

*SOUTH CAROLINA POLITICAL COLLECTIONS
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT*

Interview

with

Daniel I. Ross, Jr.

Interviewer:

Herbert J. Hartsook

Date:

October 4, 2001

Location:

Ashleigh Place Home for Girls

Topics:

Daniel I. Ross, Jr. (1923-2008) reflects on his life and particularly his activity in the Republican Party in South Carolina. A Blackville area native, Ross was educated at the University of South Carolina and the University of Texas, maintains the family farm, and is retired from the E.I. DuPont Company, where he was employed as a staff engineer chiefly responsible for environmental monitoring. Ross became active in the Party in the early 1950s, served as County Chair, State Executive Committeeman, 2nd District Chair, managed Jim Henderson's 1970 bid for Lieutenant Governor, Deputy State Chairman of the Nixon Presidential Campaign, District Campaign Chair for Strom Thurmond's 1972 reelection campaign, Chaired James B. Edwards 1974 gubernatorial primary campaign and co-chaired Edwards' successful general election campaign, and played a leading role in George Bush's 1988 and 1992 presidential campaigns. He served as Party chairman from 1976 to 1980. As chair, he vigorously expanded the Party's base outside its strongholds in the upstate and Lexington County and worked to win offices at lower levels of government as well as targeting statewide and Congressional offices.

Transcriber:

Carol Copeland

Citation:

Daniel I. Ross, Jr. Oral History Interview, South Carolina Political Collections, University Libraries, The University of South Carolina

[Tape 1 begins]

Hartsook: Can you tell us a little bit about your background, where you were born, something about your parents and your education?

Ross: I was born December 31, 1923, just across these woods in a location where my present house sits. The house that I was born in burned down. This farm has been in this family since the early 1800s. We've got tombstones on the farm that go back to 1790. My father bought this farm from the rest of the family when my grandfather died and so that's how he acquired the farm, and I still have it. I've been turning it over to my daughter piece by piece. My mother and father, neither one, finished high school but my father was a real stickler for education because he didn't have an education. He was very much in favor of it and when I became five years old, I went to school just right over there where there's a trailer now. That was where the grammar school was, seven grades, right in the middle of this farm. So I went to school there along with my mother and my mother's brother. When my mother married my father, she was from Ocala, Florida, and she came from Florida, she brought her younger brother with her and he lived here the rest of his life. He was later superintendent of the schools in Aiken County for years and years and was a Furman graduate.

My father used to tell people about how he sent three children to school including his wife, my mother. But my mother was like that. The rest of her life she was involved with school. She was superintendent of Barnwell State Park, right down the road here. Even in her old age, my father, I guess, had instilled that thing about education and she learned how to build TVs and radios and things like that, through a correspondence course. She took courses from the University of South Carolina, but she never got a high school diploma. My father was a World War I marine. He

was on the honor guard for President Wilson in 1918, when President Wilson went to France. He accompanied him the whole trip there and back.

Hartsook: Did he see combat during World War I?

Ross: Yes. My father never talked about the war much. We never talked about it much. I knew he had been on the honor guard, I guess, because my mother would tell me about it. But I really didn't know what it all meant until just about two or three or four years ago. The librarian in Barnwell was going through old newspapers from 1918 and there was a letter from my dad to his mother, from France, and it was telling about his job as the honor guard for the president, and it really shook me up. It was outlined and all laid out. I had never asked him about it or talked about it much or anything else. He told about the president and how he stood guard over him every night, and how the president would walk out every morning and always shake hands with him, things like that.

Anyway, I finished grammar school here, seven grades, under two great teachers {Maude Patterson and Louise Gyles} in a two-room school. I went from there to Blackville. I had one of the greatest superintendents I've ever known in my life, a fellow named Byron Wham. Then I went to the University of South Carolina. I was a horrible student there for the first couple of years, playing football, and didn't do very well.

Hartsook: Did you always want to go to USC?

Ross: I was going to Clemson. I finished high school in 1940 when I was 16 years old. Everybody told me I could play football, but I had to gain weight. So I went back to high school for half a year and played football that season and then dropped out and went to work at the Edisto Experiment

Station, about six or seven miles over here. That was a Clemson facility. I went to work there from daylight till dark, five and a half days a week, nine dollars a week. Sometime during that winter, Sol Blatt came to my dad and [said], "Send the boy to Carolina and I'll give him a job as a page." So that's why I went to Carolina, because I was going to be a page.

Hartsook: How did your father know Sol Blatt?

Ross: They were good friends. They were both World War I veterans. They were in the same legion post and all of those things. They were very close, very close. And so, I went to Columbia and I worked two years as a page before I went into service. I didn't do very well in class. I guess the thing that really shook me up was when I came home. I spent a year in the hospital, in the army, and I came home, and my dad and I were sitting in the living room and I was going over my transcript, and I said, "Well, I didn't do too bad before the war." He said, "How many credits did you get?" I told him. He said, "How many were you supposed to get?" And I think it was about twice as many as I had. He didn't crack a smile and didn't say anything really, much, except, "You ought to finish in eight or nine years. Is that right?" [laughter] That was a deep wound, you know, and I said, boy, I got to do better when I go back to Carolina. This is my last chance.

Hartsook: Now, you were going to school, you were working as a page, and you were playing football, so you had a pretty. . . ?

Ross: Well, my real bad thing was I just didn't study. I really didn't study. It was funny, I've never have quite understood why I just. . . . It just was crazy. I didn't study. I didn't do anything. When I came back after the war, like I said, I had to do something, so I went to Carolina. I was

really kind of worried about it. I had sort of got into that mode where I didn't know whether I can do it or not. But I made the Dean's List, I think, the first semester, and, boy, from that day on, I just had it.

Before I graduated from the University of South Carolina, I was in business administration. I was sitting in class one day, and a guy named Geisenheimer, a professor at Carolina, said, "Dan, I want you to see me after class." So I went to see him after class and he said, "You know, you're a good student. You take part in discussion and make 'A's', but something's wrong. I've just got a feeling that you don't like what you're doing." I thought, that was a great professor, because he hit it right on the head. I said, "Well, I'd like to be in the Geology Department, but they won't let me because of my leg." He said, "Who won't let you?" I said, "The Veteran's Administration." So he said, "Let me look into it." The next day, I went back, and he said, "At the end of the semester you can go to the Geology Department." So that meant then, that I had to go another year or two to finish in that department.

So I went over to the Geology Department. Dr. Smith and Dr. Petty, all of those people over there, I knew, because I had taken courses over there, and I loved it. So, the first thing they did was give me a job, and I labeled thousands of specimens at the University. Those specimens you see now in McKissick Library [Museum], that's the ones I did back years ago. If I can recognize my handwriting, I tell my grandchildren that's my handwriting on all those specimens. So, I labeled specimens and did this and that, did all sorts of work. {I set up the first map file of 35,000 maps, mainly topographic maps provided by the U.S. Government. I set up the file at USC, and word must have spread to Texas because I was asked to do the same job there.} Then they gave me a job as a laboratory assistant. Then, before I got my degree, Dr. Smith called me and said, "Would you like to work this fall? And I said, "Doing what kind of work?" He said, "Teaching." And I said, "Yeah, but I haven't finished school yet." He said, "Don't worry about it." That's just what he told me. He

said, "You can do it. We'll pay you \$1,800 for nine months." So, that's when I started teaching, in 1950. I left there and went to the University of Texas for graduate school. I was there two years and my father became ill and I came home. I was working on a Ph.D. The thing that made me feel so great at Texas was, at Carolina, after World War II, I made one grade at Carolina under a "B". I made a "C" in a mathematics course, everything else was "B's" and up. But, when I went to Texas, I made all "A's". Everything was "A's" the two years I was there. So, I said, hey, I can do all right, this school's supposed to be rated so highly, and here I'm making all "A's". But, I found graduate school a lot easier than I did at Carolina. Because I'd grown into it, I guess.

When I went down there, of course, they assigned you a carrel in the library. I didn't have a lot of formal classes. The graduate school was kind of funny. You met with the professors, at night usually, and a lot of your work was library. Library, library, library, oh boy. After my father died, just to salvage something out of those two years, I wrote a thesis on Comal County which I was very familiar with in Texas. I was in the Latin American Institute and you had to go to Latin America to write your Ph.D. thesis. Well, I didn't want to take a leave of absence from my job, so I went to Texas on a short term basis and finished up my thesis down there. I had done a lot of the research before and I wrote the thesis on Comal County, and that was the end of it. I salvaged a master's degree out of those years. So, that takes care of the education.

Hartsook: Can we go back and talk a little bit about being a page? Who were you a page for?

Ross: Let me say first, there weren't many pages like there are today. I think everybody's got a page today, just about. When I went there, Mr. Blatt [House Speaker, Sol Blatt] did all the hiring and all the firing. In fact, the head page was a grown man, a fellow named Mr. Boylston, he was from Blackville. Mr. Blatt hired him and, of course, I worked under him. I would say, most of the

time, in the legislature, when I was there, there probably wasn't over ten or twelve pages. I think they've got like fifty, sixty, or a hundred now, I don't know. I put in a lot of time as a page. I did it for two reasons. One was Mr. Boylston, the other was Mr. Blatt. They both were from my hometown, so I said, "Hey, I can't let them down. I've got to work." So, I put in a lot of time there. When I left the State House and went in the army, the legislators threw a party for me, which was unusual. They didn't do that for pages, as a general rule. They gave me everything. They gave me everything from a pet dog, [a] cocker spaniel, to all sorts of gifts. But, I did, I put in a lot of time and effort.

Hartsook: What did you do?

Ross: I filed the bills, every day. Let me go back and say, again, if you remember how the legislators are set up in the House, well, you have a whole row, and then you have another row, and another row. My job as a page was, I had a whole row [that] was mine, which was probably fifteen, twenty or twenty-five – I can't remember now – legislators. So I would do all the filing for those people. I would run errands for them, and I would run errands for other people, too. They used to give me a check, they made \$60 every two weeks, I think it was back then. I'd go down to the Treasurer's office and cash the checks for them. I would bring back, say, two twenties, a ten, a five and four or five ones, and I would count that money. It's funny what you learn and what you do, I never would have thought about it at home, but I would count that money out on the desk, twenty, forty, fifty, and then I would slow up and say fifty-five, fifty-six, and then they would finally get the point and say, "All right, go ahead and take a couple of dollars." [laughing] But I had a lot of fun and really enjoyed it when I was there those two years.

Hartsook: Who impressed you the most from among the members you worked with? Were there any that you thought just stood head and shoulders above the others?

Ross: Well, people like Blatt always stood head and shoulders. There were a lot of good people there, back when I was there. Mr. Tuten from Hampton County. Of course, over in the Senate was [Edgar] Brown, Mr. Jefferies, and [Marion] Gressette, and all those guys were there. But Brown and Gressette. And Bob Truer, a Jewish fellow who had a TV business. After World War II, during the last forty years, fifty years, I hired him several times for statewide campaigns to do videos for me. Bob Truer knew more about the legislature than anybody I've ever met in my life. He used to tell me what kind of people were in the legislature. Even though I knew something, he knew a lot more than I did. He said most people come to the legislature just to get away from home, or to get away from their wives, or to get away from whatever it is. He said the people who stand out, and he would name Gressette, and Blatt, and Brown, and Dennis, people like that, those people stand out because, one thing they do, they learn the rules. He said they work themselves into position where they're invaluable. In other words, they run everything. He said, that's why they can get away with running everything, because most people don't care, and that's what he used to explain to me. Blatt was that way, and Brown, both. Boy, they were tough but they were good people to work for, I enjoyed it.

Glenn McConnell, he was a county chairman under me when I was state chairman. There are several other people in the legislature now that all went back during the years when I was state chairman. I talked to Glenn McConnell, and to some of these others. . . . Joe Wilson, who's running for Congress now, these people. And, I emphasized to them like Bob Truer emphasized to me, learn the rules, learn how to get through in the legislature. One of the most perfect examples of what I'm talking about was Joyce Hearn. Joyce Hearn went to the House of Representatives when there

weren't many Republicans there. She learned the rules and she could get bills through the legislature when a lot of Democrats couldn't. And it was because she knew how to work the system. And that's the same thing that Glenn McConnell does, Glenn McConnell works the system. He knows the rules backwards, forwards, he knows everything about how the legislature works, and therefore, he can get things done that other people just don't have any interest in doing.

Hartsook: Do you want to talk, just real briefly, about your military experience? You alluded to that.

Ross: Yes. I went into the service from Carolina. I went to Washington in the spring of 1943 and met with Gene Tunney, the former boxing champion, and asked him if I could go into the navy. I gave him my background, resume, and he gave me a letter to present to my induction center to be a navy athletic director, or involved with athletics in the navy. At the same time, at the University of South Carolina, I was doing so poorly I took an examination which was called the Army Specialized Training Program, ASTP. I had no idea that I would pass that exam, but I passed it with flying colors, so I had another letter to take with me to the induction station. Show you how things work, I went to the induction station with two letters, one from Tunney and one from ASTP. ASTP, all that did was send you right back to college, and you could stay there and take languages or do something like that.

Anyway, when I was inducted, I went into the army with a whole slew of people, eighteen or nineteen years old, who I grew up with, right here, from Barnwell County. A whole bus load of us went to Fort Jackson at the same time and, in my ignorance, I said I didn't want to leave those guys, so I never showed the two letters when I got to Fort Jackson. I wound up in Fort Benning, Georgia, in the 538th Armored Infantry, and I had some of my buddies that I went in with. Herbert Black,

who lived right down the road here, with me. Norman Pender. We all went in together but [ultimately] most of those guys went in different directions. But I went from Fort Benning, Georgia, [to the] 10th Mountain Division, up at Camp Hale, Colorado. Then I volunteered for overseas and I wound up briefly in India, in Assam, and then I went into North Burma, and I went all across North Burma to the China border. Eventually I went into China and stayed there.

Burma was one of the largest fronts in the entire war. Most people don't even know about it, but it was mostly British, Africans, Australians. . . . The ground forces in Burma from the United States was only about three or four regiments, {however, we provided most of the air support}. The Chinese and British had division after division after division. That was a huge front. The Japanese occupied Burma, of course. I don't know whether you've heard of the Burma Road or the Stillwell Road. {The Americans built the Stillwell Road and pipe line from India to China.} When we opened up the road, I happened to be back in Assam, and I was passing by the orderly room and I heard two sergeants talking. They were saying they needed some volunteers for the so and so. I didn't exactly hear what it was, but I stuck my head in and asked what we were volunteering for. They said, "You're going over the road." And, I said, "I'll volunteer." And I volunteered myself and three other guys, all buddies of mine. We were on the second convoy that ever went over the Burma Road, after it was opened up from the Japanese. Of course, we got cut by the Japs at the China border. We lost one of our men there.

That was my first time into China and it was unbelievable. People just screaming and yelling, as we went into China, all through China, and we went about four or five hundred miles into Kunming, from the border.

Hartsook: Were they cheering you?

Ross: Yes, back then, that was all cheers. God, you never saw people like that. People in combat with just sandals on, very little in the way of clothing. The reason we opened that road was to try to get supplies into them, and that did open up a lot. The only problem was, it was really getting close to the end of the war by the time we got in there and we didn't get in there early enough. But the Air Force, of course, really saved China. They did most of the work. The Air Force was the main thing in Burma as far as Americans were concerned. I left China, my leg got hurt. . .

Hartsook: Now, how did your leg get hurt?

Ross: The place where I was, at that time right close to the end of the war, the nationalists and the communists got into a hassle and we got caught right in the middle of it. I got the leg hurt being involved one night when they were firing on each other and we were caught. I ran and fell in a hole and broke the leg. I spent almost a year in the hospital, I guess ten or twelve months. Then I came out {with the idea of going back to school, even though Army doctors told me that they didn't want me to climb stairs. Just let me out, I said to myself, and I'll do what I want to. The Army proved me wrong; they wouldn't approve the G.I. Bill for me until six months after I returned home. Therefore, in leaving the Army, I had no income, which I would have had if I had continued my rehabilitation. However, though offered to me, I refused 52-20 (the government would pay you \$20/week for 52 weeks if you didn't have a job. I didn't believe in relief)}.

Hartsook: After you finished your schooling, you came home because your father's ill?

Ross: Right, I came home. Let me back up a minute and say, I was walking across the campus at the University of Texas one day and I ran into the guy who was in charge of Fulbright Scholarships.

He knew me, and he asked me, "Dan, do you want to go on a Fulbright." I said, "Where?" And he said, "Italy." I said, "I can't speak the language." And he said, "You speak Spanish don't you?" And I said, "Yeah." He said, "You can get by." I said, "Well, you think I'll get it?" And, he said, "Oh, I've never had a student turned down yet." So, I said, "Well, let me let you know." So, I came home because my dad was ill. But one of the reasons that allowed me to come home, was we had in for a Naval research grant to go back to Mexico. I had spent one summer down there, in Southwest Michoacan, the state of Michoacan. So, I went there on a Carnegie grant that summer, and I had applied for a Naval Research grant [for a return visit] and the grant was turned down because I had encompassed too large an area from the Pacific coast and they wanted me to keep it closer to the coastal area. That's what they were interested in, so I got turned down but they said I could reapply and cut it down. So I did that and said I would just go home and wait until that research grant comes through and then I'll go to Mexico.

So I came home July 4, 1953. A fellow named C.E. Williams, who I went to high school with, said, "Why don't you go to work at the Savannah River Plant." So I went out there and sure enough, they gave me a job. In the meantime, my dad, one year from the day I got home, he died. There was my mother, and I had this farm here and nobody to take care of it, and so I didn't know what I was going to do. But all the time, the University of South Carolina was telling me if I went back to school and got my Ph.D., they would pay my way. Dr. Smith and Dr. Petty both stayed on me. They wanted me to come back up there and go ahead and start teaching. And, I really wanted to go to teach, but the problem was, I had the farm, my mother was by herself at the time, and I sort of fell in love with my job at the Savannah River Plant. My boss walked in one day and said he wanted to talk to me, brought me in his office and sat me down. His name was Harry Butler. He's getting old now, but he lives in Augusta.

[Tape 1, Side 2 begins]

Ross: He said, "I want to give you a piece of advice. Get another job." I said, "Do you mind if I ask you why." He said, "I think you're in the wrong place at the wrong time and you've got the wrong degree. I just don't think you've got any future with DuPont." I appreciated it after he explained it to me. What he was really telling me was, if you're at DuPont and you weren't a mechanical engineer, electrical engineer, or some kind of engineer, or Ph.D. chemist, whatever, you were really in the wrong business. And, you were, to some extent. I said, "Well, I'm going to leave. I'm going back to the University of South Carolina, but I just haven't made up my mind exactly when I'm going to leave. But, I will leave." He said, "Well, if you are going to stay here for a while, what would you like to do?" And this is the question I'll always remember, he said, "What would you like to do?" I said, "That's easy. I'd love to be in environmental monitoring." I'd gotten a taste of it when I came in and was waiting to be cleared, and I found out what environmental monitoring was. He said, "Why don't you ask for it." I said, "Well, I'd have to be promoted from my present position to get the job that I want." He said, "Well, still ask for it." So I wrote a letter – To whom it may concern, this is the job I want. So I wrote it, he sent it up the line, and about two months later, I was promoted, and a month after that, I got the job in environmental monitoring.

Oh, horrible. Horrible in the sense that I knew the University was gone. I'd never leave. It was a job I loved. The best part of it all, I guess, when you look at the thirty-five years that I spent there, was that DuPont was so good to me. They let me do the things that, at the time, I didn't know at the time I wanted to do, but I wanted to be involved in politics, I wanted to be involved in community service, and this and that, and they let me do all those things. In other words, I didn't shirk my job, by any means, but they gave me time, on a time available basis, to let me do things that

I wanted to do. And, I really enjoyed the work. They gave me the chance to write papers, I could this and do that, yet I supervised people. I really had a great time for all those years.

Hartsook: When did you become active in politics and why?

Ross: Let me go back, when I got off the boat in Bombay in World War II, I rode a train for nine days across India, up to Assam, and there was a fellow on there named Don Savage, who had volunteered for overseas with me. He was one of the four of us that volunteered for overseas. It was real funny, we had never discussed politics in all the time we had known each other, but on that trip, all the nine days, all we did was argue politics on that train. I think he was a Republican and I think I was probably a Democrat at the time, in my mind, at least.

But anyway, in 1952, when I was in Texas, I would get the county paper from here and saw that Senator Edgar Brown had a big article in the paper, naturally, espousing Adlai Stevenson for president. That upset me to no end. I should have known that was what it was going to be, but at the same time, it sort of upset me. I called my father from there because my father worked for the state parks, {then a part of the Forestry Department} at that time, and I said, "I know how things are, so I want to be sure I'm on good ground here. I want to respond to Mr. Brown's article in the paper." He knew what I was talking about. He said, "What are you waiting on?" I said, "Well, I wanted to check you out and be sure it wouldn't affect you." He said, "How old are you?" I said, "Twenty-eight." He said, "I believe you're old enough to make up your own mind." So I wrote the letter. That was the first letter I ever wrote. {It was probably ten pages long and naturally wasn't printed; it took me a while to learn to write short letters.}

1960, I worked for Nixon locally, just by myself, didn't have any connection. Albert Watson was the chairman for Nixon in this state that year, believe it or not, and Albert and I never did get together that year at all. But I worked real hard in this county for Nixon.

Then, in 1962, Floyd Spence called me. That was when he came over from being a Democrat. He called and asked me if I would help him in the election and I said, "Yeah." Then, Bill Workman's wife called me. She and my wife were sort of distant kin. So, they asked us to get involved and we both got involved. We worked very hard in this county and we carried this county for Bill Workman. We just missed carrying it for Spence. Just did miss it. In fact, I'll tell you a political story. My daddy's first cousin was a longtime magistrate in this county, was a Democrat. He said, "If you'll haul the voters down in this section {Hilda}, you'll carry the county for Spence." I thought that was beneath my dignity, I was not going to do that. So, we lost the county, I think, [by] about fifty votes for Spence, and I've been hauling voters ever since.

Hartsook: The Adlai Stevenson piece that got you worked up. What offended you in that piece?

Ross: Let me go back and say, my dad was very much an Eisenhower man. And, I thought he was one of the few. But in this county, every World War I veteran that I know of voted for Eisenhower. I found that out in later years, because I became very active in the [American] Legion in the county, and I knew all of the World War I veterans. All of them, Blatt and everybody, voted for Eisenhower. My father voted for Eisenhower primarily because Eisenhower said he would go to Korea. My father was so adamant against Korea. I was for Korea. I was on Truman's side. But my father was not, and neither were most World War I veterans. I think I see a similarity right now. I don't like the idea of Bush saying we're going to war. Now, if he says we're going after Bin Laden, or, we're going after the terrorists, then that's fine, but going to war is a different thing. The thing

that I want to come back to on Eisenhower, he came to Columbia, [and] was the first man in my lifetime to ever campaign in South Carolina. Nobody had ever come to South Carolina and here is Eisenhower; [he] stood up on the State House steps, and man I was a diehard Eisenhower man, because of that reason.

Hartsook: Were you there?

Ross: No, I was not there. I was in Texas. But, before the convention, I was a Taft man. It was after the convention that I became [an] Eisenhower [man], myself. But when he decided to come to Columbia, to me that was the greatest thing in the world, that he would come and ask for our vote. I can't remember exactly. . . . Mr. Brown just had laid out all the reasons why everybody should vote for Stevenson. And, of course, I'm sure he had good political reasons, but let me just tell you one of the stories. On the day of the election, a fellow named Sol Keel came around to my dad's and mother's house, and this is the way Mr. Blatt and Mr. Brown worked it back in those days. Sol Keel came around early in the morning and he told my dad, said, "Sol wants us to vote for Stevenson." That's what he said. So my dad said "OK." On the way to town, my mother said to my father, "Who are we going to vote for?" And my dad said, "We're going to vote for Eisenhower." My mother said, "Well, Mr. Blatt and Mr. Brown want us to vote for Stevenson. I heard the conversation." He said, "I really don't care what they want. I'm voting for Eisenhower." Mama said, "Well, suppose I want to vote for Stevenson." He said, "Then you can sit in the car." [laughter] My mother and I laughed about that for years, but she said she got so mad, she said, "I didn't vote. I actually gave up my vote because he made me mad, in the argument." And so she sat in the car while he went in and voted.

Hartsook: Did you vote absentee that year?

Ross: Yes, I did. I was so much for Eisenhower, I couldn't help but vote. People like Taft had a great influence on me on the Republican Party. When I came back after World War II to Carolina, I didn't know where I was, and I was really concerned about things going on. Politics. Drake Edens and I used to talk about this a lot. In those days, with a one party system, you could catch a guy stealing and the penalty for somebody stealing in state government was a banquet and retirement. That's the way they did it. John Doe got caught stealing and they would retire him with a nice banquet and out the door you would go. And that was one reason so many of us from the University, Gayle Averyt. . . . Gosh, there are a dozen others that I can remember, Drake Edens, all of us, one of the reasons we got so involved by 1960. . . . Drake was the real leader of that episode. I mean, he was the guy that really pushed things. But we had all talked about it. A lot goes on in state government with this one party system and it was bad.

We weren't the only ones, because at Tennessee, when I was at Kennedy General Hospital in Memphis, they had a riot in Tennessee that was out of this world. The veterans who came back after World War II, with the old guard, just like we had here with Blatt and Brown. Don't get me wrong, most people in those days felt like Blatt and Brown were on a pedestal. As the years have gone by, a lot of people who are my age and who would turn their backs on me in those days because I was a Republican will now say to me, "You know, Blatt and Brown really didn't do a lot for the county, did they?" They ask a leading question to me and I say to them that I don't know. But they finally realize they didn't do a lot for the county. They did a lot for themselves, but they didn't do a lot for the county. And, they may have done a lot for the state, I don't know. But they didn't do a lot for the county. There was no industry. When I came back from World War II, if you wanted a job in this county – in anything – you wanted a job, you had to go to Mr. Blatt and Mr. Brown to get it.

Even when the Milliken plant came in. . . . It was the old Ameritron, then Milliken bought it out. When the Milliken plant came here, if you wanted a job in that mill as a textile employee, you had to go through Blatt and Brown's office. They asked you one question, "You ever belong to a union?" If they said, "Yeah." Then out the door, "We'll contact you." That was the last you ever heard. But every job went through that office. And like I say, they were smart men. They knew their stuff and I have the greatest respect for their ability, but, boy, I didn't have a lot of respect for their politics. And a lot of other people didn't, either. And it's funny, when we started the politics here in this county, a lot of people in the courthouse would slip me money or they would slip around and tell us about how great a job they thought we were doing and all that other stuff. But, you'd say, "Well, why don't you come and join." Oh, my gosh, you couldn't do that, because it was their job. Those hands reached a long ways.

Hartsook: When you started working for Mr. Spence's campaign, what did you think your odds were [of winning]?

Ross: I guess, early on, we thought we had a pretty good chance. In fact, the thing I think that really blew us out of the water was the Cuban Missile Crisis. We thought we were doing great, early on. And, of course, Albert Watson, who we also knew, wound up on the other side as a Democrat. And, Albert was a heck of a politician. Floyd was too. But, I was involved with Floyd in a lot of his commercials. He got me involved in his commercials and I would do a piece on the Boys Scouts, which he was active in and I was active in, and things like that. But, back in those days, you didn't do thirty second spots like you do now. What we did was half hour programs or hour programs, which was entirely different from say in four or five years [later] in politics. We'd do these big extravaganzas, and banners and flags and a big celebration and, of course, it was all practiced out,

but you did that live, on TV. WIS or whoever was carrying it for thirty minutes would come and do your thing live.

But I thought we had a real good chance. But, if I remember right, when Kennedy did his thing on Cuba, that blew Floyd right out of the water, just about. The other thing that blew Floyd out of the water, I think too, was the last night of the campaign, Albert Watson went on TV. Fantastic, no script, no nothing, and just talked for thirty minutes. I'm sure when people turned that TV on, they said, "I'm going to vote for that man," the next morning. He was that good. Albert was one of the greatest politicians I ever saw in my life, at the local level. Floyd was the worst. Really and truly. I loved Floyd Spence, but God, I used to get so angry with him. He told me one time that volunteers come and go, and that thing cut me to the deep because I considered myself a volunteer and a lot of other people were, too. He just didn't respond. . . . It's funny that he lasted. . . . I don't believe Floyd would have ever lasted if it hadn't been for the kidney transplant. I think the Democrats would have eventually gotten him. I think the kidney transplants really saved him. I love the guy, except for the fact I didn't love his politics. He just didn't do his politics. Albert Watson was just the opposite.

Hartsook: Tell me more, when you say that. What do you mean when you say that?

Ross: Albert Watson, if I picked up the phone and said, "The Hilda Baptist Church needs you two weeks from now to come down and speak at their church," he'd come. "Albert, I've got a kid here in Blackville that wants to go to West Point." He would get the appointment. When the census came along in 1970, Albert Watson called me up – I was the district chairman – he said, "Dan, you hire the people for the census." I said, my God, Albert, that's 400 people." He said, "Well, you hire them. You do it. You and your chairmen do it." So, I got all my county chairmen together and we

hired 400 people. I knew he and Joyce Hearn were not close, but I put Joyce Hearn in charge of the census, and Albert really blew his stack. He said, "Dan, why would you do that?" I said, "Let me tell you why I did it. Because, she is one of the most talented people I've ever seen. She'll do a good job. She'll make us proud." And she did. She did such a good job they moved her up to New Jersey or New York to work up there. In other words, after we completed the census here, they moved her out to help in other places. So, he was happy with her. But he was just so responsive to the precinct level. Floyd was just the opposite. Don't get me wrong, he'd do constituent service, in general, but he just did not respond to things that, as a politician too, I thought was important. Wayne Adams, who was my executive director when I was state chairman, we begged Floyd to please set up a program going county to county, do it every quarter, just to let people know you're interested. He said, "All right, I'll do it." So, he went one time and that was the end of it. He quit. He said, "Nobody shows up." I said, "It doesn't make any difference, just as long as they know you were there. That's what's important." I learned that from people like Butler Derrick. God, Butler Derrick did that for years when we were in his district. He'd come to the county and there wouldn't be two people there. But the fact was, he was there and people knew that. And, it made a lot of difference.

Bryan Dorn, Democrat, one of the great politicians I've ever known, on the local level. When he was a congressman, man, he was just like Albert Watson. Bryan Dorn was. I don't care who he is, whether he's Democrat or Republican, if you do that kind of service. Strom Thurmond's the same way, of course. Strom was a guy, to me, who was always looking out for how to do things better for his constituents. He was always that way. Up until the last three or four years, Strom Thurmond campaigned 365 days out of the year. Fritz Hollings is just the opposite. Lord, I've known Fritz since we were at Carolina and Fritz don't do that. He campaigns only during election year and that's the only time you really see him much. You don't see him much, in between. Strom

came out to this state every weekend. Every weekend. He never hardly missed. He'd be somewhere, at somebody's place, speaking. But there is a difference. Floyd was the kind of man that, I'd say if I invited him ten times to come to Barnwell County, he'd probably miss five of them. I'm saying, if he had accepted ten invitations, five times out of the ten, he would miss, because he had something to do at the last moment. That's happened many times, not just with me, but I'm talking about other people these stories would come from. He just wasn't a good politician, but he survived for twenty years and that's a long time. But, Albert Watson was the greatest I ever saw. I never saw anybody like Albert and Strom. I guess it would be close, and Bryan Dorn, I'd put those all in the same. . . . People tell me that Tommy Hartnett, I always thought Tommy was one of the laziest politicians [when campaigning] I ever saw, but people tell me that when he was a congressman, that he had the best constituent service of anybody they ever saw, said he was just great at it. His staff did great work. So, I guess it all depends a lot on your staff, you know, people you pick.

Hartsook: Tell me a little more about the Workman campaign now that we've talked about Floyd Spence. What do you think his chances were at the outset and what do you think his campaign meant for the Republican Party?

Ross: Well, in the first place, Workman was running against Olin D. Johnston, and God knows, Olin D. Johnston was a household word. He was a World War I veteran, wounded during the war. He had all the attributes. He was a governor, if you remember the old highway episode, he was involved with that. And, of course, he became a hero to a lot of people. Of course, he didn't to Sol and Edgar. They were on opposite sides because the legislature wound up taking a lot of the governor's powers away from the governor because of what Olin D. Johnston had done. We really

wanted to get Olin D., and Bill fit that category. He was a guy that was very popular. He was known all over the state because of his writing. He would come here to Barnwell; let's say he was going to speak at a high school at 7:00 at night. He'd come, maybe at 5:00. He and his wife always came together; I don't care where it was. He was like Marshall Parker and his wife, they always went together. Well, Bill Workman and his wife would come, and they would always ask for what I call quiet time. They would want a room, maybe at somebody's house, and they just wanted to be by themselves. What he did, he'd go into that room, he and his wife, and he would review his notes and go over whatever he was going to talk about. Maybe he'd wash his face. But he'd spend an hour or so resting. He'd always do that. Then, when he came out, he was ready to go. And boy, when he got up on the stage, he had a presence that was just there that a lot of other people didn't have. He came awful close to winning that election. I don't think we ever thought he had a real chance against Olin D., but he came awful close, for what we considered close back then, certainly. {Bill had some great people working for him -- Drake Edens, Howard Love, Gayle Averyt (Gayle raised over 1/2 million dollars in 1962; can you believe that?)

Hartsook: Did he think he had a chance?

Ross: Yes, I think he thought he had a chance. Bill was a funny sort of person. After that, he became the editor of *The State* [newspaper]. When I was state commander of the American Legion, I told people I wanted to invite Bill Workman to speak at the Legion convention, and they said, "You can't get him. We've all tried." His daddy was a great legionnaire back in the old days and Sam Latimer was the editor of *The State* newspaper. Sam was a former commander of the American Legion, things like that. So, all these old guys were all connected, a lot of them. Bill Workman, Sam Latimer, and all of them. So, I invited Bill Workman. He accepted, came to the Legion

convention and spoke. I daresay, when he worked for *The State*, he was never political. I don't believe he was ever political as a reporter. As I remember, he wasn't very political in his writings. He might comment on things, but he wasn't political as a lot of people would think of, say Bob Novak. Bob Novak, he's political, anything he writes is political, and it's the same with a lot of reporters and commentators. Bill Workman, I don't think, was that way. But I think he thought he had a good chance of winning. But he really worked hard for that thing, too.

[Tape 2, Side 1 begins]

Hartsook: People have said that his campaign created a skeleton of the statewide republican organization. Do you think that's a fair comment, that it was that important?

Ross: Yes. I think it was a rallying point. I stumbled around in politics for years not knowing where I wanted to go or what I wanted to do, and I give a lot of credit to Drake [Edens] for bringing us all together, from the earlier days to the later days. And I give Bill Workman a lot of credit and I give Floyd Spence a lot of credit. I think Charlie Boineau came along and he got elected, that was the first Republican [elected to the General Assembly since Reconstruction]. After Charlie, Floyd made that change from Democrat to Republican [Spence was the first prominent Democratic office holder to switch to the Republican Party]. I think that was a significant change because it said, hey, there is somebody got guts enough to do that. And then when you got Bill Workman. . . . I first met Bill Workman in 1946, when Sol Blatt was running for the House. There was an all day barbeque going on down here [at nearby Barnwell State Park] and Bill Workman came to cover that. I caught a ride with him to go back to the University of South Carolina and that's when I got to know him the first time. When he stepped forward and said, "I'm going to run for the United States Senate against

Olin D. Johnston, I think people came out of the woodwork. There were people who were waiting to do it.

The only Republicans in this county were blacks, in 1962. When we organized the Republican Party, we had a lot of blacks in the party who came out and became involved in the party. They were the old time blacks who only voted in the general election because they weren't allowed to vote in the Democratic primary, until they finally opened it up later on {in 1948, I believe}. We're next door to Aiken and when we organized here, I'm sure that what influenced us a lot was the fact that Aiken had a thriving Republican Party in the '50s with all the people who came in with the influx of DuPont. They all wound up, I guess a good portion of them did, in the Republican Party. [They] came from [East] Tennessee and West Virginia, north of the Mason Dixon line, seemed like they all were Republicans, at least that's all I ever heard when I was at the Savannah River Plant. So, I'm sure that influenced a lot of us. But the people who put the organization together in the county for Bill Workman was me, Willie Jenkins, who was a farmer and who I give a great deal of credit to for the party in Barnwell County. He was the chairman for several years. Willie was probably part of the establishment with Blatt and Brown. His wife, especially, was right in the mix with that crowd. Willie was a farmer and he was independent, he was a Clemson graduate and he did a great job. It took a lot of guts for him to be a Republican. It didn't take a lot of guts for me to be a Republican because I worked for DuPont, and working for DuPont, there was no way that Blatt or Brown could do anything to me. Willie was a little different, and I always gave him a lot of credit because I said it takes a lot of guts to be a Republican in this county. A lot of people just wouldn't participate openly but they would slip you money and there was a lot of people out there that wanted to see things happen.

Incidentally, I was in Blackville one day and went to a fellow named Mr. [Heini] Fulmer, and I said, "Mr. Fulmer, you going to do me a favor and vote for Spence and Workman?" He said, "I'm

going to vote for Spence, Dan. I'd do anything in the world for you, but I can't vote for Workman."

I said, "Do you mind telling me why you can't vote for Workman?" He said, "Olin D. Johnston gave us a three-dollar license plate." [That was one of Johnston's priorities as governor.] And, I never forgot that, but one thing, Olin D. Johnston gave him the three-dollar license plate and he said, "I'm voting for Olin D.," and that's the reason he voted.

Hartsook: I had someone tell me the other day that they felt that no one made their vote based on one issue, and that's wrong.

Ross: Yes. A lot of people do [cast their vote based] on one issue, and it might be a favor, it might be whatever it was, a lot of times it's one issue. Let me mention something else. I'm going to give credit to Floyd Spence for, something he taught me the year he ran for Congress. We were down here in the lower part of the county in a place called Double Ponds, just a few miles over here. And we ran into a man named Winton Jones. He was a rural mail carrier. Winton Jones was an old line Democrat, tough, and he controlled about fourteen or fifteen votes. When we saw him, Floyd said, "How about that fellow there?" I told him that was Winton Jones. "He's a Democrat. You can't crack him. He only controls about fourteen or fifteen votes. It's a waste of time to talk to him." I'll never forget what Floyd said. He said, "I want to talk to him. He's got fifteen votes." And he went over and spent thirty minutes talking to that old fellow. I learned a great lesson. Mr. Jones came by to see me the very next day at my house, and he said, "I'm not going to vote for that young man but I want to tell you he's a fine young man." I learned right then, you don't ever turn your back on anybody. You just don't automatically assume that they're not going to vote.

The Silver Elephant membership of the Republican Party is \$120 a year. John Courson, who used to be the money man for the Party, used to come down here a lot, and he and I would go to

several of these counties and collect money from people. I knew everybody in all of these counties, Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell. John and I would go and collect money from people. One of the things we did, oftentimes, we'd hit Democrats head up, and we knew they were Democrats, I knew they were, but I'd go in. John convinced me of that. He'd say, "Go to the Democrat. Don't care who it is, go to them." I learned that people like to be asked for money. I was amazed at that. I would have a Democrat that maybe would give me \$120. But then again, I would maybe get a Democrat that would tell me they really truly appreciated my coming by to see them and they were not going to give me anything now but maybe a little later on, or something like that.

But what I'm saying is, from those early days, and I tell John Courson this a lot of times now, when we used to collect money, I learned from Floyd Spence and John Courson and those guys, "I don't ever see a Democrat, I always see a potential Republican." That became my philosophy. When I was state chairman, I used to go up to York County, there was a hangout up there, Florence County is the same thing, there's always a place where politicians hang out. But I used to go to York County and Rock Hill and I'd stop by this filling station, and I knew all these Democrats would be there. I'd go in there, and Connie Morton, who was a University of South Carolina graduate, was sitting right in the middle of them, who lived in old tenement [number] ten when I was a freshman {Connie was in Ten. 10 with me when I was a freshman}. Connie'd introduce me to all these Democrats and he would always tell them, "He's a Republican." We'd talk and talk and talk and talk. And, every time I'd go to York County, I'd go by there to see them and talk to them. Ten to fifteen years later, I'll bet everybody in that crowd was voting Republican, not because of me, now, but because as you ask the question later on [narrators are supplied with a list of questions to be put to them during these interviews], was it inevitable that we [the state] were going to become Republican? I think it was inevitable. I think we started that movement that way and I think it just had to come.

Hartsook: When you'd go into that gas station and see that crowd, what kinds of things did you want them to be thinking about? I'm sure you must have had three or four things you would bring up constantly.

Ross: I didn't try to convince them to be Republicans. I didn't try to do that. But I'd stand my ground. If questions came up or somebody said something about Strom or somebody, I'd stand my ground. I'm not sure that I went in there with any philosophy, as such, as to what I was going to do or say, but I did a lot of listening. I told a lot of stories that I'd heard, and they told me a lot. In fact, I learned some great stories in those places. You could tell the difference as I went back, year after year. I could tell the difference, all over the state, that people were slowly changing. Drake and I were probably closer together than any two people in the party, and we used to just talk about things, about philosophies. We used to talk about, "Could you ever think we would spend as much money as Nixon was spending." I mean, that was entirely opposite to what we had believed in. Nixon was spending all that money, in part, because Lyndon Johnson had put in the Great Society program. But we thought Republicans ought to be non-spenders, that was our thinking. Things were changing. It was always changing. It was going to change, it had to change, and I think people just felt it.

Hartsook: When you first started getting active, that would have been 1960 with the Nixon campaign, can you tell me just a little bit about what the Republican Party was like statewide?

Ross: My only exposure before 1962 and 1964 to the GOP was through friends (Bill Reinig and Harber McClearn) in Aiken. After I became active in the Republican Party, Mr. Bates of

Orangeburg, who along with 'Duck' Wannamaker of Orangeburg, were sort of transitional Republicans (the bridge) between the old crowd (a few South Carolinians and a lot of rich Yankees that spent winters in S.C.) and the new crowd (loads of South Carolinians like Floyd, Drake, me, etc.). Mr. Bates used to tell me what it was like in the 1940s + '50s -- anyone that wanted to be a postmaster, there was a set donation that had to be made, depending on the size of the P.O.

I became a real member of the party in 1964, because I think that was the first year we organized. '62, we really didn't organize in the sense that we established a precinct, but in '64, we established precincts for the first time. As I said, before that, I was probably on the fringes of the Republican Party, but not actually involved. In '64, even after we organized and would meet in the old Jefferson Hotel in Columbia, there was a very small body of people in the Republican Party. Many, many counties were not organized, not in those years. Many, many counties. In fact, I'll tell you a little bit more about that in a minute.

Most of the political activity, if any, was in Aiken County [and] Charleston County with Arthur Ravenel as sort of the focal point, and probably Jim Edwards and John Bourne a little later on, but Arthur early on in Charleston County. There was very little in the upstate at all, very little going on (except Roger Milliken and Hal Byrd in Spartanburg). But here in Barnwell County, I think we were the exception to the rural counties, and I think the reason was because of the influx of people that came here with the Savannah River Plant. And the fact that we worked at Savannah River Plant had a great influence on us here in Barnwell County. And I mention Barnwell County as a rural county because in Barnwell County the power structure never messed with us as long as we didn't mess with them. In other words, don't run anybody locally. You can do all the campaign work you want for Workman, for Joe Rogers, or Marshall Parker, but just don't mess with us. And that was sort of the message. And so we didn't. Now, in Aiken County, they were running candidates. We were not running candidates back in those days.

But as I said, 1964 was a new day on the horizon as far as we were concerned. As I said, when we met up in Columbia, it was a very small crowd (but from all over the state), there wasn't many people involved, just wasn't much going on in those early days. (But there was great spirit and a lot of energy expended, especially under Drake's leadership.) In 1964, we carried this county for Goldwater, we carried it for Workman in '62, Goldwater in '64, Marshall Parker and Albert Watson ran, we carried it for Albert Watson every time he ran. We carried it for Marshall Parker. Joe Rogers carried four counties in South Carolina when he ran for governor in '66 and Barnwell County was one of the counties he carried. Bob McNair, to this day, if I see Bob McNair on the street in Columbia, he will say to me, "I ain't forgot." Joe Rogers ran against him. He was a next door neighbor in Allendale and we carried this county against him. He always reminds me of the fact that he's never forgotten that we carried this county against him, which against the neighbor was tough. But we worked awfully hard.

When Strom became a Republican, Strom would come to this county and he'd spend all day with me, or Willie Jenkins, the two of us maybe. And he'd go over this county from end to end. We'd meet everybody in the county, 20,000 people, and we probably met a third of them, just shaking hands. Every little village. But that's the way politics was done back then, in the '60s. (I have a great picture of Strom and Willie Jenkins with Mr. Gunnells standing on the porch of Mr. Gunnells' home. I made copies of it and gave one to Strom, Willie and Mr. Gunnells at a rally we held in Barnwell with 800 people in 1994. Jim Brown, the soul singer, was there.) Just go out and meet people. {The use of energy!} But it was a big help to us, Strom especially, when he converted over and came into the party. He and Albert both. And the fact that they would come to the county and spend that time with us really made things happen for us in the county.

Hartsook: Let's talk a little bit about candidate recruiting. Can you talk a little bit about that? I was going to ask you about the work of the [party] chairman in recruiting candidates but you played a role earlier than that. You all got some pretty impressive people to change parties. Marshall Parker, I think that shocked everybody when he changed parties.

Ross: I don't want to take credit for something I didn't do, but I was always involved in candidate recruitment. A lot of times, especially when I was state chairman, I'd work through my district chairman and my county chairman, a lot. I would tell them, "If you get a potential candidate, you let me know about it. And I'll be there." Even before I became chairman, I was very active in the party. I worked for Ray Harris and Ken Powell. I put on training sessions all over the state.

Hartsook: Training people in organization. . . ?

Ross: In politics. Organization. In fact, Lee Atwater told me, in his later years, he told me one day, "Dan. Do you know how I got started in politics?" I said, "No." He said, "The night you gave that training session in Greenwood in 1972. From that night I wanted to be involved in politics."

Hartsook: What would a session be like? Would it be one or two hours. . . ?

Ross: Nixon, when he was president, had a program that was designed for organizational politics. It came out of the national [party], it wasn't a local thing. {It was called Mission 70s.} They handed down the manual and everything. Ken Powell sent me to a training class and they had this manual and what we would do is go in and hold a two-hour session. It sort of hit the highlights. You could go into more detail, but a lot of times we tried to do a two-hour program because that was generally

what people would respond to. If they wanted a more detailed program, we'd go back and give them more. I went to precincts, I went to counties, I went everywhere in this state, just about, in those early days.

Hartsook: What kind of crowds would you get?

Ross: We'd get real good crowds, real good turnouts. I remember the thing that Atwater was talking about in Greenwood. We had a room full of people that night, that's why I didn't know him.

Hartsook: Thirty people?

Ross: Yes, thirty or forty people. These last two or three years have been bad years in South Carolina, as far as I'm concerned. But the enthusiasm that you had in those '60s and '70s was tremendous. It was tremendous. There wasn't a lot going on when we started, and there wasn't a lot of counties organized, but there were people waiting to be organized. I organized the entire state {in 1972, the first time} all forty-six counties {were organized}. I did that when Ken Powell was chairman. That was part of my job, working with Ken Powell as a volunteer. I made sure that every county was organized. Then, by the time I got to be chairman, some of those counties had fallen by the wayside and were no longer organized. That was one of my goals when I became chairman, was to go in and organize those counties again. I always felt it was just mandatory that you have all counties organized. {I always, also, tried to convince county chairmen to organize all precincts.}

One of the things that I learned early on was that people in Aiken County started to win an election here and an election there. And H.A. "Mac" McClearen, who lives over in Aiken, is a good friend of mine, in fact, he's the one that assembled all this information I'm going to give you from

Aiken County. Mac McClearen told me one day, he said, “You know, what we’ve learned in Aiken County is that once we learned how to control the polling places, how to protect the ballot, we learned how to win.” And that stuck with me all my political days. When you learn how to protect the ballot, you learn how to win. In training, that was one of the things I always emphasized, how important it was to have a precinct organized. And, whether you did it with volunteers or whether you did it with paid people, that you had to protect that ballot; that was the sole purpose. There used to be an old saying in the Republican Party that if we were running for statewide office, say Joe Rogers in 1966, that we had to win by thirty to fifty thousand votes to be able to break even. It wasn’t always being crooked, I mean it wasn’t dishonest, it wasn’t good, but let me tell you [about] politics in this county right here, just as an example. Reedy Branch right over here, six or seven miles, if I went down to Reedy Branch, there was my daddy’s first cousin standing there at the polling place. He’d vote everybody that came in the polling place. They didn’t vote, he voted them. I’d go down to Oak Grove, same thing.

I was there in Oak Grove when Jim Edwards ran for governor and the primary was going on. All these old Democrats were sitting around and they’d say, “Hey Dan, why don’t you call and get somebody to vote for Jim Edwards?” I’d say, “Well, I’m not going to do much today, I’ll just wait until the general election.” “Well, we’ll be on your side in general election.” I’d say, “What do you mean you’ll be on my side?” “Well, our man is Earle Morris and he’s not going to win today and Jim Edwards will probably win and we’re going to be for him.” Well, in the first place, I didn’t know whether Jim Edwards was going to be the winner or not [the 1984 Republican primary pitted Edwards against the favorite, retired general, William C. Westmoreland]. And in the second place, I didn’t know that Earle Morris was going to lose. [Morris was then Lt. Governor. “Pug” Ravenel actually won the primary, but later was ruled ineligible. Ultimately, Edwards defeated Bryan Dorn in the general election.] But they did. They felt like Earle would lose. And lo and behold, that

happened. They told me when the election was over they would be for Jim Edwards. The 28 votes at Oak Grove, Jim Edwards got every one of them. That's the way they delivered the ballot. People didn't vote there. If old man Walker out at Healing Springs went into the polling place and said, "Give me a ballot." They gave him a ballot. They knew better than to try to tell Mr. Walker how to vote, or my dad, or somebody like that. But let me tell you, most people didn't vote that way. They went in and they depended on the political people who were there to cast their ballots for them. And so, the ballots went the way Sol and Edgar wanted it. That's the way it went. And what we had to do was come in and say we're going to straighten that mess out, and we did. We put people in the polling places and said, "Hey, you're going to have to vote. You're going to have to cast your own ballot. So there was a lot of that; not dishonest but just the way it was.

An example of my home precinct in Blackville in 1986, Carroll Campbell was running for Governor. He had made five trips to Barnwell County, unusual for a rural county, because he wanted to carry some rural counties and I wanted to help him do so. Thus, I felt we had to do something about Blackville so I recruited my daughter and several ladies that worked at DSS with her, plus a longtime supporter, Myrtle Quattlebaum. I put in several hours training all except Myrtle. She knew the score. On election day we went in as poll watchers. I knew everyone on the polls. There was a young black lady hauling black voters in a van. She would come in with all the voters' voter registration cards in her hand and give them to the poll manager, who would check them in. Then, after check-in, the van driver would go in, behind the tables, with the voters and help them with their ballots. We protested every one of these voters and had the poll manager place them in individual envelopes. The poll managers weren't crooked, they were just doing what had always been done. It took us several hours, continually having votes placed in envelopes and [the poll managers] receiving threats from the Election Commission chairman before we stopped it. At 7:00 p.m., the white poll managers commented on the length of the day and their tiredness, they were

mostly old folks, and went home. In walks George Green, later a member of County Council, and he took over the vote counting. My girls and I kept them there until three in the morning making sure each vote was counted, and then escorted the boxes to the courthouse. Campbell didn't win those precincts but he got an honest count and a pretty honest vote, once we brought the poll managers in line.

But coming back to recruiting, when I recruited, especially when I was state chairman, we knew we could win in Charleston, Aiken, Columbia, Greenville. We didn't win in Spartanburg because they never ran anybody. We didn't win much down say in Florence, because they didn't run a lot of people. But Charleston was successful. Columbia became successful because Joyce Hearn, who was my chairman when I was district chairman, she and Safko, you know a fellow named Safko that teaches astronomy at Carolina, well, Safko and Joyce Hearn and I met one day in a restaurant and I said, "Hey, I want you to recruit people to run for the House." They said, "God, you're asking a lot." And I said, "Well, please, let's do it." So they recruited a bunch of people and we won seven seats in the legislature. I'll never forget how happy we were to win those seven seats. But you've got to run people to be able to win. You can't win without running people. That sounds so silly but that's the way politics is. So we knew we could win in Greenville and Columbia and those places. What we wanted to do was to split it up and say, hey, lets go to another level, just like in football. Let's win in the bedroom counties adjacent to the metropolitan counties. In other words, let's win in Berkeley County, Dorchester County, or Pickens County. So what I did when I was chairman, I really concentrate on getting one person in Berkeley County, or Dorchester County, say Don Handlesman [in Dorchester] or Rush up in Pickens County. These were break through elections. I got one guy and said, "Man, if you'll run, we'll help you. You just run. We want you to run to show people that Republicans can get a vote. And lo and behold, in most of those cases, we won.

I was sitting in Columbia one night and John Courson came by and I said, "There's a special election in Georgetown and man, I'd really like to get a candidate in Georgetown. I know our chances of winning there are not very good, but it's a special election and we're good at special elections." He said, "I know a fellow down there," and gave me the name of the fellow [Joe Young]. I said, "Well, hell, let's call him." We called him on the phone. He ran and we won. He was the first representative we ever had from Georgetown County. So that's what we tried to do. We said, "Hey, we know we can win here but we want to win over here." We didn't mess with the rural counties very much. It was only later in my term in, 1979, I went out in 1980, in 1979 a fellow named Archie McIntyre, an alcoholic, ran a hardware store in Marion, South Carolina, called me up one night and said, "Dan, I've got three people who want to run for County Council on the Republican Party." I said, "You got to be kidding." I thought he was drunk. I really thought he was drunk. I said, "Archie, you drinking?" He said, "Nope. I'm sober as a judge. I swear I am, Dan." I said, "Can you get the three people together." He said, "Yeah." So, Wayne Adams and I went to Marion, went down there, and my God, he had Louise Chisolm, wife of a doctor, Wayne Taylor, a Citadel graduate, and a black guy who was the principal of the school [Willie Boykin].

[Tape 2, Side 2 begins]

We sat with them and told them, "If you run, we'll handle your campaign. We'll do this, we'll furnish everything, but we really want you to campaign together, so forth and so on." So, we laid it all out and they agreed to do it. David Wright, who was in the legislature for a number of years and lost out several years ago in Lexington County, David Wright was my publicity man for the Party and so we sent him down there to run the campaign. I was up in Minnesota in 1979 and I called down to Marion and said, "How are we doing." He said, "We're going to win two out of

three.” I said, “You’ve got to be kidding.” He said, “No, now, we’re going to win those two. The third one, Wayne Taylor, he’s going to lose because he hasn’t been here to campaign. He’s been on the road. He’s a salesman.” Sure enough, those two led the ticket, the black guy and the white lady.

And Willie Boykin was the first black elected in modern Republican history and stayed there for a number of years as a city councilman and spent years on the state Republican Executive Committee. But that was the first entry into the rural areas.

We didn’t really go into the rural areas to a much deeper extent until Carroll Campbell came along and Carroll wanted to go into the rural areas. He wanted to really win, say, in Barnwell County. He called me first thing and said, “What do I do to win Barnwell and Bamberg, and so forth and so on.” I said, “Well, the first thing you do, for Barnwell, is you visit old man Blatt.” And that’s what he did. He came down and made a special trip to Blatt. He and Blatt had their picture taken together, and that was it.

Hartsook: Was that Blatt offering his tacit support to Campbell?

Ross: Well, Mr. Sol, in his later years, he became more and more where he’d support people like Thurmond openly, and people like that. He never was a Democrat, say, that Edgar Brown was. Edgar Brown was a staunch Democrat, was executive committeeman for the state of South Carolina for thirty or forty years. He knew every president from Roosevelt on. Edgar was a real staunch party man. Sol never was that way.

Hartsook: Was there truly a split between people in the party as to whether you organize from the top down or the bottom up?

Ross: I'm not sure there was a split. I think when I came into the party in the early '60s, and that's when I really came in, it seemed like everybody was running from the top down. It was very little local activity, that was, to run somebody locally, except maybe Aiken and Charleston. Arthur Ravenel learned to endorse the primary because Aiken had primaries. Aiken was the first place to hold Republican primaries. Arthur became an advocate and he's the one that convinced me to be a primary man. Arthur, in his younger days, believe it or not, was really kind of leaning toward running for governor, back in the '60s. He never quite did it, and mainly because Arthur was thought of, sort of, as being too liberal in those days, believe it or not. Also, because the Party nominated by convention, they wouldn't allow a primary until Jim Edwards came along in 1974. Arthur [Ravenel] would have run, I believe, if there had been a primary in 1970.

I don't think there was a split in the party in the sense of whether you run from the top down or bottom up. I think everybody wanted to run somebody for governor, because that's why Joe Rogers ran and then Albert Watson ran. Seemed like everybody was running for governor, except in certain cases. But there was a split in the party between what I call liberals and conservatives. Jim Edwards is a conservative. Jim Harrison, in the Legislature, his dad over in Greenwood County was what I call a liberal. In 1970, I was a campaign manager for Jim Henderson; his supporters were the "party liberals."

When it really came home to me was in two different years. In 1972, I handled Jim Henderson's campaign for lieutenant governor. Albert Watson asked me to take on that job and I took it on. I took a seven months' leave of absence and I handled that campaign. The people that I recruited to Jim Henderson, reacting to the way Jim Henderson spoke and talked, were the liberal elements of the Party. In 1974, when I handled Jim Edwards' campaign, the conservatives were the ones that came into the party, came to me. Entirely different group of people. In Charleston County,

Jim Edwards was a conservative, Arthur Ravenel was a liberal, that's the way it split, right down the middle. And it was that way all over the state.

One thing I wanted to tell you about the recruiting, what we did when we recruited people, especially when I was chairman was, I learned early on that you could give a token gift to a candidate and it meant all the difference in the world. If he got \$50 or \$100 from the state party, it was just like giving them manna from Heaven. He felt like somebody cared. But if you left him out there alone and you didn't make any offer to help him, then he wasn't very successful or happy. But we learned that early on, and so we made that a point of trying to give our candidates a small token. We didn't have a lot of money but we would give them a small gift of some sort. In my later years as chairman, I had a young fellow, Guy Castles, a Carolina graduate, he's now a doctor in Columbia, he ran a printing press we had in the headquarters. In the early days we printed all the literature for every candidate that ran, just about. We did that free. That was a big help to those candidates who ran. In some special elections, we spent a lot of money on a candidate. For instance, up in Greenville County when Carroll Campbell went to Congress and his Senate seat was left open, I wanted to be sure we won that seat, and so I spent about \$10,000 of party money on that race. That was a lot of money in the '70s.

The fellow that won was an old line Republican named Richardson, and later on, when he was having to run for reelection, I was out recruiting people to run for the Senate and he got all over me, he really lit into me, because I was recruiting Republicans to run against his good friend who was a Democrat in the Senate. He really lit into me and I had spent \$10,000 on him getting elected. And you learn something else, that people get into that environment, the legislature, and they become sort of meshed together and they become buddy buddies. They really don't want to see you disturb the status quo. I got so upset about it, I called a fellow up in Greenville, Archie Stubbs, and I said, "Archie, Richardson had done so and so, and so and so, and I'm just wondering if you could

find some opposition for him in a primary. Archie said, "Oh, yes." David Thomas ran against him and beat him and he's been in the Senate ever since. Archie Stubbs went out and helped recruit David Thomas.

Hartsook: How did that make you feel? You had spent all that money and then you're bouncing him out of . . .?

Ross: I guess what upset me so much was he getting on me about me recruiting people, which was part of my job, to recruit people to run for office.

Hartsook: How important a part of your job was that?

Ross: That was a big part of my job. I'd say with Henry McMaster, the biggest part of his job as chairman is raising money. That was never my biggest emphasis. My biggest job was getting candidates. We ran a lot of blacks for office back when I was chairman. We really worked hard at recruiting blacks and getting them to run. And we learned something there. We learned that if I had a black, like Willie Boykin down in Marion, that had a white clientele or constituents, that he could be win but he couldn't be win in a black community as a black Republican. We ran a House member here in Barnwell County about four years ago. An excellent candidate. Very articulate, and everybody liked him, he was well known in this area. Lo and behold, he announced as a Republican, and that was it. White people voted for him, blacks wouldn't vote for him. Because he was a Republican. You just can't get beyond it, it's impossible. I don't understand it.

I do understand it. And this is one of the things that Drake Edens and I used to talk about, and worry about, in the early '70s. When I said it was inevitable that we would become a

Republican state, Drake and I saw early on that it would become black and white parties. In other words, the Democratic Party was going to be the black party, the white party was going to be the Republican Party, and that's pretty well what it is. I was talking to a fellow yesterday in Barnwell at lunch and he asked me a question about parties. I responded and I said something about it has gone into a black and white situation, and he said yes, the Democratic Party is about 90 percent black. He was talking about locally. If you have a picture in the paper in Barnwell County of a Democratic function, it will be almost solid black. Very few whites there. And that's true in a lot of the parts of this state and it's unfortunate. But that's one reason I spent so much time, there were other reasons why I did it, too, but one of the reasons that I did that [recruit black candidates] was because, like Drake and I used to talk about it happening, and we really didn't want to see it happen. We wanted to split the blacks up, get some in the Republican Party, some in the Democrat. I still believe most Republicans would like to involve blacks but don't know how to accomplish it.

In 1970 when Albert Watson ran for governor, he ran a horrible campaign, I thought. He ran a bad campaign. There was a situation in Lamar, South Carolina. A bus was turned over by some white people. Albert made a big mistake and went down to Lamar. He did it to gather votes. I understand that, but he shouldn't have gone. I didn't know the complete story until several years later and I went to a conference in Sewanee, Tennessee. Ray Humphries, who was a great consultant in the Republican Party and used to hold lectures and seminars all over the United States and I attended the first one in the middle 1960s in South Carolina, said he wanted to have dinner with me. John Courson and I went together. So we had dinner together and he said, "What happened in the Watson campaign?" I told him what I thought happened. Then he filled me in from his side of it. He said, "I wrote the plan for that campaign. I was supposed to be the consultant. But they took the plan, but they never responded and I never was hired." I said, "Well, I can fill you in on that aspect of it." So I told him what happened. I said, "When I went to Watson's campaign

headquarters,” on the first day I was there [May, 1970], Hastings Wyman, one of Strom Thurmond’s men and the campaign manager for Albert, was there. Hastings was originally from Aiken. His mother was National Executive Committeewoman for several years. Strom had let him come down and serve as campaign manager for Albert. Hastings Wyman told me, in no uncertain terms, said, “Dan, we’re going to run a racist campaign.” I said, “You’ve got to be kidding.” He said, “Yep. We’re running a racist campaign.” That’s just what he told me.

By the way, one of the guys you already interviewed is Bob Liming. Bob Liming is former press aide to Jim Edwards, both in Washington and in South Carolina. He worked for the *Columbia Record* and *The State* newspaper, one of the smartest press men I’ve ever known in my life. He can tell you so much about politics and things, between Watson and Edwards and all those he worked for. But anyway, during the campaign, we had the ability in my Henderson campaign to track how we were going, and we found out that while Henderson was going up, Albert Watson was going down. So, Jim Henderson asked me to contact Watson and, “Let’s have a meeting.” We met at the Columbia GOP headquarters. I talked to Rusty DePass the other night on the telephone and he said, “Dan, I remember that meeting. I came in the meeting while you all were having it, at state headquarters. Albert was there, Jim Henderson, and myself. Jim Henderson had delegated me to do the talking. So I had to stand up and tell Albert Watson, who was a close friend and had made me the chairman of the district for eight cotton-picking years while he was at Congress. So, I had to stand up and say, Albert, you know you’re losing this governor’s race and we’re going up, but we understand, being a Republican lieutenant governor candidate, we can’t win without you winning. You’ve got to win for us to win.” Peeler was an exception [Republicans have the advantage]. I’ve never seen anything like that, Peeler winning when the governor lost. But anyway, at that time, we thought we had to win the governorship for the lieutenant governor to win. Anyway, B.C. Inabinet was in the meeting. A Clemson graduate, B.C. was a finance man, owned a chemical company in

Columbia, very smart. B.C. stood up and said, "Dan, that's the biggest bunch of crap I ever heard, Albert's got it made, he's going to win." I said, "No, he's losing. I'm telling you, he's losing." Just about that time, Bob Liming got a phone call. He came back and he said, "That was *The State* newspaper. They wanted to know about some of our staff members, the Watson staff members, in a hassle over at the A.C. Flora High School." What happened was two guys, Arch Wilder and I can't think of the other guy [Lake High] but he lives in Winnsboro, went to A.C. Flora. And what essentially happened, was a riot started between the students, and about the campaign, and Albert got the blame for it because it was his staff members. Well, by the time we found out who it was, Bob Liming and I said, "Albert, you've got to fire those guys." And in walks Albert Watson's brother, Claude Watson, tears streaming down his face. He said, "Albert if you don't fire those sons of bitches, I'm quitting the campaign." That's just what he said. Very religious people, the Watsons, but that's what he said, son of a bitch. He said, "If you don't fire them, I'm going to quit." Anyway, Albert wouldn't do it. He didn't fire them. He was, at times, too loyal.

The Lamar incident, the ad which they ran and which I was against from the very beginning, and some other people were against it too but they wouldn't speak up, and the A.C. Flora incident, killed Albert Watson. It just literally killed him and he lost the governorship. It wasn't just one of those incidents, it was all of them. Bill Workman wrote an editorial which really didn't do Albert any good, and I don't blame Bill for writing it. He laid it out; it was a very significant editorial.

Hartsook: I've always thought that John West's campaign slogan, "elect a good man governor," was just a real interesting choice.

Ross: It turned out to be an excellent choice. I'm not sure how good it was in the beginning, but maybe he saw things we didn't see. Albert went to Lamar early on and so that was probably why John picked that slogan.

When Jim Edwards ran for governor, one of the first things I told Jim Edwards was, "You've got to campaign for the black vote." He said, "Why, we're not going to get them." I said it didn't make any difference, "There's a great clientele out there that will vote against you if they think you're anti-black. For instance, Shandon, Kathwood section of Columbia, places where people, upper-middle class, the economic conservatives but maybe social liberals [live]. If they think you're anti-black, they're not going to vote for you. That's the way they felt about Albert Watson. When Albert Watson was running, I knew a lot of those people in those areas, Kathwood and all those areas, and those people would tell me, "Albert Watson is wrong, he's running a bad campaign." He's this, he's that. Two, three years later, the same people would tell me that Albert Watson was entirely right in the campaign he ran. The reason was, two years later there was integration. There wasn't much integration at the time, and this is what I tried to tell Hastings Wyman. "Hastings, you're on the wrong track with this race you're going to run," because total integration hadn't happened yet, it hadn't come home to people. Two years later, by 1972, integration was full grown. But in 1970, it wasn't.

Hartsook: You talked about offering money, and how that's universally important, even if it's a modest sum. What other support does the Party, especially like when you were chair, did you offer the candidate?

Ross: We'll use Strom Thurmond as an example. What we did with Strom was, when he ran against Ravenel, we did a seventy-five-page manual on "Pug" Ravenel of what we called opposition

research. In other words, if Ravenel had ever blown his nose, we almost had it in that manual for Strom. He could go through that book and see the whole thing and that's one thing we did. When I was at Five Points, we had a printing press and we did printing for all of our candidates. We printed up their bulletins, their flyers, their mail outs, that sort of thing. We provided a mail service for them. If they wanted to let us mail it out from Columbia, since we had a permit, we would mail it out and sometimes at our expense, sometimes at their expense, but it was a lot cheaper because we had the permit and everything. So we did all sorts of things like that to try to help them. In 1979, when I was recruiting people for Congress, I knew it was going to be a great year, 1980. It was no doubt in my mind. The reason I knew that was because, in my mind at least, I was a Reagan man. In 1976, I had been openly for Reagan and I said I'll never make that mistake again because what I did was irritate a lot of people by being for Reagan when a lot of people out there were for Ford, an incumbent president. So you see, here I am the chairman, and I was publicly for Reagan, in 1976. I said I will not make that mistake again. So in 1979, I was very much a Reagan man but I kept it to myself and I never let anybody know it. But the reason I had a presidential primary was because Jim Edwards, I knew was going to renege from Reagan, he wasn't going to be for him any longer. He was mad with Sears who was campaign manager for Reagan in those early days, and he just walked away from Reagan, and he went with [John] Connally, he and Strom. So I said to myself, there is no way I can beat Strom and Edwards in a convention, but in a primary we can beat them. First, we went to Charleston. Bob Liming, Rusty DePass, Ken Powell, and myself. And, we went down to Charleston and we had a meeting with Jim Edwards and we begged him to be for Reagan. They wanted him to be the chairman of that campaign in South Carolina and he said, "I'm not going to do it." We said, "Well, you're going to get the tar beat out of you if you don't. Reagan's going to win South Carolina." He said, "No, Connally is going to win." So we begged him, and he turned us down and we left. When he wouldn't accept the chairmanship, that left an opening and that's how

Carroll Campbell got in. Carroll Campbell really promoted himself for that job and he got the job as chairman for Reagan. And, in his position, I would have done the same. We ran that presidential primary and Reagan won.

To come back to what I was talking about, I was recruiting candidates. Floyd Spence was already in office. Carroll Campbell was in office. And, let me go back a minute. In 1976, Bobby Richardson ran for Congress in the 5th District, which was the worst district we had. I told Bobby, "If you'll get this number of votes, you'll win." He got more than what I told him, but we lost by less than one percent because [presidential candidate Jimmy] Carter swept everything and he swept Bobby right out. We would have won that seat if it hadn't been for Carter. In 1980, I would have liked to have Bobby run again but he wouldn't run. I think he got turned off on politics. In 1980, I went down to see John Napier and then I went to see Ed Young. I said, "Ed, do me a favor. I know I've asked you a lot of favors but I want to ask you one more time. Run for Congress against John Napier." He said, "Do you really want me to?" I said, "Yes. We need a primary." And he said, "All right, I'll do it."

Hartsook: How did you pick those people?

Ross: Either somebody contacted me or what have you. I knew Ed Young from years back. He was very active in the Party. In fact, he had been in the Congress as a Republican and had served one term. Ed was the kind of guy...he'd do anything for the Party. I got him to run for governor when he shouldn't have run. I got him to run against Raymond Finch because I wanted to see a primary and he ran. He did it. He wanted to win, but at the same time he would do it because you asked him.

Hartsook: And the primary was party building, right? To get people excited.

Ross: Yes, it was all geared toward building the Party, if nothing else, to get a list of names. See? To get names.

Hartsook: Explain that for me.

Ross: When Jim Edwards ran, I went to every county, like Aiken County, Greenville County, wherever there had ever been a primary, and we got the names they had on their mailing lists. We then had all the precinct people from all over the state where we had organized the Party. When we got through, we had a total of about 25,000 names, but that's all we had in the state of South Carolina. When Jim Edwards and Westmoreland ran against each other, we realized right away that Republicans weren't going to be everywhere; they were going to be in certain counties. So with Jim Edwards, we concentrated on nine counties. Westmoreland ran statewide. If I called up Berkeley County and they had a sheriff's election going on, Democratic primary, I wasn't going to touch that county. We wouldn't even go in that county. Why go in there, nobody's going to vote. They're going to vote for the sheriff, that's the most important election. So that's what we did, we ignored those counties.

[Tape 3, Side 1 begins]

When the race was over between Edwards and Westmoreland, we now had a list of 35,000 names that voted in that primary, if I remember correctly. In 1980, when I held the first presidential primary, the press was always on my back, "How many people are going to vote, Dan." I said,

“Man, I don’t have the slightest idea, but I’m hoping we’ll get fifty [or] sixty thousand.” We got seventy-some odd thousand. Last year, Henry McMaster stood up in the executive committee meeting and said, “Dan Ross, can you ever believe that we’ve got half a million names now?” That’s what it means. Those become your potential for money, candidates, all of those things. So what you’re trying to do is build a list of names for yourself, build up that name list.

Hartsook: And that name list is much more important than the people that aren’t active in party organization would ever consider it to be?

Ross: That’s right. Names are everything. So, that’s what we did. We just built it up gradually so we now have a half million names. This last primary just turned them out. But I got Napier and Tommy Hartnett, and a fellow named Moore to run in Charleston against Tommy. I told Tommy up front, “Now, Tommy, we’re going to have a primary.” And he said, “Fine.” The other thing I want to tell you a little bit about [is] Lynn Nofziger, who is a Reagan man from California. Lynn Nofziger and I became very good friends over the years before Reagan became president.

Lynn Nofziger knew more about South Carolina than I knew about South Carolina. He said, “You’ve got 60,000 voting Catholics in South Carolina, why don’t you work on those?” I said, “Man, I don’t ever go out and ask people, ‘Vote for me because you’re a Catholic or a Jew,’ or whatever it is.” It was like hauling voters to the poll, I sort of looked down on that. But he convinced me. He said, “Man, look at it, you’ve got a big Jewish clientele in Columbia and Charleston. You’ve got this, you’ve got that.” Of course, we were already working for blacks. So what I did, I went to the executive director of the Jewish community in Columbia and sat down with him and I said, “I’m here to recruit people for the Republican Party.” He said, “I wondered where you’ve been. We’ve got people who want to be in the Party but nobody ever asked them.” Sure

enough, we began to get a lot of people. In fact, when we had the Kissinger dinner in Columbia for Strom on his birthday, I went out and recruited a Democrat, David Baker, one of the big finance people in Columbia, and got him to be the chairman for that dinner. You know, get him involved. Since then, David Baker has supported some Republicans. He told me when I recruited him, he said, "Dan, I'm a Democrat." I said, "Well, I know that, but I want you to handle the Kissinger dinner." He did and later on when Strom or somebody else was running, he supported them. I said, "It's not too bad being a Republican," and laughed with him. So that's the way you do it.

Those guys I mentioned ran for Congress, and Napier, Hartnett, Campbell, and Spence won four seats and all because Reagan was on that ticket, not taking anything away from them but I'm saying that Reagan really helped. Matt Mattingly, who was my counterpart over in Georgia, the chairman of the Republican Party, ran for the Senate over there and got swept in. He became a United States senator because of Reagan. There were others I could name. You can sweep people into office and we got a lot of people swept in that night because of Reagan. [I may have this elsewhere, but I'll repeat it here. In 1978, I had thought election-wise we didn't do too well. But Bill Brock, National Chairman, invited me to Washington because we, he pointed out, won twenty-five percent of the seats in the South in 1978. Bill, in turn, targeted South Carolina for 1980. Congress and Senate. In addition, he ran ads in South Carolina for 1979 and 1980, which helped us. My mistake that year was talking Jim Edwards out of running for the Senate.]

Hartsook: Who was the most significant Democrat that you personally caused to switch parties?

Ross: I can't lay claim, on the state level, to anybody. Now, the most significant Democrat I ever tried to switch was Jim Clyburn.

Hartsook: Tell me about that.

Ross: A lot of people say I got defeated because of that, recruiting blacks. I don't believe that. I don't think that was the reason I got defeated. When I became chairman there were two problems that I ran into from the first day that I was in office, when I had my first press conference. The question I was hit with was, "How come there aren't any blacks in the Republican Party?" Number two: "How come Milliken furnishes all the money for the Party?" Both of those things were in error but it was something I had to overcome. I had some goals. One goal I had was a primary. More than anything else, I wanted to see the primaries expanded because that was party building and I knew that would give us publicity. On the local level, and this is what really brought it home to me, when we'd have a general election here in Barnwell County, Democrats would ask me, "Well Dan, why are you running, we've already had the election [the Democratic primary]?" To them the primary was the election. And so, we had to get over that hurdle, too. They might have been setting me up by asking me that question, but the fact was it made an impression on me. I said, "Hey, we've got to have a primary because we've got to get the publicity, we've got to give our people exposure and all of those things that comes with it."

Hartsook: We were talking about the obstacles....

Ross: The few blacks. I had a young executive director, Wayne Adams, a USC graduate, twenty-three years old. Everybody went crazy that I would hire somebody twenty-three years old to do the party work, but he's a very successful young advertiser right now in Columbia, Wayne Adams and Associates. I think they're the second largest advertising firm in Columbia. He became my executive director and was a darn good young man. Was a University of South Carolina graduate.

We really got the University really going with an intern program back then, and we used interns at state headquarters like they were going out of style. We had specific jobs for them. We'd bring them in and they'd do research for us, they'd do this and that, and we didn't have to pay them anything. They were interns who'd just come in and volunteer.

But anyway, we set up a program to get rid of the black question and the money question. The way we did it with the black question was I had a list of about four hundred blacks from all over the state. A lot of them were from Barnwell County. They were the old Republicans I told you about. What we would do is, every event we had in Columbia or anywhere else, I made sure I had blacks in the audience. I don't care where it was, I had blacks there. Bob Dole came to Columbia to a women's conference and at that reception that evening, I had a bunch of blacks there. And those blacks were smart. The reporters asked them why they were there and they gave all the right answers. They said, "The Republican Party is looking for blacks and we're interested. And, we're this and that." They gave all the right answers. And, a few days later *The State* newspaper wrote a big editorial about the Republican Party making progress. The *Columbia Record* wrote an editorial after we elected Willie Boykin, down there. So, the election of Willie Boykin, the fact that these blacks were always at these parties. . . .

In 1976, President Ford came to Columbia. Bob Liming called me and said, "Dan, the governor wants you to invite all the people for the reception on the State House grounds." And, I said okay. So we had a list of about five thousand party names that we would invite. My staff sent out a note real quick and we invited all these people to come to the Mansion to meet President Ford for a reception. It was the day for the Carolina-Notre Dame football game. The president, myself, and Jim Edwards all went to the football game then we left and went to the Mansion. The president went in and took a little nap. I'll tell you this because it involves an old coach of mine. He [the president] came out from his nap; he had taken a shower and put on different clothes. I told the

president there was a gentleman here who would like to say hello. I don't know whether you ever knew Ted Petosky. . .

Hartsook: Oh sure!

Ross: Did you know Ted? Well, Ted Petosky was one of my coaches at Carolina. Ted had been invited and he and Ford had been teammates at the University of Michigan. Ted was an All-American at the University of Michigan, one of their all time great football players, and Ford was the center on that team. I almost cried. They saw each other and it was like there was nobody else in the world but those two. They were hugging, and kissing and everything else. So they really enjoyed it. When that was over with, we went out where the crowd was, on the lawn, and the president was walking down the walk and Jim Edwards was a step behind and I was sort of walking along with Jim Edwards. Jim looked up and he said, "My God, where did all these blacks come from?" And I just said, "That was my mailing list. Those are my blacks." I'll never forget what he said, he said, "My God, we're on national television and we've got blacks galore. Brilliant, absolutely brilliant." I invited about four hundred blacks and I believe every one of them came. There is one thing that has happened with the last four chairmen, I like them all, they're good guys, but we've lost out on that. When I stepped out of that chairman's job, it seemed like to me what's happened is, at the state level at least, they say, "Well, there's no chance of winning that vote, no chance of getting that vote. Therefore, we give up," and [they] walked away from it. There are some efforts made on local levels to recruit blacks but there is very little, I think, done at the state level.

Hartsook: Is that one of your biggest disappointments? The failure to build on that?

Ross: Yes. When we did those things I was telling you about a while ago, we got rid of those questions on the black situation. That did it in. When we elected Willie Boykin and we got an editorial in the *Columbia Record*. When we got that article out of *The State* newspaper saying the Party was making progress in the black community at the Dole thing, people quit asking those questions. The press never asked those questions anymore because we were doing just what they were saying we weren't doing. The other thing was money.

Mr. Milliken was a great influence in the Republican Party because he owned mills all over South Carolina and everywhere there was a mill, the people in that management were the people who organized the Republican Party in that community. That was true all over the state. But they never ran anybody for office. Milliken didn't get involved. He wasn't going to irritate Sol Blatt and Edgar Brown by running people for office. Now, he'd organize a party, but his interest was national, it wasn't local, so much. He had what he wanted locally. In other words, he was on good terms with Edgar and Sol and all the rest of the politicians, like Gressette, Dennis. He had what he wanted with the Democrats so his interest was national, and he wanted to deliver the votes if he could to the national [candidates]. So his people helped organize the Party. In addition, his comptroller in those early '60s and '70s was a fellow named Hal Byrd. Hal Byrd had contacts with all the Milliken people, therefore, he could raise money. So Spartanburg County raised more money than anybody else in the state, I mean perception-wise. Let me show you a rural county. In Barnwell County we had a fellow named Ned "Rock" Jones, young fellow who I grew up with. "Rock" Jones would raise money in our county. Barnwell County was the number two county in the state raising money, not in volume but in dollars per capita. But Hal Byrd raised a lot of money and everybody [including] the press had it in their minds that it was Milliken who was contributing the money. He might have been but it was indirectly. He had nothing to do with it himself, it wasn't his money. When I

became chairman of the Republican Party, Roger Milliken gave \$1,000 to the Party, that's all he ever gave. So we said, "How do we handle this?" It was a slow process, but what we did, we went out and recruited somebody to give us more than \$1,000. The fellow gave us \$1,400, so we were in a position to say. . . . We wouldn't tell the press who gave what, but we would tell them that the largest contributor was \$1,400. Then they would say, "Well, is that Mr. Milliken?" And, we would say, "No, that's all we're going to tell you."

About that same time, I hate to tell you this, somebody in the Democratic Party gave me a listing of all the people who gave to the Democratic Party. I didn't know what money was like until I saw that list. They had contributors who gave \$5,000, \$10,000, like that. If you saw the list of names, you'd be amazed. A guy [who] wanted to be on the Department of Natural Resources, he was a contributor of \$5,000 maybe to the Party. That's the way you got to be in those positions. You made contributions to the Party. So when we got that list, I had a press conference and I brought out this list of names. The Democratic list. I said, "Hey, here's all these people, Democrats, they give \$10,000, \$5,000, lot of thousands. We've got about eight or nine givers who give \$1,000 apiece. That's the largest contributor other than the \$1,400 that we got. Our average contribution is \$19 per person." That was what it was at the time when I was chairman. I said, "Look at their average." That question disappeared and never was asked again. So what we did was just get rid of it by exposing what the Democrats were doing and then telling them what we were doing, but not telling them who gave it to us.

Hartsook: Did you solicit that list or did it come to you through...?

Ross: It came to me, voluntarily, from somebody on the other side.

Hartsook: You did not go and try to get the list?

Ross: No. I didn't try to get the list. Telling who gave money was sort of a touchy question. It was really funny, the press was on our back during the Edwards campaign to see our list of names so Bill Durham, who was Rusty DePass' brother-in-law, said, "I'll handle it." So he took this guy up to a room in an office building that he owned, and he took the press with him, he carried them up there, and I'll bet he had 10,000 receipts just scattered around on the floor, and he said, "Go ahead and look." What they wanted was a neat list of names that they could go down and see who gave. They didn't want to look through all those pieces of paper that was on the desk and floor, canceled checks or whatever they might be. So, that's the way we got away with it, he just showed them all that pile of paper and said, "There's our contributors. If you want to look through them, fine." Nobody wanted to look through them.

Hartsook: Can you comment on what you feel the historic importance is of some of these Democrats that became Republicans. We've talked a lot about Floyd Spence, is there anything more you want to say about his decision?

Ross: I give Floyd a lot of credit for the early movement or what I call the modern day Republican Party, and I started with the modern day Republican Party around the early 1960s, somewhere in there. Floyd, I give a lot of credit. I give a lot of credit to Bill Workman. Marshall Parker was one of the greatest candidates we ever had and one that we did less for than anybody. Joe Rogers ran for governor, he was a Democrat in the legislature, a very successful Democrat. But Marshall Parker was a guy that really won the hearts and souls of the Republican faithful. He and his wife Martha were just two of the greatest. We used to say they both were candidates because she

was just as great as he was. But we were always disappointed; I was, I know, that we couldn't deliver for him. We used to curse Strom with everything we had back in 1966 when he didn't endorse Marshall and we felt like if he would endorse Marshall, we had a good chance of winning, but he wouldn't do it. Of course, I understand why he didn't do it.

Hartsook: Why didn't he do it?

Ross: Strom at that time still depended on the Democrats. Let's go into Strom for a minute or two, his swing over. When Strom came to the Republican Party it was my personal feeling, and it wasn't just mine, it was others too, in fact, people I still talk to still say the same thing, Strom had no other place to go. He had to be a Republican. He couldn't be a Democrat. There's no way he could have stayed a Democrat. The reason he couldn't be a Democrat is because in the Democratic primary. . . . Let me go back and say this, I ran for the school board in the early 1960s and when I ran for the school board, I had a little mimeograph handout that I delivered to every house and I learned from Mr. Blatt that when you're in politics, you're in politics, and that means you give it everything you've got. I had four men who were on the school board to come to my house and ask me to run for the school board. I knew I had it made because they asked me to run and they would all be for me. But I had opposition and I said, "Man, I'm not going to sit here and wait for them to deliver the vote, I'm going to work at it." So I went house to house. I went to every house in the district, black and white. They didn't even know what I was handing the list out for, they didn't vote. But I handed it out to them. People asked me later, "Why in the world do you go to all these blacks' houses." I would tell them, "Well, they're not voting now but they will be the next time I run." And they were. So that's what I'm telling you about Strom. He could not go into a Democratic primary with a great body of blacks voting. He had to get out of the Democratic Party, he had no choice. So,

he had to come over to the Republican Party. We all felt that very strong. When Strom came over to the Republican Party, he came to me with baggage, in the sense that he wanted Harry Dent to be chairman. I know more about this from later years. I don't know if you ever heard of the Hamby, Graham and Bradley Advertising Agency. Bradley later quit the agency. She was Dean Bradley's [USC] daughter.

Hartsook: We interviewed Ms. Hamby.

Ross: . . . Lord, that woman. They handled my advertising for me in 1970 and I got to know them very well. They told me about Strom Thurmond and they told me about Byrnes, how Byrnes would come in with sacks of money in the paper bags when Eisenhower ran. See, Byrnes was supporting Eisenhower in 1952, and he'd come in with paper bags of money and say, "Spend this on advertising for Eisenhower." And they handled the advertising. They told me about lots of things.

My wife and I called [party chair] Drake [Edens] and asked him not to step down as chairman when Strom came in and Drake tried not to step down but the pressure was so great. Anybody would do anything to get Thurmond into the party. They thought that was a stroke of gold or whatever and, therefore, wanted to do it. Strom came with that stipulation, was that Harry Dent had to be the chairman. Drake stepped up to the national executive committeeman's job, Duck Wannamaker, of Orangeburg, stepped down [as committeeman], and Harry became the chairman. A lot of us that had been in the party didn't really like that but we weren't going to go around talking about it because we wanted Strom to be in the party, too, because it was a help. No doubt about it. I think that Strom had a lot to do with Albert Watson running the type of campaign he ran in 1970. I think what Strom was doing, and I don't know this, I'm not definite on this, but I'm saying all the evidence. . . . Hastings Wyman handling that campaign for Albert. Let's take it all the way through.

Strom really went all out for Watson in that election [a change from Parker in 1966]. That was the first time he ever went all out for a Republican candidate and then Watson lost, so what did Strom do? He said, well, the race thing didn't work, so what do we do? We got to do something different.

He appointed his first black aide plus decided to stick with the Democrats, so he went and appointed Sol Blatt, Jr., a federal judge. You see what I'm talking about? That tied him back in with the Democrats. It gave him a leverage with. . . Here's the Speaker of the House, and here's a guy with great influence, so Sol supported openly Strom after that. To take that a step further, when he appointed Sol, Jr., the FBI came and talked to me about Sol, Jr. Of course, I grew up with Sol, knew him well, we were about close to the same age. The old man had had me as a page in the legislature.

A good friend of my father and mother. So I didn't say anything against Sol. My argument was with Strom. Strom had made the statement that there were no qualified Republican lawyers. Well, I knew a lot of them, so I knew there were qualified lawyers. That was his excuse for appointing Sol, Jr. Well, we had a knockdown drag out in Columbia at the old Wade Hampton Hotel. Man, we had a ballroom full of people. And I mean we had a knockdown, drag out. Ford McKiever, who was a pathologist from Charleston, Dr. Ford McKiever. He and Strom went at it and we really had to pull them apart, they went almost to blows, it was that bad, and all about that Sol Blatt, Jr., nomination. We had a whole bunch of women in that room and all these women were anti-Thurmond, God it was. . . . And Albert was really the peacemaker in the room, trying to hold everything steady.

Hartsook: Now, why were the women against Strom?

Ross: Because of the Sol Blatt nomination.

[Tape 3, Side 2 begins]

Ross: Anyway, we finally settled Ford down and he sat down. Bob Liming was working for *The State* newspaper at the time and Bob Liming was sort of harping on me to get the room to open up for the press. I kept getting people to make motions to open it up to the press but the motions didn't fly. When I got up to talk, I learned from the mistakes that Ford McKiever made by getting angry and mad so I said I'm not going to lose my cool. And I got up and I got on Strom about saying there were no qualified Republicans to hold that judgeship and giving it to Sol, Jr. But it was cordial all the way through. That was in 1971 or early '72, after he had appointed Sol, Jr. and after the Watson campaign. In early 1972, Strom and Nancy showed up at my house, and he said, "Dan, I came to see if you'd be my campaign manager," for this election in 1972. And I was still a little upset about the Sol Blatt nomination and everything, but the real reason I turned him down was the fact that I had taken a seven-month leave of absence from my job in 1970 to handle the Henderson campaign and I really didn't want to ask that again, two years later. So I told him, "Strom, I just can't do it. I just can't ask for a leave of absence." The other thing I did not tell him at that time was just about a week or two before he came to my house, Jim Henderson had called and told me that the Nixon campaign wanted him to serve as the campaign chairman for the Nixon campaign in 1972 in this state, and he told the Nixon campaign that he would do it only on condition that I serve as deputy campaign chairman and run the campaign. So, I had agreed to do it and the reason I agreed to do it was he promised me a full-time executive director to run the day-to-day campaign and all I would do is oversee it. Henderson would be name only, I'd run the campaign, and the executive director, Jim Francis of Texas, would do the day-to-day nitty gritty. [Jim married a Carolina graduate, Debbie Bobo.] So I agreed to that because I could stay on my job and do that. So, I didn't tell Strom all of that, but anyway, Strom, after I'd turned him down for the campaign chairman. . . .

And, incidentally, back then, I think, and I'm almost sure, and I know it's true, that Strom ran a dual campaign. He ran a Democratic campaign and he ran a Republican campaign and he had a manager for each one. His overall chairman was Billy Plowden from New Zion. Billy Plowden is very very active, eighty-something years old, and still working in the veterans activities, Billy Plowden handled Strom's campaigns for years as a chairman. Strom told me years ago that when you ran a statewide campaign, you always had people in every county who were loyal to you, ten or twelve people. That's what he told me. Ten or twelve people in every county, no matter the size. And, you want them loyal to you. You want people who will call you and say, "Strom, Dan Ross said so and so about you." In other words, he wants to know what's going on in that county. Dan Ross might have said you're an SOB or Dan Ross might have said you're a great guy, but what that does is it lets Strom know what's going on. Well, the way he did it, he worked through the American Legion and that's where his great support came was with those veterans. He worked that crowd. He never missed a state convention. And he had that ten or twelve. See, you've got 25,000 American Legionnaires in South Carolina and Strom would have maybe ten or fifteen or twenty guys in every county who were die hard Strom Thurmond people and they would work for him and that's the way he maintained his network all over this state. He had other people in addition to those but the Legionnaires were the real basis for what he did.

[Tape stopped for lunch break]

Ross: When Jim Henderson ran for lieutenant governor, his opponent was Earle Morris. Earle was a former state chairman of the Democratic Party. He and I sort of had a mix up at times in the past. Anyway, when State Fair time came, before the State Fair, I went out to the Fair and asked the people out there where Earle Morris was set up and they showed me on the map where his place was. They said, "You don't want to be too close to him do you?" I said, "Yeah, I want to be right across here. This is his, I want mine right there [indicating right across from the Morris booth.] So I

set up a Jim Henderson booth right across from Earle Morris. We had a double booth and we put about twenty-five chairs in there for people to sit down, who were tired, old people, whatever. I asked my wife at that time, "Ginny, what can we do." She said, "Serve water." "Water?" She said, "Certainly, everybody else sells drinks; we serve water, free." So we went and got these big coolers. I never hauled so many bags of ice in my life as I did that week. I hauled ice and we handed out, I think, over 50,000 cups of water we gave away that week. Earle was giving away popcorn, across the way, halfway through the week, he quit giving popcorn. He later laughed about it. He was telling me about it. He said, "Damnedest thing I've ever seen, I'd give them popcorn and they'd go across and drink your water."

We had a five-minute documentary on Jim Henderson, so when you sat down in that chair, that documentary was on and everybody would look up. It was TV. You could eat your popcorn and drink your water and look at that documentary. It was great. It was really great. Just fantastic. Let me inject here and say again, Jim Henderson was a great candidate. When we had the bicentennial, a stamp was being issued all over the United States and it was to celebrate South Carolina's bicentennial. Jim Henderson, when he was second in command in the Post Office, had been the man who had designed the stamp and had helped put it together. But now he was a candidate for lieutenant governor. So I called up the people in Charleston and said I represented Mr. Henderson and I just wanted to know what position he was going to have on the podium when you all introduce the stamp. They said, "He's not." I said, "What do you mean he's not? He designed the stamp. "No, he's not going to be on this podium." I said, "Who is going to be on there?" They gave all the politicians who were going to be there. But see, Jim Henderson wasn't a politician. He wasn't in office. So they turned him down. I told Jim about it. Jim said call so and so, and I can't remember that fellow's name even though I know it, but he was the right hand man to Olin D. Johnston for years.

Hartsook: Tom Chadwick?

Ross: Yeah. That's who that was. I called him. I called him up and told him they won't let Jim Henderson be on this program. He said, "I'll take care of it." That's all he said. So a few days later, the guy called me from Charleston and said they wanted to contact Mr. Henderson to be damn sure he was there on a certain date; he was going to be sitting up on the podium, and so forth. So I called Chadwick back and said, "What happened?" He said, "I just told them the damn stamp wasn't going to be there." In other words, the stamp wasn't finished, wasn't completed, therefore, they were going to have a program without the stamp. And they decided they would put Jim Henderson on the program. That was the one thing that happened, mainly through the influence of a Democrat who helped us out. Also during that campaign, I called up the Darlington Raceway and asked them if Jim Henderson could be in the parade. They told me he's not an office holder, only office holders can be in the parade. I said, "You don't really mean that?" He said, "Yes, that's what we mean, he can't be in the parade." So I called a fellow named Appleby and said, "Hey, do me a favor. Get fifty or a hundred kids. Can you have them over in Darlington on a certain morning for the parade at the Darlington Raceway." He said, "Yeah." He gathered up all these kids, they had carloads of kids, and got over there. I was down there, and I had a banner made up, "Jim Henderson for Lieutenant Governor." We knew the parade was going to start down here so what we did was get two blocks ahead of the parade and the moment the band started up, our people flooded out of the audience into the street and led the parade. We led the whole damn parade. And Jim Henderson was out in the street walking [and] shaking hands with people. Appleby had all these kids and the kids were handing out posters and stickers. On Monday night, after that, the leading Democrat in Darlington County called me and said, "Could Jim Henderson come to a dinner for 800 people?" He went

down there and that was one of the counties he carried. It was a Democratic county but he carried that county. It's the little things that happen. . .

Hartsook: I bet you thought about that when you read about Joe Grimaud at the [recent Irmo] Okra Strut?

Ross: Yeah. Yeah. Things like that. And Jim Henderson was a guy you had to know to appreciate him. Here was a guy that built this brilliant advertising agency, Henderson Advertising Agency; he said everybody had told him he could never build an advertising agency in the South except maybe [in] Atlanta. But you had to be in New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles, not in South Carolina. He said he read an article that said the growth area in the South would be between Charlotte and Atlanta, and Greenville was in the middle. He said, "That's where I'm going to locate." And he located in Greenville. He became a multimillionaire and so did his compadre, Mr. Greer, the head of Texize. Mr. Greer told me he called up Jim Henderson one day and said, "Jim, I want you to come out here and do some advertising." He said he didn't even have a damn secretary; he was just by himself up there in an office on Main Street in Greenville. He said his car was in the shop and he would get there as soon as he could. [Mr. Greer] waited a week and he didn't show up and so, "I called him up again and did some checking and found out he [Jim Henderson] didn't even own a car. He [Mr. Greer] said, "I went and got him." Brought him out there. Well, he made Greer a millionaire, too, by advertising Texize. So Greer told me, "I was so close to bankrupt. I was just on the verge of bankruptcy. I had borrowed everything I could ever borrow. And he starts in with the advertising. Man, it was like a whole new world opening up. We were both millionaires." And he went on to tell me a \$1,000 worth of stock at the time, he was telling me about it, today was worth

\$400,000, in 1944 or '45. Then, a few years later, it was worth something like \$400,000. He gave a lot of credit to Jim Henderson.

Let me just tell you one quick story and then I'll get off of this. I scheduled a meeting for him [Jim Henderson] in Orangeburg and I told him that he was going to Orangeburg. He said, "Well, I'm not going to Orangeburg." And I said, "Why?" And he said, "Well, it's mostly black people there and they're not going to vote for me. You won't have fifty people there at a meeting in Orangeburg." And I said, "Jim, you got to go to Orangeburg. I got it all arranged." He said, "No. I'm not going." So I got up out of my chair. It was down in Five Points and we had an office right there on the corner of Greene and Hardin. He said, "Where are you going?" And I said, "I'm going to the Savannah River Plant." And he said, "What do you mean you're going to the Savannah River Plant." I said, "I just quit. If you don't go where I ask you, then I'm not your campaign manager." He said, "Well, I'll go, but I'm not going to like it." He went. There was 400 people there. He came back and from that day forward, we were just like that [holding up his hand with two fingers pressed together]. It was just the difference in the world. He realized that he had made a mistake, that at that time I was right, just anything I wanted to do he was willing to do.

When I took my leave of absence, I asked for seven months. What I wanted was a month beyond the end of the campaign. I did not do this with Jim Edwards. I left that up to Rusty [DePass] and them, but I did do it with Jim Henderson. When I'm with a candidate every day, I learn to talk like him, I learn to think like him, I learn to write like him, I learn to know what he says. I know what he wants to say. Jim Edwards used to tell me, "I wish you'd call me and let me know what I'm going to tomorrow." Because I'd write articles for the paper and maybe it wasn't at all what he had really said, but what it was we were putting out a program that we wanted to get across to the public, and so we'd put out issues and he maybe didn't even talk about that, but we'd still run it.

Hartsook: Run articles like Jim Edwards said yesterday. . . ?

Ross: Yes. He maybe didn't say that that day and all he wanted to do was coordinate his saying with what I was saying. I learned this from Jim Henderson and Bob Liming, those two guys were the great teachers for me. Jim Henderson just emphasized anything in the press. He'd say, "What was in the press today?" And I'd tell him and he'd say, "What page is it on?" And I'd say, "Page fifteen." And he'd say, "It ain't worth two cents. See if you can get it on the sports page." Or, "Get it on the left side of the newspaper." Or, "Get it up on the top." He'd tell you things like that, like where to place it. There was a certain column in *The State* newspaper on the front page, left side. I'd rather have that much space in that column, which was sort of a chit chat column on politics, every day. I'd rather have that much space [indicating a small amount], than to have a whole article somewhere else. And I learned that from Jim Henderson.

Anyway, what I was fixing to tell you a while ago, when I learned how to write like a guy writes or think like a guy, I tried to put it in his words. With Jim Henderson, when it was over, we had 5,000 people on a mailing list that worked for his candidacy. I wrote 5,000 people a letter, each person, from Jim Henderson. Signed his name, not my name. I wrote two lines mostly. That's all Jim Henderson ever wrote. If Jim Henderson wrote you a thousand letters, they probably wouldn't be over two or three lines, that was the way he was. So I wrote the same kind of letter, two or three lines, just saying, "Thank you for all you did," something like that. And for years after that when I'd see Jim Henderson, he'd say, "You know, I really messed up when I tried to get you to quit after the campaign was over." I said, "Why?" He said, "I don't care where I go in South Carolina, people still tell me, "Jim, I'll never forget that nice letter you wrote to me." And that's the whole ball game.

Hartsook: What was that about trying to get you to quit?

Ross: He didn't want to have to pay me for the extra month of staying on. The campaign was over in November and I wanted to stay another month to write all these letters. I knew what I wanted to do, but he didn't see the importance of it. Years later, when all these people told him about this nice letter they had received from him, he realized that was invaluable in the eyes of the public, or those 5,000 people out there and no matter how many other people they told. Strom Thurmond's the same way.

Let me tell you one great thing about Strom Thurmond. I had a photographer doing some filming one day at the state headquarters, and he was telling me Strom would call him up and say, "Joe, be down here with your cameras tomorrow, at the airport, and pick me up." He said, "I went in my car and picked up Strom Thurmond, and when I got to Strom Thurmond, he gave him a list of all these names. Some old lady living over here, eighty years old, in Shandon. Her son or grandson was in Washington and walked into Strom's office and said, "Senator, I just want to tell you my mother or grandmother, she's a great fan of yours and if you're ever in Columbia, go to see her." What did Strom do the first trip he made to Columbia? That's where he and the photographer went. They went out to see this eighty-year old woman. They got their picture taken together. The boy took the picture, he developed them, sent a copy back to Strom and Strom wrote her a letter. When the election time comes, how many people is she going to call and tell them about Strom Thurmond? She's going to call everybody in the world. When he told me about that, I said, boy, oh boy.

I'm a great believer in copying success; I don't care where it comes from. When I was state commander of the American Legion, I asked, "Where's the best Legion outfits in the country? North Dakota, South Dakota, through the Midwest, wherever, that's where I'm going. I went out to North Dakota and learned about the Legion, came back, and we had the greatest membership we ever had [for] about fifteen or twenty years, the year I was commander, they exceed it for another

fifteen or twenty years. All because I copied somebody who was doing good. When I got to be state chairman, I asked Wayne Adams, "Wayne, call up the Ohio executive director and ask him to come to South Carolina for a week. We'll pay his salary." He said, "For what?" And I said, "To teach us how to be Republicans." Ohio was the best damn Republican state in the nation at that time, and so my idea was why not go where the best is. So the executive director came down here and spent a week with us, and boy, I'll tell you, we learned more stuff from that one week than we'd known in our lifetime, probably. And, he told us all the good things to do and we did them. So, that's the way I learned, I learned from other people. I mean, why beat your brains out when you can get good experience from those people. Strom, I used to invite him to breakfasts in Columbia and he'd come and speak to die-hard Republicans. And, he'd get up and talk about precinct organization. Here's a man, a United States senator, and you'd think, "Well, this guy don't know nothing about precinct organization." He knew everything about precinct organization. That's where I got that thing about – have ten or twelve people in every county. He'd stand up there and he'd talk and people would go away and it would blow their minds at the nitty gritty that he knew about precinct organization. Everybody would just be flabbergasted.

Hartsook: How did you become party chairman? Were you recruited or did you seek that?

Ross: I served eight years as District Two chairman, under Albert Watson at his request. I ran for County Council and also ran for the school board back in those days, so, therefore, I was a candidate. Believe this or not, people like Henry McMaster, who is the [current] state [party] chairman, Henry has a great advantage over a lot of people because he's been a statewide candidate for two or three different offices. He never won one, but it gives him credibility with people who are in office. You ever thought about that? But, it does. It does. He's a viable chairman because he's

been out on the hustings, so to speak, and he's batted his brains against, trying to win. He lost, but in their eyes that makes him acceptable and credible because he's been their candidate and he knows what it's like. And I think that stands in his good stead. But I worked on the state level for Ray Harris and Ken Powell. I carried training sessions. I held the first public hearings as chairman of the platform committee, we held them statewide. That was the first time ever held them in all the congressional districts, public sessions.

The first meeting I ever had was in Florence and I'll bet fifteen people showed up, so I said, "Well, I've learned how to make things happen." And, the way you make things happen is you be darn sure you have 200 people that show up who are your friends. So that's what I did, I staged every other thing. The same thing, when I worked at the Savannah River Plant, we had a hearing on nuclear energy one time and Senator Thurmond was chairing it, over in North Augusta, he and Senator Mattingly from Georgia. I was in charge of making the arrangements for the meeting. Al Peters, who was an assistant plant manager at the Savannah River Plant, I said, "Al, we've got to get a crowd there." He said, "They'll come." I said, "No, they won't come, people don't just come, they've got to be invited." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "You've got to invite them, personally." He said, "How do we do it?" I told him if he gave me two days off, I'd invite them, and I did. I went to every one of those counties and talked to all the politicians, and on the day we had the hearing, all these politicians came and they all testified. Things like that just don't happen. You've got to stage it, and that's what we did. I'm telling you that because that's the truth. It just doesn't happen. The opposition is going to always beat you if you're not careful, because they're going to get their crowd there, so you better get your crowd there. But anyway, I served repetitively as vice chairman and assistant presiding officer of the state conventions, and I was editor for whatever years for the *Palmetto Pachyderm*, which was a newspaper for the Republican Party.

Hartsook: How important was that paper?

Ross: The paper was very important because it went to about 20,000 people and so we thought it was important, I mean to get the message out. The Party had never had anybody who would take that job on voluntarily like I did. I took it on because Ken [Powell] was willing to pay for the publication. I used to get it published right here in Barnwell, at the *Sentinel*. Ben Davies would do it for me. That would give me the chance to edit it and everything, right here. So, we sent it out from Barnwell. It was very important, we thought.

I worked hard for the first woman candidate for state chairman, Joyce Hearn. I had served as a campaign manager and a campaign chairman. I'd been taught by some of the best and I'm including Bob Liming, Jim Henderson, Strom Thurmond, Ray Humphries. I guess what I'm getting around to after listing all of those things, that I kind of came to the conclusion that, "Hey, I've done my bit, I'm going to run for chairman." I'm sure there were people like Rusty DePass and a lot of other people like that; I can name a lot of those people, who probably said, "Dan, you ought to run for chairman." But back at that time, I was making a lot of speeches. I made speeches all over the state. I traveled about 50,000 miles every year. A lot of people would come up to me after meetings, and not just Republicans. I spoke to an American Legion in Charleston, a working man's group. It was made up of people who work on the docks, plumbers, and maintenance people, a blue collar group is what I'm saying. There was about 400 people in the audience, and after the thing was over these ladies came up and said, "You ought to run for governor." I said it's rather interesting coming out of a blue collar crowd. But I'm sure there were a lot of close friends who said, "You ought to run for chairman," but I really decided to run for chairman on my own. When I chaired the Jim Edwards campaign for governor in '74 I realized, probably for the first time through a thick

skull, that there was really a split in the Republican Party, and I wasn't sure even then what that split was all about. I wasn't quite sure.

[Tape 4, Side 1 begins]

Ross: I guess I thought it was due to the primary contest between Westmoreland and Edwards, I thought that was maybe the cause of the split. But after a while I began to realize, "Hey, this split goes much deeper than that," that something else was there. On the night of the election, I went to Columbia specifically to be sure that our people, if we won, would invite the Westmoreland people to come and help us out. I wanted to be sure we didn't get into any arguments with that crowd. Both candidates had their parties at the same hotel right there by the Coliseum and we were both meeting there. So anyway, when Jim Edwards came out the winner, I had to go around to all my chairmen, and, incidentally, out of the forty-six county chairmen, thirty-five of them were women. The reason I had thirty-five women is because I couldn't get the men. The men would not go against Westmoreland because they thought he was a shoo-in. There was no doubt in their minds that he was a shoo-in. Men are that way. Women are more loyal to something and women liked Jim Edwards. I always worked hard with the women, like with Joyce Hearn, I supported her for chairman. I was the only person in what you call the Republican establishment that stood up for Joyce Hearn, and women don't forget that. So, when it came down to Jim Edwards' campaign chairmen, thirty-five out of forty-six counties were manned by women. I had a good friend of mine, fellow named Edwards too, had worked for the Camden DuPont plant, was a county chairman, he called me up and told me, said, "I don't want you and Jim Edwards to come into the county." I said, "What are you talking about?" He said, "I don't want you coming into the county. This is a Westmoreland county and we don't want you here." That's just the way it was. But anyway, there

was a split and what I just told you was not part of that split, but during that general election, we asked a lot of the Westmoreland people to come on board and they wouldn't come on board, so I knew then there was something else.

Later on, during the early part of the general election, we had a dinner and Jim Edwards and Westmoreland were both there. The program was, I didn't have anything to do with it. I was the chairman of the campaign but I told somebody to handle it, and it was all done with the idea, really, promoting Westmoreland more than it was promoting Edwards, even though he was the winner, the candidate. We were splitting the money between the two as a unification dinner, and the head table was all Westmoreland people except for Jim Edwards and Anne [Edwards]. Goldwater was the speaker. The program went along and when they got down to Goldwater, Goldwater got up and spoke and the moderator got up and said, "I'm really sorry but Senator Goldwater's got to get back to Washington, and we've all got to catch a plane," and the whole damn head table disappeared except for Jim Edwards and Anne Edwards. The only two people left on the stage. I've never been so embarrassed in my life. Oh, man. But that wasn't the worst part about it. The worst part was the next morning when my telephone started ringing and, I mean, people just ate me up, down, backwards, forwards, everywhere in the world. And, I didn't have a thing to do with it, but that wasn't something I could say. I had to say, "Well, we messed up. It won't happen again." But anyway, they got up and left that night; and that included Strom, Goldwater, Connie Armitage, all people that I get along good with but they all left and it was just irritating. But anyway, there were two other incidents involving the [Carroll] Campbell forces during that election that really caused a split in the Party. Before [Bryan] Dorn took over from [Pug] Ravenel [as the Democratic gubernatorial nominee], there was a great deal of talk about the lieutenant governor candidate playing footsy with Ravenel. That was Campbell, and there was a lot of that talk going on in the

press. Not with us, but with the press. Campbell saw Edwards as losing to Ravenel, and, therefore, he was going to play footsy to be elected as lieutenant governor. So that was talk in the press.

Hartsook: Do you think there was any truth in it?

Ross: Yeah. I think there was. I know there was. Don't just stop with me, ask Rusty DePass and various other people that you know of, they will tell you the same thing. They all know it. One of the things I put in this letter that I wrote after Campbell said what he did about me at the convention. . . . I wrote down on the bottom of that letter, I've still got it at the house, I wrote this is something I'm sorry about doing, attacking a republican, and I was. But one of the things I wrote in there is about this very episode, about Campbell. Hell, half of the people in that place came to me and told me they knew that that went on. But anyway, after Dorn entered the general election race, he and Jim Edwards were in a debate, I believe it was over in North Augusta, Augusta, tv, and Bryan said the Democratic Party had just borrowed \$500,000 from the banks. We were sitting just outside the window, and we were going bananas because it hit us right away but it didn't hit Jim Edwards, and we were scared to death he wasn't going to respond. Maybe, he was holding back, but he waited until Bryan Dorn got through and finally he said, "You mean the Democratic Party got \$500,000 from banks as a loan and you've got \$100,000 of it?" Bryan just sat up there and told it like everybody knows it. When that thing hit. . . . That did more good for Jim Edwards than anything else in the world. That one thing that happened.

Then the Campbell people, under [Lee] Atwater, decided they were going to demonstrate before the banks and we were against that. I was. Then, Bill Durham, who is Rusty DePass' brother-in-law, ... I always, when I was chairman of the campaign or campaign manager, or whatever, I'm an early riser. I get up at 5:00 and I go to the office. Young people don't do that.

Young people go to the office late in the morning and stay up all night, that's what they do. Old people go early and go home early, and that's what I used to do. The other reason I always went in the office early is I knew the younger staff would not be there and therefore if anything was going to happen or a breakdown in communication, it would happen if nobody was in that office. Four or five times when Jim Edwards was running for office, he would have missed engagements if I hadn't been in that office. But I was in that office and I could say the plane's down so let's get a car and move him fifty miles or one hundred miles or whatever it was and I could call people all over the state and say, "Hey, you've got to have a car ready to pick Jim Edwards up and carry him to so and so." And so we saved a lot of broken engagements by me going to the office early.

One morning, Bill Durham walked in and said, "I've been down at state headquarters." And, I said, "What have you been doing?" "They've been making up signs." And, he named Atwater and all the rest of them. And they were making up signs and were going to demonstrate the banks. And I said, "Is anybody from our staff involved?" And he said, "Yeah," and he named them. I said, "Fine. How about writing a press release saying that we fired those people. If the demonstrations come off, then we're going to turn that press release loose." So he wrote the article that said we had let these people go. But that would only happen if the demonstration came off. Meanwhile, I called Gay Suber and I called other people at the Republican Party headquarters, and Atwater, I told Atwater, "If that demonstration came off, we will disassociate ourselves from the Campbell campaign. We will completely disassociate." They'd made up all the signs but it didn't come off. So we didn't do anything about it and we didn't have to fire all the people, or anything else.

During the next year, after Jim Edwards was elected of course, there was a lot of talk in the newspapers about how I would probably run for chairman. I knew the press and knew them real well, and there were a lot of young writers working for *The State*, young fellows, and so I guess because of Bob Liming, I got in good with all these people in the press. Let me tell you something

about Bob Liming. Bob Liming was a sort of a hippie-type fellow, cross-eyed, brilliant. His father was a fund raiser for Furman University; his family was originally from New York. Bob Liming, just brilliant, but he couldn't see, he was almost half-blind, even when he was a young man. Kind of cross-eyed. Something was wrong with his eyes. He was working for the *Columbia Record* when I knew him real well. We got to be good friends. When Jim Edwards got elected governor, I told Jim Edwards, "Jim, I not asking you to hire but about two people, one of them, I want you to hire Bob Liming." He said, "Why?" I said, "Because you need him. He's brilliant. He's a good man and you need him." He said, "Well, I'm not going to hire a damn guy wearing a beard." That's just what he told me. I said, "Well, I'll talk to him." So I went to Liming and said, "Liming, how would you like to work for the governor?" "Huh? What does it pay?" I said, "\$25,000 a year." He said, "Great God! Yeah! Yeah!" He was probably making \$125 a week working for *The State* newspaper. I said, "Yeah, \$25,000." He said, "Yeah." I said, "There's one kicker. You're going to have to shave." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Well, you got to shave. You can't go in there with a beard. Jimmie Edwards is not going hire you." He said, "Well, I can't do it." I said, "Well, you lose the \$25,000." "I'll do it." I said, "I knew you'd sell out. You can be bought like anybody else." So he became Jim Edwards' man.

But, what I was getting around to, when Jim Edwards was governor, ... I don't know what you know about politicians, what they are like and how they are, and I guess I'm a politician so I guess I'm like they are, but Strom Thurmond, as I said earlier, stuck with the Democrats because that was a safe place to be. And I don't blame him. No politician likes to go out on a limb. They just don't like to do that, not many of them. Jim Edwards knew there was a big split in the Party. A lot of that split dealt with me. A lot. I think he thought, and I think it did. I learned later, I didn't know it at the time. I'll tell you why in a minute. So, Jim Henderson said, "I'm not going to push Dan Ross for chairman." In fact, I think he would have liked to talk me out of it, but there were

people on my side in his office, like Rusty DePass, Raymond Finch, Bob Liming, all those were my people.

Finally, Jim Edwards called a meeting of the Republican establishment, past chairmen, etc., etc., politicians, etc., all met at the Governor's Mansion, and I was there. I think I was the only guy there on my side. I don't think there was anyone else there on my side. [laughing] The one thing he did ask me to do was to pray before we ate dinner, so I said the blessing. Anyway, they opened up the meeting and the meeting was called to come to a consensus on the chairman before the next year's election. What had happened was Jesse Cooksey, who was the chairman at that time, was interviewed by the press about me running for chairman, I hadn't announced yet, Jess Cooksey said, "I'll do anything I can to defeat him. Anything!" I didn't know why Jess was saying that except for the fact that I supported Joyce Hearn against Jess when he ran for chairman.

When we opened up the meeting, people started standing up and right quick it didn't take me very long to realize I was in the wrong place at the wrong time. So I said, "Wait a minute. Hold it. Mr. Chairman, I've got a word to say. There's no use wasting this group's time. I know what I'm fixing to say is sort of out of order, maybe. But let me just tell you one thing, I'm running for chairman. I don't give a damn whether Jim Edwards wants me to be chairman or doesn't want me to be chairman. I don't care whether you all want me to be chairman. But when it comes to the grassroots, I've got the support, and I'm going to be chairman. That took place in the Governor's Mansion. Jim Edwards. . . . I spent \$6,000 of my own money, which is beside the point, but I gave him about nine months of my life in that campaign. He would have never written a letter to support me for chairman if it hadn't been for Raymond Finch and Bob Liming. They made him sit down and write a letter endorsing me for chairman. He wouldn't have done it, because you don't like to go out on a limb, you don't like to cause a friction between you and other people out there. Anyway, I said, "Do you just want to call the meeting over? There's no use to hold a meeting because you're not

going to come to a consensus. You all may come to consensus as to who you want to run against me, and that's fine, you've got a perfect right." And they did, they went out and got Weston Adams and Weston ran against me. Weston and I were best friends in the world, we ran against each other, when we got through we were still friends. B.C. Inabinet, Gayle Averyt, Vernon Manning, his granddaddy was the governor, all those guys used to be called the Greene Street crowd. They all lived on Greene Street right below the University and they used to pal around together back in those days. They came to me and said, "Dan, my God, we're in a terrible fix. We grew up with Weston. We really need to vote for him because we grew up with him, yet we don't want to vote against you." I said, "Put your minds at ease. You grew up with Weston, you're a friend of Weston, you vote for Weston. Besides, I've got the vote anyway." And I did. I was that confident that I had the votes because there was no doubt in my mind that, grassroots-wise, out there, I had too many chips in the fire from all those training sessions and things. It's the little things you do.

Let me tell you something else, I learned this from other people. When Nixon came to Columbia, you never saw Dan Ross up at the front trying to shake hands with Nixon. Why would I want to shake hands with him, he wasn't going to remember me. He shook hands with four or five other thousand people in that audience. So, what did I do? I'd work the crowd. I always did that. I'd walk over to some couple who I didn't know and I'd say, "My name's Dan Ross," and we'd talk for a few minutes. I was editor of the newspaper then, and I'd chat with them, find out they were from Sumter, and then later on the paper would come out and there would be a little tidbit in the paper on this couple I'd met and that she was going to have a baby, and so forth and so on. Man, those people were with you, they never forget those little things that you would do so you would always work the crowd. When Weston and I ran against each other, and Weston was a great guy, I loved his wife, loved his children, I mean they're good people, and I told Weston when the election was over, "Weston, let me tell you how to run for office. You just lost and I'm going to tell you how

to win. Don't ever do what you did in this campaign." He said, "What did I do?" I said, "You stood in one place. You know who tied you up all the time? It was my people tying you up, asking you questions and you were responding. Always have somebody that moves you in the crowd." See what I mean? In other words, you know what I'm talking about? You go into a room and you let two or three people tie you up and nobody else can get your attention, or get to you, or anything? You're tied up. You're losing out. What you want to have is have somebody there to move you around through the crowd. So say, "Governor," or John Doe, or whatever your name is, "we got to move. We got to move. We got to move." You don't want to get tied up. And what I'd do is have my people tying up Weston and I'd be out shaking hands with everybody in the room and he would shake hands with just a few people because he never could get past the door.

Hartsook: So you did that purposefully:

Ross: Sure, I'd do that. My people, their job was to tie him up and it was so easy because he was so agreeable and so willing to talk, and he'd stand there and talk, and talk, and talk. And they were my people. People who were going to vote for me. I said, "You don't ever want to let yourself get tied up." Jim Edwards, when Jim Edwards ran for governor, there was a young man; he's running for Congress against Joe Wilson, from Beaufort; he worked for me. He was Jim Edwards' escort when he went out into the field. I had to take him off of that job because he couldn't do it. He was a young kid, right out of college, and I really did the wrong thing. I shouldn't have put him there. The only reason I put him there was because the family was a friend of Jim Edwards' and I made him escort for Jim Edwards. What they'd do, they'd go into a crowd, and I watched them a couple of times, and he couldn't talk and he couldn't move Jim Edwards. Jim Edwards was too old for him, the crowd was too old for him, and he just didn't have the willpower to go up and say, you've got to

move. So what we had to do is put him in a field job and I brought in George Dean Johnson, from up in Spartanburg. George Dean was in the House of Representatives and well known in establishment politics and I brought him in and assigned him to Jim Edwards and I said, "Your job is to do one thing, to keep Jim Edwards moving at all times," and that's what he did. And, he did a great job. He moved Jim Edwards around. He wouldn't let him get hung up with three or four people, or something like that. So you've got to keep those people moving all the time.

Hartsook: Well, you'd be proud of [congressional candidate Joe] Chalk. He introduced himself, we were walking back from participating in the Okra Strut parade, I was with the Scouts, and he was working the crowd, just real friendly, "I'm Joe Chalk, nice to meet you, I'm running for Congress."

Ross: Somebody told me the other day, they heard him here in Barnwell talking, said he made a beautiful talk, said they thought it was an excellent talk, that he did a real good job. And he's a capable person. The only reason I suggested he not run was the fact he wasn't from Lexington County. It's just a disadvantage if you're not from Lexington, no doubt in my mind. He may prove me wrong, but I just think that Joe [Wilson] has been so involved with Floyd [Spence] and everything, that it's going to be hard to beat him out here in the boondocks, so to speak.

But anyway, four years later, I ran again, in '78, and I was on my own. Jim Edwards was out of office then and I got reelected. Then 1980 was coming up and I was really shooting for the primary. Bill Brock was head of the National Republican Party [Brock served as chairman from 1977 to 1981]. I voted against Brock when he ran for national chairman. The reason I voted against him was because he was a defeated United States senator and I was afraid as an ex-senator, he just wouldn't be interested in chairing that Republican Party. It would be sort of a sideline. He was a

wealthy man and he owned the Brock family fortune, candy company and so forth, and I just didn't think he would put a lot into it. I didn't know him, and I voted against him, and I was never so wrong in my life. He was tremendous. When I came into the chairmanship in 1978, I didn't think we had done too well, I thought we had made progress but I really. . . . But he thought we had done great. He invited me up to Washington and I got to meet a lot of people. I'm a member of the Capital Hill Club, which is a very prestigious club. I know it costs a lot to belong to it and I'm a lifetime member. I don't know how I'm a member. I don't know why I'm a member, but somebody made me a member. It was an anonymous gift. The only person I can believe it was is Brock. I know damn well Milliken wouldn't spend that kind of money. Not for me, I don't think. I think it was Brock. I've tried to get them to tell me who it was, but nobody would ever tell me. Anyway, I'm a lifetime member of that club and every time I go to Washington, I go by there. But Brock really helped me by placing radio ads in South Carolina in 1979 and 1980. All over the state, he ran radio ads, paid by the national agency, and I was promoting the primary.

I spent all of 1979 getting ready for what I was hoping was going to be a primary. All the people came in, Senator [Howard] Baker, [George Herbert Walker] Bush, [Ronald] Reagan, [John] Connally, all of those guys [presidential candidates] came to South Carolina. Every one of them, seven or eight candidates all came to South Carolina. I made it a point to escort them. There's one thing I think you will find out, that anytime there is a picture taken of a candidate, you'll never see me in it. I can't say this for many chairmen, but you'll never see a picture of me and a candidate in the same picture because when the camera goes on that candidate, I turn around and walk away, always have, always do. And the reason I do that is because he's the candidate, I'm not, and therefore I want him to get the exposure, not me. And if somebody sees me up there, some friend of mine, "Well, there's old Dan." What you want them to talk about is your candidate. I don't know where I learned it, but I learned years ago, don't put yourself in there with the candidate.

One of the questions you asked was, “On assuming the chairmanship, what did you hope to accomplish?”

[Tape 4, Side 2 begins]

Ross: I told you earlier that I’m a great copier. I believe in following those who’ve already been successful, and I believe in learning from those who have been there before. I just mentioned Bill Brock, Bill Brock was a great chairman for me. He did so much for the state, for us. Lynn Nofziger was a great help to me. Ronald Reagan was really good to this state because he promised us, he really promised Jim Edwards, “Any time you want me in this state, I’ll come.” And he would come. I invited him to come to Columbia one night on his birthday; I believe it was in February. We had a snowstorm in Columbia, ice, sleet, everything, and I said, “He won’t show up.” We had a big crowd at the hotel across from the Coliseum. In walks Reagan. How he got to Columbia, I don’t know to this day, it was so nasty and everything. But he came. He was always, always, responsive.

The goals I had, I mentioned to you early on I wanted to be sure to organize all the counties and we eventually did that. It was near the end of my four years before I really got all the counties organized again, but when I went out as chairman, every county in the state was represented at the state convention. Every county was completely organized. The primary was the other great goal I had as chairman. The third thing I wanted to do was I wanted to show Republicans that we could win beyond Columbia and Charleston and Greenville. Let’s go out into the bedroom counties and win, and we did that. We wanted to provide training in all levels. We did that. We wanted to recruit, train, and run candidates and provide them help and we talked about that and we did that. As the years went by, we did more and more for those candidates. I never will forget, I had a meeting in Columbia with my candidates after the election one year and we might have had a joint meeting with

the Democrats and [Democratic Party leader] Don Fowler was there. I remember Don and those were doing absolutely nothing for their [Democratic] candidates. Nothing at all. And that was an old established party. They weren't doing a thing for their individual, say House candidates. We were doing everything. We were talking about this, we were doing research, we were doing all these other things. We were giving them \$50 or \$100, whatever it was, I was listing all of these things. Those guys sat there and their eyes got that big and they were really amazed at this party, they're nothing, and they're doing all these things. And we're everything, and we're not getting anything. It really made a difference. And I think it made a difference, too, in the long run, it helped us recruit people from the Democratic Party.

Another thing I wanted to do, I wanted to be sure that my officers in the Party, my district chairmen especially, took an active part in the Party. When I was district chairman, I had seven counties. I had five women chairmen. Among my women chairmen were Rita Smoak from Calhoun County, Joyce Hearn from Richland County, Joyce Gillum from Lexington County. Joyce Gillum is the one that made [James] Metts, the [Lexington County] sheriff. Joyce Gillum picked him up out of the, I always call it kindergarten. He was twenty-five years old. She ran him for sheriff, spent the money on him and got him elected as sheriff, and he's been sheriff all these years. Joyce Gillum is a business woman. She owns the funeral vault company over in Lexington County, over in Cayce. She owns that. Tremendous person. She was the kind of person, back in those days, I could call her and say, "Hey, I need \$500 for Jim Edwards, can you help me out." And she would help you and do those things.

Anyway, when I was a district chairman, we raised more money in our district and we elected more people, and I said, "Hey, we've got to involve these district chairmen," and I did. When I was chairman, I involved those people, very much so. We accomplished just about all of those things plus, as I said earlier, we had to add to our goals. We had to get rid of that black

question and we had to get rid of that question about Milliken and all the money that he put out to us. So, we finally did that.

Hartsook: Were those goals pretty much the same throughout your four years or did they change as the situation. . . ?

Ross: No. The primary was a long-range goal. I went in in '76, but the primary didn't come up, but I worked on it for two or three years prior to 1980 when [we had] the first presidential primary. When I started talking about a primary, wasn't nobody in favor of it. Nobody. I mean, very few people. Rusty DePass was for it. A few other people, Bob Liming, very few people. Jim Edwards hated it, didn't even want it. Strom Thurmond didn't want it. They didn't want to see a primary. So, I said, "What have I got to do?" So we met and we talked and one of the things we decided to do was set up a committee which would go around the state and hold hearings on the primary. Marshall Cain, who was in the [state] House of Representatives, chaired the committee for me. Joyce Hearn was on the committee. I picked people I knew leaned my way to be on the committee. There wasn't no doubt about that. I didn't put people [on] who were against it.

They went around and they listened to testimony all over the state. Before I sent that committee out, I did a lot of work before that. The people in the boondocks and the precincts did not want the primary, in the beginning. The reason they did not want the primary was because it meant too much effort on their part. They knew they were going to have to run the primaries with volunteers, therefore, no paid people. They knew that they were going to have to organize the precincts. That's hard work. My God, we'd spent years trying to organize all the precincts and they didn't want to have to do that. So, what were they going to do. So they were resisting it. I had to convince every county chairman. I traveled many a mile talking to county chairmen and on the

telephone talking to people, saying, "Hey, this is what it means, it gives us a mailing list, it means we're going to get publicity, national, it means that we're going to become a household word in South Carolina because we're having a presidential primary and the Democrats aren't. Don Fowler was all over my back at that time. Don Fowler came out and said that we were illegal, and we were this and we were that, and everything. I said, "Tell him to go to hell." I said what I told the press, "Tell him to go to hell." It was none of his business. This is a private primary, we are holding it. It has nothing to do with the state, so there is nothing illegal about it. See what I mean?

The other people I had to convince was the media. *The State* newspaper was against it. Only the Greenville newspaper was for it. The Charleston papers were against it. Others. But by that time, I had a good working relationship with the press. The editor of *The State* newspaper was a classmate of mine at Carolina, had graduated the same year I did, and I had the contact through Bill Workman, although he was gone by that time. The people up in Greenville were good friends of mine. I had made friends with the paper down in Myrtle Beach. All those people. I used to go to every newspaper. Every radio station. David Wright says there was no place in this world that we didn't go when I was chairman. He said, "Dan Ross went everywhere there was a press person." I never went into a radio station and said. Hey, I want an interview." I just said, "My name is Dan Ross. I just wanted to come by and say hello, and that's all." Most of the time they would stop me and say, "Don't you want to do an interview?" But I never pushed an interview idea; I left that up to them. Sometimes I would walk into a station and I could tell it wasn't a very warm atmosphere and I'd leave. I'd walk out. But, I got to know a lot of press people, media people. I was down in Myrtle Beach one time and I said, "You know, there are things you could help us with. I'm trying to learn all I can about things. What would you suggest that the Republican Party do that would help you." I never will forget what the fellow said. He said, "Have a picture file of all of your people in office. Have a resume of each one of your people in office. Have this, have that. He listed four or

five things. I went back and did it. I got Dave Wright, I said, "Hey, fix up a picture file, resume, etc., and when the press asks for it, we can hand it to them."

I invited all the press in Columbia, for instance, to eat over at Swain's steak house, dutch, and we had lunch, and I stood up and told them why I was interested in a primary. When I'd go to see the press, I used to come out and tell my wife I had a feeling that nobody ever goes to see them, like the chairman of the party, and I because I thought Don Fowler would go everywhere. But I don't think he did. So I'd walk in and say, "I'm Dan Ross, chairman of the Republican Party," oftentimes if you weren't an enemy, they were really enthusiastic about the fact that I would come. I'd say when I got back in the car, "I just don't understand it. What they get so excited about, but they are really excited." But, when we met with all those press people in Columbia, I laid it out. Wayne Adams, David Wright, and I laid it out why we wanted a primary. When we got up, everybody paid for their dinner and everybody in that room came around the table and said, "Dan, I just want to tell you, you convinced me. You convinced me. We want to do it. We're going to support you." And *The State* newspaper helped sponsor the debates. They were adamant against a primary and then they turned around and became a cosponsor of the debates with WIS. So, I did the same thing in Greenville. I did the same thing in Florence. Did the same thing in Charleston. Sat down with the press, talked to them. I think it was a lucky break, we convinced the people out in the boondocks, the Republicans, first, and then we convinced the press, and then we started to hold public hearings and went around all over the state. By the time the convention came, we knew it was a wash, the convention.

But again, coming back to the split in the Party, when that convention was over, I realized I was in deep trouble. Deep trouble. The reason is because I didn't pay attention. See, that was a recall state convention. It's something you don't do lightly. There had never been a recall state convention before. I recalled that convention in October and I was ecstatic over the fact that we got the primary

through the convention, that was the first order of business and it went right through. There was a motion made from the Greenville-Spartanburg area that all the proceeds from the primary filing fees be divided among the counties. Of course, if I had heard that motion, I would have objected or had somebody to object. But there was no objection and it went right through. I didn't know it until it was all over. That meant we lost all the money, the filing fees. Say, \$5,000 per person, that filed those fees. We had seven candidates, so I lost \$35,000 just like that. So I knew I was in trouble.

The other thing is in September 1979, George Graham called me and asked if I would run for chairman for a third term. I said, "I thought I will, George, but I don't want to announce now because I'm trying to get the primary through a reconvened convention and that's going to get in the way if people think I'm out there running." He said, "Well, if you're going to run, I probably won't run." Well, George had gotten involved with politics when Jim Edwards ran in 1974, in Spartanburg. George Graham. George and I had become very good friends over the years. I wanted him to run for state chairman. I didn't want him to run against me, but I wanted him to run. And I gave him exposure, every time I had an opportunity, because I thought he was a good man. And he was a good man, and is a good man. As time went on, and I realized over a period of time what had happened, George called me back again and said, "Dan, you haven't announced yet and I just can't wait around any longer. I going to go ahead and announce in case you don't."

There were two things. I think the pressure was so great from the people who were against me until George felt like if he didn't run, they were going to get somebody else to run, and he really wanted to run. Which I don't blame him. So anyway, he went ahead and ran. Finally, my staff got to me after the reconvened convention. My staff sat down with me and they said, "You've got to announce if you're going to run. If you don't, you might as well call it off." So, I said, "All right." So, right before Christmas, I made an announcement that I would run again. The funny thing about it, and the thing that often amazed me, we had the primary in March and the reason we had the

primary on a Saturday, I had been down in Texas, went to school in Texas, and they had Saturday primaries. I thought it was great and it fit right in my plan. When can you get the most volunteers? Saturday! What do you call a primary held on Saturday? Man, this is a working man's primary. That's the one I appealed to, a blue collar working man, come out to vote, we want you to vote, don't make no difference if you're Democrat, Republican, Independent, we want you to vote in this presidential primary. I knew if I could get them there one time, they'd come back. That's the way you always figure, they're going to come back.

Anyway, we went through that primary, man, it was tremendous. The people from *Boston Globe*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, all those people wrote me letters or called me on the phone and said, "We just want to tell you, not only did you meet our deadlines but we've never had the kind of information you provided." I'll give all the credit for that to David Wright, who was my press man. He fixed up a folder, a booklet, we mailed it to every TV station, radio station, a commentator, a columnist, whatever, anybody [for whom] we could get an address. *Time Magazine*. What is was, it was a history of the Republican Party in South Carolina. It told how many officers we had. Who they were. We listed all of our county chairmen and their telephone numbers so they could contact them if they wanted to. We listed all the services we could think about, we put in that document. When they came, we told them what we needed to know for the primary. So, when they came to us, we had a telephone line, an out line, from the state headquarters to every newspaper that was represented. In other words, the *Boston Globe* had their own telephone at a desk in our headquarters, and it was to the *Boston Globe*, you know what I mean, a direct line. So, they were very enthusiastic. It was so great that when the thing was over, the press thought Dan Ross was a shoe-in.

You asked how I stepped down as chairman, I didn't step down, I got knocked down. Anyway, in talking to the press and I would talk to them off the cuff, I would say, "Fellows, I'm

defeated.” And they’d say, “You’re crazy.” And I’d say, “I’m telling you, I cannot win. I know I can’t win. I know enough that I can’t win.” “Why can’t you win?” And I’d tell them, forty percent of the people in the Republican Party are brand new people brought in by the primary, forty percent when we organized the precincts, new people. They didn’t know me from Adam’s house cat. What do you do when you’re new? Get rid of the establishment. Get rid of those in power. That’s automatic. That’s the way you think. Get rid of the guy. So they all voted against me. Even though some reporters wrote articles, which I have copies of, saying that they thought I went down because I appealed to the black vote, I didn’t think that was the reason. The thing that hurt me more than anything else, I think, in addition to the new people, was the fact that George had done his homework. He’d done a good job of campaigning. He hired an agency, which I had never done, but he hired an agency to handle his campaign. Second thing was that. . . . I told you earlier that I went to the Jewish community and advertised in the *Catholic Banner*. We worked hard to bring the Jewish people and the Catholics into the Party. Tommy Hartnett was running for Congress, he was a Catholic, so forth and so on. We’d done all these things. Lynn Nofziger is the one who got me to recruit the fundamentalists. In fact, he knew the fundamentalists even better than I knew them. They had that closeness to Reagan and they had supported Carter four years before, and they were the reason that Carter just swept everything. The Christian fundamentalists were very much for Carter. Well, by 1980, they were for Reagan. And Lynn Nofziger called me and said to work on the fundamentalists, so I did. All that Bob Jones crowd came into the Party. So they came to me and asked me, as the chairman of the Republican Party, if I would stand up and say I was against abortion. I said, “No, I can’t do that.” “Why not?” I said, “Because, I would have to have a mandate from the convention. If I don’t have a mandate, I don’t stand up for anything, unless the executive committee votes for it. If they vote for it, I’ll do it, but I’m not going to do it on my own, by myself.” They got really upset with me and told me they were going to vote against me because I

wouldn't stand up against abortion. Even though I was very much against abortion, I wasn't going to say I was going to do that. When the election came, there was no doubt in my mind that George was going to win.

The thing that I emphasize, and I come back to Jim Edwards again, I went to a conference in Charleston and Jim was there and he came to me and said, "I think you ought to step down as chairman." I wanted to put him on the spot so I said, "Why do you think that?" He said, "Well, there are a lot of people against you." I said, "A lot of people against me, so therefore you're against me." He said, "No, no." I said, "The hell it isn't. I know why you're against me. You're against me because they're against me. What you ought to be doing is standing up for me. Jim, you haven't learned what loyalty means, that's what I want to tell you." And we say there, and he'll tell you the same thing. That's exactly what I told him. "You haven't learned what Strom Thurmond loyalty is, Carroll Campbell loyalty is, there ain't no Jim Edwards loyalty because you don't believe in it, you don't know it. You ought to be supporting me because Carroll Campbell is going to kick your fanny and you don't know it. And he did. So anyway, not only did I find out he wanted me to step down, I found out that a lot of people who was on his side were against me, too. I said there is no way I can win. When I started calling around over the county and the state, it didn't take long to know whether you're winning or whether you're losing, or whether you're just batting up against a stone wall. I knew that George was going to win; there wasn't no doubt in my mind. But as I said earlier, I had some good years under George Graham when George was the chairman and I was [on] his election law study committee and we got all that stuff through the legislature mainly because he allowed me to do it while he was the chairman. What's the next question?"

Hartsook: Your key accomplishments -- the primary, organizing the state. What else do you think of as the things you're most proud of in your four years as chair?

Ross: I think recruiting candidates like for Congress and winning those four elections in 1980, I thought that was a great accomplishment.

Hartsook: And the people you recruited included. . . ?

Ross: Tommy Hartnett, and Moore to run in a primary in the First District, Napier and Ed Young to run in the Sixth District, and, of course, Campbell was already there and Floyd Spence was already there [Congressional incumbents]. We had Marshall Parker running in the Third District and I believe that year we went from zilch to zilch, we went from Bobby Richardson to nobody in the Fifth District. We had four out the five candidates we had for Congress were targeted by the National Committee. Parker's campaign was not targeted because that was thought to be a strong Democratic area and they didn't target that area. I thought I was going to get it targeted and in fact the man, I thought Brock had promised he was going to target it, but he didn't do it. But the four districts that were targeted all won Congressional seats, so we got four Congressional seats and took control of the delegation that year because Strom was already there. That, to me, was a great accomplishment. I think the recruiting that we did to elect people beyond the cities was a great accomplishment. I've got a whole list of those people. We elected one person in Beaufort, one person in Dorchester, one person in Berkeley, one in Pickens and right on around. We elected that one person and then the next year, maybe two years later, we had maybe five, six, or seven people running in those places because they realized you could win, and that's what I was trying to show them was, "Hey, you can win you just got to run." You got to have candidates out there. You take Dorchester County, my god, there's no more Republican district anywhere than Dorchester County,

but back then it was hard to get anybody to run. Don Handlesman ran and he got elected and that opened up the doors.

The primary to me was great because it gave us a lot of publicity but the thing it gave us more than anything else, and the thing I valued the most, was the mailing list. Almost 80,000 people who voted in that primary and those people became our targets from then on for money and everything else, not mine so much but George's.

[Tape 5, Side 1 begins]

Hartsook: What disappointed you in your term, besides losing? And, how bad did that hurt?

Ross: It hurt. Let me go back and tell you the truth. The day I got defeated, I left the convention; I guess ten minutes after the vote was taken. I didn't leave because I was mad or angry with anybody; I left because I was give out. My daughter lived in Columbia at that time and I went to her apartment and went to sleep for ten hours. For four years I had worked for DuPont full days, and never missed a day. I traveled 50,000 miles every year, 200,000 in four years. [I] went all over the state, every nook and cranny. I went to Columbia at least four times a week from my job at DuPont. I'd drive up [Highway] 302 and go in Blossom Street and go to state headquarters down in Five Points, every week, at least four times a week. In fact, we put a cot in that headquarters so that if I was up in Spartanburg and I came to Columbia, I'd spend the night and then go to work at DuPont the next morning.

Hartsook: Was that just up on. . . ?

Ross: We were down on Harden Street, right in front of Groucho's. So, we put a cot in there where I could sleep nights when I came back through town. I've often thought about this thing. Man, I didn't want to lose. I didn't want to lose because. . . . You asked a question, was it inevitable that the Republican Party was going to take over? And, my answer to that was yes. I knew it was going to happen and I wanted to be there when it happened. I said, "Hey, if I can run and get elected in 1980 and survive for two or three more years, I can retire from DuPont and devote full time to this. And we [are] going to make hay when I do." But I don't believe I could have lasted two more years. I didn't realize it until the day of that election and the week after it was over, but I knew that I'd been just about gone. It took me, I bet two or three months to get over what I had done for four years and I just never gave any thought to it, the slowing up, it just kept going. The greatest thing that ever probably happened to me, even though I was very disappointed, was the fact that I got defeated. I think it was the best thing that could have ever happened to me.

I was upset with George a little bit and I was blaming him for things I don't think he did but other people on his staff did. They were leaking out a lot of bad information about me, which was fine, but I didn't like it. George called me up and asked me if I was in his place, would he invite Nixon to the state. I said I would give him an answer quick, I would do it. In fact, if I had won the election, I was planning on bringing Nixon to the state. He said, "You'd really invite him?" I said, "Yes, I'd invite him. The only thing we have to worry about is the press." But Nixon [was] very popular on the precinct level. There's no man ever more popular. The people in this state believe that Nixon made South Carolina part of the nation. That's their belief. And I said, "Yeah, invite him." And so he did.

After that, George called and asked me to come to a meeting and I went to a meeting and they had a report from the election law study committee. They had a lawyer that was in charge of it and he stood up and they gave the recital. I stood up and I tore that up. It was awful. It was just

horrible. They didn't know what they were talking about. So George disbanded the meeting and he called me about a week later and said, I'm going to reorganize the election law study committee, [I] want you to be the chairman. I said, "Will you let me have the people I want on the committee?" He said, "Yeah." So I brought in a bunch of young people and most of these people were precinct workers and they knew what I was talking about. Just what Joe Wilson was telling you about this morning, about people voting for other people, that was a common occurrence. And we went through all that stuff. Joe was my liaison in the delegation and he got most of that stuff through the thing. So we were very successful at getting through the legislature what we wanted to do. The election commissions, voter registration officers, we had nobody represented on that, we never could get a person on that. We got it so that the law was passed that there had to be at least one minority person on every committee, statewide and countywide. So, all those things came about because of what we did in that election law study committee under George. I stepped down with a hard knock but it was the best thing, there's no doubt in my mind, that ever happened to me.

Hartsook: Before we leave that, was there any group of people you relied on for counsel?

Ross: Yes. Drake Edens. Oh God, there was nobody in the world. . . . I knew him at Carolina, didn't know him very well, but I got to know him after Carolina. He was an ex-marine. His wife was an ex-marine too. Just wealthy, his daddy had owned Eden Food Stores. They'd made a lot of money. Drake had done okay since he'd been out of school. Just full of vim and vinegar. He wore a crew cut all the time and just bubbling over with energy, especially when he first became chairman of the Party and when he was campaigning for Workman and Spence. Just tremendous. He had a charisma and people responded to him. He was always the Party man. When I was the district chairman, we'd come together for the district meeting and they would elect delegates to the national

convention. You have a certain number from each district that are elected and then you elect the rest of them at the state convention. I was the chairman and Drake would stand up and say, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, I don't want to throw a monkey wrench in the election that we're going to hold, but I would like to make a recommendation that we elect the chairman of this district by acclamation before we take a vote on anybody else. He'd always do that and I really didn't want him to do that because I didn't have the finances to go to San Diego or San Francisco or wherever it was we were going. Later on I'd tell Drake, "My God, Drake, don't do things like that." But he was a bubbly. . . .

But then he got rheumatoid arthritis and when he got that, it really hit him, he humped over, he got where. . . . He and I were often on, not often, at times on different sides. In 1970, when Albert Watson ran for governor, he promised me, he said, "Dan Ross, if you'll go along with Albert running without a primary, I'll promise you I'll be for the primary in 1974. I said, "All right, Drake, I'm holding you to that bargain." When 1974 came along he was for Westmoreland, and, of course, he didn't object to the primary, but I was for Edwards. But out of all that crowd that was on the Westmoreland side, he and John Courson and a few more too, a lot more out in the boondocks, but I'm talking about the establishment, they were the ones that. . . . Drake Edens came over the next day and said, "I'll do anything you want, anything. I don't care what it is, raise money, do this, do this, do that." I really loaded him up. I was the campaign chairman. I put him in charge of the Reagan banquet. I put him in charge of a lot of things. He did it and it was just all that way, that way. When I became chairman, Drake Edens was always there, always. If I needed help, I wanted advice. He had a place out toward Gaston on a lake and I'd call him up and say, "Drake, can we have a picnic for the Republican Party out there?" I'd bring all the executive committeemen and their wives to Columbia and we'd have a picnic out at his place, and things like that. He'd just do anything for the Party. He was the contact man on that headquarters for years and years that we got so cheap, down there on Hardin Street.

Him, people like Archie Stubbs from up in Greenville, the Helms fellow who was the mayor of Greenville, was a good friend of mine, Glenn McConnell, there was a person on the County Council in Richland County and I can't think of his name but he lives out in Northeast Richland County and he was a chairman of the Richland County Party at that time, Joyce Hearn helped me a lot in a lot of ways, she helped me with training. I asked Joyce to take it to court about the magistrates and she got very involved in that case and we won. You see, you could elect magistrates but you couldn't appoint them. The Senate appointed the magistrates and everybody thought they were electing them. The way we found out about it was we ran magistrates in Aiken and Greenwood counties and we won the election. We thought these guys were the magistrates but they weren't because they had to be appointed by the senators and the senators were Democrats, therefore, they didn't get appointed. So, we took it to court and we won the case. I think it was the greatest loss we ever had. That took more away from elections. . . . Magistrate elections turned out more people than anybody else. We got rid of the magistrate elections and they've been appointed ever since.

What else? I think one thing that was disappointing to me was, and I guess I should have known this but you can't satisfy everybody, but I think if I made one big mistake, the biggest mistake I made, when I look back on it, is I didn't always confront people when I had a bitch. I think the night that Strom Thurmond and Connie Armitage and all of them got up in the banquet and walked out leaving Jim Edwards and his wife on the rostrum, the big mistake I made was remaining quiet rather than getting up the next morning and calling Strom on the phone and asking why the hell did they leave. Or Connie, I should have done the same thing with her. I couldn't have done that with Goldwater, but I could have done it with the others. I think in politics that was a failing on my part. Maybe I confronted some people too much and maybe I got soft in my old age, I don't know.

In 1970, when Albert Watson ran, when that election was over, I was so disappointed because I wanted Albert Watson to win so bad, and, of course, Jim Henderson lost too. I wrote a critique of the campaign and it was a damn well written critique but it really hurt me bad in the Party. It hurt me in the sense that I didn't mean to do what it did, but it really hurt Ray Harris. I was really saying, "Hey, we ran a bad campaign." And the bad campaign was bad because we ran a racist campaign that we never should have run, and we ran it at the wrong time anyway. Ray was a staunch conservative. He was the kind of fellow that the staff members down there would tell me, "Dan, don't go around there reading the Ripon Society Magazine." "Why can't I read the Ripon Society Magazine?" "Well, that's a liberal magazine and Ray Harris will throw you right out of the office if he knows you're reading it." [laughing] I said, "Well, I like to know what the other side. . . . That's the same reason I take the *Washington Post*. I like to see what the other side is saying." Anyway, the critique really came down on Ray hard, not Ray as an individual, but the Party, and he, of course, was chairman of the Party. I really didn't mean to do that. I really didn't intend it that way, but it came out that way and it was years later before I realized that that was a part of my problem in the Party, that there was an element out there that was anti-Dan Ross because I had written that critique. I don't think it ever got to Albert Watson because he and I were good friends until the day he died. And, I didn't mean it to be at Ray Harris. What I did do, years later, I went to Ray Harris and this is where I said [to you earlier,] what you ought to do is go to see people and talk it out to people. And I went to Ray Harris and I told him, I said, "You know, I didn't realize what had happened between me and you. We were very close early on, then we became separate. I just want to tell you that what I did in 1970 in writing that critique, and the way it reflected on you, I want to tell you I apologize." He accepted the apology and we've gotten along ever since.

Hartsook: Can we get a copy of that critique?

Ross: Yes. I send you one. But I went into detail on things that happened in that campaign, so it was really tough. I didn't realize how it would reflect on the chairman of the Party until it was released and when it was released, everybody knew it.

Hartsook: As an early republican, were there any social repercussions for you and your wife living in a primarily Democratic state and county? Floyd Spence talks about people crossing the street rather than speaking to him [after announcing his decision to switch parties].

Ross: I go to a coffee club down here and there are thirty-five or forty people who get together pretty regular down at Hardee's and a lot of people are sitting around the tables, real close friends of mine. There was a time when most everybody around those tables hated my guts. I mean there was no doubt about it, I knew that. I may not have known it personally, but I had friends who would tell me, "John Doe doesn't like you because you're in politics, etc. etc." But, every one of those people vote Republican now. Almost all of them are Republicans. And it was a mixed bag; let me be sure I emphasize that. It was a mixed bag. Willie Jenkins was a Clemson graduate and I was a Carolina graduate. Willie was a farmer. I farmed and also worked for DuPont. Willie was closer to the establishment in the county than I was and I gave him a lot of credit for being chairman of the Party because he was a part of the establishment, especially his wife. But there was a lot of people we grew up with, the same age group, went in the service together, whatever, and they really turned their backs on you or they know you very well or didn't want anything to do with you as long as you were a Republican.

As time went on. . . . Carroll Campbell called me, in 1987 or 1988, and said, "Come up to Columbia, I want to talk to you." So, I went up to Columbia. And we had carried this county for

Carroll Campbell, of course. His pollster, [Whit] Ayres, he is now in Atlanta, he called me up there, and anyway, I went up and sat down and they said, "We want to show you something. Barnwell County is a county where you can now elect Republicans." I said, "How do you know?" They said, "We had been running Republicans and we hadn't been able to elect them yet. The time is right. We just ran a poll. More people in Barnwell County claim to be Republicans than they do Independents or Democrats." I said, "Well, that's great." So I came back and got together with a fellow named DeWitt Zorn, and I said, "DeWitt, we need to recruit somebody for sheriff." He said, "I got a cousin, I want him to run. He's a probation officer." So I went to visit with his cousin, he was a Zorn, too, and that guy ran for sheriff. There's an old saying in the Republican Party, if you can win the sheriff's race, you've then got a Republican county. So the first person we elected was Zorn, the sheriff, and he's still the sheriff, that was 1988.

Hartsook: Why is the sheriff's position so powerful?

Ross: Because he's so powerful on the precinct level. His work is all out in the county, he's dealing with everybody. He's got contacts. He's got deputies all working for him. That's the most powerful position in the county, especially if he's a popular sheriff. Dorn, the guy we had, was a University of South Carolina graduate. He was a probation officer. He'd been working for police agencies ever since he was eighteen years old. He was in his thirties. He had four children. Oh, he was great! Let me tell you what we did. He had seven candidates running against him in the Democratic primary. We didn't have a primary. We couldn't get anybody else to run. We tried. We knew who was going to win the Democratic primary. He was the chief deputy sheriff to the previous sheriff. He was a good fellow. I liked him personally, but he was an alcoholic and I didn't want him to be the sheriff. After the election was over, I went to each one of the Democratic

candidates who had run against the deputy sheriff and I asked him to support Joey Zorn. And I picked them off one by one and I got down to one final guy and he wanted to be on SLED. I said, "I can't help you there. Nobody can help you with SLED. I've only got one man in my lifetime on SLED and that was only because of [J.P.] Strom, the head of SLED." I knew him personally and when Jim Edwards got elected I got one young fellow on SLED. So, I told him I couldn't help him but I would make a recommendation and do what I could. We met at the old Walmart parking lot in Barnwell and I had all five of the guys who had already promised me they were going, and one of them was black, to endorse Joey Zorn. This sixth guy, we all came down on him and he came around, so I had six guys and the next week I ran a full page article in the county paper with those six men and their statement on why they were voting, all Democrats now, voted for Joey Zorn. Of course, they all became deputies after that. But they were all involved in law enforcement and they were good people. Finally, we got that fellow on SLED. He thinks I had something to do with it, but honest to God I don't know how in the world he got on SLED. But, it wasn't because of me.

Hartsook: We've mentioned several times, you do agree that it was inevitable progression the Republican Party would become dominant. Do you want to say anything more about that?

Ross: I think I mentioned this to you, the thing that Drake and I used to talk about and discuss, what we didn't want to see happen, we thought was going to happen, and it has happened. I used to speak in black churches. And, I wanted to point out to you, when I was in Columbia, Williams, who was head of the NAACP, who was executive director, for years he and I would have lunch together and talk. I would try to tell him what I thought we ought to do, and so forth and so on. But I didn't make a lot of progress. But, I would go to churches and speak. God, I went everywhere in the black community. I've been over to Voorhees at Denmark and spoke and I'd have these black professors

come up to me afterwards and say, "Man, you're right on target." I'd say, "Not really." They'd say, "Why not?" I'd say, "Because I can't convince you to vote for me. I can't convince you to vote for me, and as long as I can't. . . ."

When [gubernatorial candidate David] Beasley ran. . . . Let me tell you what we did with Beasley. Joey Zorn was the sheriff then. Beasley was in Orangeburg. I said, "There is a big funeral today in Barnwell County. The woman that has died is a good friend of mine, her husband used to work for my dad, we are kind of like brothers," and we are, he still lives in Barnwell, "You need to come to this funeral." He said, "I'll be [there]. Can you send somebody for me?" I said, "Yeah, the sheriff will pick you up." So, Joey Zorn went over and got Beasley, this was when he was running. him. We brought him back to one of the largest churches in the county, black church. The sons of the mother that had died called me up personally and said, "Mr. Dan, you got to come to church early to get you a seat. There's going to be a big crowd." And man, I tell you, that place was packed. And David Beasley had to stand up. He got there late so he had to stand up in the back of the church. It was amazing the black support that we got for Beasley in that one election, but it all went down the drain. I don't know what happened, whether he didn't follow up or what happened, but a lot of people that got involved in that campaign just sort of faded away. But we had a tremendous amount of support in this county and a lot of it depended on the fact that he came to that one funeral. God knows, all those boys [the woman's sons] got out and worked for him. In fact, one of the boys went to work in his office. He [Beasley] did do that. But there were a lot of things that happened over that four years that somehow he lost all that support in the black community that we thought we had, but we can't get it to stick. The great disappointment to me in the years that have gone by is the fact that we can't get it to stick and we've wound up with what I call a white and a black party, that's just the way it is. It's not good. I'd much rather see it split up both ways, some blacks in each one and some whites in each one. And I'm not saying the Democratic Party is

completely black but I'm saying, percentage wise, it way that way, a lot more so than I would like for it to be.

Hartsook: When you look back, what do you take the most pride in during your career in public service?

Ross: Politics? That's easy. Second party. Viable, two party system. Lord, there's nothing worse than a one party system. I was in China, I was in India, Burma; all those are one party. Russian is one party. I spent months in Mexico, I never will forget in Mexico. I was down in Coalcoman, which is in the state of Michoacan. . .

[Tape 5, Side 2 begins]

. . . Mexico City. You designated who the mayor was in down in Coalcoman and it was a one party system. We always said, well, they have an electoral process and they have this, but it really was a one party system. In South Carolina, the way we looked on it, especially when we came home from World War II, was it was a one party system and it was very dominant. Mr. Blatt and Mr. Brown never went out in the streets and whipped anybody with a whip but I'll tell you one thing, if you crossed them, you weren't long for this job or that job, if you crossed them. That was the way life was and it wasn't only in this county, it was a lot of other counties the same way. To me, the one thought in my mind in the '50s, the '60s, and the '70s, was, "Hey, we want a second, competitive, party in this state." I'm not completely happy with the results all the time. I think my great disappointment was back when they had the sting operation in Columbia [the FBI's Lost Trust Operation"]. So many Republicans got caught, along with Democrats. And some of those people

were very close to me, I mean good close friends, people who stood up for me time after time. Yet, I had to say to myself, dammit, you got caught, you were involved, you stole, then you ought to go to jail, I mean I had to say it, there was no way around it.

Sometimes when I talk to [S.C. House Speaker] David Wilkins and those, I'll say, "Hey, I don't understand why you guys are doing this or doing that." Of course, they're looking at it from a different perspective than what I'm looking at it from but I try to tell them, "Hey, I'm not the only one out there that's thinking what I'm thinking. It's a lot of other people that's got these thoughts, too, and they aren't happy with what you guys [are] doing. So, I'm not always happy with what happens, say, in the State House just because it's Republicans.

There are a lot of things I'd like to see them stand up for that they don't stand up for. I think the thing that bothers me in this state is the University of South Carolina and Clemson University. If you build a gymnasium at Clemson they've got to build one at Carolina and if you build one at Carolina, you've got to build one at Clemson. If you add a professor at Carolina, you've got to add one at Clemson. You've got to do everything the same. We can't afford two medical colleges. We can't afford two great universities. Maybe we can, but I just don't. . . . I don't think that every university or college has to teach all the same subjects. I think it ought to be some way that you could do it and say, "OK, the geology department at Carolina was started in 1800 when Dr. Cooper came there, therefore, the geology department ought to be taught at Carolina. You ought to not teach it at Clemson and the Citadel and all these other places. I mean, you may take a course or two but not to have a full blown department like you've got. Let the real graduate school be at the University of South Carolina and then maybe something else be located at Clemson. But you don't get people with guts enough to really tackle those things that need to be tackled like that.

We spend a lot of money wastefully. I get all over Jim Edwards about the medical schools. He was against the medical school in Columbia, which I was too, and the reason I was against the

medical school was I just didn't think we could afford two. But, what happens is there is no greater [labor] union in this country than the medical profession. That is a union! And, it's a union in the sense that they control the number of doctors. Jim Edwards will tell me, "Well, there's only so many smart people out there that can become doctors." Are you crazy? All they need is the money to go to school. So what happens? We start up another university medical school in Columbia, so we duplicate. But we still control the number of doctors that we let out. Their argument against producing more doctors is that they'll leave the state or they'll go somewhere else and practice, etc. My argument is, hey, do what they used to do in Mexico. They pay your way to college but you have to give five years to a rural community. When I was in Mexico, there was a young doctor down in Coalcoman, he was finishing up his fifth year out in the boondocks and then he could go to the city and practice. But, he had to give, to the state, five years because he got his education through the government. So, I say, "You know, there's all kind of ways you could work it," but we don't do that for some reason. But, anyway, you ask the questions.

Hartsook: We're winding down. I just want to ask for just a brief analysis of the character, contributions, and importance of a number of people. We've talked about several of them. Do you want to say anything more about Roger Milliken?

Ross: You know what they call Roger to his back? 'Big Red,' that's what they always called him. He was red-headed you know. Everybody called him 'Big Red' to his back. Everybody called him Mr. Milliken to his face. Roger Milliken is a man that don't part with money easy, but let me tell you something. As I told you before, he had a great influence in the party and one reason he did was because, let's say a man like Jim Edwards wanted to run for governor, Jim Edwards' response to Roger Milliken, "My god, Roger Milliken, he's the millionaire, therefore, he's money and I've got

to be on his good side.” So, Roger Milliken put forward more people to run for state chairman from Spartanburg County, [Robert] Chapman, George Graham, Jesse Cooksey, Barry Wynn, all of those guys from Spartanburg County. Well, everybody would tend to vote for those people, to some extent, because of the fact they wanted to get on the good side of Roger Milliken and they thought Roger Milliken was a good source of funds. The lesson to learn was that Roger Milliken wasn’t a good source of funds. When Jim Edwards came down to the wire in 1974, I had advertisements going out [on] the TV. By the coming Sunday, the campaign was broke and we had two weeks to go. We needed \$36,000. So I called a meeting for that Sunday in Columbia at the old Ramada Inn I believe it was and brought these Republicans in from all over the state, good friends of mine. Anyway, I was talking to Roger Milliken on the phone and I said, “I need \$36,000. Jim Edwards is going to win. We’ve got tracking polls showing the nine [percent] undecided votes breaking his way. I can show it to you.” Boy, I remember I was in the office one night and Anne Edwards was there and she said, “I wouldn’t do what you do for anything in the world.” That’s just what she told me. She’d heard me talking on the phone to Milliken. I said, “Anne, I’d eat s h,” that’s the way I felt about it. So, anyway, we had this meeting in Columbia. Roger wouldn’t promise me the money at all. With all those people in the room, I told them I was giving them a quota of \$1,000. I’d call their name and say, “Your quota is \$1,000. I want you to write me a check right now for \$1,000, if you’ve got it. If you haven’t got it, go back home and borrow it from the bank and send me \$1,000. But you go out next week and raise \$1,000 and pay yourself back. It’s up to you to pay yourself back; otherwise you’re going to just be rid of \$1,000.” I raised over \$30,000 that day and we paid off our television. The next week, Milliken sent me \$20,000. It wasn’t enough to cover that two weeks, he wasn’t going to go too far out. What I’m saying is, you really had to convince him that you had a good thing going before he was going to put his money in it, and I can understand that, he’s a businessman and all of that. People got the wrong idea that Roger was going to part with his

money because he was involved in the party. He was not. Now, on the national level, there is no doubt in my mind that Milliken probably poured thousands and thousands of dollars, say, in the Nixon campaign or Ford's campaign, any of those people. Like Reagan. But, he's been very disappointed with those people too, because they really sold him down the river when it comes to the textile industry. So, it hasn't been a very good lesson for him.

Hartsook: What's [early party chair] Greg Shorey's place in party history?

Ross: Greg was really before me and I didn't know him that well. I got to know him in 1976 when I invited all the old chairmen to come in and take an active part with me. Everybody came forward except for Harry [Dent]. Harry was the only guy that wouldn't come forward to me. I got along fine with Harry later on, got him involved to some extent, but never like Drake and Greg and all of those guys. Boy, they were tremendous, came in and grabbed a hold and they helped me. They became advisors. Greg's been busy ever since then, been involved to some extent. Now, he's not the hardest worker and he's got a lot of other things going, but he's been very loyal to the party.

Hartsook: How about Bob Chapman?

Ross: Bob Chapman I didn't know hardly at all. I know Bob Chapman's brothers. Some of them helped me, especially in the Jim Edwards campaign. His brother, Jim, his wife was my inauguration ball chairman. So, I got to know those folks real well. The only thing I really know was that all the Chapman men were gentlemen. I really didn't know much about him otherwise.

Hartsook: Martha Edens.

Ross: Martha and I, I don't think, have ever been on the same side of anything. [laughing] Don't think so. There was an entirely different world between Martha Edens and Drake Edens. Drake Edens was a down to earth person. Martha is what we call the old, Republicans used to be called the country club set. I'm not being derogatory when I say this, that's just her style. She has been very nice to me and I've had some really nice relationships with her, but I don't believe Martha would be comfortable with the average man in the street, whereas Drake Edens was. Drake Edens was so down to earth, it was pitiful; I mean he was just a good old country boy. Martha is not quite that way. She's a little bit more, I don't know what you want to say, you've got to be in her company to, I mean it's the tennis club, or the country club; it's that kind of atmosphere. . . . She's not exactly comfortable, I don't think. . . . I think Jim Edwards has got the same kind of feeling about Martha that I have, sort of, that she's not Drake. There's a different family. And they didn't get along too good either, between those two [Martha and her brother Drake]. There was a lot of split there, within the family between those two. That wasn't out in the open to everybody in the country but it was a known fact to a lot of people that they didn't see eye to eye all the time.

Hartsook: How about Gayle Averyt?

Ross: Great guy. Gayle raised \$500,000 for Bill Workman, I believe it was. That blew my mind, in 1962, to raise \$500,000. Do you know what that was like? Do you know that we ran Albert Watson's campaign, the highest campaign that we ever had, for Albert Watson, do you know what we spent for a congressional seat? \$18,000. I read the other day Joe Wilson is going to raise \$400,000. Gayle Averyt raised half a million dollars in 1962 for Bill Workman. To me, that just blew my mind. But he had that capability and when I brought him into the Jim Edwards campaign,

he did the same thing. He can raise money. The old saying, you've got to have money to raise money, and you've got [to have] the contacts, and he could do it.

Hartsook: Do you want to say anything more about Harry Dent?

Ross: Yes. No doubt in my mind, he was a great chairman. He was a good chairman. Good chairman. Let me just say one more thing about Milliken. I told you he didn't part with his money and I told you about the Edwards campaign. But I had a paragraph down here [referring to notes]. He was tall, lean, redheaded, always well dressed, courteous, likable, sociable in a crowd, and in talking with you, you realized right quick that he didn't suffer fools. And, he was very decisive in his manner. But he was a tough old bird, but he had to be. He invited me to fly to Memphis with him and there was a snowstorm up in Spartanburg and he put me up for a day or two until the storm was over. We flew to Memphis and that's when I learned a lot about him. At that time he owned sixty-five mills and I asked him why he didn't own any in Latin America and he said it was too volatile. You may own it today, but you wouldn't own it tomorrow. I asked him a lot of questions about things and he was very straightforward with it. He'd give you good answers. I liked him personally. I made his son a page at the National Convention. He worked that kid to death. He did. That kid told me things. . . . Here, I'd probably call it child abuse. Milliken brought him up. . . . He was like a plow hand on the farm; I mean he gave him the most menial of jobs to do. I guess he wanted him to get used to money, and that's the way you get used to it. But he was very tough with him, very tough. But he was very great with the people who worked for him. Walt Pettus thought the world of him. Hal Byrd thought he was gold. Connie Armitage's husband, when he had cancer, Milliken sent him to every great surgeon or hospital in the United States to see if he could be cured. With his people, and he got good people around him, he was very protective of those people and

very, very loyal to them. But he didn't tolerate people that weren't hard workers, which I can understand.

Hartsook: Ken Powell?

Ross: Let me go back to Harry Dent one more time. The first time I ever saw Harry Dent, I thought he was a Baptist preacher, which is really what he was. I didn't know it at the time, but he was really a Baptist preacher. Oh gosh, he could orate, he was great. He would speak in a hotel, he would speak in an auditorium, he would speak on a street corner. You ever hear these preachers on the street, that get out and preach? He'd get out and preach politics on a street corner. He'd get a crowd. I'm telling you, I saw him do it in this state. He would do that. That's why I say he was a great chairman. If he didn't have a crowd, he'd go manufacture one, and manufacture it out on the street.

The thing that I really gave him a great deal of credit for, he was good at getting good people around him. The other thing, he went to Presbyterian College. His brother and I were good friends. His brother and I played football against each other. He played for St. Matthews, and I played for Blackville and either that school or us were the district champions and so we know each other from those days. But anyway, Harry had a brother that got killed in the Korean War. The other thing, he majored in journalism and the thing that fascinated me about him was he could take a story and he could parcel it out. He'd give the press a little bit, a little bit more, a little bit more, until finally he lowered the boom. The story that I would probably take and have one day's coverage, he'd string it out for ten days. I learned from that. I never learned how to do that like he did, I never learned to do that, but I always admired that about him. He could get more out of a story than anybody I've ever seen. Just string it out.

Ken Powell was a great guy for me. Let me say, Ray Harris, I really worked hard under Ray Harris when he was there. Of course, that all ended when Ray Harris went his way and I went mine, so to speak. Ken Powell followed Ray Harris. I didn't know this and I really don't want to mention it now but until I did that critique, I found this out later, there were two people in the running for state chairman in 1970, that was me and Ken Powell. I didn't know that and I wouldn't have changed my critique if I had known that because I still believed what I believed. But it came down that Ray and those decided that it should be Ken Powell and he became the chairman. Ken Powell was the kind of fellow that I thought was great for the party because he was great with the press. He was young, energetic, he'd been a big Bob McNair supporter when Bob McNair ran for governor and then he became a Republican. He was really good with the press. The press liked him and he was very articulate on TV and I just thought he was wonderful in that particular job. I think Ken Powell had a great deal of confidence in himself, that's why he gave me so much work to do, so I wound up chairing the platform committee. I headed up the newspaper, headed up the training programs, all of those under Ken Powell. And he let me run with them and do what I wanted to do and he was very involved, too. So, we made some progress during that time. I thought that we did real well.

He ran for reelection. Strom opposed him. It was my job to deliver the votes in District Number Two and I think we had four hundred and something votes and we got then all except for about ten. He was very popular, especially in my district, which included Richland County, even though I think he came from Greenwood County. He didn't come from Richland County although he lives there now. He ran for statewide office [Attorney General]. It's a shame he couldn't get elected, I think he would have been good in politics. I really think he would have been good. But I really enjoyed working for him; he was a great guy to work with.

Hartsook: Jesse Cooksey?

Ross: Jesse and I get along fine. Jess is the kind that said he'd do anything to defeat me and I think he would have and he worked hard at it. I was so tied up with Jim Edwards when he [Cooksey] was chairman that I didn't have much to do with Jesse so I didn't know much about him. Of course, Cooksey was for Westmoreland, we knew that. But Jim Edwards won the election, became the governor, and I was the chairman of the inauguration. Jesse was unhappy with a lot of things I did, both as campaign chairman and also as inauguration chairman. My God, inauguration, that was the worst thing I ever went through in my life, trying to satisfy everybody. And really, most of the arguments, wasn't much in the way of arguing. But, when I'm in the room with Jesse, we get along fine. I just don't know a great deal about him except that I didn't think I wanted to see him be chairman. I thought Joyce Hearn would have been a heck of a lot better chairman, and I haven't changed my mind since. I think she still would have been a great chairman. She ran some years later and I opposed her. I opposed her later even though I supported her in those early days. I went to her and explained it to her, by this time I had gotten older and had learned how to do those things. But I went to her and told her I was going to vote against her and the reason was because of [Richland County Republican activist] George Shissias. Everybody in this state believes that Shissias is pulling your strings and that's not going to sit really well with people in this state. And so I voted for her opposition. But God, she would have been a great chairman, no doubt in my mind.

Hartsook: We're running out of tape so I want to give you a chance to answer any questions I should have asked but don't know enough to ask.

Ross: [Each governor needs someone] in his office as a political operative to handle politics. Jim Edwards wouldn't do it because he didn't want to do anything that would upset the Democrats who controlled the Senate and so forth and so on, and he wouldn't do it. Rusty had a sideline job but it wasn't the job I thought he ought to have. When Carroll Campbell came along, we made the same proposal to Carroll Campbell and he took it and ran with it. He asked who we wanted and we said Gene Bankman. Gene Bankman was the kind of guy that, if he was in a crown, would talk about what he did last week or last month, it was always to his advantage. But he was a guy that once he got into this job, and we all suspected this, it was the greatest place in the world for him. It was where he wanted to be and he did a great job for Carroll Campbell for eight years, and he did four more years for Beasley. We kept him there then. I called Gene Bankman and I said, "Barry Wynn has an attorney. Ya'll's office hasn't turned a lick and Barry Wynn's out there and Nancy Hawks gonna beat the tar out of you. I said, "I'm not for Nancy Hawks." Gene said, "What do you think we ought to do?" I said, "Let me tell you what I'll do. Let's get on a conference call; I'll get you, me, and Roberta Coombs from the Christian Coalition." And, I got Roberta on the phone. Let me tell you why I got Roberta on the phone. I told you there's been no training in the last four or five chairmen. We've gone through twenty years with no training and the party, in the last four years, has been the worst I've ever seen. I'm scared to death the Democrats are going to take over and the reason I am is because we're not doing anything on the local level. We're not really doing our homework. Now the big counties, Richland will do okay. But it's the rural counties, the mid-level counties, that aren't doing a great deal. And anyway, Roberta Coombs and the Christian Coalition, that's been the precinct organization in this state for the last ten or twelve years. I mean that's been it. I told Beasley. I told Carroll Campbell the same thing. Carroll Campbell, he didn't get along with the Christian Coalition, and I said, "Boy, you're making the biggest mistake of your life.

They're the only people that can elect you." I told Beasley, "You better court them because they're the only people that can win. . . .

[Interview ends]