, Donald:
    General
    Newsletters
Thurmond, Strom:
    General
    Newsletters, 1962, 1965-66

Polls:
    General
    Nov. 1965

Feb. 1966
May 1966
Aug. 1966

Publicity:
    General
    Advertising and public relations
    Radio
    Speeches
    Television

Topical:
    General (3 folders)
    Agriculture
    Education (2 folders)
    Foreign policy
    Industry
    Inflation
    Labor
    Medical profession
    Poverty (See also: Democratic Party, National, Great Society)
    Republican Party (2 folders)

1968 (defeated Marshall Parker in the General Election): (go to description of materials for 1968)

General
Correspondence:
    General (3 folders)
    Congratulations (2 folders)

Letter Campaign:
    General
    Greek Letter (Campaign letter written by George Croffead to the Greek community)
    From Hollings, A.G. (Hollings' brother)

Democratic Party:
    General
    Charleston County
    Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
    National Convention
    South Carolina

Finance:
    General
    Contributors (6 folders)
    Correspondence (2 folders)

Events:
    Dinner, Marion, SC 29 Mar. 1967
    Sapp Party, Columbia 5 May 1967
    Luncheon, Colony House, 13 Nov. 1967
Appreciation Dinner, Feb. 1968
Fundraiser, 12 May 1968
Reception, Hibernian Hall, 23 May 1968
Lunch, Francis Marion Hotel, 30 Aug. 1968
Coffee, Sept. 1968
Dinner, 1969

Persons:
Culbertson, John Bolt
Parker, Marshall

Polls:
General
Jan. 1968
July 1968

Publicity:
General
Statements
Television Appearances

Reflections on Election

Results (2 folders)
Schedules
Statements
Topical:
General
Race
Republican Party (attempt to persuade Hollings to change parties)

Volunteers:
General (2 folders)
Charleston (2 folders)
Hollings Lieutenants (2 folders)

1970: (go to description of materials for 1970-72)
Democratic Party:
Democratic National Committee
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
South Carolina:
General (2 folders)
Polls, Governor

Republican Party:
General
Nixon Administration

1971:
Democratic Party:
Democratic National Committee
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
South Carolina
Persons, Strom Thurmond

1972:
General
Congressional Black Caucus
Democratic Party:
Democratic National Convention
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (2 folders)
South Carolina
Persons, Ted Kennedy

Presidential Race:

Box 620
Box 621
General
McGovern, George and Sargent Shriver
Republican Party
Schedules
Steel Luncheon
1973:
General
Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
Travel, California
General
Contact Lists (2 folders)
Correspondence:
General (2 folders)
Congratulations
Letter campaign
‘Offers of help from elected officials” (includes Gov. Jimmy Carter)
Democratic Party:
General
Charleston County
Democratic National Committee
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) (See also: Voter Research and Polls, Democratic
Senatorial Campaign Committee Profile of SC)
South Carolina
Finance:
General
Contributor Lists
Correspondence:
General
Acknowledgements (2 folders)
Events:
General
Breakfast Meetings
Columbia Luncheon, Mar. 1972
Greenville Luncheon, Mar. 1972
Reception at International club, 2 Feb. 1974

Appreciation Dinner, 28 Feb. 1974 (2 folders) Box 622
Breakfast at Capital Cabana, 15 May 1974
Persons:
General
Bush, Gwen
Dorn, Bryan
Harvey, Brantley
Morris, Earle
Perry, Matthew
Ravenel, Charles ‘Pug’
West, John
Westmoreland, William C.
Publicity:
General
Campaign Materials
Published Materials
Radio and Television:
General
Guggenheim productions
Schedules
Strategy
Topical:
  General
  Coastal Environment Coalition
  Education
  Governor’s Race (Possible SC Constitutional Amendment dealing with residency requirements for governors)
Volunteers/Staff
Voter Research and Polls:
  General
  Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Profile of SC (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee)
Kraft Polls:
  Correspondence
  Hollings, Ernest F.:
    July 1972
    Sept. 1973
  Possible Questions
  Ziegler, Nicholas, July 1972

1975:
  General
  Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
  Hollings’ Possible 1976 Presidential Campaign
1976: ([go to description of materials for 1976])
  General
  Correspondence, Congratulations
  Democratic Party:
    General (2 folders)
      Democratic National Convention (3 folders) (See also: Presidential Race, Jimmy Carter)
  Derrick, Butler
Presidential Race:
  General
  Bayh, Birch
  Bentson, Lloyd
  Brown, Edmund
  Carter, Jimmy (2 folders) (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic National Convention)
  Ford, Gerald
  Shriver, Sargent
  Udall, Morris
  Ravenel Dinner Committee
  South Dakota Appearance
1977:
  General
  Polls
1978-79:
  General
  County Information:
    Beaufort
    Pickens
  Events, H.M. Thompson Reception, Feb. 1, 1979
  Persons:
    Ravenel, Charles ‘Pug’
    Riley, Dick
    Thurmond, Strom
1980 (defeated Marshall Mays in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1980])
General
Campaign overview (1-2 of 3 folders)

Campaign overview (3 of 3 folders)
Correspondence
Democratic Party (4 folders)
Federal Election Commission (FEC)
Finances:
  Contacts (3 folders)
  Disclosure Reports
  Donors (2 folders)
  Receptions (2 folders)
Opposition Research:
  General
    Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) (2 folders)
    Opposition’s Information and Plans
    Opposition outside of the General Election
Persons:
  General
  Carter, Jimmy
  Dent, Doug
  Reagan, Ronald
Post-Election
Publicity:
  General
  Press Releases

Print Media
Radio:
  General
    Primary
    Augusta
    Charleston
    Charlotte
    Columbia
    Florence
    Greenville/Spartanburg
    Savannah/Wilmington
    SC Network
Television:
  General
    Commercial Transcripts
    Augusta
    Charleston
    Charlotte
    Columbia
    Florence
    Greenville-Spartanburg
Schedules
Strategy:
  General (2 folders)
County Data:
  Lowcountry (3 folders)
  Midlands (1-2 of 4 folders)
  Midlands (3-4 of 4 folders)
Pee Dee (3 folders)
Upstate (2 folders)
Polling (3 folders)
Questionnaires

Voting Record
1981-1983:
General
Democratic Party:
General (3 folders)
Democratic National Committee, Midterm Conference, June 25-26, 1982

Finances:
1981
1982 (2 folders)
Kennedy, Ted, 1981

Presidential Campaign:
General:
1981
1982 (2 folders)
1983 (3 folders)
Issues, 1983
Publicity, 1983

1984, Presidential Campaign: (go to description of materials for 1984)
General (3 folders)
Campaign Organization:
General
Campaign Manual, fall 1983 [designed for campaign volunteers]
Delegates (2 folders)
Questionnaires from political interest groups with Hollings’ responses attached in many cases (4 folders)
Schedules:
General [chiefly memoranda etc. re scheduling and advance work]
Hollings, Fritz:
1982
1983:
Jan.-Mar.

Apr.
May
June
July
Nov.-Dec.
1984 (2 folders)
Hollings, Peatsy

Staff:
General
Copps, Michael, Administrative Assistant (2 folders)
Epstein, Mark, Issues Coordinator

Strategy:
General (3 folders)
News Summaries (staff-produced digests of relevant articles in major newspapers, Jan.-Dec., 1983)

Weekly Reports to DC
Communications Effort:
General (2 folders)
Ad purchases
Announcement (3 folders)
Brochures and Mailings
Debates:
    General
    Iowa
    New Hampshire
Harris Poll, remarks by Lou Harris before the Democratic Senate Policy Committee, July 1983
“Hollings Network,” forms providing information on possible campaign volunteers

Media Appearance Transcripts
Newspaper and magazine articles by Hollings
Press Releases:
Radio
Statements
Television
Correspondence:
    Consolation, mostly received after Mar. 1, 1984 (3 folders)
    Invitations for speaking engagements (2 folders)
    Mailgram Confirmation copies (mailgram responses to invitations)
    News Media
    Post-Election
    Supporters (1-5 of 6 folders)

Supporters (6 of 6 folders)
Third Party Letters, correspondence to specific interest or occupational groups by people such as
    former SC Governor Dick Riley and then-Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel (3 folders)
Winter Hill Community School (Queries received from 8th graders in Somerville, MA, in October, 1983)

Finance:
    General:
        Sept. 1982-July 1983
        1984:
            Jan.
            Feb.
            Mar.
            Apr.-July
        No date
    Audit Reconciliation, 1984-1985
    Call Lists (people to contact for contributions)
    Citizens for a Competitive America (Hollings’ PAC)
    Contributors (printout dated May 31, 1984):
        Alabama-Connecticut
        D.C.-Idaho
        Illinois-Montana
        North Carolina-New York
        Ohio-South Carolina (B)
        South Carolina:
            C-G
            H-M
            N-V
        South Carolina, W - Wyoming
            “Ernest Money”
“Ernest Money,” fundraising drive headed by former SC governor Dick Riley begun in the summer of 1983
Federal Election Commission
Fundraisers

Incorporation of the Hollings for President Committee
Box 631
Reports, Receipts and Disbursements:
1982-Mar. 1983
1983, cont.:
    Apr.-June
    July-Sept.
1984-1987
Settling Accounts

Persons:
    General
    Cranston, Alan
    Glenn, John
    Hart, Gary
    Jackson, Jesse
    Mondale, Walter
    Reagan, Ronald (2 folders)

State Files:
    General
    Alabama (8 folders)
    Arizona

Arkansas
California
Colorado
Connecticut
Delaware
District of Columbia
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa (2 folders)
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine (2 folders)
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Mississippi
Missouri
New Hampshire (7 folders)
New Jersey
New York (1-3 of 5 folders)
New York, cont. (4-5 of 5 folders)
North Carolina
Ohio
Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
South Carolina:
  General
  Aiken
  Anderson
  Chester
  Chesterfield
  Colleton
  Dillon
  Edgefield
  Fairfield
  Florence
  Greenville
  Horry
  Kershaw
  Lancaster
  Laurens
  Lee
  Lexington
  Marlboro
  Newberry
  Orangeburg
  Spartanburg
  Union
  Williamsburg
  York

Tennessee
  Texas (2 folders)
  Virginia
  Washington
  West Virginia
  Wisconsin
  Wyoming

Topical Files:
  General (2 folders)
  African Americans

Agriculture (3 folders) Box 634
Cabinet (Appointees considered for a Hollings Administration)
Crime
Defense and Military:
  General (4 folders)
  Arms Control (2 folders)
Democratic National Committee:
  General (2 folders)
  Chairmanship
  National Convention:
    General (3 folders)
    Nomination (3 folders)
Economy:
  General (2 folders)
  Democratic Caucus Economic Plan

Federal Budget and Deficits Box 635
  Growth Policy Board (proposed name for a Hollings initiative to establish a combination of federal programs to modernize U.S. industry, promote exports, and improve human and capital infrastructure)
Taxation:
General (2 folders)
Withholding Repeal
Trade Policy (2 folders)
Education (2 folders)
Energy (2 folders)
Environment:
General (2 folders)
Briefing Book
Foreign Affairs:
General
Ireland (2 folders)
Japan (2 folders)
Latin America (3 folders)
Middle East (2 folders)
South Africa
Gay Rights
Health Care (8 folders) [See also: Human Infrastructure]
Hispanics
Housing
Human Infrastructure (regarding hunger, health care, and education)
Hunger (2 folders) [See also: Human Infrastructure]
Infrastructure (mostly regarding public works including highways, bridges, water distribution, etc.)
Issues:
General (4 folders)
Briefing Book, July 19, 1983 (1-3 of 4 folders)

Briefing Book, July 19, 1983 (4 of 4 folders)
Box 637
Michael Copps’ Briefing Book (3 folders)
Jewish Groups
Labor
Native Americans
PACs
Rural Electrification
Senior Citizens/Social Security
Space Program
Transportation
Urban Renewal
Voting Record
Women:
General (5 folders)
Campaign brochure
Stevenson, Nancy (former SC Lt. Governor):
General
Speeches

1985:
General
Correspondence
County Files:
Kershaw
McCormick
Oconee
Richland
Sumter
Williamsburg
Finances
Persons: Box 638
    Jordan, Henry
    Newman, I.D.
Republican Eagles
Staff, Chuck Sullivan
General
Campaign Organization:
    General
    Citizens Committee for Ernest Hollings, Meeting Minutes
    Core Group
    County Coordinators:
        General (3 folders)
        Notebook
        Structure
    Hollings, Peatsy
    Jameson, John
Mailings
Memos:
    General
    Hollings Neighborhood Rallies
    Staff Meeting Minutes
    Town Meeting
National Voter Contact:
    General
    Contract
    Contributions
    Phone Bank
    Proposal
Policy/Procedure
Post-Election Report
Schedules:
    Hollings, Fritz (1 of 3 folders)
    Hollings, Fritz (2-3 of 3 folders)
    Hollings, Peatsy
    Planning
    Senate Filing Materials
    Staff Lists
Steering Committee:
    General
    Charleston
    Volunteers (2 folders)
Correspondence:
    General (3 folders)
    Form Letters
    Thank Yous:
        General
        Events
County Files:
    Aiken (2 folders)
    Allendale
    Barnwell
    Beaufort
    Charleston
Cherokee
Chester
Chesterfield (2 folders)
Clarendon
Colleton

Darlington
Dillon
Dorchester
Edgefield
Florence (2 folders)
Georgetown
Greenville
Greenwood (2 folders)
Hampton
Horry (2 folders)
Jasper
Kershaw
Lancaster
Laurens
Lee
Lexington
Marion
Marlboro
McCormick
Newberry
Oconee
Pickens
Richland
Saluda
Spartanburg
Williamsburg

Democratic Party: (See also: Voter Research, Democratic National Committee Survey)

General
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee:
  General (2 folders)
  Federal Election Commission (FEC)

  “Political Media Buying” Handbook

  Seminars and Conferences

South Carolina:
  General
  “Get out the Vote”

Finances:
  General (2 folders)
Budget:
  General
  Bills and Disbursements
  Payroll
  Reports (2 folders)
Citizens for a Competitive America
Contacts
Contributors
Disclosures
Events:
  General (3 folders)
Home Parties:
- General
- Aiken
- Charleston
- Georgetown
- Greenville and Greenwood
- Kershaw
- Orangeburg
- Richland
- York

Neighborhood Rallies

Richland County

Town Meetings

Persons:
- General
- Atwater, Lee
- Burdick, Quentin, “Burdick Book”
- Hartnett, Tommy
- Patterson, Liz
- Jordan, Henry:
  - General (2 folders)
  - Deeds/Mortgages
- McMaster, Henry D.:
  - General
  - Ad Campaign
  - Attacks:
    - By Hollings
    - On Hollings
  - Finance
    - “Lies and Myths” of McMaster (2 folders)

National Republican Senatorial Committee

Opposition Research

Speeches/Statements

US Attorney

Thurmond, Strom

Publicity:
- General

Debate:
- General
  - Possible Questions (2 folders)

Direct Mail:
- General
  - Letters (2 folders)
  - Mailings

Endorsements:
- General (3 folders)
- Assistant US Attorneys
- Elected Officials
- Law Enforcement
- Textiles
- Young Professionals
Media:  
General  
Budget  
Campaign Materials  
Companies  
Newspapers:  
   Ads  
   Costs  
   Invoices  
   Releases  
Press Conferences  
Radio:  
   General (2 folders)  
   Advertising, Budget  
Telephone Bank  
Television:  
   General (2 folders)  
   Budget:  
      General  
      Invoices  
Contracts:  
   Augusta Stations  
   Charleston:  
      WCIV  
      WCBD  
      WCSC  
   Columbia:  
      WIS  
      WLTX  
      WOLO  
   Florence:  
      WBTW  
      WPDE  
   Greenville:  
      WLOS  
      WYFF  
Spartanburg, WSPA  
Schedules (3 folders)  
Shoots  
Scripts (3 folders)  
Speeches  
Statements

Results  
Strategy:  
   General  
   “Campaigns and Computers”  
   Cook, Crawford  
   John Jameson File  
   Memos  
   Plan and Budget  
   SC Strategy Seminar, Dec. 16  
   Sullivan, Chuck  
Topical:  
   General

Box 644

Box 645
African Americans
Bob Jones University
Briefing Book
Budget
Economy
Foreign Affairs
Foreign Travel Reports
Gay Rights
Issue Briefs
Military and Veterans
National Taxpayer’s Union
Questionnaires

Racial Issues
Religion
Republican Party
Savannah River Plant
Social Security
Textiles

Voter Research:
General
Correspondence
Democratic National Committee Survey (See also: Democratic Party)
Memos
Polls:
General
May 1985 (3 folders)
May 1986
July 1986 (2 folders)
Oct. 1986 (2 folders)
Questionnaires
Science and Public Policy Seminars
Voting/Attendance Record (2 folders)

1987:

General
Correspondence
Democratic Party:
General
Business Council
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

Finances

Persons:
General
Dukakis, Michael
Metzenbaum, Howard M.
Simon, Paul M.

Town Meeting

1988:

General
Democratic Party:
National Convention:
General (2 folders)
Hollings Brunch
South Carolina:
General
“Get Out the Vote” Notebook, David Rudd’s

Hollings, Consideration of Candidacy

Persons:
- General
- Bentson, Lloyd
- Davies, Delores
- Dukakis, Michael
- Jackson, Jesse [See also: Topical, Hollings’ Files, Jackson, Box 576]
- Leventis, Jim

1989:
- General
- Democratic Party:
  - General
    - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, “Role of the Candidate’s Spouse in the 1990 Senate Campaign”
- South Carolina Events, California
- Finances
- Persons, Henry Jordan, Service Record
- Presidential Inauguration (2 folders)
- Topical, Race

1990:
- County Files:
  - Georgetown
  - Newberry
- Democratic Party Events:
  - General
  - California

  “May Swing,” California, Colorado, Chicago and New York [Hollings’ File] Box 648
- New York Finances
- Persons:
  - General
  - Campbell, Carol, Contributors to his campaign

1991:
- General
- Contacts
- Finances:
  - General
  - Contributors
- Events:
  - General
  - New York, Mar.
  - Texas, Apr.-Mar.
  - Washington, D.C., May
  - Memphis, May
  - Greenville, SC, Nov. 11, 1991

Persons, Tommy Hartnett

Southern Political Report Steering Committee

- General (2 folders)
- Campaign Organization:
  - General
Brack, Andy
Contracts
District Organization:
   First
   Third
   Fourth
   Fifth
   Sixth
Hollings Retreat, Feb. 1992
Issues and Organization Seminar, May 1992
Lieutenants
Mullikin, Tom (See also: Strategy, Mullikin Notebook)
Organization Reports
Schedules:
   Fritz Hollings
   Peatsy Hollings
Steering Committee (3 folders)
Volunteers

Correspondence:  
   General (7 folders)
   Draft Letters
   Memos:
      General
      Notebook
   Thank Yous
   VIP Correspondence
Democratic Party:
   General
   National Convention (2 folders)
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Majority Trust Weekend, Aug. 10-12, 1990 (See also: Finances, Fundraising, Contributions, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Tally Sheets)
Election Results (2 folders)
Finances:
   General (2 folders)

   Announcement Costs  
   Bank Statements
   Brack, Andy, Expenses
   Budget
Contact Lists:
   General
   1000 Club
   Counties:
      Abbeville – Calhoun
      Charleston – Chester
      Chesterfield – Greenwood
      Hampton – Marlboro
      McCormick – Richland
      Saluda – York
   “County List,” Notebook (2 folders)
   Mayors and County Council Chairmen
   Palmetto Society
   Textile Executives
Disclosure Reports
Disbursement Reports
Federal Election Commission, Reports (7 folders)
Fundraising:
  Contributions:
    General
    Master List by County
    PAC Notebook (4 folders)
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Tally Sheets (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Majority Trust Weekend)
Events [in chronological order]:
  General (6 folders)
  Sumter/Bishopville/Lancaster-3/4/91
  Aiken Sunrise Rotary Club-4/4/91
  Columbia Fundraiser-4/8/91
  Cheraw Rotary Club/Pee Dee Community Health Services-4/15/1991
  Motorola Breakfast-4/16/91
  Greenville Fundraiser-4/21/91
  Milliken Tour-5/20/91
  National Democratic Club-5/22/91
  Barbecue-6/3/91
  Anderson Fundraiser-6/22/91
  Minneapolis-7/1/91
  Nashville Reception-7/19/91
  Lake and Lawn Gala-8/23/91
  Piedmont Technical College-8/29/91
  Spartanburg Democratic Breakfast-8/31/91
  Palmetto Business Forum-9/9/91
  University Club Fundraiser-9/18/91
  Richmond Fundraiser-9/23/91
  East Cooper Democrats Fish Fry-10/19/91
  American Trucking Association-10/21/91
  Miami Fundraiser-11/9/91
  Upstate Salute-11/11/91
  Vandiver Hall/Atlanta-11/15-17/91
  Greenville and Union Christmas Parades-12/7/91
  BIPEC Luncheon-12/12/91
  Tourism Press Conference/263rd Guard Unit Briefing-2/3/92
  Camden Fundraiser-2/17/92
  Roller Bearing Corp. of SC-3/2/92 (site of Hollings’ atomic bomb comment)
  Greenville County Sheriff’s Office 11th Annual Awards Banquet-3/6/92
  B&M Aquaculture Farm-3/9/92
  GLEAAMS Recognition Banquet-3/27/92
  Hayne Hipp Fundraiser-Apr. 1992
  Beacon Manufacturing Co.-4/6/92
  Forest Acres Elementary School-4/6/92
  Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge- 4/21/92
  USC Barbecue and Class Talk-4/23/92
  20th Anniversary-4/24/92
  Marlboro Coop-4/25/92
  5th Annual Mt. Pleasant Blessing of the Fleet and Seafood Festival-4/26/92
  Opening Ceremony for the Center for Cancer Treatment and Research at Richland Memorial Hospital-4/27/92
  Fuji Film/Newberry/Georgia-Pacific/Blue Ridge Electric Coop. - 5/11/92
  Cox Farm Barbeque-5/25/92
  Official Announcement of Candidacy-5/26/92

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Richardson Reception- 5/28/92
General Dynamics- 6/1/92
Growth Factors, Peptides and Receptors ’92- 6/1-5/92
Piedmont Club Reception-5/28/92
Dr.’s Fundraiser-6/6/92
EFH State Run-6/6/92
Union County Fundraiser-6/8/92
Greenwood Fundraiser-6/19/92
Commercial Realtors-6/22/92
Aiken Fundraiser-6/26/92
Greenville Symphony-7/4/92
Patriot Hall Reception-7/16/92
Pamplico Reception- 7/18/92
Tobacco Growers-7/20/92
Hilton Head Island Fundraiser-7/24/92
Horry County Democratic Stump Speaking-7/27/92
Barney Smith Fundraiser-8/2/92
Community Health Centers- 8/5/92
Ashlands Reception-8/8/92
Seibels House Reception-8/13/92
Textile Executives- 8/13/92
Trial Lawyers-8/14/92 Event #505
Saltz Fundraiser-8/18/92
Columbia Restaurant Association/Lexington County Democratic Rally- 8/19/92
Arthurtown/Carolina Alumni Club Barbecue- 8/20/92
Spartanburg Tech- 8/23/92
National Weather Service- 8/25/92
American Association of Advertising Agencies Fundraiser-8/26/92
Greenville Commerce Club Event #503
Southern Showcase- 8/29/92
Bob Thompson Fundraiser 8/31/92 Greenville Event #440
Charleston Judicial Center- 8/31/92
Thornblade Reception-9/2/92
Precinct Meetings- 9/10/92
Friends for Fritz-9/12/92
Ace Basin- 10/3/92
Women’s Alliance Rally-10/4/92
“A Celebration Honoring Fritz Hollings,” 10/15/1992
Statewide Fundraiser-10/15/92
LECC Violent Crime Seminar/Charleston Weed and Seed Project and Boys and Girls Club, 10/16/92
“Barbecue and Bushwhacking”-10/18/92
Advanced Manufacturing Technologies Inc.-10/19/92
W56CC-TV/State Justice Institute/Edgefield Barbeque-10/20/92
Vince Perone’s ATME Welcome Party-10/21/92
WSPA Radio/Insignia Financial Group-10/22/92
Textile Research Consortium-10/23/92
EFH Rally-10/26/92
Greer/Spartanburg/Union/Gaffney/Clover-10/27/92
Folly Beach-10/29/92
Victory Party, 11/92

Garin-Hart
Legal
Stuble-Totten (Press agency hired by the campaign)
Persons:
General
Bush, George/Quayle, Dan
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.:
  General
  Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Research Notebook (2 folders)
Clinton, Bill and Al Gore (2 folders)
Hartnett, Tommy: (See also: Strategy, OppositionResearch Ideas)
  General (2 folders)
    “Campaign Research on Thomas F. Hartnett…,” Notebook (2 folders)
  Deeds
  Endorsements
  Finances:
    General
    Disclosure Forms
Hartnett Co-sponsorships, Notebook (3 folders, 3rd folder is in the next box)

Hartnett Research Notebooks: Box 653
  Book One (2 folders)
  Book Two (2 folders)
  Book Three (2 folders)
  Book Four (3 folders)
  Book Five (2 folders)
  Book Six
  Book Seven (2 folders)
  Book Eight (2 folders)
  Book Ten (2 folders)
Hartnett Research on Hollings

Hartnett Testimony in Leach/Leach vs. Westvaco Development Corp.-8/5/92 Box 654
Hartnett Weaknesses
Hollings’ Rebuttals (2 folders)
Issues:
  General (2 folders -- 1 is an Issues Notebook)
  Appropriations
  Arts and Humanities
  Attendance
  B-1 Bomber
  Budget
  Campaign Finance
  Civil Rights
  Drug Testing
  Economic Plan
  Education
  Energy
  Environment
  Flip-Flops
  Foreign Affairs
  Gay Rights
  Gramm-Rudman-Hollings
  Health Care
  Housing
  Israel
  Labor
  Law Enforcement
  Legislative Branch
  Legislation Introduced
  Lies and Distortions
South Carolina Political Collections at the University of South Carolina

MacAlloy (insurance)
Military
On EFH War Vote
PACs
Pay and Honoraria
Product Liability
Role at Republican Convention
Taxes
Technology
Trade and Textiles
Washington Candidate
Women’s Issues
Workfare
Publicity:
General
Direct Mail (2 folders)

Box 655

Media Scripts
Press Releases
Speeches for Hartnett
Realty (Hartnett Realty Company)
Perot, Ross
Thompson, Charles (Hartnett’s primary opponent)

Publicity:
General (2 folders)
Announcement
Debates (2 folders)
Direct Mail:
General
DABCO Proposal (Company interested in managing the Direct Mail Campaign for Hollings’ campaign)
Printing
Samples
Endorsements:
General
Mayors
Media:
General
Scripts
Struble-Totten (3 folders) (agency hired by campaign) (See also: Strategy, Struble-Totten Media Strategy)
TV Shoots
Prepared Response/Statements
Press:
General (2)

Box 656

Press Releases (5 folders)
Speeches
Strategy:
General
Black Notebook (2 folders)
Campaign Information Folder
Constituency Plan
Coordinated Campaign:
General
Victory ’92: South Carolina Democratic Coordinated Campaign Plan (Notebook)
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee: “Your Campaign and the Law” (Notebook)
“The Foundation of Message: Positioning the Election Day Choice for Persuadable Voters” (Notebook)
Mullikin Notebook (2) (See also: Campaign Organization, Tom Mullikin)
Opposition Research Ideas (See also: Persons, Tommy Hartnett)
Sample Fundraising Campaign for Carl Levin
Struble-Totten Media Strategy (See also: Publicity, Media, Struble-Totten)
Weekly Campaign Updates

Topical:
- General (2 folders)
- Budget and Economy
- Business
- Children
- Civil Rights
- Congressional Pay and Expenses
- Crime, Law, and Drugs
- Defense
- Environment
- Ethics
- Gay Rights
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings
- Health
- “The Hollings Record” (Notebook) (See also: Voting Record)
- Hugo

Issues Guide:
- General
  - Hollings Green Book (Notebook) (3 folders)
- Korean Suit
- Labor
- Line-Item Veto
- Office Budget
- Reapportionment

Stories (testimonials from supporters) (2 folders) Box 657
- Taxes
- Telecommunications
- Textiles
- Tourism
- Trade
- Women
- Workfare

Voter Research:
- Key Findings from South Carolina Focus Groups, Mar. 11, 1992
- National Survey Results for Democratic Study Center
- A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina:
  - June 1991 (Notebook)
  - May 1992 (Notebook)
  - Aug. 1992 (Notebook)
  - Sept. 1992 (Notebook)
  - Oct. 7-8, 1992 (Notebook)
  - Oct. 23-25, 1992 (Notebook)
- A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina on the Senate Race: June 1991 (2 folders)

Polls:
- General Planning
- Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group Questionnaires
- Polls 1991-1992

South Carolina Precinct Analysis Vol. 2, Abbeville-Laurens (1 Book)
South Carolina Precinct Analysis Vols. 2 and 3, Abbeville-Laurens (4 Books)  
“South Carolina Senate Presentation” June 13-20, 1991  
“Voting In the Passive Voice” by Christopher Hitchens  
Voting Record (3 folders) (See also: Topical, “The Hollings Record”)  

1993:  
General  
Democratic Party:  
Senate Democratic Conference  
Senate Campaign Committee Notebook  
Presidential Inauguration  

1994:  
General (2 folders)  
Democratic Party, Fundraising, Al Gore Event  

1996:  
General  
Democratic Party:  
General  
National Committee, South Carolina Precinct Targeting (3 folders)  
National Convention (2 folders)  

1997:  
General  
Presidential Inauguration  

General  
Campaign Organization:  
General  
Charleston County  
County Information (Notebook)  
Hollings for Senate: Charleston Field Manuel (Notebook) (2 folders)  
Internal Correspondence  
Red Notebook of Counties (3 folders)  
Staff  
Volunteers  
Correspondence:  
General  
Congratulatory Mail:  
General  
Colleagues  
Government  
Out of State  
South Carolina (3 folders)  
Thank Yous (Handwritten)  

VIP Correspondence  

Democratic Party:  
General  
Democratic Leadership Council  
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) Notebook, “Who Controls the GOP House and Senate: A Guide to Right Wing Third Party Groups” (2 folders): [See also: Finances, Fundraising, DSCC; and Strategy, Coordinated Campaign, 1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook]  
South Carolina, “South Carolina Targeting Book” (3 folders)  
Election Results for Hollings and other candidates  

Finances:  

Box 658  
Box 659  
Box 660  
45
General
Banking
Contact Lists:
  General (3 folders)
  Labor Unions
Finance Plan
Fundraising:
  General
Contributions:
  General
  By County
  By SC Lawyers
  DSCC Contributors Notebook
  FEC Compliance
  Outstanding Pledges by Event
DSCC: [See also: Democratic Party, DSCC; and Strategy, Coordinated Campaign, 1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook]
  Nantucket Weekend Notebook (1 of 2 folders)
  Nantucket Weekend Notebook (2 of 2 folders)
  Campaign Research Report on Robert Durden Inglis…,” spring 1998, Notebook (3 folders)
  Box 661

Tally Sheets
Events:
  General
  1994-1996
  1997:
    Feb.
    June
    Aug.
    Sept.
    Nov.
  1998:
    Feb.-Apr.
    Feb. 16-20 Notebook (2 folders)
    Mar. 12, Coopersmith Dinner with Clinton as Speaker
    May:
      General
      Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, May 1
      Bullwinkel Reception, May 8
      Anderson Country Club, May 26
    June
    July-Aug.
    Sept.
    Oct.-Nov.
  FEC Reports

Persons:
  General
  Beasley, David
  Bush, George
  Clinton, William J.
  Inglis, Bob (Robert): [See also: Strategy, Inglis’ Contract for a Courteous Campaign]
  General
  Campaign Research Report on Robert Durden Inglis…,” spring 1998, Notebook (3 folders)
  Fundraising
  Interest Group Ratings (3 folders)

Issues: Box 662
General
Abortion
Affirmative Action
Americans for Limited Terms
Arts
Bankruptcy and Federal District Courts

Budget and Economy
Business
Campagne Reform
Congressional Perks
Crime/Law/Drugs
Deception
Defense
Education
Environment
Finances
Foreign Affairs
Haynesworth Federal Courthouse
Healthcare
Immigration
Inglis’ Background
Leatherwood, Walker, Todd, and Mann
Legislation and Voting Record
Medicare
PACs
Previous Campaigns
Probate Court
Property Records
Racism
Republican Party: [See also: Topical, Republican Party]
  Republican Primary
  National Republican Senatorial Committee (2 folders, 2nd folder is in the next box)

SC GOP
Secretary of State
Sen. Mitch McConnell
Social Security
Superior Court
Taxes
Tax Foundation
Term Limits
Textiles
Tobacco
Transportation
TRIAD
Video Poker
Volunteers
Voter Registration
Welfare

Publicity:
  General
  Advertisements
  Direct Mail
  Endorsements
  Press Coverage
Press Releases
Speeches
Sample Research Books:
  “The Book on Bingaman: How the West Was Taxed” (2 folders)
  “Learning to Reid: A Lesson in Liberalism” (2 folders)
  Luntz, Dr. Frank, “The Language of the 21st Century” (2 folders)

Perot, Ross
Sanford, Mark (2 folders)
Thurmond, Strom (1 of 2 folders)

Thurmond, Strom (2 of 2 folders)  Box 664

Publicity:
  Debate
  Direct Mail
  Endorsements
  Media (See also: Strategy, Media):
    General
    Advertisements:
      “Breast Cancer”
      “Budget Battle”
      “Classroom”
      “Cookie Jar”
      “Fiscal Conservative”
      “Gonzales Gardens”
      “Helping”
      “Purple Heart”
      “Questions-Children”
      “TV Violence”
    Fact Sheets for Ads
    Scripts
  Press
  Signage
  Speeches
  Website

Strategy:
  General
  “1998: A Precinct Preview”
  African-Americans
  Coordinated Campaign:
    General
    1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook (2 folders) [See also: Democratic Party, DSCC; and Finances, Fundraising, Contributions, DSCC]
    “Hollings ’98: an Overview”
    Hollings for Senate Campaign Plan: Mar. 1998
    Inglis’ Contract for a Courteous Campaign [See also: Persons, Bob Inglis]
    Media [See also: Publicity, Media]
    Nu Wexler Notebook
    Reflections on Previous Elections

Topical:
  General (2 folders)
  African-Americans
  Budget and Economy [See also: Taxes and Spending]
  Campaign Finance
  Crime/Law/Drugs
  DataStream Systems
Education:
   General (1 of 2 folders)
   General (2 of 2 folders)
   Technical Schools

Energy
Environment
Gay Rights
Health
Labor
Liberalism
Military
Rebuttals
Republicans: [See also, Persons, Bob Inglis, Topical, Republican Party]
   General
   Republican Revolution
Seniors and Social Security
Taxes and Spending (3 folders) [See also: Budget and Economy]
Trade and Textiles
Transportation
Welfare
Women/Infants/Children

Voter Research:
Polling:
   General
   Clippings
   Garin-Hart
   Mason-Dixon
South Carolina Counties by Precinct, Notebook (3 folders)
South Carolina Malls (poll conducted in malls): Aug. 28-31, 1998
South Carolina Senate (poll of voter attitudes toward the SC Senate):
   Dec. 1997
   June 12-14, 1998 (2 folders)
South Carolina Statewide Tracking:
   I: Oct. 3-4, 1998
   II: Oct. 10-11, 1998
   III: Oct. 18-19, 1998
   VI: Oct. 29, 1998
A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina:
   June 1996, Notebook (2 folders)
   May 1997, Notebook (3 folders)
   Dec. 1997, Notebook (2 folders)
“A Survey of Voter Attitudes in South Carolina’s…:
   … 84th House District,” Sept. 1997 (2 folders)
   … 86th House District,” Sept. 1997 (2 folders)
   … 12th House District,” Oct. 1997 (2 folders)
   … 124th House District,” Oct. 1997 (2 folders)

Voting Record:
   General (3 folders)
Accomplishments
“Trip Notebook”
Hollings Record: Voting Analysis Notebook

1999

2000:
General
Democratic Party, National Convention
Finances, Contributions from PACs

2001:
General
Presidential Inauguration

2002

2003:
General
Persons:
Clark, Wesley
Coble, Bob
Condon, Charlie
DeMint, Jim
Edwards, John
Kerry, John
Tennenbaum, Inez

2004

No date (4 folders)

*The Case Against Hunger* (1970):
General (2 folders)
Correspondence:
General:
1969
1970:
Jan.-June
July-Nov.
Dec.
1971:
Jan.
Feb.
Mar.-Aug.
Complimentary Copies, 1971
Press, 1970-71
Manuscript:
Chapter 1
Chapter 2 (2 folders)
Chapter 3
Chapter 4
Chapter 5
Chapter 6
Chapter 7
Chapter 8
Chapter 9 (1st of 2 folders)

Chapter 9 (2nd of 2 folders)
Chapter 10
Misc.
Publicity Material
Publisher, Cowles Book Company, Inc.
Questions and Answers
Reference Material (3 folders)
Christmas:
1961-62, Card Lists (4 folders)
1966, Card Lists
1967, Cards Received
1968, Cards Received
1969, Cards / Letters Received
1991, Cards Received (2 folders)
1995, Cards / Letters Received (1-2 of 3 folders)
1996, Cards / Letters Received (3rd of 3 folders) Box 670
1996, Cards Received (includes note from Peatsy regarding the cards)
1998, Cards Received (2 folders)
1999, Cards Received (4 folders, last 2 folders hold the cards used in the 1999 Christmas Card Exhibit at USC and includes cards sent out by Fritz and Peatsy)
2002-2004, Cards Received
Family:
Children:
Michael Milhous (b. 1950):
General:
1970, May (2 folders)
1971-2004
USC Law School Admission, 1975 (3 folders)
Helen Hayne (b. 1952), 1958-75 and 2003
Patricia “Salley” (1957-2003):
General, 1963-2001
Condolences on her death (Apr. 14, 2003) (3 folders)
“Fritzie” (Ernest F. Hollings III, b. 1959), 1963-71 and 1980 Box 671
Extended
Medical
Parents (Adolph and Wilhelmine) and Siblings (Robert, Adolph aka “Gus”, Marie, and Barbara)
Peatsy (Rita Liddy, 1935-), married Sen. Hollings in 1971:
General (5 folders)
Biographical Information
Calendars:
1982, 1984, 1985
1986, 1987
1988, 1989
1990, 1992
1993, 1994
1995, 1997
Holiday Gifts (2 folders)
Invitations Accepted / Events: Box 672
1979-88
1989-91
1992-95
1996-99
1999-2001
2001-04
Lists of Wedding Invitees (for wedding to Fritz Hollings in 1971)
Personal Correspondence:
1964-71, 1981-91
1992-94
1995-97
1998-99
2000-2003
n.d.

Schedules:
1983-91
1992 (2 folders)
1997

Speaking Engagements:
1981-91

1992-2002

Topical:
- General (3 folders)
- Aiken, Kimberly, Miss America 1994 (from SC)
- Alfalfa Club (2 folders)
- American Heart Association, Women’s Board
- America Red Cross
- Bicentennial, Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution
- Cancer-related Organizations (3 folders)
- CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe)
- Child-related Organizations (2 folders)
- College of Charleston (2 folders)
- Columbia S.C. Bicentennial, 1986

Democratic Policy Committee, 2002, Issues Conference

Education

Ford’s Theatre:
- General:
  - 1990-96
  - 1997-98
  - 1998 cont.
  - 1999
  - 2000-01
  - 1998 Gala Notebook (2 folders)
- Festival Programs

Friends of the Art & Preservation in Embassies (FAPE)
Friends of the National Library of Medicine
Girl Scouts

Health-related Organizations:
- General (2 folders)
- Mental Health:
  - General (2 folders)
  - National Advisory Mental Health Council:
    - General (4 folders)
    - Hearings, Oct. 9, 1990 and Sept. 5, 1991 (1st of 2 folders)


Hollings Cancer Center at the Medical University of South Carolina (MUSC) (2 folders)
Hollings Judicial Center
International Neighbors Club IV
March of Dimes:
- General
- Gourmet Galas:
1983-85
1986 (3 folders, Peatsy was the General Chairman this year)
1987
1988-99
2001-04
1986 Planning Notebook (3 folders)
National Aquarium
National Fire Protection Association
Navy
Parent’s Music Resource Center:
  General (2 folders)
  1987 Board of Directors’ Meetings, Jan. and Nov., Notebooks
Peatsy’s Recipes
Preservation
Public Service Announcements:
  General
  Substance Abuse/Drunk Driving
South Carolina Aquarium (2 folders)
Spoleto Festival
Spouses of the Senate (2 folders)
Travel (2 folders) [See also: Senate Papers, Travel Files]
Very Special Arts
Woman’s National Democratic Club

Financial Records:
  General
  Memberships
  Property
Fire Condolence Letters (the Senator and Mrs. Hollings lost their home to fire in Aug., 1999) (1-3 of 10 folders)

Fire Condolence Letters, cont. (4-10 of 10 folders)  Box 677
Guaranty Insurance Trust, 1954-68:
  General (3 folders)
  Correspondence (4 folders)
Federal Home Loan Bank Board:
  General (2 folders)
  Regulation of

Finances:
  10-K Forms, 1966
  Investments (2 folders)
  Reports for Columbia, SC, Accounts (3 folders)
Licensing (2 folders)
Memos
Other Insurance Companies (3 folders)
Stocks:
  General (2 folders)
  Certificates Issued
  Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) (2 folders)
Law Career and Practices:
  General
  Hollings and Hawkins, 1960s:
    General (1st of 3 folders)

General (2-3 of 3 folders)  Box 679
Finances:
Godchaux Sugar:
General (2 folders)
Lobo, Julio (2 folders)
Sugar:
General
El Salvador
Puerto Rico

New Office, 141 E. Bay St., Charleston
Law Offices of Ernest F. Hollings, 1950s:
Case Files:
General
“A” - Carolina Pipeline Company (1-2 of 7 folders)
Carolina Pipeline Company (3-7 of 7 folders) - U.S. Guaranty Life Insurance Co.
U.S. v. Julian Williams:
General (2 folders)
Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit, Private Funds
Appeals (6 folders)
Brief
Charges
Indictment, Counts, Verdict (2 folders)
Motions (3 folders)
Subpoenas
Reference Material, Conspiracy Law
Vane - Wilkes
Flash Cards (3 folders)

Ledgers (2 ledgers)
Notes (2 folders)
Plaintiff’s Associations

Retirement, letters from friends, colleagues, and constituents (7 folders)

Topical Files:
General
Boy Scouts
Byrnes, Jimmy, includes mostly Byrnes’ speeches, 1949-57
Charleston
City Hall (from Castle Rock Entertainment, a 1996 movie starring John Cusack and Al Pacino with Sen. Hollings):
General
Scripts (1 of 2 folders)

Scripts (2 of 2 folders)
Constitutional Convention, 1956-1957
Cooper Estates, Mt. Pleasant, 1967-70
Dedications, 1955-58
Deutscher Bruderliche Bund, 1956
Education:
General, 1955-1959, 1964
The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina (Hollings graduated from The Citadel in 1942):
1952-57
1967-70
1971-95
Hudson Institute, 1975, 1981
Segregation, Supreme Court:
  General, 1954 (2 folders)
  Transcripts, 1952 (3 folders)
Technical Education
U.S. Air Force Academy, Board of Visitors, 2003 (EFH a member)
U.S. Coast Guard Academy Advisory Committee, 1971 (EFH a member)
U.S. Merchant Marine Academy Board of Visitors, 1967-1971 (EFH a member)

U.S. Military Academy Board of Visitors, 1968-1970 (EFH a member)
U.S. Naval Academy Board of Visitors, 1975 (EFH a member)

Free Masons of South Carolina

Hollings Cancer Center (formerly Hollings Oncology Center), Medical University of South Carolina:
General:
  1988-91
  1992-94
  1995-2004
Board of Directors:
  1991-93
  1994-96
  2000-04
Commencement Address, May 16, 1997
Dedication, Oct. 11, 1992
Department of Defense Coastal Cancer Control Program
Development (fundraising):
  1987-93
  1994, Nov. - 2004
Expansion, 2001-03
First Annual Research Retreat, Aug. 31, 2001, at Wild Dunes
Glaxo Wellcome, Inc., of NC
Groundbreaking, Oct. 26, 1990 (2 folders)
Medical University of South Carolina, non-Hollings Cancer Center-related documents
Nixon, Dan (of the American Health Foundation)

Prince of Tides Screening Benefit, Nov. 18, 1991
Hollings Judicial Center, 1988 (Building dedicated Nov. 11, 1988) (2 folders)
Hoover Commission (studying U.S. Intelligence activities), 1955-56
Jaycees Award, 1955 (Hollings was named an outstanding young man of 1954 by the U.S. Jr. Chamber of Commerce)
Johnson Inauguration, 1965, Program and Invitation
Kennedy, Edward, 1969 and 1972
Kennedy, John F.:
  Assassination, Nov. 22, 1963, Correspondence in the aftermath
  Memorial Library Committee, 1964 (Hollings served as State Chairman) (3 folders)
Korea
Labor
Lutheran Church in America:
General:
  1962
  1963
  1964
  1965-69
  1970-74, 1992
Executive Council, Committee on Legal Affairs:
1962
1963:
1964-65
South Carolina Synod, 1962-1965
Mental Health, Committee to Study: (Hollings a member from SC House, appointed by Gov. Byrnes)
1951, 1956
no date
Military Record (2 folders)
Mother's Day
Public Speaking Notes (from a class on public speaking

Sea-Space Symposium:
1971-73
1974-76
Information Directories, 1971, 76

Snee Farm:
1968-70
1971:
Jan.-July
Aug.-Dec.
1972:
Jan.-July
Aug.-Dec.
1973:
Jan.-May
June-Dec.
1974:
Jan.-June
July-Dec.
1975
South Carolina Senate Chamber Portrait
Tax, Sales
Tennis:
1967-71
1972-2004
Textiles, 1955-57
Trucking, 1951-54
United Nations, 1949-51
Voting Record while in General Assembly, 1949-1954
Washington, D.C., 1963-66
Women Jurors, c.1949