Interview

with

Thomas W. Chadwick
Interviewer:
Herbert J. Hartsook

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Headquarters of National League of Postmasters of the United States, Alexandria, VA.

Synopsis:


Chadwick grew up on Wadmalaw Island. The family moved to Charleston during the depression, when Chadwick gained employment as an apprentice ship fitter. He served in the Navy during World War II, and, shortly after the war’s end, entered U.S.C.’s journalism school under the G.I. Bill. While in school, he won a job with The State newspaper, and eventually left school to work full time at the paper. In ever more responsible roles over a five year period, he became known as an aggressive, probing reporter with a keen nose for an important news scoop. Chadwick eventually left The State and doubled his salary taking a job with The Office of Price Stabilization. Following the election of Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chadwick became Field Agent with Santee Cooper, basically serving as Dick Jefferies’ executive assistant and helping with public relations for the operation. Chadwick joined Olin Johnston’s staff as Press Secretary on April 1, 1955. The position had been vacant since the death of James Lever in an automobile accident one or two years earlier. For the next ten years, Chadwick worked closely with Johnston in the legislative arena and on the campaign trail.

In this interview, Chadwick describes the leadership which Johnston provided in the office, his concern for the common man and liberal economic stance, and the campaigns in which Chadwick figured. He also discusses the roles played in the office by other key staff members such as Robert L. Alexander, Hyram W. “Bill” Brawley, Andrew M. Faucette [1895-1961], and Baxter Funderburke, as well as Johnston’s brother William C. Johnston and the Senator’s wife, Gladys, and talks of close associates Senator Frank Carlson [R-KS], J.C. Long, Robert Hemphill, and others.

Transcriber:
Andrew Daniels; July 1995
HARTSOOK: Could you describe your background, where you were born, your parents, your educational background?

CHADWICK: I was born in a Charleston hospital, but I lived as a kid on Selkirk Plantation on Wadmalaw Island. My father came from Syracuse, New York; my mother came from Casanovia, a little small resort town in New York State. My father sharecropped a plantation that he bought from a cousin who was on the Southern side of the family, Tom Carroll, who was in Charleston at the time. After sharecropping a few years he owned the plantation. That's where I grew up as a kid. I moved to Charleston in the Depression when things collapsed. My dad got about three cents on the dollar from the bank, and he had to find other work. He drove a cab and things got pretty tough.

I went to a little school on Wadmalaw Island which had the first five grades in one classroom. The teacher was Mrs. Hallie Perry and she taught all grades in that one room. The first row was the first grade, the second row was the second grade, the third row, so forth. She would get the first graders going, and then start the second graders, and the third graders. It was sort of like a "Row, Row, Row Your Boat" kind of thing. But everybody stuck to their work, and she had the ability to discipline. I don't ever remember her doing much disciplining. We were all scared of her I guess. She was a great teacher.

Then when I went to Charleston and moved into the city, I was a very timid kid, because country boys are intimidated when they get thrown into the city. They used to gang up on me and everything, you know, this was a country boy. So I had a hard time getting adjusted to the city but I finally got through all right. But I always grew up feeling the pressure of the Depression and the city.

I liked English and writing, and I did some research work when I came home from the war. I went into the Seabees in World War II. When I came home, I became interested in some diaries in the wall of a house that they were renovating in Charleston. I edited those under the auspices of Dr. Harold Easterby, who was the Director of the South Carolina Historical Society and a professor at the College of Charleston. Dr.
William Way, Rector of Grace Church in Charleston, was President of the Society, and into writing and research.

Before I went into the war I was an apprentice ship fitter at the Charleston Navy Yard. We studied in the apprenticeship school, and studied blueprints and layouts and construction and everything. We received a very good, broad perspective of the construction of a ship, from the design and the engineering and on up.

When I came back from the war, I didn't know what I'd do. I went back to the Navy Yard and decided, "I don't want to do this." So I applied for the University of South Carolina, to go to school there. My mother was a very disciplined woman and she said, "Oh no! You aren't going to that school. You should go to The Citadel." I said "Mom, I've had enough of military in the war. I don't want any more. I want to go to the University of South Carolina." I really wanted to get away from home a little bit. And she just said, "Well, I don't know what you're going to do up there. I understand they all drink liquor and gamble." I had never heard that. I don't know where she heard it, but anyway I went to the university and studied journalism.

I did not graduate. I was going there on the G.I. Bill of Rights and I got a job at The State newspaper, ostensibly part-time. I'd go to work in the afternoons. When I didn't have a lab I'd go in at two [o'clock] and work. I started out as an obituary writer. You know what an obituary re-write man is. Very dull stuff. But then a couple of people were killed tragically, prominent people died, and I dressed up the obituaries, and they promoted me to the police and fire beat, and then went on to the courthouse beat.

I moved very rapidly for a young man that didn't have a degree. I got so busy with that work, and so fascinated. I loved it. I knew if I waited another two or three years, I was going to get left behind. I already was three or four years behind because of the war. So I just made an "executive" decision that I was going to pull out of the school and stick with the paper and work full-time, and maybe go back later and get the rest of my education. You never know what you do in life, whether it's right or not. I wouldn't try to re-live it. I regret not having my degree, but I got along and I did quite well and did some various public relations work.

After I left The State – I was there for about five years – I went from The State to the Office of Price Stabilization (O.P.S.) and became director of Public Relations. When I left The State, I should not say this, I was the top reporter. I don't say that
braggadociosly. I covered the governor's office, the federal courthouse, the Senate, and key stories I'd be sent out on. And I had a column on the editorial page. It would vary from editorial to op-editorial. They'd move it around, and it was called Executive Session. I got some pretty good scoops. I was lucky, innovative, I guess that's what you'd call it, and was able to really move up fast.

HARTSOOK: What led to that? How did you get your good scoops? What do you attribute that to?

CHADWICK: Because I wasn't a member of the good old boys club. There was a group there: Bill Workman, Aldeman Duncan with A.P. and Doc Greer, a really fine gentleman, but they were so close to the politicians, they were afraid to offend anybody. Governor Strom Thurmond used to write letters over to the editor, criticizing my work. I had a column one time that said that Strom Thurmond is the pot calling the kettle black. I said, "Look at his record of financial management of South Carolina under his governorship, and he's trying to criticize Harry Truman. Well, look what he did here and there." Man, he got so mad he couldn't see straight. I think that I just wasn't that close to the hierarchy in the government to where I didn't mind writing stuff that was offensive to them a little bit; like the head of the old State Mental Health Department. I discovered that he had built an elevator and all kinds of stuff in his home, using state funds that were supposed to go to the hospital. And I dissected his budget, and that led to hearings. He finally was put out of office because of the misuse of funds.

I went out to a jailhouse one time and I interviewed a prisoner who was accused of murder and the guy confessed to me. That was pretty good. There was a big murder trial there, and here the guy confessed to me that he did the murder. I wrote it up, and, man, they called the lawyers and everything. They finally published it, but there was a big controversy over whether we should do that or not. Then the prosecuting attorney turned around and subpoenaed me as a witness. I didn't want to go to court, but I had to. They called me the State's star witness. I responded-- "I'm The State's reporter.

Then I broke a story about a numbers racket, and one of the city councilmen was accused of being involved with it, and the mayor. There again, the grand jury wanted to subpoena me, and I went to Colin Monteith, who was a councilman at the time. I said--
"Colin, I just feel terrible about this. I wrote a news story but they're now using it in the grand jury to come after you. You're my friend and I feel in between. I was trying to do my job as a journalist, and I didn't want to hurt anybody but that's just the way it is. I'm not going to testify and they're going to put me in jail." He said, "To hell with that, you go testify. I know where you got the story, and it's all right. You're a good reporter. You go ahead and testify, and don't worry about it. I can take care of myself. And I'm not mad at you or anything. I don't feel like you've betrayed me. Don't worry about it." So I went ahead and testified. Those kinds of stories, leaping into the front pages, that surely helped me as a reporter, and a reputation as a reporter. I'd put it sort of a preface to what you call investigative reporting today. Some of the reporters didn't approve of my doing that. I don't say they didn't like me personally, but they didn't like my style, because it was scooping them. In the old days, you didn't offend people.

There are other things that I didn't write. A very prominent member of the Senate, I went up to interview him on a very important bill that he was going to drop in the hopper the next day in the Senate. I called him and he said-- "Where are you?" And I said-- "I've been out to Heiss' Pond for the annual state employees' convention." He said-- "Oh yeah, I couldn't get out there but I'll be in my hotel room and you call me when you're ready." Well, I was calling him from the hotel lobby and he didn't realize that. It didn't take me five minutes to get there.

I called him, and he said-- "Oh! Uh, yeah. Yeah, come on up, sure." He gave me the room number and I went up and came in. He offered me a drink, and I said-- "Thank you" --and I had a drink. In those days, you were more liberal about taking a drink. Nowadays, everybody is afraid to death they'll get caught driving or something. We finished the interview and I said-- "Senator, I really need to go to the bathroom. Can I use your bathroom for a minute?" He was in bed all this time, see. I thought he had been sleeping or just tired, I didn't ask him. He called a girl, and said-- "The jig's up. Come on out." And she came out of the bathroom in her negligee and jumped into bed with him. I knew the girl. I went and used the bathroom and came out and I said-- "Thank very much for the story, Senator. See you tomorrow." I never reported that. I didn't see where it had any connection or the germaneness to the story. I was after a story about this important bill, and I wanted a scoop on that. I didn't want to go in there and talk about his private life.
HARTSOOK: And in that day and age, he probably assumed you wouldn't report that.

CHADWICK: He knew right off hand that I wouldn't do it. He trusted me. That's one thing I did have, is trust with my clientele, the people I dealt with. The Chief Highway Commissioner could talk with me for two, three months before announcing a new bridge across the Congaree River. I had gotten on to it, but he didn't want it to break because it would affect the price of land, and maybe cause big disturbances. He promised me the break, and when the time came, I had a much better story. I had the architect's design of the bridge and everything, and broke it in the front page of the paper. And left the opposition way behind. So why not that, than to break it as a rumor story, if you've got an agreement? I don't see anything wrong with that. You build trust with that, and you build a source of information. Now, it'd be wrong if I didn't report that his brother-in-law got the contract to build the bridge or something. That would be a little different.

At least those were the kind of journalistic ethics in the environment I grew in. I had as a professor A.L. Wardlaw. He didn't go into all those things when we studied, but we did study ethics and we studied the responsibilities and so forth. I kind of feel that what I was taught at that time was you wouldn't report something of a personal nature like that if it wasn't affecting the welfare or the well-being of the people. You know, on a public figure.

Strom Thurmond had a lot of colonels, famous colonels, all over the state. Every county, every town, he'd have these colonels. One time he called a big meeting of the colonels and they all came into Columbia at the Wade Hampton Hotel. I came in the back of the hotel and up through the service entrance and got a glass cup and put it against the door and listened. I heard everything that was said. And all these people, Charlie Plowden, who was the chairman of this committee, they were all in there talking about how they were going to beat Olin Johnston. I thought-- "Man, this is the scoop of the day." And it got all out, what Strom said, and what others said...hell, a couple of the people that were colonels on Strom's staff were close friends of Senator Johnston. I didn't have any relationship with the Senator at that time. I just reported it.
HARTSOOK: This would have been 1949? Just before the big Senate race in '50?

CHADWICK: Along there, that's right. And, man, that story leaped out on the front pages. A.P. and U.P. picked it up, everybody picked it up. It was a hot thing. Strom's colonels out there. Strom was so mad he couldn't see straight.

HARTSOOK: So you're an up-and-coming reporter with *The State*...?

CHADWICK: I'm taking too much time on myself, I'm sorry.

HARTSOOK: No, this is just fascinating. But how do you go from that to going to the Office of Price Stabilization?

CHADWICK: Well, there was an announcement, and the money was just intriguing. I was getting about $5800 a year at *The State*, and the O.P.S. offer was $12,000. That's more than double. I think that was the figure. It was pretty close. And I had a friend who knew Senator Johnston much better than I did. I had seen him from time to time. But the election was over. The election was '50. I had gotten to know the Senator on the campaign trail. I covered the campaign. And I was fair.

HARTSOOK: That was quite a campaign.

CHADWICK: Oh, terrifying campaign. But in all honesty, I had no interest in Senator Johnston, as a personal interest. I sympathized with some of his causes, but I would go to these campaign meetings and Alderman Duncan and Bill Workman would write the stories up and they'd show up in the *News & Courier* and on the A.P. wire; and I didn't think I was at the same meeting. I mean, they really were not reporting what I heard and saw.

I thought the Senator was doing a pretty good job. And I could sense that the farm element, the working people, and, reluctantly, the black people were behind him.
The black people didn't like him too much, I mean personally. They liked him on economic issues, and that was the secret. He was economically-postured to help the little people, the poor people, the middle-class people. I think that's what carried him in that campaign as much as anything. If you walked down Main Street, Anytown, in that campaign, you'd think Strom was going to beat him two-to-one maybe or something; it was pretty bad. Junior Chamber of Commerce, businesspeople, bankers; that element, the vocal element of society was really against the Senator, no question about it. And the further you went into the low country, the worse it got.

He went to one rally down in Charleston. It was at Johnson-Hagood Stadium. I didn't cover this meeting, but I heard about it and read about it, and I know what happened. The Senator got down there and the blacks were sitting in one section, the whites another. And some of the people in the white section were trying to interrupt the Senator. He just hit the platform and said-- "You niggers shut up! I'm trying to deliver a message"-- or something like that. And that came out in the press as if the blacks were after him. So that helped him politically. And he'd tell the black leadership-- "I had to say that. I didn't want to, but I had to." And they seemed to understand that. It was an unholy alliance, I guess you'd call it.

HARTSOOK: It is interesting, if you look at his voting record, how liberal he really was.

CHADWICK: Oh, he was very liberal. Very liberal. Especially on economic issues. Everybody changes in politics. I mean, I never thought I'd live to see the day that Strom Thurmond would put a black on his staff. I remember when I was at the University of South Carolina, I'd go over to Benedict-Allen University, and meet with black students to talk about how we could better our relationships. We did it clandestinely, under the cover. If people knew I was doing that when I was a student at the university, they might have run me off. It was that kind of racial difference, but that's a long time ago. That's fifty years ago.

HARTSOOK: How would you happen to do that? How would you even think to do that?
CHADWICK:  Well, I don't know. When I grew up on Wadmalaw Island, the only friends I had were black children to play with. We loved each other, and we played with each other. If one of us was drowning, the other would pull us out of the river. We all went in the river buck-naked. We didn't have any inhibitions. Then, when I came to the city, all of a sudden it was a whole different tempo. Then I went into the war. In Charleston, even before the war, blacks and whites would push each other off the sidewalk, and this kind of thing, as you're walking down the street. I was very uncomfortable with that. I said-- "Why are we doing this?" I'd never thought about it as a segregated school society. I never ran into that part of it. I was too young to think about it. But later I thought about it, and when I read about some of the things that were going on to circumvent giving people a decent education, I thought that was stupid. And that's why I did it, because I thought it was the right thing to do.

HARTSOOK:  Was it an organized kind of thing or was it just real informal?

CHADWICK:  It was just maybe a half of dozen of us students. We would get together and go over there and talk with them. It was not recognized by the university or anybody.

HARTSOOK:  Because I know around 1960 the Council on Human Relations had a student organization that....

CHADWICK:  Well, see, that's too late. That's ten years after I was at the university, or more. I think I would have been the class of '51. They send me material as class of '50. It doesn't make any difference, but I didn't graduate so I'm not really in either class.

HARTSOOK:  I was asking you how you got to the Office of Price Stabilization. You mentioned the salary issue.

CHADWICK:  Well, I got in touch with Senator Johnston, and of course there was some politics in the appointment. There were several key people that were running for
that job. I didn't realize it until I got into it. One of them was Eddie Finley, a really nice man and a friend of mine. He was the P.R. guy in the forestry service. There were a couple of other people running for it, but anyway somehow or another I got it.

[Tape 1, Side 2 Begins]

CHADWICK: The Senator supported me for that job and it was quite a fight to get it. The most helpful person I had in that fight was Andy Faucette, the Senator's Home Secretary. He just kept after it. I don't know who was for what in those days. I didn't know all the rest of these staff people, but I really did bond with Andy Faucette. After I got the job, I served in it until the Eisenhower administration came in. Incidentally, I had a small break in service there. I resigned to help manage Adlai Stevenson's South Carolina campaign.

After Eisenhower came in, he announced that they were going to abolish O.P.S. This was in the early part of the year, February, March or something. I was up at the State Legislature just going around, and Dick Jefferies, who was a former governor and also senator from Colleton County and general manager of Santee-Cooper, the big, hydro-electric state-owned system. He said-- "Tom! I'm glad to catch up with you here. You know, we're thinking of changing the way we do business down at Santee-Cooper a little bit. We're looking for a good, all-around person that can attend the Rural Electric Co-op fairs and make friends with people and handle advertising programs and also do some lobbying up here in the Legislature. I know that's not an easy person to find but if you run into somebody that you think is competent, tell them to see me, I want to talk to them, and give me an outline or a resume or something.

I said-- "Senator, you don't have to look any further." He said-- "What?" I said-- "I think I am your man." He said-- "Are you available?" I said-- "Oh, yeah. I just got the word Eisenhower is going to close my office down." He said-- "Well, when can you start?" I said-- "As soon as you want me." I thought it was March the first, or something like that. He said-- "Well, get your resume together, and make an appointment to see Jim Hammond, the chairman." I thought-- "Oh, boy. This is like the rabbit falling into the
briar patch." Jim Hammond was a good friend of mine. We didn't think together politically on everything, but I'd been on trips with him to Santee-Cooper, and written up the place and taken pictures of it and everything, and he was very high on me. So, that's how I got to Santee-Cooper.

I worked for Mr. Jefferies. The title on the door was "Field Agent" but what I really was what I told you. I was sort of an executive assistant with a different title. As such, we had to deal with Washington sometimes on Rural Electric Co-op matters: loans, funding for things and so forth. So, I was not unknown to Senator Johnston, up where I was. And I was interested in the Democratic Party, and what we were doing there.

They were trying to get a speaker to spark things, and they were having a little trouble getting a good speaker. These were the lean days under Eisenhower. So I called the Senator's office, and went around there and saw Andy Faucette. Andy called up the Senator, and they zeroed in on Senator [Robert S.] Kerr from Oklahoma. He came down and made a great speech. My wife had gone up to Columbia with me to hear the speech. The Senator saw me. He said-- "I want to talk to you." I said-- "Well, Senator, I'm here in the hotel. Do you want me to come to your room or something?" He said-- "I don't have a room, but I'll come to your room. Where are you?" I told him, so after the meeting came a knock on the door. The Senator came in....

HARTSOOK: By himself?

CHADWICK: By himself. Sat down on the bed. My wife and I were there. We were expecting him, you know. I said-- "Senator, I'm honored that you came to pay me a visit. You met my wife." He said-- "I sure did, yes." And then he looked up and said-- "I want you to come to Washington with me." I said-- "What?" He said-- "I want you to come to Washington with me." I said-- "When?" I thought he'd meant a trip or something, you know. He said-- "No, I want you to be my press secretary. I need a press secretary. I need somebody to take care of my public relations, to tell me when I've got problems. Can you help me?" I said-- "Yes, sir, but I've got to talk to my wife first, and think about this. Because that would mean we'd have to move up there and everything. What will it pay?" He told me a certain amount, and I thought-- "Oh, boy. That's a big

I went back and I talked to Dick Jeff eries about it. He said-- "Tom, you go on up to Washington and work for the Senator. You can do us a lot of good up there. I'll tell you one thing, though. Some people don't transplant to that city very well. When you leave, I'm locking the doors to your office, and everything's there. If it doesn't work out, you come back, same job. I'll hold it open until you're satisfied that everything's O.K."

HARTSOOK: Jefferies seems to be one of those people that you never hear ill said of him.

CHADWICK: That's right. Well, at one time in his life he used to drink awful heavy. But he quit. He just quit cold turkey. Not in my time with him, but when he was younger. He told me about it. He said-- "One day I was down at Edisto Beach, at the beach house there. I had this bottle in my hand and was about to take a drink, and I said-- 'John Barleycorn, it's either you or me.'" And with that, he said he opened the door and threw the bottle out in the woods. He said-- "I never took a drink since."

HARTSOOK: Pretty progressive, wasn't he?

CHADWICK: Oh, yes. He was very progressive, and an extremely quick tactician. He would strategize something way up front. He never went into something blind-sided. But he did something to me that I'll never forget. It didn't anger me, but it just bewildered me. I was on my honeymoon -- I married one of his secretaries -- we were on our honeymoon down at Sea Island, Georgia. I got a call, and it was him. He said-- "Tom, I hate to bother you, but Jimmy Byrnes wants to sell Santee-Cooper to the highest bidder. We've got to lobby that thing to death, and I need you badly. I need you in Columbia." I said-- "When do you need me?" He said-- "I need you Monday morning." This was Sunday. I said-- "All right, we'll be there." I hated that, you know. I mean, right in the middle of my honeymoon? But we went, and did our job. After that, he called a friend of J.C. Long's. J.C. was a very good friend of the Democrats, and Olin, and Jeff eries, and so forth. Part of the crowd. He told J.C., "Tom did a job for me, and
this is what he did" and so forth. "And I want to take care of him. Will you give him a place down at the beach for a week?" So, we went to the Isle of Palms, and had a little vacation down there, which was nice.

HARTSOOK: I've heard Long referred to as one of the real powers behind the Senator...?

CHADWICK: Oh, he was. He was. Absolutely, no question about it. One of the closest friends the Senator had. The most reliable. Most cantankerous. He could be very cantankerous. But he would tell the Senator the truth. He never B.S.'d the Senator, and a lot of people would B.S. him.

I remember one time the Senator was -- this was before his last campaign -- and Brother Bill was getting busy in politics and all. He wanted to run for governor, and the Senator didn't want him to run. Anybody with any common sense would say-- "It ain't going to work, Bill. People are not going to allow two major offices of the state to be in the hands of a pair of brothers, I don't care who they are, whether it be Maybanks, or Thurmonds, or whoever. They aren't going to allow it; it's not going to happen. You're just going to split up some of Olin's friends when you do this." But Bill wouldn't listen. He made one of these long calls to the Senator, talking to him about it. I'd watch the lights, you know; when the light would go off, I'd know the Senator was alone. So I went in there, and the Senator was just looking down at the table, shaking his head. I said-- "Senator, are you all right?" He said-- "Oh, yes, Tom." He looked up, and he said-- "You know, I know how to take care of my enemies. It's my relatives and friends that drive me crazy." He didn't have to say anything more. I knew he'd probably had a big argument with Brother Bill about whether to run or not, or some other issue. I didn't know. I never listened on his calls, unless he told me to. Once in a while I'd do it, and make notes for him. But I'll never forget that, because he was so upset with that call. Anyway, back to how I got on with him. Does that answer the question pretty well?

HARTSOOK: When you joined the staff, had he not had a press aide before?
CHADWICK: Yes, he had a very good one. He had a young man named Jimmy Lever. Jimmy was from Anderson, but Jimmy was killed in an automobile wreck. He was driving from Washington to Anderson as I recall. He was killed on one of the highways. We didn't have any superhighways in those days. Route 1 was a terror to go between Washington and there. But he had been without a press secretary for, I'd say, at least a year or two years maybe. And his press relations were deteriorating, there's no question about it.

HARTSOOK: What do you attribute that to, that deterioration?

CHADWICK: Well, you've got to feed the press information. They're not going to come in and dig up the good stuff. I always liked to see a little humor, and a little class about how you deal with the press. I would go up to the press gallery, and sit down and chat with them, and shoot the bull and go out and have a few drinks with them. In fact, the Senator introduced me one time...somebody rushed up to him at a convention that we were attending and said-- "Senator, can I get you a drink?" He had a drink in his hand for him. It was a bourbon and water or something like that. The Senator said-- "No, I don't drink. Give that to Tom there. He does all my drinking and talking." I was a little embarrassed, but he said it in a joking way, and later on I realized he was complimenting me, really.

There are a lot of stories about him, that he really was put on about all this, but he wasn't. He'd never take a drink. He really wouldn't. He had a friend here in Washington, Milton Kronheim, who was probably the largest distributor of whiskey in the area. And Kronheim would send him whiskey and wine and things. He'd send it to all his friends on the Hill, and probably some shoe clerk never thought about Olin Johnston didn't like wine or booze. The Senator was always torn between that whiskey and his Depression attitude, which I also have, to not waste anything in this world, you don't throw anything out. There's always somebody who can use something.

So he would call us into the office. One at a time, never two, never three; just one at a time. I'll never forget that he'd call me in there say-- "Tom, do you have a brown bag?" This was on the intercom. I said-- "Yes, sir. I think I can find one." I went on in the office there to see him. He looked up, and he went over to his safe. All the Senators
have a huge safe in their office. You would think they must have Fort Knox in there. He went in the safe and pulled out this bottle of bourbon, and he gave it to me.

He said-- "Now, put that in the brown bag. You take that home. I know you boys, you all buy a little bottle of whiskey on the weekend, and I know you take a drink. I'm not trying to tell you what to do. I'm opposed to drinking, but I'm also opposed to wasting stuff. So I want you to take that bottle of whiskey and use it, but I want you to give Betty Rose" -- that was my first wife's name; she died later -- "you give her what you'd have paid at the liquor store for that bottle. And then I know something good will be coming out of that." I said-- "All right, Senator." And I would. I'd go home, and give Betty a $5 bill, and say-- "The Senator sends his compliments. He gave me a bottle of whiskey and said I had to do this." So we'd carry out the agreement.

He'd do that with other members of his staff. He used to get cigars, too -- I don't know where he got those from -- and silk stockings. Oh, gosh. And he'd have those things stashed away, and he'd call Haskell Mackey, who was his chauffeur. In later years, he'd have to have a driver because he was color blind. He'd run red lights. He didn't know whether they were red or green. He'd call Haskell up; then Haskell would come in my office, or the front office and say-- "The Senator sent for me." His secretary, Virginia Perrott, would say-- "Haskell's here." And he'd say-- "Send him in." And then Haskell would go in there, and he'd reach in the safe and bring out cigars, and give them to Haskell. He wouldn't give Haskell whiskey, because Haskell would get in trouble if he was drinking. Haskell would come out with these cigars, and I'd say-- "Oh, the Senator gave you some cigars, that's nice." He said-- "Yes, sir, but I sure hope they're fresh ones. The last ones, when I opened them up, they crumbled, they'd been in there so long." I thought-- "Poor Senator, he doesn't know anything about keeping tobacco."

HARTSOOK: Was he a paternalistic boss?

CHADWICK: Very paternalistic, very. You almost felt like he was a father image to you. He was extremely good that way.

HARTSOOK: Were most of his people South Carolinians?
CHADWICK: Most of them in the immediate office were. In fact, I guess if I went down the list, nearly all of them were in that office. Now on the committee staff, that's different. But he told me a little secret. He said he didn't want to get overloaded with South Carolinians because when the administrations change, and you lose the control of the committee, he said, "What will I do with all these people? They'll need jobs, and they'll be looking for work. If it's short term, it's not fair to bring people up here." So he would look for maybe somebody from South Carolina that was living up here, that wouldn't have a hard time of it. He was always thinking ahead. It was fantastic, the way he could think way out there.

HARTSOOK: I really wanted you to talk about were your original duties, and how they evolved. For instance, did you write his speeches?

CHADWICK: I wrote a lot of them. I wrote most of his foreign aid speeches almost, except once in a while he'd get someone else to give him some copy or something to make a special point, and then I'd weave it into the speech for him. About the worst thing I ever had to do was sit there night and day, writing filibuster material. We slept on cots, because we were having a filibuster in the Senate, and they'd rule that the subjects had to be germane. In other words, if you were speaking, the conversation had to be related to the legislation. This meant we had to write most of his material. You couldn't sit there and read the dictionary or some crazy thing like Huey Long used to do. We went at that day and night, day and night. I just slept up there in the Senate. I didn't even go home. The Senator did, too. We would take turns with our colleagues and so forth. But we had to keep that paperwork going. We would research and dig up the darnedest things to tie into a speech.

When I first came to Washington for the Senator -- this was an interesting experience -- I did not realize that he put me on a subcommittee payroll. Baxter Funderburke was the administrative assistant, and he told Baxter to take care of me. Well, Baxter said-- "I want you to go over to the H.O.L.C. building"-- which was the Home Owners' Loan Commission building or something. It was a building about three blocks from the Senate Office Building, over towards the Union Station direction, over that way. And he said-- "You report to Senator Guy Gillette." He was a former Senator
from Iowa. Very nice man. He had been not reelected and was now working for the Senator as the chief of staff of this committee that was dealing with McCarthyism. I've forgotten the name of the subcommittee.

But anyway, I went over there, and they already had a guy handling the press. He was a nice man from North Carolina. And they had a fellow on there who was a counselor, Hugh Finzelle, who later became a real good friend of mine, and Senator Guy Gillette. I said-- "What do we do over here? What is this?" And they said-- "Oh, well, we're investigating Joe McCarthy, and all the things that he's done." I didn't like that very well, so I came back and I talked to Baxter, and he said-- "Well, we don't have any room in this office for you. You'll just have to work from over there." I said-- "I can't be a press secretary for the Senator working over there. That's too distant." Somebody in the office – I'd rather not bring up the name, but another staff member – said-- "Tom, you got to understand. Baxter's jealous of anybody who comes up here from South Carolina, especially if they're close to Andy Faucette. You got to get rid of that problem." I knew I had to be with the Senator night and day almost, to do a good job." I asked-- "Why would he do that? I'm not here to be Andy Faucette's secretary or Andy Faucette's mentor. I'm here to work for the Senator. We're defeating the purpose of my being here. I might as well go back to South Carolina."

So when I went home that night, I was very upset. I called my wife. She was still down home, pregnant with our first child. Then I called Andy Faucette, and I told Andy the dilemma. I said-- "Now I don't know how to handle this, Andy. But I'm ready to go back to Moncks Corner. I can't function in this kind of environment. Either I have total confidence from the Senator, total access, and my own direct access, or I can't function as a press secretary. You can't be a press secretary to anybody in the world if you've got to go through two or three people and you've got to live in a different building. It just won't work."

Andy said-- "What in the hell's going on up there?" I said-- "Andy, I don't know, but somebody's got to straighten it out. And I can't do it; because if I go in there, it's going to look I'm on a warpath with the staff people. I'm going to have to work with them down the line, there's no question. I don't want to get into that. I need somebody like you to tell the Senator it's not working out. I'll go home, and he can get another press secretary. But I can't do the job." "I'll be up there in the morning."
In those days, we didn't have direct airline flights and all. But the train was reliable. We all used the train. It was a pretty good service in those days. Andy got on a train that night. They'd put the car off on the side in Union Station, and you'd freshen up and clean up and get dressed and by eight o'clock in the morning you'd go on over to the Capitol. It was just a short hike. Same thing going back. The train would put the car on the side in Columbia, and you'd just get out in Columbia, and wait until the right time. Go up town, all fresh and nice. In fact, I think it was better than flying anymore. Flying has gotten to be such a rat race. Anyway, Andy came up, and he had a long meeting with the Senator. I don't know what all was said; I really am not privy.

All of the sudden the Senator called me on the phone. I was over at the H.O.L.C. building. He said-- "Tom, where are you?" I said-- "I'm over in the H.O.L.C. building, with Senator Gillette's committee." He said-- "What are you doing over there?" I said-- "Not much of anything, Senator." He said-- "No. I mean why are you over there?" I said-- "Because Baxter told me to come over here." He said-- "You come over here. I want to see you right now." I said-- "Yes, sir, I'll be over there right away." I went over there, and I went in the waiting room, and his secretary, Virginia Perrot, told the Senator I was out there. He said-- "Send him in." I came in, and then he started pushing buttons. He called Bob Alexander in there, and he called Baxter in there and he called...there must have been three or four of us in there. He said, "Now, I want you all to understand. We've got to have a desk for Tom out there. Baxter, you see that he gets everything he needs. And, Bob, you help Tom understand....

[Tape 2 begins]

CHADWICK: ...He's going to have floor privileges. He's going to be writing speeches, and press releases. Bob, you know the press around here. I want you to introduce him to those that he might not know. And, Tom, you work out of this office here. Bob, you'll take care of that for him, won't you?" And I never had any more problems. And I stayed. I went and I saw Baxter on my own, and I told him, "Baxter, I don't know what all has happened around this office in the past, but I want you to know
I'm only here for one reason, and that's to help the Senator. I have no other ulterior motive except to make a living and to help the Senator. And I'm never going to use him or abuse him for my own aggrandizement. You just have to trust me, though. Those things come from trust." He said, "Well, I appreciate that." And we never had another problem as long as was there. In fact, things worked out. Baxter would call me in sometimes when things were rough. I remember one time for example somebody came in there to make a contribution to the campaign, and he had to count the money out and needed a witness. He asked me to come in and witness it.

You'd never know what you'd run into in a political office in those days. Now, these days it's a little different. But I think I gained the trust of everybody in that office. I think they realized I was not there to spy on people. They're always afraid that someone's coming in there to try to disrupt the harmony. I can understand that. That happens in private business, government offices, anywhere.

**HARTSOOK:** It sounds like you pretty much set your own work agenda.

**CHADWICK:** Within parameters. I knew that I didn't want to mess into the Post Office Civil Service Committee work unless the Senator told me to. And I established a separate relationship with Bill Brawley, the fellow that ran that committee. Bill was a strange person at times, but he and I were great friends. When I first came up here, he called me up, and my wife and I went over to his home when she moved up here and was going to have the baby. He gave us things for the baby, things that they'd used for their children and so forth. We were good friends, but he would do crazy things. That made it so that I at times wanted to be very cautious when I was with him.

*Tape stopped, then restarted*

**CHADWICK:** Sometimes the Senator would pop out of the blue and say-- "I think it's time I made a speech on ..." whatever subject. I'd say-- "Senator, I'll get on that right away." I'd call legislative research in the library and get a basic paper or chronology of something or whatever, and then work around that. I learned to try to use very simple language with him. Don't give him tongue-twisters, because he was not the world's most
polished speaker. On paper, the speech would look good, but sometimes someone would bring him the speech -- you know how things work -- and he would use the speech as it was given to him, and it would have words in there that would just kill him.

The *Washington Post* one time called him "Mush-Mouth Olin." I thought that was a dirty, demeaning way to treat the Senator. He just had a difficult time pronouncing complicated words, and everyone has a little dyslexia, or a little learning disability that we don't even know we have sometimes. You go all the way through life with it, and never find it out. But that was not the way to treat a person who had, in my opinion, distinguished himself in his own field.

He had taken on the Alien Property Subcommittee mess, which was just a terrible thing to have to handle. I mean, you're dealing with all these billions of dollars of overseas assets, and assets in this country, and all these people tugging at you. It takes time, it wears you down, and there's no constituency interest in it. It's like foreign affairs. That killed old Senator George of Georgia and Fulbright in Arkansas. He managed to survive it, until the last. But people back home don't give a damn about foreign policy when you get back home running for campaign. You become vulnerable. Alien Property, you know, it sounds like he's in bed with the aliens or something. That's the kind of stuff that you don't get anything out of it for yourself. Maybe a contribution, I don't know, I never saw one.

**HARTSOOK:** It was one of those thankless things where even the people you don't ----- feel like you could have done more.

**CHADWICK:** Yes. Exactly. It was like...the Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson, said, "Olin, I've got a problem. I need somebody to look after the Texas City disaster." Do you remember when they had that huge explosion down there, and it just blew up all the port facilities down there? There were lawsuits, and it involved billions of dollars. The Senator worked on that to help the Majority Leader. He didn't do what the Majority Leader wanted; he just agreed to serve on that committee because it had to be taken care of. Somebody had to do it. There was no interest in it, but, you see, the Senator was thinking ahead. You do these menial chores that nobody else wants to do, and you do it as a favor to the Majority Leader. Then when you got something for your own people
back home that you have to take care of, you can go to the Majority Leader and say, "Look, Lyndon, I took care of that Texas City disaster thing for you. I need you to do so-and-so for me."

Don't tell me that Senators, at least in those days, didn't keep book on favors old and done. They did. There's no question about it. You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. That's how you can get things done for your constituency that you normally couldn't do on your own. Because you have an ally.

That's where this Impostato thing came from. I know exactly what happened there. Senator Langer from North Dakota needed a co-sponsor. You have to have a co-sponsor with a bill. He asked the Senator to co-sponsor it. Said he needed a co-sponsor to get the thing on the calendar. The Senator didn't investigate the case. He did it as a favor for Senator Langer. Bill Langer was a feisty, independent kind of a Republican. Part of that Midwest independent populist movement. You know, the Populist type, you never knew whether they were a Democrat or a Republican if you looked at how they voted. He did it as a favor to Langer. He didn't know anything about Impostato. Nobody paid off Olin Johnston for that kind of chicken issue. I mean, that's ridiculous.

Then after he agreed to help Langer, it comes out that Impostato was a former dope peddler and was convicted. Langer's bill was preventing him from being deported, and Langer did it on the recommendation of a Roman Catholic priest. But by then it was public, and you're trapped. So the cause was to keep the guy from going back to Italy, because he was going to be killed the minute he set foot; the mafia was going to get him. The Senator wasn't in the business of protecting these people. He did it as a favor for Langer. But once the thing got exposed, you don't run for cover on something like that. That's ridiculous. You look worse than if just ignore the enemy. They kept hammering that in the campaign, but it was so ludicrous and ridiculous, people didn't believe it. They believed his name was on the bill, but nobody believed that he got paid off to help a dope peddler. Not Olin Johnston.

**HARTSOOK:** Did he feel betrayed by Langer, that Langer hadn't done his homework?

**CHADWICK:** If he did, he never said anything to me about it.
HARTSOOK: So he wasn't crying over the...

CHADWICK: No, he never cried over that. He did tell me he didn't realize what was behind the guy, but this is a common thing. It used to be, you'd look at the list of legislative proposals before the Senate. If you took out the personal bills, like this, it'd be probably twenty-five percent of the bills: a bill for the relief of this, for the relief of that, for the relief of somebody. Anything from a poor soul that couldn't sue because the law said you couldn't sue but the government admitted it was wrong, and you'd put in a private relief bill, to relieve that citizen from the government, or whatever. This was a private relief bill. It was to relieve this guy from having to go back to Italy because they were going to kill him. And they had evidence of that in the record. It just was unfortunate, and the Senator just stuck to his guns and he ignored the challenge on it.

HARTSOOK: Do you think he was treated fairly by the press?

CHADWICK: Oh, I think so. I mean, the press had no way to make a judgment on it except for the facts before it. And I think the Senator made a mistake agreeing to support a bill that he didn't know enough about. Now, what I don't know is, usually the Senator didn't fool with something like that unless somebody on his staff advised him--"That's O.K." Now, if somebody did that and told him--"It's O.K., Senator"--and he did it, then he carried the secret of who advised him to his grave as far as I know.

HARTSOOK: Is that typical of him, that he would have done that?

CHADWICK: Yes, he wouldn't have disclosed who on the staff, because he knew everybody makes mistakes. He might have chewed them out royally in private, but I never recall him ever saying anything about that case except that it was bad P.R. and he shouldn't have ever gotten into it.

HARTSOOK: Do you think that had any kind of permanent effect?
CHADWICK: Not really. I think that got washed out in the campaign and that was the end of it. Certainly it shouldn't be a blemish on his record. I mean, that's a trivial thing. Nobody's perfect. You can't handle thousands of pieces of legislation and never have one piece of legislation you don't make a mistake on.

-[Tape stopped, then restarted]-

CHADWICK: The Senator was a great one to suddenly just grab somebody and give them something to do that had no relationship to what they thought their job was. For instance, "I want a bill. I want an amendment." Just tell them to do it, and expect it to get done. And then we on the staff, if we knew somebody knew more about that subject, or could handle it better, then we'd just turn it over them and get them to do it and get it back to the Senator. Just see that it got done. The Senator really was my boss, but I took orders from anybody. If somebody said, "The Senator wants you to do so-and-so," I didn't question that. It could have been Virginia or Baxter or Bob or anybody. But, basically, I got direct from the Senator.

I got to learn his style so that when I wrote speeches for him, or wrote floor statements accompanying the bills or something, I tried to get his style so that there was not a lot of editing to do. But he would change things. He had his own mind. He was not just a puppet on a string. Just because he would accept what you wrote didn't mean that he was just accepting it. It meant, in a way, a compliment that you had written it like he wanted it.

HARTSOOK: Would he change it beforehand, or would he change it as he was giving the speech?

CHADWICK: He'd change it beforehand. He always went over these things.

HARTSOOK: So those annotations that we see are most likely in his hand.

CHADWICK: Yes. Sometimes he'd go over it and have somebody re-type it, but generally if it's a document he used, those are his changes. And he would make changes
at the last minute. I wrote most of his radio and T.V. scripts, we'd go into the recording studio, and he'd change it right there, "I think this is a better way to say it." I said, "Fine, Senator," you know.

To show you how he thought, one time I ghost-wrote an article for him. It was called "The Good Side of the South." It took an awful lot of research. It was published in the *New York Times* first. He was writing the *New York Times* because they had criticized the South. Those were the days when Jacob Javits was on one side of civil rights and Olin was on the other side. So I wrote this article, "The Good Side of the South". I got help from several sources. But basically I put the whole thing together. It was a team operation in the long haul. You know, you'd go to people for help.

Anyway, when the article was published in the *Times, Reader's Digest* picked it up and wanted to run it. He did it for the *New York Times* free of charge as a reply article. He just submitted it for publication. But the *Reader's Digest* had a rule. It does not republish anything unless it pays for the privilege, no matter how trivial or how important. So the Senator accepted payment. I don't know what they paid him. But he called me into the office. He said-- "Tom, *Reader's Digest* paid me for this article, and I want to share it with you, because I know you wrote it and you worked hard on it." So he pulled out three $100 bills. I'd never seen a $100 bill in my life. He gave me $300. I said-- "Gee, Senator, thank you." He said-- "Well, I want you to know the rest of what I got out of that is going to go to Spartanburg College". And I said-- "Senator, that's mighty kind of you to remember me." He said-- "Well, you did a good job." I said-- "Thank you." And I was going out the door just as happy as a hog in wallow. I had the door handle and he said-- "Tom!" I said-- "Yes, sir?" I turned around, and he said-- "Don't you forget to report it on your income tax, because I'm claiming it." I'll never forget that.

**HARTSOOK:** That is a good article, by the way.

**CHADWICK:** Well, at that time it was all right I thought. I don't know.

**HARTSOOK:** I think it still reads pretty well.
CHADWICK: That helped him in the campaign. We reproduced that and distributed it. I got into legislation, too. For a while, he didn't have a legislative aide. Bill Bullard did some of that for him, and Bob Alexander of course did a lot of that. And then he had Jimmy Konduros come in, and Jimmy did an excellent job. Jimmy took over the legislative assistant's job, and he did a peach of a job. He was very, very sharp and conscientious. And a nice person to work with, too. Bob Alexander, I think, was the really kingpin, strong person on that staff that kept things going. He was a hard-working person that really knew how to deal with people and remembered who was a key person in each county, and remembered who had been the Senator's friend, and what favors the Senator had done for them. He had that all in his head. Bob was really a top-drawer guy. And Bob could write well, and he could discern the loopholes in the legislation pretty well. He was going to law school for many years before he finished. I've forgotten, I think maybe five years. But he finally got his law degree. But he was good at that.

Bill Bullard was a nice guy. He's still living, down in South Carolina. I try to keep up with everybody. I've talked to him.

HARTSOOK: Was Bob Alexander a South Carolinian?

CHADWICK: Yes. Bob was from Prosperity, South Carolina, or Betty, his wife, was really from Prosperity, but I think of him as being from Columbia. In fact, after the Senator died, Bob went into law practice with former Governor Bob McNair. He was just really premium.

Bill Bullard, I say, was a real nice guy. He was the legislative aide until Jimmy Konduros came about. He was loyal and hard-working.

Baxter was a very dear old friend, and as I said earlier, he did so many things for the Senator in his early career that it melded a very close alliance. Mrs. Johnston used to get provoked with Baxter. Of course, she could get provoked with anybody. People think she was the Senator's brains. Well, she was an extremely brilliant woman, there's no question about that. I got along with her, except she didn't like the fact that I would take a drink. She'd see me at a cocktail party with a drink, and she didn't like that. But I explained to her, I said-- "I don't drink to excess, Mrs. Johnston, and somebody has to
meet with the press and do these things. That's part of our society. Please don't hold it against me personally." She said-- "Oh, I'd never do that." But I knew she didn't like it.

HARTSOOK: Was she a real fixture at the office?

CHADWICK: No. She came and went in the office at her free will. She could be invasive. I'll give you a story, I don't think anybody minds. Certainly not the children. It's a character story. She came in the office one day, and there was this beautiful, voluptuous girl, blonde, sitting out at the desk with Virginia Perrott. Virginia was still at her old stand, and this lady was at the other desk. And she was introduced to Mrs. Johnston. Mrs. Johnston came stomping back into my office and said-- "Where did that blonde woman come from?" I said-- "I don't know, Mrs. Johnston. The Senator hired her. She's the fiancée to so-and-so (A fellow from South Carolina; a prominent young man whose father was a very good friend of the Senator)." I said-- "I don't know. The Senator could tell you that." So she said-- "All right, I'll see Olin." Oh, you could see she didn't like it.

Well, the next week, next Monday, I asked-- "Where's so-and-so?" They said-- "Oh, she's over in Fishbait Miller's (Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives) office." The Senator had to get her out of the office. Gladys didn't want her in there. She was too good looking. So I'd go over to Fishbait's office when I was touring around the press galleries and drop by and see her. I never said anything about it, but I said-- "Aren't you lucky to get a nice job over here in Mr. Miller's office? This is great." She later got married to the boy she was engaged to. There was nothing there. There was no hanky-panky. I'm sure the Senator was responding to the future father-in-law or some friend that said-- "This lovely, beautiful girl, who is good at answering the phone and greeting people, needs a job, and you need somebody in your office." And he put her on.

There are lots of things that go on in Washington. The stories that come out of Washington about spouses controlling their spouses. A lot of it's figment of imagination and just creative writing. I think Mrs. Johnston had a lot of influence on the Senator. She had a lot of opinions of subjects. She liked to tell the Senator his style, how he should behave and manage himself and so forth. But I don't think that she had as much influence on how he voted as people think that she did. They were very close. She was
outspoken, but she supported the Senator and the Senator listened to her very closely. But in the final analysis, I think the voting decisions were made by the Senator.

HARTSOOK: Did she take an interest in legislation and bills that he might introduce?

CHADWICK: Yes, especially if they had impact on the constituency. She felt like he did. She was very liberal on the economic issues and things. The poor, looking out for people, and so forth. They were absolutely in tune on that.

[Tape 2, Side 2 begins]

CHADWICK: Some of the old stalwart supporters would tell Olin-- "Don't get into Medicare. They're going to kill you on Medicare." And I remember distinctly the Senator had a meeting in his office with me. He said-- "Tom, I am going to support Medicare. That's going to be my principle issue." I said-- "Are you sure you want to do that, Senator? Everybody else is against it." He said-- "I know what I'm doing. The people need it, and the people want it. It's not the picture my friends and other people are painting. The people want it and need it." And, oh boy, when he really came out on it and made it an issue, I thought we were going to be obliterated with the bad press and the bad statements coming from all these people. Again, it was the Main Street crowd. It was not the people that needed the health program. When you got down there in the campaign, indeed, the people did want it. And they proved it. We defeated Fritz Hollings two-to-one.

HARTSOOK: It's interesting, too, The State newspaper, the night before the election, saying it's a toss-up.

CHADWICK: Yeah, that's right.

HARTSOOK: So they obviously were taking feel of that Main Street crowd.
CHADWICK: Oh yes, absolutely. No question about it. They were way off target. Gould Lincoln, who was a very good writer -- he was with the *Washington Star*, the old *Star* -- he came down to South Carolina in the Thurmond-Johnston campaign, and he practically lived with me almost. I'd take him to the campaigns, and we'd go out and so forth. He was there several days. He asked me--"What's going to happen in this race?" I was a reporter then, doing my own coverage. I was just taking him around to be nice. I said-- "Well, Mr. Lincoln, I understand how the picture looks. A lot of polls, and surveys, and stuff, and people are saying that the Senator's going to be beat by Strom, it's a close race, and so forth. I think it's right. It is a close situation, but the Senator's on top of it. I think the Senator's going to win. The Senator's going to beat the governor." He asked-- "And why do you think that?" I said-- "Because the vocal people are the ones that you're hearing about, and the silent voters that don't have any voice-box, that nobody writes about, because they aren't saying anything publicly, are the ones that are going to carry the campaign. The mill workers, the farmers, and the black folk. That coalition. And it's all on economics. Republicans in this state are anti-people on economic issues."

I remember the Senator even touting the old railroad tariff acts. You know, they charged more to transport manufactured goods coming into the South than the raw material going out. And that was resurrected in that campaign, and indeed it was resurrected in the Adlai Stevenson campaigns, as late as that. So, it just tells me the Senator was making his own decisions. Nobody was telling him how to make a decision, or what he was going to do. He made that decision, and he made it very logically. He didn't just jump in for emotions. He could do that sometimes, but not often. He analyzed things in his own way. He was uncanny about it.

HARTSOOK: And trusted his own instincts it sounds like.

CHADWICK: He did. He trusted his own instincts, very much. I'll tell you a story about him that's very much on his character. We were coming to South Carolina. We used to drive him down and back, somebody, and this was my turn. We were going to the state Democratic Convention in Columbia. We went first to Anderson, stopped there in Honea Path and went by his parents' graves. Then we went on and we stopped in Newberry, South Carolina. I said-- "Where are we going, Senator?" And he said--
"We're going to see old so-and so's family." I said-- "Oh! You mean the former Forestry Commissioner that is in prison?" He said-- "Yes, I'm going to see the wife and the children."

I said-- "Oh, do you think that's a good idea?" You know, people see the car with "U.S. Senate 1" parked in front of the house of the fellow that's in prison for child molestation (that was what he was sent away for). The Senator said-- "Tom, he's my friend, and he was loyal to me. He made a mistake, and he's suffering for it, but I'm not going to turn my back on the family of a friend. And I always come by here to see the family." We went to house and saw them. Then we went, got in the car, and went on down the road to Columbia. He was a very loyal person; he didn't turn his back on friends, no matter how adverse situations got. And it cost him sometimes, but he was willing to pay the price for loyalty.

HARTSOOK: We hear talk about the Johnston machine. Is that fair, to talk about a political machine?

CHADWICK: Yeah, I think everybody has a machine of sorts. A "machine" to me reminds me of maybe the old mayor of Boston, Curley, where your machine is oiled and greased by jobs and money. That's part of what happened there, because of the Irish...you know the history of all that. That's a different kind of machine. The Pendergast machine is another one. I ran into some of that in Pennsylvania one time. Every job in the state was bought and paid for. So, that's a machine.

Now, the Johnston machine was based on personal relationships. He'd do a favor for somebody, or they needed help on something, and he would respond and that bonded those people to him. He voted for the minimum wage bill. That bonded him with people who benefited from that. It alienated the main street businessman. They'll work somebody for nothing. But just coming out of the Depression, you got to realize that there still was some of that first-hand knowledge of the poor being kicked around in society. And anything that would help the economics of those people, that bonded them. That was his machine. His machine was doing personal favors, responding to people's needs. If you want to call it a machine, yeah. If he went into a farming community, and
it was advertised, man, they'd be out there in droves. Same thing with a little village area, or a mill town when he was running. You couldn't keep them away.

Things have changed now. There's a new generation down there. If he were to run on the same premises, I don't know whether he'd make it or not today. Because the change in the South has been so dramatic. And there's nobody around much...a few of us kicking around still that could remember the Depression, but not a whole lot. But he was strong with the economic issues, with people. I think that his ability to see that and coalesce all that into a political force was his strength. And he did it without being a demagogue. I mean, he was no Huey P. Long. He came off as a friend of the people, but not a destructive force. He did it the right way. Does that sound reasonable to you? I mean, that's my analysis, I don't know. Who really knows these things?

HARTSOOK: It's interesting that Bubba Meng said that Mrs. Johnston came to him during the Russell-Hollings campaign and said that she wanted him to go to work for Fritz as a sign to Johnston's supporters that they should support Hollings. I just thought that was just an intriguing comment.

CHADWICK: That very likely did happen.

[Tape stopped, then restarted]

CHADWICK: When the Senator died, it really set a shock wave through us all. It was just terrible. I was at home. I think it was Easter Sunday, or the night before Easter Sunday when he died, when I got the call. Anyway, I had managed Lyndon Johnson's [1964 Presidential] campaign in South Carolina, and this was arranged for by Senator Johnston and the President. This is a complicated story. In the summer I had been elected by the Board of Directors of Santee-Cooper to come down and be the next general manager of Santee-Cooper, because of my knowledge, working with Dick Jefferies and so forth, and the Senator's influence -- he called some of the board members for me -- and it was all set. Meanwhile, Lyndon Johnson called Senator Johnston, and said-- "Olin, I want you to name somebody that I can trust down there to run my campaign in South Carolina. We've got to have somebody we can trust." And the
Senator said the person he thought that should do it would be me, but he said-- "He's been elected to the Board." He told me this himself later. He said he'd talk to the Board to see if they could delay the appointment until after the election, even though I'd been elected.

So the Senator talked to me about it, and I said-- "Well, Senator, that's fine. I can't turn my back on a call from the President. If he wants me to do this, and you advised him that I would be the right person, I can't let you down. If they'll hold off on the announcement of their election, that's fine." So he called and one of the guys on the Board was a roommate of mine at the University of South Carolina, and some others were good friends. And the word came back; yes, they'd hold it off until after the election. I went ahead and resigned from the Senator's staff and went down there and managed the campaign.

During the campaign, I had to work closely with Governor Russell. He was governor. I rode from the airport to the speaking site with Lady Bird and Mrs. Johnston, and the conversation hovered around the Governor. Yes, the Governor was fine, everything was all right. I'd talked to the Governor. Yes, you can trust him, and so forth. It was just general, typical political campaign talk. Lyndon was not in the car with me. He was in the car with the Senator. I don't know, but Mrs. Johnston saw me in close proximity with Donald Russell and Mrs. Russell, and running the campaign partly out of the Governor's office and also from my headquarters in the hotel. But she saw closeness there with Donald Russell that she didn't like later, after the Senator died.

Incidentally, the Santee-Cooper board met the day after the election in the same hotel where I had my headquarters, and they had a re-vote and they decided they could not afford to name me general manager, because it would look like a political pay-off. Goldwater, having carried the state, it would even be more trouble for them than they could handle. So, they de-frocked me, and I came back to Washington.

Then later -- the clock continues -- the Senator died, and Mrs. Johnston, for some reason, got it in her craw that I was trying to sell the Senator's mailing list. Well, that is an impossibility, because the moment a Senator dies, all of his records, everything that has anything to do with his office, are locked up, sealed. Nobody can touch them except the widow. And if there's no widow, then the next of kin. Whoever's named. So, I couldn't get near it! Couldn't even use it. Couldn't copy it. But anyway, she got mad at me. She was determined that I was trying to steal the Senator's list and sell it to some big
publisher or something, and make a lot of money. Well, that wasn't true, but she was really mad at me. She thought that I was in Russell's camp. Well, I wasn't in Russell's camp at all.

Governor McNair asked me if I wouldn't like to come back to South Carolina and work for him, and meanwhile John Gronouski, the Postmaster General, called over and said that he had talked to the President and he would like me to come to work for him. I was torn between McNair, and...I'd loved to have gone back home, but then I thought McNair's going to be in there for two or three years more and then somebody else will come along, and I'm not a lawyer so I won't fit into his law practice. But I do know the postal system, and the President is a friend, having run his campaign, and Gronouski is a good friend. So I went to work for the Postal Service.

Well, Mrs. Johnston was so mad at me for having landed on my feet and not been out in the poor house, is what someone close to her told me. I did not talk to her about this directly. She went (I do know this happened, because John Gronouski himself told me) over to the Postal Service. She had an appointment with Mr. Gronouski to object to my being hired into the Postal Service. She charged that I was dishonest, I could not be trusted, I was unreliable, and so forth and so on. And Mr. Gronouski said-- "Well, Gladys, I appreciate your telling me this, but I have talked to the President about this, and he said-- 'I don't understand. I asked Olin Johnston for the person that could be trusted with my campaign and he gave me Tom Chadwick. And he did a good job under adverse circumstances.' So I don't understand how you can say he's not trustworthy, when Olin trusted him." That ended the situation.

Later on, I was down in South Carolina, and I met Mrs. Johnston at the Baptist church in Columbia, that was their church in Columbia. There was a memorial service or something for the Senator. Mrs. Johnston at that point came up to me and hugged me and kissed me and said-- "I was mistaken. You were not trying to do anything to the Senator. I'm mistaken, and I'm sorry for what happened." And I said-- "That's all right, Mrs. Johnston, we'll forget it." I know she was distraught over the death of her husband.

People do strange things when their spouse dies. Everything collapses. I know what death is. I lost my first wife in an unfortunate death, and people go through terrible emotions. Especially the higher up in society or politics or whatever, the worse it is on the spouse. So I just accepted her actions at that, and never gave it another thought.
A few years later, I resigned from the Postal Service and went back to manage Hubert Humphrey's campaign in South Carolina. I went to see Mrs. Johnston in Spartanburg, and she didn't hesitate to get in the campaign. She came to the television studio, and made a good political statement for use in the campaign, and paid advertisement on television. So our friendship was restored. The trust was restored, but, boy, I tell you, it was a tough time there when she was upset.

HARTSOOK: I bet it was shocking to you.

CHADWICK: Oh, I was just crushed. Absolutely crushed. But, I don't think anybody else really felt that way. I suspected that somebody took advantage of her. She was a nervous lady to begin with. I think they took advantage of her emotions and made such a statement to her, and in her emotional state she believed it without research or anything. I just think it was a terrible thing though, for anybody to do to her in that state. You know what I mean?

HARTSOOK: Right. Were you all surprised when Russell handled that the way he did?

CHADWICK: Oh, I think he made a grave mistake. If he was smart, at the time, he would have given the appointment to somebody else as an interim, and then run in his own right. But he turned over the governorship to McNair and took the Senator's seat, and the people resented that.

HARTSOOK: Do you think he should have given it to Mrs. Johnston?

CHADWICK: I think that would have been a very magnanimous thing, but I don't know whether it would have been a political risk on his part or not. If he'd given it to Gladys, she might have liked it and stayed on. And then he couldn't run for it.
HARTSOOK: I asked him about making that decision, whether he'd tossed and turned. He said he'd never given a moment's thought of doing anything other than exactly what he did.

CHADWICK: I was not very close to Russell. I think we got along fine in all these things. I didn't participate in the campaign, because I went over to the Postal Service. I think in the long haul I did the right thing for myself and my family. The only thing I shouldn't have ever done was come back and do it again for Hubert Humphrey. That was pretty risky business, because we lost the campaign, and the Nixon administration took over, and I was sitting over there in the postal service vulnerable as the devil.

But I did a couple of things that later came back to help me. One of them was that the Congressman, [Richard Walker] Bolling, from Missouri, he wanted to have hearings in the House and had issued a big statement about Mendel Rivers not being loyal to the Democratic Party and he ought to be stripped of his chairmanship because he had gone to a rally in South Carolina where the Vice-Presidential candidate of the third party.... Anyway, I wrote a letter to the chairman and gave a copy of it to Evans and Novak because they were they ones that were touting all this stuff about Mendel Rivers, that he was indeed not behind the Democratic Party. I had the statistics and laid them out, so that helped to put an end to that charge against Mendel Rivers. As chairman of the campaign, I was entitled to make that public statement without violating the Hatch Act.

Then when the Republicans took over and they were going to kick me around a little bit, I went to Mr. Rivers and he went to Congressman Andrews, who was a close friend of Red Blount's, who was the Postmaster General, and they agreed to not demote me. And that's how I survived in the bureaucracy. But my reputation would have not been worth two hoots except I had been the Senator's man and everybody knew that. That's why I was able to have friends and do something for myself under that adverse circumstance. So I still say it was the Senator and the way he conducted his business and the way he allowed me to conduct business for him that in the long haul paid off. Because people wanted to respond when you were in trouble. He told me-- "When you come to this town, Tom, you be careful, when you're climbing up on the ladder, whose hands you step on, because it might be the hands that you need to help you when you
have to come down off the ladder." And he was so right. Absolutely. And he'd never come down the ladder around here. But he knew that somehow. And to give that advice to young people is important.

Young people today come to this town and they think they're going to change the world and they're going to gangbust and they come ripping through an area. What they're doing is building a false foundation. You've got to build a strong foundation by putting things together. You don't build much of a foundation tearing the place apart. And I give this crowd in Washington here, the Gingriches and all that bunch, I give them two years and they're going to be dead in the saddle, because they're just playing too rough a game. They have no compromise position on anything. And if you don't compromise in this business, you just can't get anything done.

HARTSOOK: Let me go back and ask you a couple more questions about the staff. Virginia Perrott, the personal secretary. Was she pretty much the doorkeeper?

CHADWICK: Well, she knew who should be going in to see the Senator, who should be getting appointments. And if she didn't, she knew how to handle them until she found out. She was extremely loyal, one of the best people in the office. She went back to the Senator's days as governor. She was his secretary back when he was governor the first time I think, so that's a long time to be with somebody.

HARTSOOK: What other functions did she fulfill in the office?

CHADWICK: She was his appointment secretary, and she fielded most of the phone calls when she was there. The best thing that she did was to let the right people know where the Senator was at the right time and to not let other people who shouldn't be bothering him and pestering him know where he was. That's an important role in an office. You've just got to be selective about who sees the boss, or he'll never have time to do his job.

[Tape 3 begins]
CHADWICK: And everybody on the staff did personal things for the Senator. Drive him home to South Carolina, take him to work. We had a fellow on the staff that you haven't mentioned here, Charlie Jones. There were two Charlie Joneses in the Senate. One was Charlie Jones, who was Senator Stennis's administrative assistant, but the other was Charlie Jones, who was a former staffer to Senator Burnet Maybank. When Maybank died, he needed a job, so the Senator got Charlie to come on the staff. Charlie was a good find. He had personal relationships with other Senators, first-name basis, although we never used that publicly. Charlie would drive the Senator to work. He lived up near where the Senator was, and so Charlie drove him to work every day, or most days. I told you the Senator was color blind and Mrs. Johnston and everybody was fearful that he was going to kill himself zipping up and down Connecticut Avenue, not knowing whether the damn light was green or red.

HARTSOOK: What did Jones do in the office?

CHADWICK: He went with the Senator to the floor oftentimes to watch the parliamentary calendar and legislative things. He was very sharp on that. The funny thing is that Charlie Jones came to Washington with Senator Maybank and for years his principle duty with Senator Maybank was to go over in the evening and translate for the official reporters what they had heard the Senator say so that they could make sense of it, because he spoke almost in Gullah. It wasn't pure Gullah, but it was the old Charlestonese-Gullah mix. And the official reporters [from whose report the Congressional Record is drawn] didn't understand what the heck he was saying, so they'd translate it for them, or correct it. Charlie didn't stay on the Senator's staff the whole time -- the Senator helped him get appointed director of the Senate radio/T.V. recording studio. Charlie had that job until the very end. Charlie knew everybody on the Senate-staff level and was a tremendous help to the Senator in keeping up with what was going on in the Senate (where the votes were standing).

HARTSOOK: How about Roy Ashley?
CHADWICK: I don't know what Roy's original connections were, but Roy was just an old friend who worked out of the home office for a while. I don't know how long, but he was there with Andy Faucette for a while. Jess Bullard, Bill's father, worked there, too, at the home office, for a while. Roy Ashley was a U.S. marshal as I recall. The Senator appointed him U.S. marshal. And he had his ear to the ground, and he knew a lot of people, and he was just a good, reliable source for, "How the people feeling about things in your area? What do you know? What do you hear?" That sort of thing.

HARTSOOK: Am I right that the home office mainly handled constituent service work?

CHADWICK: That, and kept the liaison with groups. Like Jess Bullard would keep the liaison with veterans, and Andy Faucette always had the lawyers, kept up with what the bar was doing, and friendships there, relationships and so forth. Andy knew the courthouse politics, county by county. I just think that the constituency work was important. That would include liaison work with people I would think, groups. That's about what the main thing was. And it was a great source of "Olin, you shouldn't do that! Why didn't you check with me before you did that?" That kind of backseat driving, I call it. Get a lot of that from the home office.

The one person that is not on here is a staffer who was extremely important in his life, politically, was J.C. Long. You mentioned him. J.C. was very opinionated, and had an opinion on everything. He really gave Olin hell about the Impostato thing. He just thought that was dumb, stupid, and so on and so forth. But once he realized that the more you said about it, the worse you made it, he decided to just stick with a good defense, and that was what he did. But J.C. was a big contributor, not only in money but in ideas and thoughts and time.

Brother Bill knew an awful lot of people, all over the state. He was just an absolute...if I'm an E, he was a double E. Extrovert; you know what I mean. He could glad-hand and go around, make more friends than you could shake a stick at. His biggest problem was that he sometimes thought that maybe he was smarter than the Senator. Sometimes he wanted to try to feel like he was running the Senator's office, and that created problems with the staff.
When the Senator became ill, Bill came up to Washington and took over the office like he was Senator, and sit in the Senator's desk, and go over to the floor and look around. It was in poor taste, in my thinking, that he would do that. It was all right for him to come up here and look over what was going on, to protect his brother's interest, but he shouldn't have gone as far as he did.

**HARTSOOK:** You kind of got the impression he was measuring the seat to see how it would fit?

**CHADWICK:** Yes. Very definitely.

**HARTSOOK:** When he grew ill, I know he took work with him to the hospital, because we've got the briefcases with papers still in them. How much was he able to do?

**CHADWICK:** Well, we used to send the stuff back and forth to the home office down there. I guess there were certain things that just had to be done.

But I got from talking to whoever it was at the home office at that time that they were being very, very careful what they passed through to the Senator at that point. But that one thing did go through to him. I don't know much they carried into him.

**HARTSOOK:** But Gladys did not take over.

**CHADWICK:** No, I didn't sense that she took over. I think she was immediately concerned about the Senator's health, and I'm sure she probably took over that end of the business. Indeed, probably, did have a lot of say as to what went in to the Senator and what didn't.

**HARTSOOK:** Was there a fear that he would not live to complete that term?

**CHADWICK:** Oh, no, no, we thought he'd be back. In fact, I think at one point a call came through and he was recovering nicely. I think it was Dr. Khourie. He told me after the funeral that the Senator did not die from the operation. That the operation was a
success. That the Senator had contracted pneumonia from a viral infection like anybody gets in the hospital. Of course, he was run down, having been through the operation and all. But he got this viral type of pneumonia and they gave him some exotic drugs, not knowing that the Senator had been gassed in World War I. And that medication reacted on the scar tissue on the liver, I was told and caused lesions to sever and bleed, and he bled to death internally.

HARTSOOK: How was the transition handled, do you know? Between the Johnston people and Donald Russell?

CHADWICK: I don't think there was that much of anything. From what I hear, it was pretty bitter. Knowing Donald Russell, he would be very matter-of-fact and business-like about it. He'd probably see to it that things were done properly, but I don't think he'd show any emotional pleasure out of doing it. That turned out to be a pretty bitter thing. It was more bitter for Mrs. Johnston, I think, than it was for Russell really. But as I say, I wasn't in that campaign. I was over there planting my feet in the postal service.

HARTSOOK: If you don't mind, I'm just going to jump around a little bit.

CHADWICK: Sure.

HARTSOOK: I've heard one story that suggested Bill Workman encouraged Hollings in '62 to run, and that might have been kind of unintentional on Hollings's part, a stalking dog to weaken Johnston in the general election.

CHADWICK: No, that's a figment of somebody's imagination. I worked with Fritz Hollings in the Kennedy campaign. The state was so split up over that that we had to have two offices. We had the state Democratic Party office, which was run out of an office over on Senate Street and the Governor's office. And I had an office in the Columbia Hotel. I had a meeting with Fritz Hollings and I said-- "Governor, we've got to set aside our political differences if we're going to win this campaign for Kennedy. Now
there's talk that you're going to run against Olin, my boss. And I love the man, but he wants me to run this campaign for Kennedy. We've got to carry this state. I'm looking after the Johnston forces, and you're looking after the Hollings forces. But we can't do it if we're going to be bickering and fighting over a campaign that we don't even know is going to be run yet." He said-- "You're right, Tom." He called in Muller Kreps, who was his administrative assistant. He said-- "Muller, I want this office to be Tom's office as long as we're in this campaign together for Kennedy. We're going to work together. I want you to cooperate with Tom and give him anything he needs."

HARTSOOK: Who do you think played the biggest role in carrying the state for Kennedy? I mean, you hear a good bit about Ted Riley's work as party chair...?

CHADWICK: Well, I think that Senator Johnston had the major role. He had the political power to yield and to lose. Ted Riley was great. I couldn't say enough about what a great guy he was to work with. He was a peacemaker among the Democrats.

HARTSOOK: And then you hear, too, Senator Hollings claims a strong role...?

CHADWICK: Sure, he had a strong role, no question about it. He was third. I have great respect for Governor (Senator) Hollings, but at the time Olin was the primary kingmaker. Ted Riley was the second and Fritz, a close third.

HARTSOOK: Johnston forces played a role...?

CHADWICK: The primary role, but if any one of those three elements didn't work in harmony, we'd have lost the state. No question about it.

HARTSOOK: Did you think going into the Election Day that you could win?

CHADWICK: Yes, I felt we were going to win.

HARTSOOK: Because I know Ted Riley tells a story about when he called in
to report the....

CHADWICK: Yes. I was with him when he did that.

HARTSOOK: ...Bobby Kennedy was just astounded.

CHADWICK: That's right. Absolutely. In fact, we had a hard time getting any money nationally, to support what we were doing. I had to raise money on my own from time to time. It was a tough campaign, there's no question about it. Senator Johnston played the toughest role of all. It's easy for a governor, in the state, to make a decision to go with whoever the party nominee is. But Olin Johnston, when he took it upon himself, a Baptist, Bible-belt, dry person, personally and politically dry, to campaign openly, and spend a lot of time campaigning, on the trail, formal speech-making, not just passive radio or T.V. comments, but out there digging in the hustings for this man who was a Roman Catholic, whose father made his millions off of booze, and who represented a different generation...you know what I'm saying? The whole thing was difficult enough to support him, but to get out and actively campaign for it; you're putting your own neck on the line. And Olin Johnston did that.

HARTSOOK: Why do you think he did that?

CHADWICK: He did it because the Democratic Party had an opportunity to win the election. He did not know that Kennedy was going to win, but we had to take a stand, and you might as well do it with both feet in there. Don't be timid. He never went after anything half-baked. He never was a Casper Milquetoast on the political issues. When he took a stand, he took a hard, firm stand. He came down, and he saw what was going on. There was also this aspect, if the state went with Kennedy, and he didn't participate, and Hollings got all the credit, and he knew that most of his people were going to vote for Kennedy anyway, on the economic issues, if he didn't participate, he'd have lost all the way around. He'd have lost influence, he'd have lost appointments. He knew how the Irish Mafia worked, and they would not give him two winks in a holler after the campaign was over if he hadn't participated, because of the patronage system. He'd have
had nothing to say about any patronage. Even as it was, after the campaign, as much credit as Olin, and Fritz got some, equal I guess in the eyes of the Kennedys, they probably liked Fritz better because he's the new image of the South, not the old Populist Senator, but even after that, said and done, we had trouble with some of the appointments.

I remember the Senator putting in a call for the President because Bobby Kennedy was playing politics with one of the appointments. It was a collector of customs in Charleston. And Hollings had a candidate, and Olin had a candidate, and he got wind that Bobby was going to send up the name of Quattlebaum to be collector of customs. And the Senator wanted John Swearingen to be collector of customs. Both were Charlestonians. Bobby didn't return Olin's calls, a couple of them. He put in a call to the President. He had told the President's Senate liaison officer, Mike Manatos, who worked for Larry O'Brien at the time, he said-- "I'm not going to let any nomination through my committee if I don't get this appointment. I'm going to call the President, and you let him know I'm going to call him."

So then he put in this call to the President. And the President returned the call, gave an appointment, and I went with the Senator to the White House, for the appointment. The Senator went in to see the President, and I was sitting outside, thinking that I shouldn't go in. And the Senator turned and said, "Tom, come in." I went in with him. The President was at his desk, and he said, "We've just talked about a few things here, Tom, but I want you to meet the President." I said, "Yes, I met Mr. Kennedy on the campaign trails." And he said, "Thank you for what you did," and all that. Small talk, you know. Then I walked out of the room. And the Senator had made his point: "This was the man I put in charge, running your campaign in South Carolina, to carry it for my people."

What happened after I left the room, whatever the Senator said to him, I don't know. But he must have carried the point, because the President sent up Swearingen for the appointment, for collector of customs. See, it was a matter of not only just principle but of prestige for the Senator. If he had not gotten his nomination, in Charleston, which was Fritz's hometown and mine, it would have looked like the Senator had lost his patronage power. And that was one of the things that made him so powerful. He had to
fight for it. We had dogfights over other appointments, but that was the real corker, there.

Fritz and I grew up in Charleston together. He was a young man...well, a couple of years older than me, but he lived in the same neighborhood. My brother and he were in school together, so I knew Fritz very well. I campaigned for Fritz for Governor. I campaigned for him for Lieutenant Governor. And I've voted for him since then, except when he ran against Olin. But I went to him when he said he was going to run against Olin, after the Kennedy campaign and all was behind us. I said-- "Fritz, you're going to make a mistake. We're going to beat you." He said-- "Tom, I don't like this any more than you, but I've got to run." I said-- "Tom, I don't like this any more than you, but I've got to run." He said-- "All right, after it's over with, we'll still be friends." I said-- "Absolutely." I said-- "O.K." And that was the last time I spoke to Fritz until the campaign was over. And he has been a good friend of mine. There's still honor among politicians, you know.

HARTSOOK: What characteristics made Johnston a good leader, a strong leader?

CHADWICK: I think his devotion to his causes, his very openly-expressed devotion to his causes, and his loyalty to people that worked with him. He had fierce loyalty, there's no question about that. Loyalty to a fault almost. He would stick by people even though they maybe had fallen way short of what one might think they should do. He would still be loyal to them. His strongest suit was loyalty. And his acumen to analyze and look ahead. People thought he was a slow moving, drawl, big, cumbersome-speaking southern Senator, but he was also very, very sharp. Very clear-headed, looking to the future. We never took a bill to the floor unless he knew he had the votes. Of course, there were some things you know you're going to defeated on, like amendments to civil rights bills and amendments to foreign aid bills, that you know you're in the minority so deep, but you're making a statement for your constituency, or your making a statement for history. And you go ahead and introduce it. You know you're going to get defeated. You didn't bring things up on the floor unless you had the votes or knew what was going to happen. The Senator always knew how to count the votes.

During the Eisenhower administration, the Republicans were a bit of a fledgling group in South Carolina, but they had a network and they had a man in Orangeburg,
W.W. Wannamaker. He was the Republican spokesman and patronage man. The Senator had bottled up all kinds of things, wouldn't let them through, but he let some patronage through. You know, you've got to be reasonable about things. Some of it got through.

The appointment of the Myrtle Beach postmastership came up, and Wannamaker's candidate was down there in Myrtle Beach. They had a big cracker-barrel conversation, and the candidate for postmaster was amongst the crowd. And this fellow said-- "Well, when are you going see Olin? If you're going to get this postmastership, you've got to go up and talk to Olin Johnston, because he's the chairman of the committee." The nominee said-- "I don't have to talk to that so-and-so. I've got the President of the United States nominating me." Well, one of Olin's close friends was in the group, and wrote him a letter and told him all about this conversation. When Olin got the letter he said-- "We'll see about that." He walked over to Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas, who was the Republican minority member of his committee, and they were very close friends. They worked together on legislation, post office, civil service stuff all the time. And he said-- "Frank, this man is personally obnoxious to me, and I want the White House to withdraw the nomination." Frank said-- "Well, I don't know if I can do that." He said-- "Well you tell the President that he's not going to get Ney and Page."

[Tape 3, Side 2 begins]

CHADWICK: ...get the executive pay raises for his cabinet, key people, and all the judges in the country. So Frank Carlson came back and he said-- "Senator, the President has withdrawn the nomination for the postmaster of Myrtle Beach. Who do you want?" And he said-- "I want John Atkinson" --and gave him the vitae. He said-- "Well, the problem is the President is in Gettysburg playing golf this weekend." And it was sine die time in the Senate. And the Senator said-- "Well, you'd better get somebody to get it up there to him, because we're not going to vote anything out of this place until I get that. My reputation's on the line." It was very important to him. As the Orientals say, "save face", I guess. Same kind of thing. And they flew the nomination up to a Gettysburg golf course, and the President signed it. And they flew it back down. Senator Carlson, Senator Johnston, and some committee members met in the Marble Room, off
the Senate floor, reported out John Atkinson's nomination, then they reported out the Executive Pay Bill. They then proceeded to pass them on the floor in that order.

HARTSOOK: See, that's the kind of story that's just lost except for this kind of an exchange.

CHADWICK: He exerted his power and his influence in that way. I mean, it seems like a small thing. But, politically, you know what that did? In that whole area, Myrtle Beach, that story...people knew what happened. And they were watching it. That is, the people where politics are talked. Then it spread, and people knew. They said--"Hmmm. Even with a Republican President, Olin's still got power up there." And that's important to people when they're voting for a Senator. It used to be, I don't know whether it is any more. But in that time and day, that was an important thing. The Senator was very proud of that.

HARTSOOK: Who would he turn to for counsel when confronted with a difficult decision?

CHADWICK: Well, several people. I guess...let's leave out the personal family, because I don't want to be the judge of that. But J.C. Long, Wilton E. Hall, Andy Faucette, his brother Bill.

HARTSOOK: Any other members of Congress, other members of the delegation?

CHADWICK: On certain issues he would, yes. The congressman from Spartanburg...well, Joe Bryson at one time was very close, but Joe died, and then the replacement Congressman Robert Ashmore. That's right. And Bryan Dorn. And John McMillan, he talked to John a lot on agricultural issues and District of Columbia business when John was chairman of the District. They would talk across the House and Senate. "How do you want it to go, John?" and that sort of thing. Work with him. But it would be limited to those issues, you know, you wouldn't.... Bryan Dorn, yes, we worked with him on Clark's Hill reservoir issues, Savannah River development, but you never told
Bryan anything before you were ready, because he would jump on it and leak it to the press. Just like Strom Thurmond.

That was an absolute running battle between Strom and Olin about little things. Visibility. The Senator would grumble to me, he said-- "What's this Strom Thurmond getting into the paper about this and that? That was my project. How did he get that?" It got pretty tough. One time the Senator had a load of watermelon brought up to the Capitol. We always put some watermelon, or peaches, whatever it was, in the basement, down where the kitchen is. They'd put it on the table free. You know, a little sign said-- "South Carolina watermelon." And we also had some for the press. For our correspondents who covered us, we always gave them watermelon.

Well, this big tractor trailer, eighteen-wheeler, comes rolling up in front of the Senate steps, and they unload watermelon, and the Senator's all ready for the P.R. picture and everything. And here comes Strom Thurmond, trooping across, running down the steps. He gets in some of the pictures. And the Senator said-- "Tom, you tell that press corps. You know those guys; you're always going up there. You go up there and tell them if a picture of Strom Thurmond and these watermelons appears in one South Carolina paper, there isn't going to be any watermelon in their gallery." So I went up there, and I said-- "Guys, you know, this was the Senator's watermelon. His friends brought them up here from South Carolina. Strom crashed that party. I hope you all are not going to give Strom all the pictures down home with the watermelon." And Rhoulac Hamilton, who was with the News & Courier, said-- "Well, he was there." I said-- "I know it, so you go to him for watermelon, if you want watermelon out of this deal. You go to Strom for them." Strom didn't have any. Olin's picture appeared in the paper, but I never wanted to tell them that the Senator said that. I wasn't going to do that to the boss. After it was all over, I took Rhoulac a bottle of bourbon and my thanks. It was all clean fun.

HARTSOOK: To the best of your knowledge, did Senator Johnston serve as a mentor for any members of Congress, particularly any of the South Carolina delegation?

CHADWICK: Well, he'd come to rescue certain colleagues when they'd have problems. Certainly he would campaign for the Congressmen--McMillan, and Dorn, and
Congressman Ashmore. I guess one of his closest friends was Bob Hemphill. Oh, I left somebody out in the earlier discussion about who he called on. It was the federal judge that he had appointed, Bob Martin. He would talk to Bob Martin. For some reason, he thought a lot of Bob. But back to this. Bob Hemphill was a very close friend and he would help Bob Hemphill do anything. These friendships evolved from political philosophy and personal touch.

HARTSOOK: You've mentioned McMillan a number of times. Were they pretty close?

CHADWICK: Yes, they were quite close. I don't think he was as close to McMillan as he was to Hemphill.

HARTSOOK: Can you think of other public figures that were close to the Senator? I'm thinking about people like a Ted Riley, or Lester Bates, or folks like that.

CHADWICK: Yes, I think Lester Bates was a good supporter of the Senator, although Lester more frequently than not had his own agenda. He was always running for Governor. He was sort of like Governor Stassen running for a Republican presidency. Lester ran for Governor so many times, I can't even remember. No. Lester was a nice fellow. He just didn't click with the statewide population. But he always had a lot of money in his campaign.

Back to the Senator. The Senator had a lot of friends, whose sphere of influence would have been in their county, that he called on. And, collectively, he could talk to a number of people. One man in York County, for example, was Senator Lewis Wallace, a very outspoken liberal. That fellow would have bled to death for the Senator. The Senator would talk to him, but Lou Wallace, for some reason, he just couldn't get the big picture sometimes. You had to be careful dealing with some of these people. You deal with them from the locality they come from. There was another Wallace in South Carolina, O.T., Oliver T. Wallace, from Charleston. He was very close to the Senator. He and J.C. Long were close. But O.T. was, by his own right, close to Olin Johnston.
Old Governor Jefferies was close to him on rural electrification and public power issues. He would certainly consult with Dick Jefferies on that.

**HARTSOOK:** Any leaders in the General Assembly? People like Sol Blatt, or...?

**CHADWICK:** Well, we've got a dichotomy here. Sol Blatt, he didn't have much in common with them. He didn't rely on them for anything, but Sol Blatt, Jr.'s mother-in-law, Mrs. Doris Gayden, worked in Olin's office for years. She was his front office lady, working with Virginia. And yet, he and Sol Blatt were not that close, because Sol Blatt was a Jimmy Byrnes, ultra-conservative type of leader in the House.

**HARTSOOK:** I've been told that Johnston intended to retire after that last term, and that he and his wife were planning on moving to Columbia. Had you heard anything like that?

**CHADWICK:** No. I've heard that story, but I did not have any conversation with the Senator on that. I think some of that was started by the fact that during the last campaign, Gladys moved into a home of a friend out near Lake Forest, and stayed there with them. She had not been well. And they felt the pressure of the campaign would not be good for her, so she stayed out there, away from the headquarters kind of. And she talked about how much she liked it there. She was just staying in the Jack Seastrunk home. There was talk about a home. The Senator, he had a piece of property out there I believe. He owned a piece of property. I don't know whether they built a home out there or not. But I don't think the Senator planned on retiring, but once his health went, maybe they did talk about-- "Well, after this one, we'll retire." I don't know. It would have been pretty hard for him to do that.

**HARTSOOK:** It is hard to see people like that giving up the public role and the ability to influence events.

**CHADWICK:** That's right. Especially when they had hard fights to do that, to get where they are. If you took the Senator from the state of Delaware, for example, where
the DuPont own everything. You get to be Senator there because you're part of the good old boys club maybe, but you'd be hard pressed to find somebody running on the issues Olin Johnston ran on in South Carolina in a place like Delaware. It's just a different world for politics. So you serve two terms, and you go in there, and somebody says, "Well, you know, I think Delaware needs somebody else now, Joe. We'll make you vice president for so-and-so." "Yeah, I'll get out of the way," and that's the end of it. But you don't do that to an Olin Johnston. He had his own agenda, his own people, that he put together. His election was a coalition of people that followed him. He was not put in there by the machine. That's the difference, I guess, in the kinds of machines.

You talk about the Olin Johnston machine; well, no machine put Olin Johnston in place. He was elected by a coalition of people that he put together. He made the agenda. They felt he was their champion. So that type of person, it's very difficult to get them to step back and retire. Number one, their ego is large. I think the Senator had a large ego. You have to have a large ego to want to take on the issues and the campaigns that he took on. And I've seen him in conversation where he wasn't the good old quiet Olin. But he would be excited, and start to almost vibrate with what he was going to do. I think that Medicare was one of those issues; he vibrated like he was really on to something. To just back away and retire because you wanted to, maybe get out of it or something, that would be hard for him, because he'd want to know, "Who's going to take my place? Who's going to be the issue man if I'm not here? Who's going to stand up for these things?" You can imagine how remorse and lonesome a man would be, retiring in a situation where all these people supported you, and suddenly you retire and nobody was there to defend Medicare, or Social Security, rural electrification, all these things that he had felt come about as a result of his own efforts, as well as others. But the causes. "Who's going to champion the causes if I'm not here?" Of course, we all know we aren't going to be here forever, but you don't walk away voluntarily unless you know somebody else is going to be there to do the job.

HARTSOOK: When we talked about people that he would turn to for support, and people that he communicated regularly, was there anyone in the black community?
CHADWICK: Yes. Generally this was done locally, a lot of times. Andy Faucette and sometimes other...but I'm trying to remember the names. They don't roll off my memory list as easy as they should.

HARTSOOK: Of course, I.D. Newman is the person mentioned....


HARTSOOK: ...and the Reverend Whitaker is another name that I see and hear.

CHADWICK: Yes. I. DeQuincey Newman was number one I guess. And Whitaker, and then there was one in Orangeburg. I tell you who would be very helpful to you on that, would be Elizabeth. I think Elizabeth would remember those names. Yeah, I. DeQuincey Newman, I'd never forget him really. I was in the middle of the campaign for Hubert Humphrey and I'd made mention that we were having trouble raising funds, and Quincey Newman came into the headquarters office with all these boxes full of coins. Pennies, nickels, dimes. He'd collected them in black schools for the campaign. I was just emotionally wiped out by it. Think of all those black children that had come in there and put money in a box, as much as it meant to them, and bring it up there to the political headquarters. That tells you how desperate people were to be heard.

HARTSOOK: Do you think I.D. realized that was what kind of an emotional statement that would make, when he showed up with all those coins? Rather than just come up with the check?

CHADWICK: Oh, I'm sure. I'm sure.

HARTSOOK: Good politician?

CHADWICK: Absolutely. Very shrewd movement. That's the right way to do it. But I think it was intended to help the campaign, not just to make an emotional statement.
HARTSOOK: Can you think of any questions that I should have asked you that I haven't? Or do you have any last comments that you'd like to make?

\[Tape stops, then is restarted\]

CHADWICK: About campaigning with the Senator. And you may this get this from other people, I don't know. Bill Bullard could probably tell the same story. When we'd go down home, and usually in those days you followed Route 1 to Columbia, and you went Route 15 to Spartanburg. Or 11, whatever. I'd have to look at the map now. No matter which way, he'd always find out ahead of time -- and I don't know how he did it, maybe he called the North Carolina Senator's office or whatever -- but he'd know there was a gas war going on somewhere along the road. And he'd say-- "OK, Tom, when we get to Route "so-and-so", turn west and we'll go to Po-Dunk, and they've got a gas war on. We'll fill up there." Save a buck. And then he'd see a fruit stand. He'd say-- "That looks like a good fruit stand. Let's stop there." And he'd get bananas, and grapes, and all kind of fruit, and eat that on the road. [He'd say--] "We don't want to stop for anything else, this is a good lunch." We'd all be chomping for a hamburger, but you'd eat the banana, apple or whatever he had in the car. I think that was a funny scene. Here was this United States Senator, with important business going on, and you're veering off the road to save a nickel on some gas and some fruit.

Then one time, they had just finished the Richmond turnpike, we were headed home and the Senator was speeding. We had a Lincoln, I don't know whether you'd call it a Continental or not, but it was a big car. And he was going along pretty fast. Pretty soon, here come the police. They pulled him over, sirens blaring. The police officer said-- "Do you know how fast you were going, Senator?" He said-- "Well, not really." He said-- "Senator, you were doing eighty-five miles an hour. That's just too fast." He said-- "Oh, my goodness. Tom, did you see that?" I said-- "No, I didn't notice that, Senator. We were talking, officer." And the officer said-- "Senator, we need you in the Senate. We don't want to lose you. Slow down and live, please." He gave him back his driver's license and all. He said-- "Thank you, officer. Tom, do you want to drive a while?" I said-- "Yeah, I'll drive." And that was the end of that. He was appreciative, but unabashed by the whole thing.
HARTSOOK: Did he like to drive?

CHADWICK: Not really. I think he was like most of us. He'd drive, but if you get tired, you want to let somebody else drive. He liked to have somebody with him though. There was another story I wanted to tell you. I've got to put my thinking hat on now. When we were in his last campaign, we didn't have a lot of money for television budget. Television was new, relatively speaking, for campaigning. And Fritz Hollings obviously had almost unlimited funds. He'd get on the air, and he had an empty chair here. He'd invite the Senator. You've probably got a copy of the film or something. But this went on. I was worried. I said-- "Senator, we've got to have some television." He said-- "Well, Tom, we don't have a lot of money. I've got $32,000 for television, and that's not going to go far." I said-- "Well, we'll come up with something."

So I got with this fellow Charlie Jones -- you remember I mentioned him -- and another fellow in a studio Washington. And we made a series of twenty-second and thirty-second and one-minute spots. Most of it was pin-ups. We'd pin up a picture of Dick Russell, and Talmadge, or some popular Southern...anybody that was popular, you know. And say-- "This is what Dick Russell says about Olin Johnston: 'A man of character and so forth.' And this is what so-and-so says: 'If it wasn't for Olin Johnston, we wouldn't have rural electrification. We wouldn't have this and that.'" And we'd go through that litany, and it would be twenty- and thirty-second spots, and a few one-minute spots. And Fritz was on the air by the hour. Every week.

This was one of the proudest things I ever did with the Senator. We'd created those spots in a studio. But it was a studio, and I think we spent $800 on the production of those spots. Then we bought time, strategically, around the state, and we spent about $32,000 on the spots, running them all in the last few days of the campaign. Right after the campaign, the Charlotte Observer, in making comparisons of Senator Johnston's T.V. campaign to that of Fritz Hollings, said – "T.V. campaigns in the Carolinas will never ever be the same again."

[Interview ends]