OCTOBER 7, 1986
Riley: Governor Byrnes came to Barnwell in knee pants and won the court stenographer's job. He never went to college a day in his life. He studied law in a law office in Aiken and was admitted to the Bar, then he ran for solicitor. He and my father, who was county auditor, became great friends. Then he ran for Congress and was elected. He lost his first race for the Senate when Blease beat him. Wyche and Nichols then took him to Spartanburg where the big vote was, and he got elected to the Senate. When Roosevelt was elected, Byrnes called and asked me to be Assistant United States Attorney. To give you an idea as to how close we were, I almost named Dick, James Byrnes Riley. Then he was elected governor. I had a touch of conscience at that national convention. That was when Ed Smith and a lot of South Carolinians, including my cousin, George Warren, who was a senator, walked out when they had a Negro give the invocation. Byrnes, at that time, was governor, and the South Carolina delegation objected to being seated because of its anti-integration stance. He had put on a four cents tax and had slides showing a former Negro school and a new one, but he didn't show the insides of them, just the buildings. He made the statement that South Carolina schools were now equal and the state was in conformance with the Constitution and based his political future on it. Governor Battle of Virginia had opposed South Carolina being seated until after Byrnes' statement. He got up and talked about the integrity of the governor of South Carolina. Byrnes knew it wasn't equal. I was the attorney for the school district, and I knew darn well it wasn't anything like equal.

They had a recall convention, and when Truman ran, I had the job of getting the ballot to vote. Eisenhower came to visit while Byrnes was governor. Byrnes called me one afternoon. He said, "Son, you know you and I have always been together in politics." I said, "Yes, Governor, we sure have." He said, "I feel a big change is taking place. I'm not leaving the Democratic Party of Dr. Dick Riley, you and me, but I'm leaving the Democratic Party of Kennedy." He went on to name the Liberals. He said he wanted me to go with him. He had a party at the Governor's Mansion and invited me. I had a resolution to be sure that the Democrats could vote, and at the party he said, "Ted, I hope you won't present that resolution to the committee because this is what I'm going to do. I'm going to make a report at the convention, and I'm going to say if the vote was today I would vote for Stevenson and Sparkman, the Democratic nominees. I'm going to suggest and move that the convention name electors pledged to support the Democratic nominees, Stevenson and Sparkman." The
next morning at breakfast I was called away from the table by Buddy Prioleau, who was Byrnes' administrative assistant. Buddy said that Edgar Brown wanted to speak to me. Senator Brown said, "Ted, Jim and I have been talking, and we want you to be one of the electors." I said, "Senator, Mr. Plexico, an older gentleman in Clinton, is very anxious to be it and I don't care. I'm going to be just as strong a supporter of the Party as if I was an elector." He said Jim wanted to speak to me. The Governor said, "Son, you've been Assistant United States Attorney and you have conducted yourself well. You have tried cases in Rock Hill, Anderson, Greenwood, Greenville and Spartanburg. You're from the low country where you played football and baseball and have kept up your fences well. You're highly regarded and we think you would be an asset to the ticket." I said, "Governor, I've always done whatever you say, but I hate to see Mr. Plexico disappointed." He said he would make it all right with Plexico. I said all right and became an elector.

Duffy: Would you tell us about your background in Barnwell?

Riley: I was born in Barnwell on October 27, 1900. My father, Richard Wilson Riley, was educated as a dentist. First he went to medical school but said he couldn't learn Latin. Then he went to law school and he didn't like Blackstone, said it was too boring, so he then went to Baltimore Dental College which was the oldest dental college in the country. He practiced dentistry in Barnwell for a while. My father ran for county auditor, and he's down in the books as having the shortest political speech ever made. He was running against Mr. Keel, who was the incumbent. Mr. Moody had had it. Mr. Keel had beat Mr. Moody. My father got up and said, "I'm Dick Riley and I'm running for county auditor. I want the job because the work isn't hard and it pays good money and I need it. Mr. Keels has it, Mr. Moody's had it and I want it. Thank you." He got elected and served sixteen years. He had just been elected to another four years when he died.

My sister had a good voice, and I wanted my father to have enough money to have it trained, but the way he was going, he wasn't going to have it and I told him so. He said, "Well, Son, let me tell you something. I love you, and I want you to know that as long as you want to, your feet can be under my table and your head under my roof, but if things don't suit you on the inside, there is plenty of room out there."
Lancaster Mills was having good baseball teams at that time. I played pretty good high school ball and my brother played for the Citadel. About four or five Citadel boys went to Lancaster and took me with them. They played one summer of baseball and I stayed there and jerked soda at Lancaster Drug Company. My cousin, George Warren, ran for the United States Senate against Ed Smith, and when he wanted to know who he knew in Lancaster, they told him the son of his first cousin, Dr. Dick Riley. George Warren and I were good friends from then on. I put placards up all over town.

Duffy: How did you happen to go to Furman?

Riley: I had scholarships offered to me from Carolina, Citadel, Wake Forest, Wofford, Clemson and Furman, but Billy Laval was coaching Furman and they had a law school.

One day I was grading cucumbers, brown as a berry from being out in the sun, had a big wad of chewing tobacco in my mouth and needed a shave, when Horace Crouch, who was the superintendent of Barnwell and the father of Strom Thurmond's first wife, Jean, came down to the cucumber shed with Dr. McLaughlin, the president of Furman University. I looked like a good football prospect at that time. He said they had a pre-law school and I wouldn't have to take chemistry, math or things of that kind. I didn't think I could pass them. So I talked to the dean, and he offered me a full scholarship: room, board, and books as long as I passed my work and behaved myself. I told the dean I wanted a pre-law course and he said, "What?" So I told him again a pre-law course. He said, "Mr. Riley, there is not a pre-law course. You're going to have to take freshman math, physics and chemistry if you enter this school." I said, "Well, Dean, I got some different information from a man who has some authority around here." He said he would like to know who it was. I told him Dr. McLaughlin, the president. He picked up the telephone and called Dr. McLaughlin, and he came down and shut all the doors and said, "Dean, we want this boy at Furman. He's going to be a good lawyer and that's what he wants to do. Forget about math and that kind of stuff and let him take history, philosophy and things he can just read and remember." So I went through Furman and with three summer schools, I had an LL.B degree, and with the exception of math and chemistry, I had an A.B. degree. My daddy called me and said he wanted to take me shopping to get some clothes for college. That was the first contribution
he had made because I made my own way. He made me move back in the house sometime after that. He said, "Your other brothers went to school, and I could help them out like give them spending money and other things. I wish I had enough to put $1,000 in your credit every month. You're making your own, but I want you to know this; if you ever need this shirt, I'll send it to you." I said, "Papa, I'd rather you say that than put $1,000 in my credit account." I got an afternoon job in Greenville and I've been here ever since.

_Terry:_  _When you first met Sol Blatt, were you playing baseball?_

_Riley:_  When I played against Sol, he was in Blackville and I was in Barnwell. He was a few years older than me, but we played against each other. We didn't have football teams at that time. When Sol finished law school he got a job with Harley and Best in Barnwell. When Sol's father came to this country, he couldn't speak a word of English. He was a walking peddler. He would go from house to house, and the people in the Protestant churches in Blackville would put the price on his articles for him. When anyone wanted to know the price he would say, "Look in the basket." That was all the English he knew. During the Depression he financed four counties in the low country at 4% interest. The bank didn't have the money so he let them have it. Sol joined the Army. I was in the office when Sol came by to say goodbye. He put his arms around my daddy, kissed him and told him he loved him like he loved his own father. He said, "I'm going away, Doc, but I'll tell you right now, I want to come back to this country because I want to come back to Barnwell." So he came back and became a great influence in South Carolina. At one time, if you wanted anything in South Carolina you had to go through Barnwell. Emile Harley, who was governor, died in office. Dick Jeffries was pro tem in the Senate and was next in order to become governor. Edgar Brown was chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate. In those days they had two members of the House. Sol Blatt was Speaker of the House and Winchester Smith was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. All of these people were from Barnwell County except Jeffries, who was from Colleton.

_Duffy:_  _When you left law school, did you practice law in Greenville?_
Riley: Yes, and then I was made a judge of the Family Court. I ran for county solicitor and I started Bob Ashmore on his political career. He beat me. I didn't have a cousin in the county, and there wasn't many people in the county that wasn't his cousin. Jim Byrnes called me one day and told me he wanted me to come up to Ceasar's Head and have lunch with him and Miss Maude. I went and he told me, "Wyche is going to be United States Attorney. He's got about 40-50 applicants for Assistant United States Attorney. I understand that Congressman McSwain has offered you a job checking on titles and things of that kind. That might pay more, but I knew your daddy, Dick Riley, and he didn't care about you looking up titles. He wants you in the pit, fighting. I want you to be Assistant United States Attorney and I think you would do a good job at it." I said, "Well, Senator Byrnes, I appreciate it." He said, "Everything will be all right. Wyche will call you in the next day or so." Wyche called and we didn't get along very well. He told me there were others he thought were better equipped than I was. I said, "Well, you know I haven't applied for the job. Jim Byrnes gave you my name, but I haven't applied and after this, I don't believe I want to apply." Jim Byrnes called and said, "How did you and Cecil Wyche come along?" I told him we didn't. He said, "All right." In the next couple of days Wyche called me and he was just as sweet as sugar. He said, "I was just rough on you. I wanted to test you out. Have you read Hubbard's *Message to Garcia*?" I said, "I sure have and I don't need you handing it to me to read. I understand you make all the young boys in your office read it." He said, "Well, I've reconsidered this thing and I've looked them all over, and if you're willing to come in under the salary agreement from the Attorney General, I'll recommend you, and if Jim sends your name on, there will be no trouble about it. Will you take the job?" I said, "Under those conditions and if Senator Byrnes is in there, yes, I'll take it." Later, I was at a cocktail party and Byrnes was there and wanted to know how Wyche and I had gotten along. I told him he had given me the job. He said, "You know what happened was I talked to him and he said you were just one of those low country boys with a lot of country in you and wanted to know why I wanted to bring that kind of crowd up here. He wanted me to get with some of the up-country folks. I told him he didn't care about being United States Attorney, that he wanted to be United States Judge, and if you were not made Assistant United States Attorney under Cecil Wyche, Cecil Wyche was not going to be the Judge." Of course, I had the job right then, and he and I became great friends.
Terry: I know you worked with the 1922 Senate campaign of Jimmy Byrnes against Cole Blease. Was that the first you knew of Jimmy Byrnes?

Riley: I knew him as a kid.

Terry: Tell us about the type of person he was back then.

Riley: He was Catholic. He took a business course and that was all the education he had. He and my daddy played poker together. He liked a drink of liquor, was a very good-time fellow and was very popular. He ran against Mr. Patterson, who was an old-timer in Barnwell, and when Patterson died, Byrnes sent some flowers and they threw them out the door. Papa supported Jim Byrnes over Mr. Patterson and that got us crossed up. I was named for the congressman's brother. My name is Edward Patterson Riley.

I think one of the most interesting cases I had was back in the old days when they didn't appoint lawyers except in capital cases. I didn't get a dime for this particular case I was appointed to. This woman was on a drinking binge in her yard in the mountains. She had five kids and every one had a different daddy. She got in a fuss with the man she got drunk with and he cracked her head open with a bottle. She walked up to the house, got a gun and blew his brains out. I had read somewhere about temporary insanity, where you could receive an injury severe enough that you could do something really bad and not be responsible for your act. I tricked the doctor into sitting down and drinking liquor with me, and he gave me a pretty good statement about temporary insanity along with the name of an expert named Dr. Sanderson. I got the book and read it. Then I talked to the doctor about it and subpoenaed him. He called me every kind of Irish name you have ever heard. The woman had an infant in her arms nursing during the closing argument. I got up and said, "Let me ask you something. On this flimsy evidence and according to the doctor this lady didn't know what she was doing, would you sever that baby from his mother's breast?" I'll tell you about another case I remember. Every time there was a grand jury, we had 200-300 liquor cases to present. This particular case involved a man that was crippled. I called this case United States against Hester. Mr. Hoke Black represented the defendant. I always argued that the guilty fleeth and the innocent stands as firm as a lion. I said if he isn't guilty,
why did he run? Hoke Black harped on the fact that Mr. Hester didn't run. On cross examination I said, "By the way, Mr. Hester, when were you last in the hospital?" He said, "When?" I said, "What was your trouble?" He said, "I had paralysis." I said, "In your left leg?" He said, "Yes, Sir, this leg." I said, "Is that what is commonly called "Jake" paralysis you got over poison liquor?" He said, "Yes, Sir, that's exactly what happened." He had a long criminal record and I said, "Let me ask you this. Weren't you charged with killing your wife?" He said, "I'll see you in hell." Judge Wyche said, "What did you say?" He said, "I'll see you in..." He fell dead. The District Attorney said, "Ted, I like for you to be vigorous, but let's not kill anymore." Wyche was presiding and he said, "Every judge in South Carolina has tried him except me, and he had to go and drop dead before I could get the chance to sentence him."

**Duffy:** Did you work in the 1922 or 1928 campaign?

**Riley:** I was in college and I worked the college. That was the first year freshmen could not participate in varsity athletics. I was quarterback on the freshman football team. We played Clemson at the Pickens County Fair, and Jim Byrnes was at a reception that the football players were also invited to. Byrnes recognized me the minute he saw me. I took him around and introduced him to all the football players, and everyone that was 21 years old voted for him. That was the extent of my help with him. After that I would ride with him on occasion and I did anything he wanted done. He called me one day and said, "Ted, Governor Harry Moore and his wife are visiting Maude and me, and I was wondering if you and Martha could throw a little drop-in over in Greenville?" I said, "Sure, Senator, what are you doing Thanksgiving?" You know the second biggest ballgame in the state at that time was at Thanksgiving between Furman and Clemson. I told him I would have tickets for the game and have a drop-in afterwards. He said that would be wonderful. I had this Negro, Ike, tend bar for me. I said, "Now, Ike, I'm going to tell you something you had better not forget. I'm going to come back in here with Governor and Mrs. Moore and Senator and Mrs. Byrnes, and I'm going to ask Mrs. Moore what she wants to drink, and she will tell you and you will fix it. Then I'll ask Mrs. Byrnes what she will have to drink. She'll tell you and you fix it. Then I'll go over to Governor Moore and ask him and he'll tell you. Then I'll ask Senator
Byrnes what he will have. Then you will say, 'I know what Senator Byrnes wants. He wants some of that 100 proof Old Taylor.'" Byrnes' face turned as red as a beet and Governor Moore said, "Jim, your reputation is far and wide."

**Duffy:** You were in the Family Court and then you were U.S. Attorney. Where did you move to from the U.S. Attorney's office?

**Riley:** I went into private practice and became county attorney and was also attorney for the school district during all the integration battles. I think one of the greatest men I've ever known is Matthew Perry. Matthew was the chief counsel for the NAACP and I was attorney for the Greenville School Board. There were about 15-20 cases consolidated under Judge Bob Martin. Perry was in all of them. Fritz Hollings said no blacks would enter the schools while he was governor. Wallace stood at the front door to keep them away from him. Barnett in Mississippi said he would stand in front of them with a machine gun. But we went through that whole thing, and I mean it was a powder keg. All you needed was a little spark to blow the whole thing up. Judge Martin and I had all controversial matters agreed to prior to trial, and consequently, no racial incidents occurred during the several months of trial. Everybody expected and the media was prepared for racial incidents, but thanks to Perry everything went smoothly. He exhibited a great deal of courage and his name someday will be recognized by historians as a great American. We went through all of that litigation with no hard feelings. People in the other parts of the country couldn't believe that South Carolina had gone through this thing as smoothly as we did.

**Duffy:** Particularly in Greenville.

**Riley:** Because Bob Martin handled it. HUD had a plan, which was a terrible plan, to mix schools together. We had 55,000 kids and to try to even those things up was quite a job. My board was offered two plans, but they didn't want to accept either one. The day before we had to submit our decision, we finally agreed on one of the plans at 4:00 a.m. When we went before Judge Martin the following day he said, "The purpose of the hearing, Mr. Riley, is to receive a proposed plan for integrating schools. Are you prepared to present one?" I said I
was. He said, "Mr. Perry, have you had an opportunity to read it?" He said he had. The Judge said, "Mr. Riley, do you move to adopt this plan?" I said I did. He said, "Mr. Perry?" Perry said, "I agree to it, Your Honor." You could hear the relief because everyone thought there was going to be fighting and fussing about it. Then the judge gave us from February until September to implement the plan and agreed it was going to be a hard job to do, but he couldn't give us any more time than that. When it got to New York, Goldberg, who was head counsel for the NAACP all over the country, said that was too long. He sent it back to Perry and instructed him to appeal it. Perry said he wasn't going to do it. So Goldberg hired another lawyer. I argued before the Court of Appeals and the Court of Appeals upheld Judge Martin, four to three. Judge Haynsworth, who was writing the opinion, asked me to take a look at it. I thought it looked fine. The next day "Holmes against Alexander" was passed by the United States Supreme Court, where they said a month was too long.

*Duffy:* Was Holmes-Alexander a busing case?

*Riley:* Yes. Judge Haynsworth called and asked me if I had read the Holmes case. I told him I had just heard about it on the radio. He asked me what I was going to do. I told him I didn't know. They gave us three weeks. But Perry had the guts to tell them he wasn't going to appeal it.

*Duffy:* Why do you think the people here were willing to accept that kind of settlement, whereas people in other parts of the South, such as Alabama and Mississippi, resisted it so much?

*Riley:* It was the leadership. If we hadn't had a man like Matthew Perry, we would have had bloodshed all over the place. But we had leadership and the judge had complete control of the case. He never let it get away from him. I've stayed up all night with my board to keep it unanimous. A couple of lawyer members of the board like Tom Johnson and Wright Horton were magnificent in their courage and leadership in this board and backing me up during the whole thing. It was just a question of a judge who knew how to handle things and didn't let it get away from him. When I was state chairman, there was a meeting in Georgia of all the
governors and party officers of the Southern states. The feeling of the meeting was that they didn't want the blacks going to their schools. Fritz Hollings was governor at the time, and he had to go along with them because he would have gotten beat in a minute if he hadn't. Bob Martin, even with all the political fervor like it was, didn't let it get into court. I used to go to the national organizations for legal problems in education. The Supreme Court said we would have to integrate root and branch now. We were at Utah and they were upset because the Supreme Court wouldn't tell us how long now was. One fellow from Boston and I became great friends and he got up and said, "I think we have a gentleman in the house that can tell us what now means." I told them about the argument involving the case of Holmes against Alexander. I said, "In South Carolina, it meant three weeks."

During the Kennedy race we went to the convention, and they put us in a flea bitten hotel because we didn't send any money to the national campaign. We said we were trying to elect our people here and needed our money in South Carolina. I had been friendly with the Kennedys. Fritz was strong for Kennedy. He made a proposition and the delegates at the convention didn't like it, so they made a move to make me chairman of the delegation. I declined to take it. I told them it meant a lot to have the governor there instead of someone nobody knew. So they went along with Fritz as chairman and myself as vice chairman. I got with the delegation and said that if we go to this convention and support Kennedy, I don't care who gets nominated, we're going to get cussed out when we get back home. As I see it, if we support Lyndon Johnson as a southerner and then get back home and Kennedy gets it, we say we did the best we could. Fritz said, "Strom is going to get up and move that we support Johnson and he's presiding." I said, "I'm going to make the motion that the delegation support Lyndon Johnson as long as he's in the race." When the time came, two or three of them hit the floor and Fritz said, "We recognize the State Chairman, Mr. Riley." Strom said, "Mr. Chairman..." Fritz said, "I recognize Mr. Riley. Your time will come." Of course, I made the motion they wanted made and it passed. Fritz had left the hall and I moved into the chairman's seat. After Kennedy was nominated, a motion was made that the convention make it unanimous. A lot of my delegation voted no. I called the stage and said I wanted to put South Carolina on record as not voting unanimous to make it unanimous. Gladys Johnston came running in and said, "Ted Riley, I'm ashamed of you. You know we're not going to go unanimous." I said, "We're not unanimous." She said, "You haven't
done anything about it." I said, "Just a minute." I turned to the people in my delegation and said, "I would like for you to meet Mrs. Gladys Johnston, the wife of the United States Senator. Gladys, ask them how South Carolina stands." She said, "You didn't tell me anything about it." About that time Strom spoke up and said, "You ain't got a gut. Why aren't you up there fighting?" I said, "About what, Senator?" He said, "We aren't making it unanimous." I said, "We aren't unanimous. Talk to the people behind me." They said South Carolina had gone on record as not to make it unanimous. I didn't poll because there was no need. Several days before the election, I was calling friends, such as farmers who were personal friends of mine throughout the state, instead of Democratic officials. On the North Carolina line it was plain that it was going to be Democratic. When I got through and had my figures, it looked like Kennedy by 10,000 votes. Everybody else thought Nixon would beat him by 20,000-40,000 votes. It was nip and tuck and when I called Frank Sloan and asked what counties were in, he said, "Well, Chief, everything's in that's worth anything; Charleston, Greenville, Richland, Lexington." I asked him where we stood. He said 9,800. I asked if it was safe. He said, "Call Hyannis Port and tell them we're Democratic." So I called and asked to speak to Jack Kennedy and they said he was on the phone, so I asked for Bobby. When Bobby answered I said, "Bobby, this is Ted Riley. Put South Carolina in your..." He said, "Wait a minute. Don't pull my leg. We know South Carolina is going Republican." I said, "But it went Democratic." He said, "Are you kidding me?" I said, "You know I wouldn't kid you about a thing like this." He said, "Wait a minute. Jack! Jack! I've got Ted Riley from South Carolina on the phone and he said South Carolina has gone Democratic." The vote ended up right at about 9,800. Mr. Hall, who was the national chairman of the Republican Party said the two biggest surprises that he got were Connecticut going Republican and South Carolina going Democratic. We didn't go Democratic again until Dick took over the Jimmy Carter race.

**Terry:** What were some of the early campaigns that you had experiences with in South Carolina? For instance, in the 1920s?

**Riley:** I was active as a man in the ranks. I think the most important individual in the state of South Carolina that brought about political change was Tillman. He was the one that
threw the vote out to the people. Once when I was on a plane going from New Guinea to the Philippines, I was reading one of the Tillman books. Basil O'Conner, who was Roosevelt's law partner and head of the Red Cross, was on the same plane, and when he saw which book I was reading, he told me he had known the senator and commented about how much he liked the book.
OCTOBER 30, 1986
Terry:  One thing I was struck by the last time we talked was the bit about the baseball teams. The baseball teams in Barnwell and other towns in South Carolina at that time were important for a lot of reasons besides just sports, weren't they? I got the impression that they were an important part of each town's character and also maybe had some political connotations to them.

Riley:  I don't know too much about the political implications, but there were town units and a tri-county league (Bamberg, Allendale and Barnwell). They could have three outside people, but the rest had to be local boys. Martin Best, who managed the team, was the druggist in Barnwell. Best, Solomon Blatt, who was a member of the House and on the USC Board of Trustees, and Mayor Emile Harley came to Lancaster, along with the Superintendent of Schools. They came to try to convince me to come back to Barnwell where I could play third base and be a home boy and then they could have another outsider. So I made a deal with them that I was going to be the playing baseball coach, the only one in the state as far as I knew at the time. I was assistant football coach and assistant janitor of the school. That way I could pay my own expenses. I went on to finish school after being out three and one half years.

Terry:  Who were some of the other players on the baseball team?

Riley:  There were quite a few of them that went on to big leagues. We had Brantley Harvey's father, Sol Blatt, and a very fine South Carolina pitcher, Babe Adams. He had a fast ball. Bo Harry Smythe, who later pitched for Detroit, was a left handed boy who hoboed his way into Barnwell and was a rough looking customer. Barnwell wouldn't have anything
to do with him. Another team hired him and he turned out to be one of the best pitchers in the league. He then went on to pitch in Augusta in the Sally League and then went to Detroit and did a good job. It was right fast semi-pro baseball. After the game you could see a lot of people changing money around because they were betting on their favorite team.

_Terry:_ I think of these teams as being forerunners to local political clubs, and I may be reading something into this, but I know that of the individuals you mentioned who recruited you to play in Barnwell, at least two of them were involved in politics by that time. Also, when I did the oral history with Sol Blatt, he told me that it was on the baseball field that Harley and Edgar Brown first talked to him about running for the House, and I was just wondering if a lot of things besides money passed after the game.

_Riley:_ There's no doubt about that. Barnwell, Williston and Blackville were the three big precincts of the county and if you played football for Barnwell, then Blackville and Williston didn't like you. So it could be taken the other way because they had a lot of feeling for baseball. I had scholarships offered me from several colleges for football and baseball and I selected Furman at that time because they had a law school. The year I entered Furman was the first year freshman could not participate in varsity athletics. We had a very good freshman team. Some went on to play big league ball. Jim Bivens, Jim Herlong and several others were real good ball players. Once we were playing the Greenville Spinners in a practice game. Zen Beck was managing the Greenville Spinners and he had formerly managed the Augusta team in the Sally League. The morning after we played the Greenville team Bill Laval, the Furman coach, called me and he really gave me a cussing out. He told me how much money they had wasted on me for uniforms and everything of that kind and I
wasn't eligible to play. I said, "What's the matter, Coach?" He said, "You signed a contract with Augusta to play in the Sally League." I told him no, I hadn't. He said, "The hell you didn't. Zen Beck recognized you." I said, "Well, Coach, he's talking about my brother, Owen Riley." He did try with Augusta and they said if he could have hit a curve ball, he would have made it because he was a good outfielder. Zen wanted to send him to a little town in a smaller league down in Georgia, but Owen wouldn't go. He came back and went to work.

There was a boy named Allen Miles that traveled for a tire company. He had served in World War I and was a champion wrestler. Barnwell was on his route and we got to be friendly. Allen wanted to work up a wrestling match and he was going to wrestle my brother, Owen, and myself, one at a time. He finally threw Owen and then he and I were wrestling. I would throw him over my shoulder and he would throw me over his and then we would holler and grunt and carry on just like the pros do. I'd thrown him one time and he had thrown me one time and we had one more throw to see who would be the champion. Finally, he got a hammer lock which had my face right up in his behind. Somebody in the audience yelled, "Bite him, Ted, bite him."

As a boy, I hunted a good deal. My father had hunting dogs and we did a good deal of fox hunting on horseback in those days. My dog was a shepherd and she would get loose and hunt. They had this prize race and when they finally got down there and found out who had the fox, it was my shepherd, but they wouldn't give the prize to my father because she wasn't blooded and she wasn't fit to run. It made him so mad he could have killed Daisy. We hunted a lot of quail and fished a lot. As a boy, my favorite fishing trips were the ones when we would pull all of our clothes off and get in a creek and fish the creek down three or four miles, then a black man would meet us down there with a horse and buggy. We would
then put our clothes back on and go home. We would always have a good string of fish.

*Terry:* I have never heard of just following a creek all the way down.

*Riley:* We used to do it a good deal in Barnwell.

*Terry:* In addition to hunting and fishing in Barnwell, what were some of the other things you did as a young fellow there?

*Riley:* We had school proms and dances. The younger ones had to be escorted and my father made me and my brother escort our young sisters to the dances. We were told, in no uncertain terms, that if we had a girl we had to be in at a certain time. If we came in and the old man hollered bedtime, you didn't say anything back then. My father would give me a quarter and I would walk and pick up my girl, go to the picture show, stop back by the drugstore and get something to drink, and I would still have a nickel in my pocket.

*Terry:* I can still remember a movie at fifteen cents, double feature, but those days are long gone.

*Riley:* Eggs and labor were cheap. My father did a little farming. His mother owned some property and she finally sold the last 300 acres of land to give him a brand new Hudson Super Six automobile. Another child, who was a very prominent musician, died at 22, so papa was the only one and I think he was rather spoiled. He liked race horses and he would never miss a race.
What we used to do in Barnwell on Big Thursday (that was the Clemson-Carolina game during Fair Week) was to buy a package at the depot that included the trip to and from the fairground on the street car, the ticket to the fairground and the ticket to the ballgame. I paid twenty five cents to go in and look at an airplane just setting on the ground and marveled that I just didn't believe it was true that this thing was going to get up. We were in Columbia once on Big Thursday and Father had taken a horse and gone ahead to the races and said he would meet me at the train station. The biggest place I had ever seen was Columbia's Union Station. I got off and my daddy wasn't there. It scared me to death. A policeman saw me and asked what was wrong. I asked him if he had seen my daddy. He said, "Son, I don't know your daddy." In a few minutes my daddy came walking up. Boy, I was glad to see him.

**Terry:** *When you were in high school, what would you do on a Saturday?*

**Riley:** A lot of us worked in stores on Saturday. I worked in the drugstore and my brother, Owen, worked in a grocery store. In the summer when fresh peanuts were in, we would sit around and eat boiled peanuts. Every time the Methodist Church opened its doors my grandmother would shove the Riley boys in, so we were quite regular. There was one man in Barnwell who was retarded. He was the son of a very prominent man. Everybody loved him, but he was the butt of a lot of jokes. He smoked nickel cigars and if you offered him a quarter or a nickel, he would take the nickel. All he wanted was a cigar. He would drop in and eat with anyone in town that he wanted to eat with and everyone understood him. He was quite a character. There were two Simms boys living in Barnwell. Charles Carroll Simms was a lawyer who ran for governor and was defeated. William Gilmore Simms,
named for his father, was clerk of court. He was the father of Mary Simms Oliphant. Miss Mae was a lovely lady and a dear friend of ours. When she wrote her last book, she spent a lot of time in this office with me on the laws that have been affecting education since the last history book. I can remember in the seventh grade hearing this little voice and looking up to see Miss Mae who had come in from college to substitute teach in Barnwell High School. Mr. Simms and all of his family are scattered all over the country. His oldest son, John, was a lawyer in Miami, Florida. None of that family is in Barnwell now.

**Terry:** *Would you say that the Simms family was the most prominent family in Barnwell when you were growing up there?*

**Riley:** The Simms were certainly one of the most prominent families due to the notoriety of the gentleman. He was highly regarded and respected.

**Terry:** *Your generation was probably the last to be able to sit down with the old Confederates.*

**Riley:** Both of my grandfathers had served in the Civil War. My paternal grandfather died when I was young and I didn't get to talk to him much. He left school and joined the army. My maternal grandfather, John C. Dowling, must have been a hellion. My great aunt wrote in about every other letter (which is in a book written by the Barrs in Lexington County) that she had to get John C. out of jail because he was AWOL. He must have spent a night in every jail in the lowcountry. He was in the army.
Terry: While growing up in a town like Barnwell, was there a pretty strong racial barrier?

Riley: There were good race relations. Integration wasn't thought of.

Terry: Did the blacks in Barnwell have their own part of the town?

Riley: Yes. Of course, most of them were employed by white people. Some of them had sense enough to save a little money and put it aside. One black woman was born in our back yard. Mum Ida we called her. She married Mose Hankerson. We didn't have refrigeration and during hog killing season they would salt things down and usually give away the chitlins and various things of that kind. Once during hog killing season my daddy came home with a lard bucket full of chitlins and handed it to this old Negro woman who had been there for years. She asked whose chitlins they were because she wouldn't serve any chitlins if she didn't know who they had belonged to.

Terry: Some of those people would have even been former slaves.

Riley: This Mum Ida I'm talking about was the daughter of a slave, and the majority of the adults were very close to slavery, no doubt about that. The way to tell if a man was well to do or not was the number of slaves he owned. Someone once wrote that my father's ancestor, Miles Riley, was a prominent man and had fifteen or twenty slaves. They had their separate churches and schools and there just wasn't any question about race. I remember when I was coming back from overseas in the Pacific, I had finished my time and had gotten orders home. There was an officer on board that was an electrical engineering graduate from
Ohio State University. The skipper said he was very critical of the South and would confront you with a lot of things. One of the things he said to me was, "You don't let them sleep in the same house and won't let them build in the same block with you. They can't sleep in the same hotels or eat in the same restaurants and things of that kind, and yet about half of them are half white. Now, how do you answer that?" I told him the best way I could answer was to tell him the story about this young boy who was a cotton weigher. He stayed at the head of the cotton rows, and as the blacks would come in with their bags of cotton, he would weigh them and give that particular person credit. There was one little black girl that looked pretty good, so he would add a few pounds to the bag every time she would bring it in. He asked her to stay over a little late one evening, and he took her in the bushes to have relations with her. Things got interesting, and she told him to kiss her. He said, "You black, blue-lip, thick nosed bitch, don't you get familiar with me."

**Terry:** Right after World War I, a lot of the cities had race riots. Was there ever any racial violence in Barnwell?

**Riley:** I don't remember. After the War-Between-the-States, they had an army of Redshirts, and there were riots during the Tillman Movement in South Carolina. I remember Ben Tillman and seeing Pitchfork Ben. Later on, Cole Blease ran against Judge Ira B. Jones. In those days you could run for two successive two-year terms. Blease was running for reelection. At the Governor's Conference, they criticized Blease pretty severely. Lynchings were going unpunished in South Carolina. The governors said that if lynchings violated the Constitution, the governor should be impeached. Blease got up and made a speech and in his speech he said, "You have criticized my state and everything about it. I'll tell you this, when
the Constitution of the United States comes in between me and the protection of the white women in my state, I say to hell with the Constitution." I was a boy when they had a political meeting in the circle at Barnwell and Blease made that speech.

**Terry:** So you would say that in terms of the political atmosphere, the race relations were always very prominent.

**Riley:** For years after my father got in office, after I got old enough to drive an automobile, I would always drive out to the poor house and pick up Fate Hazel, who was the only Negro that voted in the Democratic Primary in Barnwell.

**Terry:** Why was he allowed to vote?

**Riley:** He had stayed with the South, had not left his boss, was raised with the people, and never participated in those big celebrations. On January 1st, Emancipation Day, they would borrow the boss' horses and would have feathers in their hats and have a big parade. A Negro named Hankerson was always the leader.

I was Assistant United States Attorney, and unbeknownst to me, Will G. Beardsley, who was Assistant Attorney General and had charge of war risk insurance cases (we had about 600-700 of them pending), came down to observe us. He was always saying I was going to get fired and I asked him why. He said, "Anybody working for as little as you get ain't fit to be working. You're going to make more money, or I'm going to have you fired. I'll see that you make more money." I told him he certainly had my consent. He wanted to go hunting so when court fell down a day or two before expected, I told him I could take him
where I knew he could get some birds about a hundred miles on. So I called Dr. Best, the man who managed the baseball team when I worked in the drugstore, and told him I wanted to bring two boys down. When we got to Barnwell, we went to the drugstore first and Solomon Blatt walked in. He had some of these war risk insurance cases pending. He found out I had the man there and he said, "Ted, I just got a keg of rye liquor from down at Hampton. They just delivered it. How about ya'll coming around and having a drink?" I said, "OK, Sol. Why don't we go by the hotel and leave our bags?" Dr. Best said, "Leave your what?" I said, "Let's go by the hotel and give the bellboy the bags." He said, "Listen, I remember when you didn't have a bag, and now you talk about having the bellboy get it. You're going to stay at my house or you're not going to use my dogs and hunt my land." I said, "Bubba, I know fifty houses in Barnwell I can knock on the doors and spend the night with before I go to a hotel, but I've got two strangers." He said, "We've got room for them. You can all stay at my house." So we went around there. The next day Dr. Best said, "Ted, Aunt Ida Hankerson wants you to come and eat dinner with her. She's got plenty of quail, and she wants you to come hunt." That was the woman born in our back yard. She had a delicious dinner of country sausage, country ham, pies and cakes. We three white men sat at the table. Aunt Ida sat next to me, but away from the table, and her daughters-in-law served the table, but none of them sat with us. When we sat in the parlor, it was the first time the blinds had been pulled since the preacher had visited her. We got through and she said, "Now, Mr. Ted, I want to show you my place, and then you boys can hunt." I can see her now with that scarf tied around her head like the black folks did, and she said, "I own as far as you can see. There isn't a stitch of paper against it. A lot of it is because of your daddy. He made my Mose save his money. Now we have this beautiful farm here and we're doing well. We've got a nice automobile and a little money in the bank, and we're just so thankful
for it." You talk about separation of races, she knew it and they all knew it and there was no question about it. Once when I was there, Dr. Best told me Aunt Ida's boys had married gold teeth women and high flyers, and they had bought nice automobiles and lost every bit of land Aunt Ida had.

I remember Edgar Brown's first political speech. It was at Hilda, which is a little town in Barnwell County. Edgar was speaking out of a two horse wagon. In those days railroads were everything. A lawyer made a living either representing the railroad or suing them. Edgar, at that time was on the suing side. Emile Harley was defending the railroad. As Edgar was making his speech, the train came right by him and drowned out his speech. Edgar said, "You see that. The railroad is against me; trying to drown my voice out."

**Terry:** Sol Blatt told me that some of his cases, the ones he really made the money on, were with the railroad.

**Riley:** In those days, that was the case. There were no automobiles and certainly no automobile insurance. The trains had plenty of money and they were the ones that had to pay for killing the cows, horses and people.

**Terry:** You mentioned the circle.

Riley. The town was built around the circle. There was a bandstand in the circle, a pump for water and plenty of open ground where we could congregate. That's where all the political meetings and city wide functions were centered.
Terry: Was Edgar Brown a good speaker?

Riley: Yes. He was a convincing speaker. He was not as flowery as Jim Byrnes or Sol Blatt.

Terry: What kind of courtroom attorney was Byrnes?

Riley: He was excellent. He ran for Congress against J.O. Patterson, an old established Barnwell family. My father was county auditor and supported Byrnes instead of Patterson, which made it tough for a politician to do. Byrnes sent flowers to the Patterson home and they threw them out. Byrnes made a great congressman. He was one of Woodrow Wilson's leaders in Congress. Byrnes had become an Episcopalian and was a former altar boy. When he ran for Senate against Cole Blease, all the altar boys and former altar boys from five or six Catholic churches signed a petition endorsing him. Everyone attributed that to Byrnes' defeat. He was beat by about 2,500 votes. Byrnes was a very warm person. It was said he was a very selfish person, but a man couldn't be a good politician if he wasn't selfish. When he ran for governor, I supported him all the way.

Terry: Yesterday, I was going through some of Speaker Blatt's items and papers, and I thought about the time you told me how close your father and Jimmy Byrnes were. There were a lot of Blatt photographs with Byrnes in them. Politics in South Carolina during this time must have been very personal.

Riley: It was all Democrat. The only time you heard of Republicans was during general
elections and then no one contributed five cents to the Republicans. It was very personal and they didn't mind taking the gloves off against each other. After the war, when we became a state, candidates were selected by convention, and usually they would be from some big family that had the means to get the delegates up there. In one of the papers, a historian from the University of South Carolina talked about Ben Tillman and what he had done and, of course, the Tillman books. Tillman hated the Citadel. He thought it was high-toned and high-hatted, so he started Clemson for the country boys.

_Terry:_ _When you were young, did you attend any of the political campaign speeches?_

_Riley:_ Every one I could get to. They used to have fish fries and barbecues, things like that. They had an official meeting in each big precinct like Allendale, Williston, Blackville, Barnwell.
FEBRUARY 11, 1987
Riley: I was at Pawley's Island when I received a call from Marion Gressette. When you got a message at Pawley's you had to go to Marlow's Store or one of the other stores to return the call. Gressette said Governor George Bell Timmerman was there with him, and a committee had been created to keep the blacks out of the schools in South Carolina, and he was chairman of it. He said they wanted to have a legal staff. He named Clint Graydon, Bob Figg, Dave Robinson and several others as possibilities. He said they had tried to find me in Greenville and was told I was here, and then he said the governor wanted to talk to me. George Bell said, "Ted, we hope you feel the same way we feel." Well, I did. Every white man felt the same way at that time; we didn't know anything else. I told him I'd be glad to help him if he wanted me. He said they would and that they would call a meeting and let me know about it. I attended that meeting and had a very interesting experience. They assigned certain legal problems that would arise to one of the members of the legal staff. One question was whether or not the school district could lease the facilities for a nominal amount, like $1.00 per year, to a private non-profit corporation for educational purposes. That had been proposed in Virginia and a lawyer from that state had come up with a way that he thought was constitutional. Since our committee was working closely with Virginia, Marion assigned it to me. I came up with a different feeling. I talked to Wayne Freeman, who was editor of the Greenville News and secretary to the Gressette Commission, and he said he thought I was right and for us to go over and talk to Miller Foster. He was the father of the boy who was clerk of court at the time. We went to Spartanburg to talk to Miller and he said I was right. Pete McCann was one of the legal officers from Florence. I called Pete and gave him the reason for my opinion and he said he agreed with me. I told him to be prepared to say something about it and he said he would. I called Clint Graydon and he said that was going to make them mad. I told him I knew it was, but that was the way I felt about it. I said I didn't know whether to tell Marion to get somebody else or not. He said, "No, you're right. We've just got to stop Marion from stampeding around here and doing things that aren't right. Although we don't agree with him, he's doing a good job. Hold your ground, you're all right." At the meeting Marion jumped up and yelled, "My God Almighty, you'll just ruin the whole situation. You're going to let them get their foot in the door, and once they get their foot in the door, one of the doors will be gone. I just can't understand, Ted Riley, how you do it." About that time Wayne Freeman spoke up and said, "Mr.
Chairman, I've thought about this a good deal. I talked with Mr. Riley about it and I agree." About that time Miller Foster spoke up and said, "Mr. Chairman, I agree with Mr. Riley." Then Pete McCann came over, and Clint Graydon and then Bob Figg. You couldn't ask Bob a question because he would go back before the Constitution; he was kind of wishy-washy on it. So the committee decided not to proceed with the $1.00 lease plan. My position was that if you pay just compensation for the school district facilities, you can do it, but you've got to have the facilities appraised and leased with just compensation. If you don't, you won't get to first base. Byrnes was governor then. Before we had a run-in about this, every time he saw me at one of those meetings he would put his arms around me and hug me, but after that he would go right by me. He stayed that way until he became ill. I came to Columbia once and went out to see him. He and Miss Maude were sitting out in the yard. We hugged and he cried. It wasn't long after that he died. Miss Maude was a wonderful woman. I saw her awhile after our visit and when I hugged and kissed her, she said, "Ted, I'm so glad you and Jim got back together before he passed on." Byrnes was from Charleston and stood the competitive examination for court reporter for the Barnwell circuit. The first time he came to court he had on knee pants. He and my father become good friends and they played a lot of poker together. When he arrived there he had just finished high school and took a business course in Charleston and that was his education. He studied law in Aiken, then was admitted to the bar. He ran for circuit solicitor (stayed there as long as he wanted) and was congressman for that district for about 12 years. He left to run for the United States Senate and lost in a close race, but later was elected and held that office until he resigned to go on the Bench. I guess every report or book that has been written about politics in the state has something to say about Mr. Byrnes because he was really an outstanding senator and packed a powerful lot of influence. He was smooth as he could be and could negotiate and do more than anyone you can think of. He told me a lot of the senators and congressmen marveled at the way he could quote them verbatim when they were in committee meetings. What they didn't realize was that he was taking shorthand. They all agreed they had to be careful what they said around him.

_Terry:_ When was the first time you met Strom Thurmond and what type of dealings did you have with him in your career?
Riley: I met Strom when he was a South Carolina senator. I wasn't closely connected with him. He had been Superintendent of Education in Edgefield and they had had to pass a special resolution to admit him underage. Although I supported him as governor because he came out openly for Roosevelt, I had more friends who were actually close to Dr. McLeod, Strom's opponent. When he served as governor I wasn't too active. Then he became a judge. As a lawyer with 60 years experience, I think he was, by far, the worst judge that I went up before. I had an arson case before him where a cotton mill had been set on fire and we represented the insurance company. There was a lot of money involved, so it was a pretty important case. Lawyers closed with factual situations and we would hand up the request of charge. There were some pretty intricate problems involved, and both sides swapped requests to charge. Strom read them and it was all Greek to him. He was looking at it and wondering how he was going to get by without charging. He said, "Gentlemen, you know, it's about fifteen minutes before lunch time. I was thinking that maybe you lawyers could get together on this question of charges and agree. What do you think the courts would charge?" I had handed them up and presented them to him and he said, "What do you say, Mr. Riley?" Proctor Bonham, who was with me said, "Tell the bastard that we can agree on the verdict quicker than we can agree on the request to charge." I said, "Your Honor, my associate and I feel that we could agree on a verdict quicker than we could on the request to charge." The attorney for the other side got up and said, "Your Honor, we agree."

The State Bar Association passed a resolution criticizing a judge running for political office while he was wearing his judge's gown. It was directed at Strom Thurmond, but he didn't heed. That fellow, undoubtedly, has more in-grained political sense than anybody I have ever known. A lot of things he has done, I have thoroughly disagreed with. I didn't have any respect for his ability as a judge. The fact that he quit the Democratic Party after they gave him so much didn't incur much admiration from me. A good story to tell on Strom concerns when he was going to marry his secretary, Jean Crouch, who was from Barnwell. Her father was the cause of my being in Greenville. He was a big Furman man, and it was through him that I went to Furman. Jean had just graduated from Winthrop and had worked for Strom. They were planning to get married in the Governor's Mansion. Ferdinand Grubbs was a black that was a life trustee for trying to kill a man. He was also Strom's personal valet at the Mansion. He was helping Strom get on his tails and white tie. There was a big
picture of Jean setting on the mantel and Strom said, "Ferdinand, don't you think it's wonderful. I'm marrying that beautiful young girl and I'm just in my prime." Ferdinand said, "Yes sir, yes sir, I sure do." Then Strom said, "What are you laughing at? You do think I'm just in my prime." He said, "Yes sir, yes sir, I do." Strom said, "Well, what are you laughing at?" Ferdinand said, "Well, Mr. Governor, I'm just thinking when she gets in her prime, where you going to be?" Of course, it didn't pan out that way. I wouldn't want to say anything that would be unfair in any way to anybody, but I was in a group where that story was being told, and another person spoke up and said, "Well, I've got the sequel to that. This man and woman was married for several years and had no children. He said it was her fault and she said it was his fault and they divorced. A couple of years later he sent a wire to her saying congratulations were in order, that he was the proud father of a seven pound baby girl, and he reminded her the fault was hers they didn't have any children. A little while later he got a wire from her telling him congratulations were in order, that she was the mother of an eight pound baby boy and that she knew the boy was hers." I said there's no way it didn't work out with Strom because he's really packed it. To give you an example, I mentioned Miller Foster from Spartanburg. I was in his office one day and Strom was running for office and I was saying I wasn't going to support him. Miller said, "Ted, we haven't got a chance. You know how long it's been since Strom was a judge. Well, an old mountaineer was in here yesterday, and I was talking to him because he's always been a political ally of mine. He's got family up there with only eight or ten votes in it, but he's the kind that gets around. He said he was going to vote for Judge Thurmond. I asked him what the Judge had ever done for him and he said he would show me. He pulled out a letter addressed to him that called him by his first name. The letter went on to say how much he appreciated his wonderful service to his country by serving as juror at such and such a term of court. Also, that his service would always be remembered and his name would go down in history as a great servant of South Carolina. That fellow sent the same letter to everybody that appeared on the record; defendants, witnesses, lawyers and jurors. When he would leave a term of court, he got a record from the clerk of court and that letter went to every one of them." It's kind of like the story when Fritz and Olin ran. I was state chairman and was very friendly with both of them. I personally tried to keep Fritz from running; a lot of other people did too, but he wouldn't listen. If you recall that race, it was about 3:00 a.m. before we found out
if Fritz was going to carry Calhoun County or not. He finally carried by a few votes. Both of them wanted me to make a statement for them, but I told them I wasn't going to do it. I was chairman, but if anyone who was nominated wanted my help, I would help them. Bill Workman was running and made a good run. The morning after the election, Judge Bob Martin called me. He was an Olin Johnston man. He said, "Ted, we're here with Senator Johnston and we would like to talk to you. Can you get in your car and come on down here? You made a promise you would help." I said sure, I would be down. That was the first Republican power we had seen in South Carolina in a statewide race. I told them we didn't know anything about this two party system. I had been doing a lot of investigating with friends of mine in states that had two party systems. The deal is when they have a primary and it's over, the winner calls in the loser and invites him to participate actively in his campaign, so they can show solid front against the enemy. Bob Martin said it was a good idea and asked what I suggested. I said I thought Senator Johnston should call Governor Hollings, go see him and talk to him, that he should let by-gones be by-gones. Judge Martin said he thought it was a very good idea. Olin said all right, he would do it. I had to go back to Greenville that afternoon. When I got there, Olin had left a message for me to call him. Olin said, "Ted, I just found out that I've got to be in Washington; there's a very important vote coming up. I can't go over and see the Governor so I'm sending my brother, Bill." I couldn't tell Olin, but I didn't think Bill could get along with Fritz, so I called Judge Martin and he wasn't in. Then Bill Johnston called me and said, "Ted, you know I can't go over and see him. He ran all over this state calling us dope peddlers and said we were crooks and everything in the world. I just can't face him and ask him for anything. I don't want to get near him." I said OK. About that time I got hold of Judge Martin and told him what Olin and Bill had said. He said, "You know what that means, don't you?" I said, "Sure, you've got to go." He said, "A judge can't go. Ted, you've got to go talk to Fritz." As time went on Fritz was still in shock. We were very good friends and still are. Fritz said, "Ted, I'm going to end up voting Democratic, but I can't come out now. I've got friends that would never speak to me; they hate Olin's insides and I got the hell beat out of me. I've got to stick to my friends and I just don't think now's the time. I'm not going to say anything to hurt, and I'm going to let by-gones be by-gones, and eventually I'm going to vote the Democratic ticket. Let me ask you something. How are you going to beat a man that does a thing like this -- he
drives up to a filling station where you still crank the gas by hand with chickens, goats and hogs running around. This big fellow walks in the store with his driver and says, 'Give us two bottles of that pop, two boxes of those crackers and two cans of those sardines.' He got them open and he and his driver drank the pop and dipped the sardines out with the crackers. When they got through he said, 'My friend, how much do I owe you?' And the man says, 'Not a thing, Senator, come back and eat with me again sometime.' Now, how are you going to beat a man like that?"

**Terry:** Tell me a little bit about the campaign when Strom Thurmond was running for governor against McLeod. What did that do to the Party? Didn't Sol Blatt step down from the Speaker's chair for the duration?

**Riley:** Bruce Littlejohn beat Sol, I believe.

**Terry:** Didn't Sol say he was sick? He didn't even run, did he?

**Riley:** It seemed to me that Strom supported Littlejohn or whoever beat Sol for speaker and Sol got awful cold on him. Edgar ran against Strom for the Senate. I was real active for Brown in that situation and then, of course, the Barnwell people were strong for Edgar Brown. But whether that caused any long wounds between Barnwell and Strom, I can't pick it up, but I know Sol and Edgar were not his favorites when he was governor. There was no doubt about that; they felt kind of on the outside. Whether Strom was thinking about power or not, I don't know. The Brown-Blatt combination didn't think too much of each other personally. I knew them both well. I would come down here and Edgar would talk about the Jew and the Jew would talk about Edgar and I just listened to them. I didn't take sides with them. How serious it was, I don't know, but I know when Thurmond was governor, the Barnwell Ring didn't have the power in the Governor's Office that they usually packed. I was in Barnwell one day to attend a wedding and went up to speak to Edgar Brown. He had a big sail fish that took up half the wall. I said, "Goodness, Senator, that's a big fish." He showed me the boat that he had caught it in. He said, "Yes, that's a big one. It took me about three hours to land him. The skipper told me that was the biggest fish that had been
caught in those waters that he could remember. I told him when the senator from Barnwell throws out his line, it's always for a big fish." Then we got on the subject of Sol. Edgar said, "You mean you've been talking to the Jew?" I said, "Yes, I've been talking to him." He said, "Did he fuss about me?" I said, "Yes." He said, "What did he fuss about?" I said, "Well, you know what he fussed about. You naming some people and not saying anything to him about it." He said, "You know he talks about me not doing anything for him." When Jim Byrnes got elected governor, he instituted a movement that the low country had the speaker's job long enough and maybe it should change. It upset Sol. Sol told me he hoped I would help him. He said I stood closer to Jim Byrnes than anybody in the country. Well, I called Jim and made an appointment with him. I told him what I wanted and he said he would see us, so we went up to Spartanburg and I reminded Jim of the school equalization 4% tax, which was the main bill that he wanted to put through in his State of the State talk. I told him he couldn't do it without Sol Blatt's help. Sol can get the right committees to get it at the right time. If you didn't have Sol there, you didn't know if you could do it or not. Jim agreed to withdraw the opposition.

I remember a big campaign meeting in Barnwell when Senator Smith was brought in with a four mule team, sitting on top of a bale of cotton. In other parts of the state he was known as "Cotton Ed" Smith. Roosevelt shook hands with him and called him the "Unreconstructed Rebel."

**Duffy:** Do you remember when Roosevelt and a couple of historians were supposed to have tried to purge Smith? Were you active in that?

**Riley:** Yes, I was very active. Senator Byrnes was a great friend of mine and he was a Roosevelt man. He didn't like Ed Smith because Smith wasn't a Roosevelt man, but Byrnes didn't want Olin Johnston to win, so he supported Smith. Edgar Brown ran in that race also, but somewhere down the line the Smith people got together and got enough money to get Edgar out. He called me to say it didn't look like he had a chance; that he was getting out and hoped I would support Senator Smith. I remember Roosevelt coming through Greenville on the train. During his speech, he started in on Ed Smith and the train started pulling off as he was speaking. The truth of the matter was, as soon as he started in on Smith, Byrnes
reached up and grabbed the cord and the train moved on as Roosevelt was speaking.

_Terry:_ In other words, Jimmy Byrnes wanted Olin Johnston out.

_Riley:_ That's right. Ed Smith was running for re-election and Olin was running against him on the Roosevelt ticket. I went to Washington on behalf of a man who wanted to be United States Marshal. He needed Byrnes' approval because even though Smith was going to nominate him, there was a group fighting him. I was asked to go to Washington and try to intercede with Byrnes. Byrnes told me to tell the man that if Ed Smith nominated him, he was not going to oppose him. Then he asked if I wanted to go up and hear Huey Long. He said he was debating against the famous Glass Banking Bill. The line was all the way out the Senate steps. Byrnes walked out and saw the situation and told me to follow him. He said he wanted me to listen a while and then have lunch with him in the Senate dining room. I followed him and he went into the Senate's private section of the gallery. He told the doorkeeper I was his nephew from South Carolina (senators and family members were only allowed). I went in and sat right behind Eleanor Roosevelt. A little later on, Byrnes walked in from out of the Senate cloak room and Mrs. Roosevelt said to the lady sitting with her, "That's young Jimmy Byrnes from South Carolina. He's going to be Franklin's floor leader in the Senate next year." About that time Byrnes walked out and signaled to me (that was my signal to leave) and Mrs. Roosevelt waved back at him.

_Duffy:_ Who was the marshal and what was the opposition?

_Riley:_ Rubin Gosnell. The opposition was mainly Wyche and Sam Nichols, who were law partners of Jimmy Byrnes. The reason they didn't like Gosnell was because he never was a Bleaseite. Wyche and Nichols were in the House and were leaders until Blease ran against Byrnes. Sam Nichols and Jim Byrnes got to be great friends while in Congress. Jim Byrnes was living in Aiken when he ran against Blease and Blease beat him by 2,500 votes. The next time around, Nichols and Wyche switched from Blease to Byrnes and took Byrnes to Spartanburg so he could get the upcountry vote.

Once Judge Sease got to talking to me and said, "I think the greatest political courage that I have ever seen demonstrated was a young solicitor who prosecuted two blacks for
killing an old man who had a good deal of money and was married to a young girl. He lived close to the railroad tracks and one night when the old man was sitting reading the newspaper, suddenly his head was blown off. Two black men, Quickman Johnson and Ferdinand Grubbs, were arrested for killing the man. The jury convicted them of murder which meant hanging. When Jim Byrnes, who was the solicitor, got ready to make his speech, someone came up and whispered in Byrnes' ear. Byrnes went over to Mr. Nynstene and whispered to him, and Nynstene got up and said, "Your Honor, I'd like to move for a mistrial and ask for a new trial on new evidence." Byrnes surprised everyone by saying, "Your Honor, I make no objection." The Judge said, "Wait a minute. Mr. Solicitor, approach the Bench." Then he said, "You've just sunk your political career in the mud. You'll never amount to a thing in South Carolina." Byrnes said, "Judge, I've just gotten information that we have definite facts that a white man hired those two black men to kill that white man. I just can't sleep with that on my conscience. I'm going to have to make that stand." The Judge said, "All right." Johnson and Grubbs pleaded guilty and they got life in prison. A white man was prosecuted and convicted of manslaughter and he got a pretty heavy sentence in court. Judge Sease said, "I'm not going to mention the name of that solicitor, it might embarrass him." I spoke up and said, "Judge, it was Senator Byrnes. I know because I was the jury boy."

Wallace, who was vice president under Roosevelt, was going to run for re-election and Byrnes was in line for it. At the national convention in Chicago, Hillman, the leader of the American Federation of Labor, objected to Byrnes being nominated for vice president. Jim Farley had a direct line to the president, so he called and asked him whether or not the Democrats could get the Labor support, which was a much stronger support at that time than it is now. Roosevelt told Farley to do whatever Sidney said. Farley went to Sidney and they agreed on Harry Truman. Truman said he had agreed to nominate Jim Byrnes. They talked about it and agreed they were not going to nominate Byrnes because he wasn't going to get it. Truman went to see Byrnes and told him what the story was and Byrnes got mad at him. Barkley was going to nominate the president for re-election, and Jim Byrnes packed his bags and headed home, but went by Barkley's office first and said, "Alvin, I understand you're going to nominate the president for a fourth term. You and I have been great friends. They have let me down on this thing and I hope you won't say anything too nice about him."
Barkley said, "Jim, you know me. If I'm going to get up there and nominate him, I'm going to say everything nice I know to say about him." Byrnes got mad and left and went home. The upshot of it was that Truman became president and ate Byrnes' insides out and Byrnes opposed Roosevelt from then on. When Byrnes was a Justice on the Supreme Court, I went to Washington on a case and went by the Supreme Court to speak to Justice Byrnes. He invited me to witness some of the cases and then have lunch with him in the Supreme Court Building. They had just gotten into a case when one of the bailiffs came over and handed a note to Byrnes. Jim moved down to the Chief Justice and said something to him and left. A few minutes later, a bailiff came over and touched me on the shoulder and asked if I was Mr. Riley. I told him yes and he said that Ms. Conner, Justice Byrnes' secretary, wanted me to go by the office. When I went by she said, "Ted, Jim's mighty sorry but he got an urgent call to go to the White House. He's going to have to miss your engagement, but the next time you're here, you can go together." Byrnes was asked to leave the Bench and become Director of War Mobilization. He resigned from the Bench that day.

Duffy: What was Byrnes' relationship to Maybank?

Riley: Byrnes was from Charleston and Maybank was mayor of Charleston and in those days the mayor called the shots. I was Assistant United States Attorney and wasn't supposed to be messing in politics. Maybank didn't have any friends in the upcountry. Byrnes asked me to handle Laurens, Greenville, Pickens and Oconee Counties. I had shoeboxes full of money in the safe of the United States Attorney. The money was to be used to take people to the polls. An interesting thing that happened concerned a lawyer in Greenville that wasn't for Maybank. He wrote to Attorney General Daniel complaining that I was violating the Hatch Act. He said I was participating actively in the governor's race and I wasn't supposed to do it. Daniel called me up and said, "Ted, you've got a friend up there that's after you." I said, "What's he doing, General?" He said, "Well, he said that you violated the Hatch Act." I said, "Is that right? What did you tell him?" He said, "I told him I looked all through the state books and I haven't found anything in there about the Hatch Act. You must be in the wrong court." I didn't hear anything else about it. Byrnes got me interested in Maybank. In Maybank's first and second race he ran out of money. Jim Byrnes called me and said $2,500
had been approved for me to get for Maybank's race and that Maybank would get it back to me. So I borrowed $2,500 and spent it on Maybank's campaign and Maybank won. They would have been pleased with 8,000 votes in Greenville, but he got 9,500 so they thought we did a good job in Greenville. When it was over, I went to Roger Peace and told him that at the insistence of Senator Byrnes, Malcolm Davenport and I had borrowed $2,500 and Maybank had agreed to pay it back and I was wondering whether the people in Greenville wanted to bill the governor. He said that they would get the money. He brought me $6,500. They paid off the note and sent him the difference. Maybank called me and said, "I wish you had borrowed $100,000."

Dick suggested that I tell you about the time Claude Scarborough, Ed Mullens, Dick and I flew to Charleston to Huger Sinkler's funeral. We were talking about when Pug Ravenel beat Bryan Dorn and they declared Pug disqualified because of his residency. The Democratic Party withdrew the nomination. The convention was on a Monday, and Sunday afternoon Dick called me and said, "Daddy, I've been getting calls from all over the state wanting me to put my name on the ballot for governor." I said, "Well, do you think you have a chance? You don't have any time to work because the convention is tomorrow." He said, "So many are calling. Would you get on the telephone and keep it hot and see what you can find out?" I did a lot of calling around and some said yes, some said they had already pledged. All of them wanted Dick to withdraw and let Brantley get the governor's nomination and Dick be nominated for lieutenant governor. Bryan Dorn, Dick and Brantley were in the race and Wise from Charleston was tentatively in it. I was standing by Clyde Eltzroth who was a member of the House and keeping count. Clyde said Dick had the count. I think Rex Carter from Greenville was presiding and he recognized somebody who changed the vote, which was contrary and was so quick it ended up by Bryan being nominated by very few votes. A lot of people said that Rex's ruling was not correct. Right after the nomination Bob McNair walked in. I asked him where he had been. He said in his office. I said, "I didn't stay in my office when you needed my help. I got out and worked for you and helped you. You've just elected a Republican governor." His face got red and we were right in each other's face. I turned around and walked off. It wasn't long after that I told him I was sorry. He said I might be right. When I was telling Dick about it he said, "Do you know what happened? Bob had number two by a lot of people around the state and it got tied up
so he thought they might jump back at him." Dorn was nominated and Jim Edwards beat him. Young people didn't go for Bryan, and I think it was a protest vote or at least a stay home vote that elected Jim Edwards. It wasn't that way with Campbell because that was a pretty hard fought vote.

**Duffy:** *Did you hold an office in the Democratic Party in the Ravenel race?*

**Riley:** No. I had been state chairman in 1960, served two terms, but at that time I did not hold an office in the Democratic Party. Dick was in the Senate and, of course, I was very active. I was a delegate to the convention and on one occasion made the keynote speech. On another occasion I presided over the convention.

**Duffy:** *You stayed in the Democratic Party when a lot of people in your area left it.*

**Riley:** I went to a cocktail party and had a Democratic button on and quite a few asked what I was doing at that party, wasn't I out of place. I said I was invited. When Al Smith ran, I was teaching a Sunday School class at the Methodist Church and was an usher. One of the old ushers said, "Ted, I would pull that button off before I ushered in church with that Catholic badge. I said, "Wait a minute. You aren't against him because he's Catholic." He said, "Well, he's a 'wet' too." I said, "That's no reason to be against the man. I think you don't like him because he's Catholic, it is not the 'wet'." He said, "I still don't think he's got a handful of votes in this place. If you thought well of him that might ruin you." I said, "Well, if I've got to go down, I'll go down with him." I stayed with Al Smith. The first time was in 1921. It was Jim Byrnes' first race for the Senate. Everyone in South Carolina was a Democrat in those days.

**Terry:** *Were you head of the Democratic Party in the state in 1964?*

**Riley:** 1960 and 1962. I led the campaign for Kennedy in 1960.
**Terry:** What was going on with the Party in the state during 1964?

**Riley:** Johnston had become unpopular. Thurmond had jumped the tracks, and I believe Byrnes jumped the tracks when he and I fell out. He called me one day and said, "Son, you and I have always been together. There's a very serious matter that I think affects our country and from the standpoint of our state, I would like for you to support Eisenhower. I'm going to introduce him on the State House steps and I would like to count on people like you being with me." I said, "Governor, I love you and I would do anything in the world for you, but..." What had happened was at the state convention when Truman ran, I had to ask for a ballot. Marion asked me if I was going to vote for Truman. I said yes, that I work for him. The thing about Truman was still in Byrnes gut. I introduced a resolution to the Greenville delegation to make it certain that the people had a right to vote for the Democratic nominee. It was a heated argument in my delegation, but we carried it. Byrnes had quite a few of us by the Governor's Mansion the night there was a re-call convention. That was the convention where Ed Smith and Dr. McLeod walked out when the black gave the invocation. Strom Thurmond came out for Roosevelt and McLeod came out against him. The first and only time I voted for Strom Thurmond was because he was a Democrat. Dr. McLeod had turned the other way. At a drop-in Byrnes gave, he said to me, "Ted, I understand you've got a resolution about the ballot." I said yes. He said, "Well, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. In my report to the convention I'm going to make the statement that if the election was today, I would support Stevenson and Sparkman and I would ask this convention to instruct their electors to support the Democratic ticket." When he told me that, I said, "Governor, do you remember your resolution?" I was elected.
**Terry:** In terms of your son's decision to run for governor, what do you think was the primary reason he wanted to become governor?

**Riley:** He served for 12 years in the General Assembly. He had taken leader roles in difficult and controversial issues and that not only affected Greenville County, but it had state-wide effect. He said he had visions of other reforms that were needed in the state. He had the initiative and courage to withstand formidable opposition. As is commonly known now, the basis of all his reforms was education. He thought if he could get that idea over to the people, they would elect him and he could renew his fights.

**Terry:** Do you remember when he first began to decide whether or not he wanted to be governor?

**Riley:** I was surprised. It was about two years before he announced. When he announced he wasn't going to run for re-election to the Senate, I thought he was coming back to practice law. One night when he was living in Greenville, about four or five blocks from where I live, he called and asked me to come to his house. He said there were some people he wanted me to meet. Sam Tenenbaum, Dwight Drake, Billy Webster, Sen. Harry Chapman, and Nick Theodore were there, among others. They started talking about a budget right after I got there. I asked what they needed a budget for. They said they were going to run Dick for governor. It had never been mentioned to me, so I turned to Dick and said, "Have you thought about this?" He said, "I've thought about it. I'll need $400,000." I said, "Where in the world are you going to get $400,000?" He said, "Well, Daddy, let's don't close the book right now. That's just a figure to shoot at. We'll see what happens." Shortly after, he started moving around and friends laid the groundwork. The newspapers ran a contest to see how many people knew the various candidates for governor.

**Terry:** At that time who were the strongest candidates?

**Riley:** Brantley Harvey had served as lieutenant governor and was by far the outstanding
candidate. Next to him was Bryan Dorn. Dick's recognition was three percent, which made it ridiculous for a man to think he had a chance to be elected governor. After the candidates announced and they formed their political campaigns, they then had a voter poll and Dick's poll was eight percent. Three percent knew him and eight percent would vote for him. Very few people in the state thought that Dick Riley had any chance to be elected governor, but he put his people to work and started his campaign. He took out after Harvey; he didn't bother Dorn.

*Terry:* *When he decided to run, did he already know that Dorn was going to come back to run?*

*Riley:* I don't know whether he knew at the time he decided to run, but I'm satisfied he talked to Dorn and Dorn probably told him he was going to run. Dorn put up a very formidable campaign. If a look is ever taken to see what progress, if any, has been made in South Carolina politics from the 1970s up to this time, the money that it took to engage in politics will be taken into consideration. Even local offices have got to get a pretty sizable bankroll somewhere. I've got a stack of checks several inches thick of just political campaign contributions for this year that have been made. I went to a meeting today of the Five Hundred Club. That's the people in South Carolina who have given $1,000 to the Democratic Party just for the year. Dick was way down the line on political contributions because he didn't know the people. It was a pretty hectic campaign and both Dick and Dorn took out after Harvey. We were listening to the campaign in the early part of the evening and up to the middle part, it looked like Dorn was in the second race with Harvey. Dorn made a surprising good run in the Pee Dee. Of course, he ran strong in his congressional area which was Anderson, Oconee, Pickens, Abbeville, Greenwood, Aiken. When Greenville County came in, Dick got an eighty percent vote and that put him above Dorn into the second race.

*Terry:* *How important was Dorn's role in the second race?*

*Riley:* He played a very important role. Somewhere down the line, either during or after the
campaign, there was a confrontation between Dorn and Harvey. Harvey intimated that Dorn had gone back on a statement and made Dorn pretty mad. He did not come out for Dick for a long time. Another man that initially ran, Tom Turnipseed, got left out just like Dorn. Tom came out for Dick pretty early in the game. He didn't have the following that Dorn had, but he had a following. Tom Turnipseed would call me every day and say, "Mr. Ted, get Bryan out. We need him out. Don't let him sit back there and go to sleep now." I said, "Tom, Bryan's been in it a long time and I'm satisfied that when he breaks, he's going to break our way. Let's leave it up to him. He probably knows the best time for him to come out." Harvey was in the lead at the polls. Finally, Dorn called me one night and asked me if Dick would meet with him the next morning. He said he would like to make a joint public statement that he was going to support Dick. If you got Dorn's support, he threw his whole weight into it. During the campaign, in the counties of his old district when there was going to be a big affair going on, he and Dick would meet on the outskirts of whatever affair it was, take their coats off and walk in like they had walked in from somewhere like Greenville instead of riding in an automobile. Dorn used his professional barbecue tactics very forcefully. There is no doubt in my mind that it was an important factor in Dick's campaign. I think the fact that the Piedmont hadn't put a governor in for a good while, along with the fact that Dick was so well liked in a county as big as Greenville, had a lot to do with bringing voters over to his side.

_Terry:_ His successor, Governor Campbell, is also from that area. Do you think that area of the state is going to dominate South Carolina politics?

_Riley:_ Campbell is strong, but I don't think he is as strong and solid in Greenville as Dick was. The only times the state has gone Democratic nationally was 1960 when President Kennedy was nominated and I was state chairman, and then when Carter was nominated and Dick ran Carter's campaign. Dick had to get a large number of voting Republicans to get the vote in Greenville that he got.

_Terry:_ Tell me about Sam Tenenbaum and his role in the campaign.
Riley: Sam and his family are worth a good deal of money. He is very open-minded and if he is for a candidate, then he is for him all the way. He came out for Daniel pretty early in the last governor's race and supported him all the way through. He knows the people in the state and is in the habit of contributing to political campaigns. I know that probably every time there's a statewide race, every candidate goes to Sam Tenenbaum to try and get assistance with financing. He worries to death if you don't come across and help his man a little bit. He is well thought of, an honorable person and a very successful businessman.

Terry: Was he a very early supporter of the governor?

Riley: He was in that group of people at Dick's the first time I heard he was running for governor. Sam had figured out the budget.

Terry: Was Dwight Drake the campaign manager?

Riley: Dwight was very high on the pole of consultants and strategists. He is an excellent troubleshooter. He can tell you your weak and strong areas, who to see and not to see, which is a very important factor in politics because if you don't know where you're going, you can waste a lot of time.

Terry: We talked about some of the things that were the governor's greatest accomplishments. What were some of his biggest disappointments?

Riley: Not being able to change the manner in which holders of offices were put in their positions. The majority of state's governors have a lot more to do with the naming of people who hold public office. In South Carolina everything except a few appointments, making speeches, and cutting ribbons is taken away from the governor and put in the hands of the General Assembly. Dick attempted to change that, which was a direct affront to the members of the General Assembly, because it feeds a man's ego to have someone calling him at night asking him to have dinner the next day in order to talk to him about appointments to the Public Service Commission or ABC or something of that kind. So they're entertained
and wined and dined. For a while every member of the Public Service Commission was a former member of the General Assembly, and every member of the Supreme Court and the trial court were former legislators. It was a common cliché among all lawyers around that if they wanted to be a judge, to get in the General Assembly. Dick got the Public Service Commission changed to the extent that now candidates have to apply and submit a resume and then an investigative committee either recommends them or not.

There are quite a few things that didn't go through, but the main things that he really stood for and what prompted him to become a state-wide candidate were realized and some of them in a very big way. Most people from negative and positive standpoints list him as positive rather than negative and that's the kind of governor he was. He didn't go out against everything; he went out proposing things.

_Terry_: _Were there things that he wanted to do in government that he really felt were necessary in South Carolina that he just wasn't able to get through?_

_Riley_: There's no doubt about that. At the time, of course, I was very cognizant of them and probably did a little telephoning myself about them. When he had questions to come up, he would call and brief me on it because I was close to the older people of the state. I called a Furman friend of mine in Beaufort who's deaf, so he couldn't understand me. I said, "I want you to vote for Dick Riley." He said, "Dick, I appreciate your calling me. How's Ted doing?" I just used that to show that there was an element of people that I could reach.

_Terry_: _So you did a good bit of campaigning._

_Riley_: I did a lot of it. It's a many-faceted, dollar-an-hour job. I ran for county attorney in Greenville County and I found out how big a county Greenville was. It's the same way about the little state of South Carolina.

_Terry_: _When he became governor, did he ever consider a possible run for any other office?_

_Riley_: A certain group of people wanted him to run against Strom Thurmond, and in this
last race there was a good deal of pressure on him to run against Senator Hollings.

_Terry:_ *I remember in the press, particularly with the last Democratic Convention, there was a lot of talk that Governor Riley and Hollings had differences, and that state politicians wanted him to run against Hollings._

_Riley:_ I think Hollings makes an excellent senator and I personally was not in favor of Dick's running. I didn't see any reason for it. I was with Dick at a governor's convention in Washington about three or four years ago and they were talking then about his running against Hollings for the Senate. We were sitting in the lobby of the hotel waiting for his security to pick him up when Dick said, "You know, I don't want to be a United States senator. The governor's job is the best job in the world. Let me show you what I mean. When Senator Gore goes out, a taxi picks him up. When Governor Clinton of Arkansas and his wife go out, two security men pick them up." Shortly after, Dick's security picked us up. When we got to the hotel, the senators were looking around at the signs to see where to go, but Dick's security had already cased the place and had everything figured out for him so we just walked right in and sat down.

Anyone that has been in the Senate as long as Hollings is bound to not be able to do everything the public wants done, and they would be against him. I don't think Dick ever seriously considered running against Hollings. I think Hollings can retain facts and figures better than anyone I have ever known. When he was governor, he could take the budget a foot thick and talk to you an hour about it and mention the figures right down to the cents. When he ran against Olin Johnston, I didn't take any part because I was state chairman.

_Terry:_ *Do you think that whole thing back then was just a group of state politicians that wanted to change?*

_Riley:_ It was a group of politicians that couldn't handle Hollings, or he did or didn't appoint someone they did or didn't like. It was dissidents for one reason or another.

_Terry:_ *Was there ever any doubt in Governor Riley's mind that he would not run for a*
second term?

Riley: When he fought for the Constitutional Amendment to provide for a governor to be able to succeed himself, Dick made the statement that his recommendation to the General Assembly regarding the proposition provide that the present governor be unable to succeed himself. The Legislature refused. Bill Workman said Dick was getting it created for himself and used it against him in the general election, but apparently didn't get very far with it.

Terry: Tell me about that election. That was one in which, basically, the governor had just token opposition. In other words, it was almost like the Republican Party could not find a candidate to run there for a while.

Riley: If it was any other Democrat other than my son, I would say the same thing. The condition that the Republicans found themselves in was like the Democrats, who were having a hard time finding anyone that could beat Reagan. It was like leading a man to slaughter. They couldn't get many Republicans. They tried their best to get Carroll Campbell to run and he absolutely turned it down. Bill Workman had run a very close race against Olin Johnston. Workman is from Greenville.

Terry: Did that create any complications?

Riley: Very little, although his son is mayor of Greenville (was elected without opposition for his second term) and has served on various school boards.

Terry: In the first election he had as his running mate, the first woman to be elected lieutenant governor, Nancy Stevenson. What was the reason she decided not to run for the second term?

Riley: She and Dick were not as close as Daniel and Dick were. Ms. Stevenson had marital problems and she and her husband divorced. I think she lost interest and had other ideas in mind. When she first got in, it looked like she had high
expectations in politics, but it dimmed a little in my opinion. When a bill came up she wouldn't offer the governor any help. Then she would help with the ones she wanted to get in on. I don't want to make it appear that there was any conflict or hard feelings because it wasn't. They were just not as close as Daniel and Dick were.

_Terry:_ Did Governor Riley have anything to do with Mike Daniel deciding to run for lieutenant governor?

_Riley:_ No, I don't think he did. I don't even know how he voted. I voted for Judge Epps. I supported Judge Epps from the beginning. He's from Greenville and a very popular man. He probably knew more people than any of the other candidates. He had been a circuit judge. But Dick took no part. He was very close to Daniel, Epps and Phil Lader. Lader was a good man. I don't know whether he could have gotten elected in South Carolina or not because we've still got a lot of "rednecks" in the state, and a man from Massachusetts or New York with a Catholic mother and a Jewish father would have a hard time getting elected. To me that doesn't make a bit of difference in the world, but there is a certain element of our people that would be against you, for example, if you came out for the blacks. When you get white on black, the white usually wins out. In Greenville, a man that wasn't known at all was in the second race for the House with a very highly respected, Negro Baptist preacher. The white man defeated him, but everyone thought the black man would win because he was so much better qualified. I've watched it very closely, and here people don't vote for a man whether he's capable or not; a lot of other things enter into it.

_Terry:_ In that regard, there was a movement while Governor Riley was still in office for Jesse Jackson to run against Strom Thurmond. Did the governor play any role in that whatsoever? It seems to me that was a very dangerous time for the Democratic Party in terms of pitting white against black. Did he have any role in that?

_Riley:_ As far as I know, he didn't. Thurmond himself has upheld the old tradition in South Carolina more than anybody else and he went that way. He's about the most formidable and farsighted politician I've ever seen. He's like a cat. You can throw him up any way you want and he'll land on his feet. He can do the popular thing, whether it's right or not, I don't know,
and he doesn't mind doing it. He can be as inconsistent as President Reagan and get by with it.

**Terry:** How would you describe the Governor's work style? In other words, you hear people talk about the difference between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan being that Carter would bog himself down in details and be so involved with details that he never got to see the larger picture and Reagan just the opposite by doing the overall picture and not bothering with details. What type of style would you describe the governor?

**Riley:** He was a workaholic. He put the time in himself, although he delegated. He thought he got competent people and he would delegate a lot of the important administrative tasks and decisions to the people he had appointed. Although he let the staff take positions and inform him on issues, in the final analysis he made up his own mind. On the detail thing, although he's a detail man himself, he looks through and he'll dot every "I" and cross every "T" and he's very critical of me at times because I'm not detailed enough. He was a detailed man and then he was a man who could delegate things to his assistants. He found enough to do to keep him busy because he was called on a lot for outside things. He would have his team come in and then he would review things like a speech writer and he would make changes that would come more to his thinking and background than the speaker would put it. He was a detailed man and he had ideas and he would look at the overall picture and he took charge of the overall. He didn't let his detailing blur his vision as to an overall picture of what the state needed.

**Terry:** You're probably spending more time with him now than you had a chance to when he was governor.

**Riley:** Not as much as I would like to, but we are now members of a big firm with the biggest part of it in Columbia and in Greenville. We went from a small two story office building we own to the top floor of the Daniel Building. He spends about half of his time in Columbia and half in Greenville. My office is right next to his in the Greenville office, just like it was in the old days. He lives about four blocks from me - bought a new home in Greenville. I can't do much cutting up because he drives right by my house about twice a day.
Terry: Do you think he misses the governor's office?

Riley: No doubt about it.

Terry: Do you think he's going to make a run for something?

Riley: I don't know. I think a lot depends on the development of being a lawyer and if he's successful in paying his way in the law firm. He was an excellent lawyer before he was elected governor. He's studious and has courage and conviction to carry it out. He's got all the qualities it takes to make a good lawyer.
MAY 26, 1989
**Terry:** Tell us about Gov. Riley's youth.

**Riley:** Dick was born on January 2, 1933. When he was little, the only words he could say was "all right." One Sunday while we were sitting under the shade of a tree, I was reading the Sunday newspaper and Dick was in his carriage. Pat, who was four years older than Dick looked up and said, "Mother, where did we get Dick?" She said, "Dr. Parker brought him." She was clearing her throat to get my attention and I was hiding behind the newspaper. Then he said, "Where did Dr. Parker get him?" She kept clearing her throat, but I wouldn't pay any attention to her so she said, "Dr. Parker got him at the hospital." Pat said, "Where did the hospital get him?" She said, "The hospital got him from Heaven." So Pat turned around and said to Dick, "How'd you like Heaven?" Dick said, "All right." He was a very active young fellow. When it snowed the older boy would get a box of crackers and get into bed, but Dick would get on his boots and earmuffs and get out in the snow. I was in the Navy when he was a little fellow and we moved to Florida for a couple of years. Coral Gables School had an intramural organization called Athletic Programming and Dick was elected president. That was his first political venture of any nature. After the war, while I was overseas, the family moved back to Greenville. He got involved in church political races in the intermediate department and was elected president. He defeated a young boy by the name of Charlie Johnson. When he and Charlie attended Greenville Junior High School they were both nominated for president. Charlie was elected president and Dick was elected vice president. The same two were nominated for president of the student body at Greenville Senior High School. Charlie was elected president and Dick was elected president of the senior class. So he lost his first two real ventures. In Junior High School they had a declamation contest that included 14 participants. Dick won the contest. His subject was *I am a Refugee*, and it was the writing of a young person that came to this country and the things that were open to him for the asking and doing. That had been Dick's philosophy of life. Dick said that I was the same way. There wasn't any difference in my greeting of a bank president and a cotton mill sweeper; I accepted a person on face value. Quite often his mother questioned the class of kid he would bring home. She always felt you were judged by the company you keep. She was a North Carolinian and had an expression she used for a
class of people she didn't like. She called them "bucks." She said she was afraid some of the kids he was bringing home were "bucks." That didn't matter to Dick.

When Dick was in grammar school he always got excellent grades on his report card, but there were always notes from his teachers saying they couldn't make Dick behave himself or that Dick was a disturbance. Marvin Gault, who was a very good friend of mine, was the principal of the school. He said he wanted to talk to Martha and myself. He said, "We've just got to do something about Dick. You can't complain about the boy too much when he's making the marks Dick's making. He gets his work done and then gets up and disturbs the rest of the class. He's got nothing to do so he's moving around or throwing spitballs at somebody and they're trying to study. Either we move him up a class or you take him out and put him in a private school." So we talked to Dick and he said he didn't want to do either one of them. He said he started off with that class and he was going to stay with them. I told him he was not going to do any such thing. I told him to make up his mind right then and we would do what he wanted to do. So he cried a while and then decided to stay where he could see his classmates. So they moved him up a grade, and as a result he finished a year ahead of his classmates. He entered Furman and was immediately elected to class offices. He was also elected president of the student government. He finished Furman cum laude and missed summa cum laude by a fraction of a point. What happened was, he came home one day in his senior year and said, "I've just had the sorriest examination I've ever had in my life. A yes-and-no exam in accounting. As sorry a test of a person’s ability for an accounting course as I've ever seen in my life. Not a problem, just yes and no. I told the professor when I turned in my paper that it was the sorriest test I had ever had." He didn't flunk Dick, but gave him the lowest mark on that exam and he missed summa cum laude by a fraction of a point.

**Duffy:** Do you remember any of his teachers at Furman that might have influenced him?

**Riley:** I can't remember any names, but there was a gentleman at the Democratic ladies breakfast the other day that taught Dick Spanish and Dick called him Senor so-and-so and he called Dick, Senor Riley. He entered the Navy ROTC before he was old enough to vote. When he entered Furman they didn't have a Navy ROTC so he joined the Army ROTC. He
was also a member of the Navy Reserve. By the time he finished Furman he had quit the
ROTC, but remained in the Navy. He graduated as ensign. I suppose being in the Navy was
the turning point in his life. Once when Dick was stationed in Charleston before they went
on maneuvers, they had a party, and I asked all the officers to come by our room after their
party. The skipper's wife was there and she was talking about the men going to Casablanca
where they would be headquartered during the maneuvers. Casablanca didn't mean anything
to my wife, it just sounded nice. While they were at the party the skipper's wife and my wife
were talking, and the skipper's wife said, "Mrs. Riley, what do you think about our boys
going to Africa?" My wife said, "Africa, I thought it was Casablanca." Dick tells the story
about when he was communications officer and the Admiral came aboard and was
observing. There was a gun on the deck and the Admiral asked the skipper of the ship what
the length of the gun was and he said he didn't know. Dick took out a pencil that you could
measure with and on the bow of the gun he measured it. The Admiral said, "I believe you
have a smart aleck on board."

Dick called one night and said he was in the Naval Hospital in Charleston. His doctor
explained to us that he had spondylitis, which is a terrible disease of the back. He said there
wasn't much you could do for it and a person with the disease usually ends up with makeshift
joints or a wheelchair. He encouraged Dick to come home and spend some time with us. He
came in that night and we sat up all night long. He was as far down as he could be. We did
the best we could and he knew we were with him regardless of what happened. He went
before the board and I knew enough about that, having been in the United States Attorney's
Office a long time and also being active in the American Legion, to know that these
examiners will rate you low to put you in the Veterans Administration and under their
hospitalization and treatment instead of high enough to be put in the hospital of your branch
of service. With the Veterans you have to be re-examined, I believe, every year to see if
you're still totally and permanently disabled. Dick was put under the care of the Veterans
Administration. We tried to get him to appeal it, but he said he didn't want the government
to give him anything. He said he loved his government and I told him I knew that, but the
government expects you to get all you're supposed to get. I told him if he didn't appeal it, I
was going to appeal it for him. I talked to the man that was handling his case and he told me
he had tried his best to talk Dick into it so I told him to appeal it for him. Finally, Dick came
around and the Appeals Board put him under the Navy. He received a medical discharge and entered law school. He never complained about his back. If he dropped something and you tried to pick it up, he would get down on his knees and pick it up himself. We took him to a doctor at the National Health Institute that was supposed to be an expert and the best in the country. I went up there and talked to a young Jewish doctor named Morrow and he said, "You don't need to be told that your boy is in very critical condition. We can give him these joints which he will probably need in his shoulders and hips if this thing runs its full course; that is if it doesn't take his vitality with it. He's got to have the stamina to be able to withstand the examinations and the insertion of these joints. Just saying it and having the money to do it isn't enough. He's got to be strong enough. He has weakened a good deal because of this disease." It's the strangest thing how this disease hits kids between the ages of 18-30 and in the upper third of their class.

When Dick finished law school, I got a call from Senator Thurmond saying he heard that Dick had finished school and had checked on his record and would be glad to offer him a position. I told him I appreciated it, that even though we had not always been on the same political side, we had always been good friends. His first wife's family was very close to us, and, as a matter of fact, his father-in-law, Horace Crouch, was responsible for my being in Greenville. I told Senator Thurmond I would be glad to have Dick call him when he came in. Dick had not been home an hour before the telephone rang again and it was Olin Johnston. I answered the phone and Olin said, "Ted, this is Olin D. Johnston. Is your boy, Dick, there?" I said, "Yes, he's here, Senator." He said he wanted to talk to him. They talked and Dick said, "Well, I've got to call Senator Thurmond. He was kind enough to offer me a job and Daddy told him I would call him back. You tell me what you've got on your mind." Johnston said, "I'm chairman of a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee dealing with Japan and other countries we have been enemies with, and that committee decides how far we could or couldn't go. We want you to be the legal assistant for that committee. I don't care what Strom says he'll pay you, I'll pay you a little more. I don't want you working in his office, I want you in ours." Out of politeness Dick called Strom. Strom offered a good deal lower in pay to start with and Dick was going to be a clerk in his office. Dick told him, "Frankly, Senator, Olin Johnston has called me and his offer is more attractive." Strom said, "I start the young ones off lower and then I raise them quicker." Dick said, "I don't intend to
be up there the rest of my life." He turned Thurmond down and took the job from Olin, which he enjoyed very much. He was on the floor considerably and was a speech writer for Senator Johnston.

The people in Simpsonville called me and asked me to come down. I met with the mayor, banker, chief builder, doctor and dentist. They had a lawyer in town, but didn't like him so they wanted me to open up a law office and put one of my boys in it. I told them the youngest son was coming back to Greenville within a month or so, and when he came back I would get him to come down and talk. Dick said he would be glad to take the job. When he moved into his office, he was crippled and still suffering from the back disease. He had a pot belly stove in his office and it was so cold he would wear his overcoat. The first telephone call he got was from Tunky telling him the heat had gone out at home and how cold she and the children were. He established himself in Simpsonville and Simpsonville turned out to be a springboard for his political career. I had been in politics all my life. My grandfather was sheriff and auditor of Barnwell County and my father was auditor of Barnwell County. I was county attorney in Greenville, the only one in the state elected by the people. Since I was in politics, was active in the Democratic Party, and served as chairman of the Party for a couple of terms, it was only natural that Dick would be active. One day I had a call from the mayor of Simpsonville, and he said the druggist, the dentist and the man who ran the telephone company wanted Dick to run for the House. I said I wanted him to practice law. They said they wanted a representative from that part of the county, so Dick was elected to the House and then was re-elected. Then they went into the single member district. I was county attorney and it was my job to make the transition from county wide to single member district. In the House, Dick became pretty active. The Speaker of the House was Solomon Blatt who was my lifelong friend and fellow townsman in Barnwell. Dick got on the Judiciary Committee, which was a pretty good assignment. He went right to bat doing things. Among some of the things in the House was the Good Samaritan Bill which he introduced and led the fight for. There had been law suits where doctors and nurses or a citizen stopped by the wayside and helped somebody in trouble, then something would go wrong and they would be sued for malpractice or mistreatment or not getting them to the hospital soon enough or something of that kind. All this bill did was protect the injured public so they could get some help without anybody being liable for trying to do good.
Another that gave him a good deal of recognition was reapportionment of the Senate. It was quite a battle because no senator wanted to lose his job or share his area with anybody. Dick woke up one night in the middle of the night and said, "I've got it." He sat down and wrote it out and it passed known as the "Riley Plan." He had a good record in the House. On the reapportionment of the Senate it was agreed that instead of having one senator, they would have four senators. It wasn't long before Dick got on the Judiciary Committee, and it wasn't long before he and Marion Gressette, who had been a long time friend of mine, crossed swords, not personally, but politically. Marion was chairman of the Judiciary Committee and he ruled it with an iron hand. It was called "Gressette's Graveyard." If there was a bill he didn't want to get up, it didn't get up. Dick perceived very early in the Senate that a youngster couldn't do anything. Senators took their power from the seniority and there was no way to break into it. He didn't want to sit there with his hands folded while people like Marion, John Martin, and Rembert Dennis ran the works, so he worked to get on study committees that those senators would dodge. Study committees would take a matter that was coming up and they would work it out and have hearings on it before it would go to Marion's Judiciary Committee. The study committee would open it up to the public and the media would get more help out of these study committees than they were getting out of the big committees. The study committees would have a strong recommendation before it hit Marion, and he got resentful. In fact, he would call Dick one of the little "Turks." Nick Theodore is a Greek and the other night when I saw him, he referred to the time he went home and his daddy said, "What's this I hear about you being a Turk? Be anything, boy, be anything, but don't be a Turk." The Greeks and the Turks didn't get along very good together. Marion was the leader of the Senate and he and Dick had cross ups, but Dick and Rembert got along fairly well. At the meetings of the State Bar Association, Marion Gressette and his wife, Florence, Martha and me, and Brantley Harvey, Sr. and his wife would usually get together for dinner. Once when we were at a dance, we were seated at the same table, and I believe Governor Hollings and his wife were sitting with us. Marion had a drink or two and he got talkative and turned to me and said, "That sorry son of yours is just a thorn in my side. He always comes in there with some committee report and makes me look like a darn fool and I don't like it. I told him one time he was just like his daddy. If anybody started anything on the other side of a building, you would walk over there to get in it. He's
"just like you were." About that time Martha spoke up and said, "Marion, who are you talking about?" He said, "I'm talking about that little old scrawny boy of yours, always messing around in my business over there. Martha, let me tell you something. I do have a lot of trouble with the kid. He's ornery at times, but every now and then he shows a little of your sweetness." That was typical of Marion Gressette. In the Senate, Dick was very strong on the single member district. I was opposed to it. He was very strong for the revision of the Constitution and was sub-chairman of the committee, and I believe John West was lieutenant governor at the time and chaired the committee. On court reformation, it started off that Dick was vice chairman and Chief Justice Woodrow Lewis was chairman, and it got to where it was going to be a pretty thorny situation. The chief justice found that his job as chief justice didn't leave him enough time for this committee, so Dick got the leadership of that committee, which everybody said was a political graveyard. But what it did was change the whole judicial set up. In South Carolina, the General Assembly every year would establish the terms of court for each judicial circuit and assign the judge for the whole year. When I came in they had 16 judicial circuits, then they got up to 18. They would rotate the judges. It just happened that most of the powerful senators were from smaller counties. The placement of the judges, in a way, was politically oriented to suit this particular senator or that particular senator. Now, the chief justice of the state assigns circuit judges. In those days the governor appointed a judge to be a substitute judge and a lot of lawyers served as substitute judges. Now that they have all of these family court lawyers and judges, the Supreme Court can assign any of them to serve as circuit judges and it has changed the whole situation of judicial assignment, which is an important thing from the standpoint of judicial procedure and everyone getting a fair deal on it. I could call the chief justice and say I've got a good case and I want such and such a judge to hold such and such a court in Greenville and I would probably be disbarred the next day. People from other states can't understand when they come to South Carolina the camaraderie between the judges and the members of the Bar. They can't understand my having judges to my house for cocktails and dinner. I went to New York to present a bankruptcy case and was up there several times and got to know the bankruptcy judge. One day I was waiting for court, and the judge came by. I went to speak to him and he turned away from me. I had a big case from an airplane accident in which a lady from Greenville was killed. I associated with this New York lawyer
who was Jewish as was the bankruptcy judge. The lawyer and I were associates so I asked him why that fellow didn't speak to me. He said, "Ted, if he had spoken to you, thrown his arms around you and you given that Irish laugh of yours, he would have had four or five petitions for disqualification on his desk before you got in the courtroom." Let me tell you a story. Judge Tom Sease was a great judge and a great man and he liked to take a drink of liquor. He didn't mind if you gave him a little bottle now and then. The system back then was when the judge finished up in a circuit he would take a day or two, according to his calendar, and hear non-jury cases, and on the non-jury cases he would tell the lawyers to file briefs with him. Once after he finished court in York, one of the lawyers took the judge's brief along with a gallon of Kings Mountain Corn, which was a reputable corn liquor, to him instead of just mailing the brief to him. By and by the judge wrote him a letter that went like this -- "Dear John, I have read your law and drunk your liquor. Your liquor was good, but your law was bad. I had to decide agin you." The moral of this story is you can feed the judge, but you don't get any favors by it.

The court reformation and the constitution were, I think, two of the main things that Dick did in the Senate, and then I guess as the governor you handle things a lot of different ways. During his first term as governor he found out he couldn't reform the educational system in all the high schools, but he thought he might be able to do something in the preliminary grades. He went to work on that angle of it to see if he could do something about the pre-school child. He also attempted to break in on the fact that to get elected to a state job you had to be a member of the General Assembly because if you were not, you didn't have a chance. He wanted a change in which the members of the Public Service Commission were elected by the General Assembly. All the power companies were against him and the road people were against him. He had stirred up a hornets nest. Finally, it was agreed that a person applying for the job would have to appear before a committee that would certify whether or not that person qualified. The first time the committee met, an incumbent was stated by the committee as being unqualified, but the General Assembly elected him anyway. It was a move forward and now it's working. I think the absence of any serious dishonesty in government agencies in South Carolina is remarkable. As far as the judiciary is concerned, you haven't seen any serious cases of where a judge has been indicted or prosecuted because he has sold out or anything of that kind.
I guess the thing Dick is known throughout the country for is the education bill he worked so hard on. It was defeated two years before he left the Governor's Office. He then took it to the people. He appointed a committee of people from all walks of life throughout the state and that committee gave their time and whatever else was necessary to travel the state in groups of eight or ten and they would appear at Kiwanis or Rotary meetings or other meetings of that sort. It started out being impossible, and then two weeks before it came up before the Ways and Means Committee, they said it was doomed. Mangum, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, said it wasn't going to get in. In fact, he bet his chairmanship on it. But before long, a member of the Ways and Means Committee came in and told Mangum that because of the people back home, he had to go with it. McClellan from Oconee and Crosby Lewis from Fairfield County led the fight. It had to get by the Ways and Means Committee or they would have no money to work with. When the governors all over the United States voted on the standing of the various governor's achievements, I believe Dick was number three. I heard Mr. Bennett, the Secretary of Education, talking, and he said that South Carolina proved you don't have to be the leading state in education to do some leading work in the education field, and South Carolina, under the leadership of Governor Riley, had shown that although the state might be bottom in the standings, it doesn't have to be bottom in the effort. It is an ongoing thing. I'll say this for the ex-governor; he doesn't turn down an invitation to go to a school. His picture was in yesterday's Piedmont and then the other day in the Greenville News where they were visiting the schools, telling the kids what they got. I think that education will be one of the main things he will be remembered for. I will say this about him, the type of people he would bring home as a boy, he brings home as a man. To him it doesn't matter if you're rich or poor, you'll be invited to his house to break bread. He's still that way and I think he always will be.

Duffy: I want to ask you about the campaign against Brantley and Bryan Dorn.

Riley: When they took the first recognition poll after all of the candidates announced, he was three percent in recognition throughout the state. After the campaign was well underway they took a poll and he was eight percent. He was running against the lieutenant
governor and Bryan Dorn, who had been in Congress and had a world of friends. Dick, coming from three percent, didn't have much to fight with. I can remember the night of the election. We had a room at the Carolina Inn and it looked like it was going to be Harvey and Dorn in the second race. Dorn was getting votes in the Pee Dee that none of us expected him to get. Then Greenville County came in and Dick got eighty six percent of the vote. Brantley was in so the fight was between Dick and Dorn and there is no doubt about it, Greenville put him in. In the general election he got seventy percent in Greenville which is pretty strong Republican. It was an almost impossible thing from the time he started at three percent to where he finally came out. Another thing that turned out to be in Dick's favor was that Brantley made a big mistake in criticizing Dorn.

_Duffy:_ What do you think made the difference in the race with Bryan Dorn?

_Riley:_ The fact that he got in the second race. People started taking a closer look at him.
**Terry:** Let's discuss how politics have changed from your day when you first got into party politics and today. How would you compare the two?

**Riley:** Well, I'm originally from Barnwell County and my family has always been in politics. Grandfather Riley was the sheriff of Barnwell County and was auditor at one time, and my father also served as auditor. In those days I can remember very clearly that the black vote was nil in Barnwell. One black man voted, Uncle Fate Hazel. He lived out at the poor house and Daddy sent me out to bring him in to vote. During the Republican administration, a black man by the name of Wesley Dixon dispensed pamphlets to the federal government post office employees and things of that kind. The Democratic Primary was the same as being elected. You had no opposition and it stayed that way until Strom Thurmond left the Party and ran for president. I think that was probably the beginning and there was no question that every office holder in South Carolina was a Democrat from City Hall to the State House. There just wasn't any Republican Party. During the presidential election you would see two or three come out for the purpose of trying to take over the handling of the patronage. Of course, today Greenville County is probably pro-Republican. They have a majority of the city council, county council and the Greenville delegation, and that's how it has been during the space of time, I'd say, from the late teens to now. It was practically a complete reversal of the political situation in South Carolina. It's headed from a certain Democratic state at election time to now a toss up as to which way it might go. My son, who was a recent governor, doesn't exactly agree with me, but I think the worst thing that happened to South Carolina was a two-party system in the single-member districts. But the single two-party district, of course, is going to come. You take the Greenville legislative delegation. I was county attorney for a long time when the legislative delegation had control of the county. They passed the laws affecting the county and the budget and everything else. I spent a good deal of time with the delegation although I was elected by the people. You were elected county-wide in those days, then you went into your single-member districts. I remember one of those ridiculous kinds of things when I stayed on as county attorney in the transition period from legislative handling of the county out from Columbia to local county
councilmen. One day a man approached one of our county councilmen and told him the road leading to his place was just a mud hole, and he said he would like for us to do something. The councilman asked where the man lived. The man told him and the councilman said to go talk to so-and-so because that was his district. And so I think you lost a whole lot of legislative strength and governing strength by that kind of situation. A lot of people disagree with me. They say it gives the opportunity for some people to be elected that wouldn't otherwise get elected. It's my feeling that usually when you run kind of wide, there's a general rule that you elect the best people, and it's the same way on everything. All my life time you had Democratic United States senators and congressmen until recently. Now you've got the Republican senator, and you've got two or three Republican congressmen. I think anybody interested in politics and the turnover in South Carolina should read two books from Mr. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman* and *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina*. Those are two books that set out the transition from the old system to the voting system. Used to be you had to be a blue blood before you could get in an office in South Carolina or before you could even consider it. Ben Tillman put the vote to the common people, no doubt about that. The Red Shirts of '76 had the best people in the state and it was a proud organization. It didn't have the stigma I think the Ku Klux Klan has now. That Klansman down in Louisiana got elected to the State Senate, I believe it was, and he's thinking about running for governor. But generally speaking, to take a look at politics when I was a boy in South Carolina and look at it now, if I went about trying to help a candidate on the same system that they used back in my father's time, they would laugh me out of court. I wouldn't even get started. Using a slang expression, it's an entirely new ballgame all the way around.

*Terry:* With your involvement in the Democratic Party through all those years, aside from what was happening nationally with the Democratic Party, what biggest factor would you say led to the turn-about you were talking about from a state that was controlled by the Democratic Party to one that is now a toss up or, perhaps, even controlled by the Republican Party? Aside from the National Party and its stand on civil rights and things like that, what in this state did the Party do that probably hurt it or helped it during your time?
Riley: In 1960, I was chairman of the Democratic Party and that was the first time in my recollection that the two-party system really came into being as a power play as far as the presidential elections were concerned. I went to Columbia and made a speech to the Chamber of Commerce representing the Democratic Party when Kennedy was nominated and Mr. Shirley was the State Chairman of the Republican Party, and I'll bet five men didn't shake my hand. They all knew how I felt about it. There was one black that attended, and he was an undertaker in Columbia. I got threats over the telephone. It got to where I would just hang up the telephone if they wouldn't tell me who it was calling. It was just running my wife crazy. She would say get out of this thing. But that was the first time, in my opinion. Then the business people and the money folks started turning against the Democrats more than they had before because of Roosevelt. Foes of Roosevelt said he was too liberal and he was giving the world away and things of that kind, although they did not come out openly and say they were Republicans. I was put on a committee of lawyers to collect money for the Democratic presidential race and I went to Mr. H.K. Haynsworth for a contribution. He was probably the most prominent attorney in South Carolina with the biggest firm of about 10 or 12 lawyers. I talked to Mr. Clement Haynsworth, who was his son, and he told me he would have to talk to his father about it. I talked to Mr. Haynsworth and he said, "Well now, Ted, I don't know. That fellow is giving the country a bad name. You know, we represent all of these cotton mills and everything and, you know, the pay raise and all." I said, "Mr. Henry, you know George Washington saved the country only once, but don't you think Mr. Roosevelt, with the rural electrification, the stock exchange, they've got it where stocks are worth something, the bank moratorium..." He said, "That's the greatest, most courageous act anybody's done to save the country." I said, "You've already agreed that Roosevelt saved the country four times and Washington didn't save it but once." Finally Mr. Haynsworth gave me $25, which was the way it ended up after I told him about Washington and Roosevelt. And then the young people, somehow or another the young people got the idea that it was the thing to be a Republican. They started wearing a United States flag which was a symbol they got themselves. I went to a party at the country club and had a Kennedy button on and somebody asked what I was doing at the party. A prominent black woman in Columbia called me up and said she wanted to give something to me for Mr. Kennedy, but she knew if
Atwater's manner in which he conducted Bush's campaign, I think, will probably go
down in history as one of the lowest class exhibitions of political strategy I will ever see. It
might change, I don't know, but Democrats now have a black man as national chairman.
He's a delightful fellow and he's very able. I haven't met him, but I get a letter from him
about every two weeks telling me they need more money. I've heard him and seen him on
television and he conducts himself exceptionally well, and it might be a bonanza in the
darkness if we come out of it. There is no question that the blacks, socially and education
wise and everything, are way below the white people. Not too many weeks ago I was at a
meeting and Representative Tee Ferguson, a black from Spartanburg, made a speech, and the
main subject of his speech was the one-parent family and illegitimate children and until
blacks rub that out, they will never be a first class race. He said that. I heard Hooks make
about the same statement and it's true. When they were practicing slavery, that was probably
the background of it all. I was representative of my school district when we integrated and
helped to submit a plan. The government submitted one and we submitted one, and I had an
awful time getting my Board to adopt it. The judge told me to come in with a unanimous
plan or don't come because if my school district wasn't behind it, he didn't see where it could
fly. I stayed with them until 4:00 in the morning, and finally I got to the leader of the
rednecks who had said he wasn't going to let his daughter sit next to a nigger and he would
take them out of school. Then I said here was a plan that we had gotten up and I asked
which one they liked the best. I said tomorrow they would have a plan; they could take ours,
or they could take theirs. They went back and huddled a while and then they came back and

she came in the front door that somebody would take her picture and then they would accuse
me of being for the blacks, and so she came in the back door and gave me $50. There is no
doubt about it, the Democrats have gotten the name as the black man's party, and don't think
that the Republicans don't use it to advantage. It's a shame, but you've still got a lot of
rednecks in this country. We had a race here in Greenville, a Democratic primary where
four people ran, three whites and a very prominent black preacher. A mechanic, who was a
fine fellow and an ordinary person, and the preacher, who was highly educated and a fine
man, got in the second race. The white man beat him to the bat. A lot of white folks,
including myself, voted for the black man because it looked like he was, by far, the best man
in his district. The cotton mill was in it and various other things.
said they didn't like either one, but they would take mine. And so they approved it. The man who got to be governor of South Carolina [Carroll Campbell] led a whole bunch of cars down to Columbia one time against the integration laws and tried to interrupt the schools in Greenville. At the hearing for adopting that plan, Matthew Perry was the leading counselor for the NAACP in South Carolina and they had several black lawyers. Finney, who is now a judge, and Theo Mitchell, who is now a senator, were among them. The NAACP looked to Perry and he had already looked at my plan and said it looked good to him, and so he told the judge. That morning the courtroom was full of people. There were ten or more schools involved in that lawsuit and they all came in from all over the state. The blacks were all in there and it just looked like you could walk in and say this was going to be blood sure enough, like one of these barroom brawls. We sat down and Judge Robert Martin, who made a great contribution to the even settlement of it, asked who the moving party was, and I said I believed Mr. Perry was. The United States Supreme Court had just come out with the decision that said you had to integrate root and branch and do it now. Perry got up and said he had a motion for additional assistance with the thing on the Supreme Court case of Holmes against Alexander. His thought was that now the motion was that the judge issue an order to adopt a plan integrating the school system of Greenville County, and all the other counties would have to come in. Although they just had ours there, it was going to be a guide and Judge Martin asked me what I thought about it. I said we had a plan to submit. He asked if Perry had a copy to look at and Perry had already read it, but I didn't tell anybody that. But Perry took it and read it and the judge said he wasn't going to keep anybody from making a speech, but he wasn't going to hear a word that didn't tell him why the last issued statement of the United States Supreme Court didn't judge the hearing that day. He said if we got on any other subject he was going to shut us up. The first one to get up was Benny Greer from Darlington, and he said he had a plan to beat it. I said you might beat it, but you had better be careful with that judge. Benny's a fine boy and he got up and started and the judge said to wait a minute. He asked Benny if he could understand the English language. He told the recorder to read the statement he had made. After the recorder had read it, he asked if Benny had understood it, and Benny said he had. He said abide by it. Then he said, "What about that Supreme Court case." Benny said, "Well, Your Honor..." The judge said, "Don't you open your mouth again now. Just tell me about that
Donald Sampson, who is black, got up and started and the judge shut him up and said he was going to turn him over to the marshals if he opened his mouth again. And that was it. The judge asked if I had any witnesses and I said I did. All I did was put up the superintendent and the finance officer to talk about our numbers and that was all. The judge asked if anyone wanted to ask any questions. Perry asked one or two legitimate questions, no cross examination, he got through and they said, "Next case." I put up the finance man to present the condition of the school, but what I was pulling for was time. The judge said, "All right, plan's accepted and court's adjourned."

_Duffy:_ You were the chairman in '60. '64 was the first time the state actually lost the Democratic national election. Were you active in that campaign?

_Riley:_ I was active locally. I was strong for Johnson. Wasn't Yancy McLeod state chairman? I believe he was. I worked with him locally. I've been active in every convention that we've held since I first got started and still am. That was the beginning of it.

_Duffy:_ Did you know Johnson?

_Riley:_ Yes.

_Duffy:_ What was your impression of him?

_Riley:_ He was an outgoing fellow. They wrote some awful things about him. He was very congenial. Fritz Hollings and I went to Washington with Gordon McCabe to get Kennedy to write a letter about limiting the import of textiles. That was before Kennedy was elected, but he had been nominated. They were talking about outside competition, and this was something they wanted very badly. Fritz and I talked to Kennedy on the telephone and he said he would go along with us, and so we flew up there. Kennedy was tied up, and Bobby Baker, who was Johnson's protégé from over here at Pickens, said the vice president wanted us to eat lunch with him, so we did. I had met him on several occasions. His wife was a
lovely lady and she tried her best to keep him under control, but I think she had a good bit of trouble doing it. But, still, if it had not been for the Vietnam War, politics in this country would probably have been different, in my opinion. He would have run for re-election and won.

**Terry:** You were talking about the '60s and the state parties losing their power, but you were losing a lot of big names within the party long before that. You talked about Strom Thurmond, but how about Jimmy Byrnes when he left the Party and came out for Eisenhower in '52. He actually became a Republican, didn't he?

**Riley:** No. He just supported Ike. I don't remember whether I told you about him calling me or not when Roosevelt was elected. I went to Washington once to help a man get the marshal's job and Byrnes was in the United States Senate. Byrnes was originally from Aiken and he and my father were great friends. I knew him well and when I was at Furman, he would go to meetings at Spartanburg and would always recognize me, and that made me feel good. I supported Byrnes for governor against my good friend, Tom Pope. I felt sorry for Tom. He told me that Byrnes told him definitely he was not going to run and Tom announced. But I was obligated to Byrnes. And he called me up right after the Eisenhower situation and said, "Son, how are you doing?" I said, "Doing pretty good, Senator." He said, "That's fine. Maude always asks about you. I've got a little favor I want you to do for me. You and I have always been together, never voted differently." I said, "That's right." He said that my daddy had always been a friend of his and we had both been Democrats all of our lives and he was still a Democrat, but the Democratic Party, as he knew it, had left him. He said he wanted me to come with him. I said, "Governor, you made a speech at the last South Carolina Democratic Convention, and you asked at the convention to adopt a resolution pledging electors to support Stevenson and Sparkman, and they did. I'm an elector and I can't go back on it." He said, "Oh, forget about those things." I said, "I don't forget about them. I'm a Democrat and propose to stay one." He slammed down the telephone. It wasn't 30 minutes before the phone rang again and it was Edgar Brown. Edgar said, "How you doing?" I said, "All right, Senator, how are you doing?" He said, "Have you had a telephone call lately?" I said, "Yes sir." He said, "From Columbia?" I said, "Yes sir."
He said, "What did he want?" I said, "He wanted me to vote Republican." He said, "What did you tell him?" I said, "I told him I wasn't going to do it." He said, "What did he do?" I said, "He hung up." He said, "Me, too."

**Duffy:** Were you referring to Carroll Campbell as the individual who went from Greenville to Columbia when you were talking about the school case?

**Riley:** Yes. He carried a cavalcade down to Columbia.

**Duffy:** Didn't he deny doing that?

**Terry:** Yes. It came up in the election and I think he denied it or played it down.

**Riley:** Watson, where is he now?

**Duffy:** I think he's retired.

**Riley:** He and Spence made their maiden non-Democratic speeches at the state Democratic Convention as delegates to the state convention, but not at the same time. Spence was a young fellow and made a very able speech, but he came out in opposition to the Democratic regime and wasn't going along with it.

**Duffy:** What about John West? Did you have any dealings with him when he was governor? How do you assess him?

**Riley:** I think John West was a smart lawyer and I think he made an excellent governor. He was highly respected. I'll never forget when Edgar Brown was running for United States Senate, I tried my best to get the Democratic Party to have a primary. I was on the state executive committee and he got nominated by the executive committee. He said he couldn't stand a statewide primary. I said you're going to have one whether you want it or not. I said it would be best for him to call it, and that's exactly what happened. I was called to go to
Columbia one night to see Edgar Brown. Several people were in his room at the Wade Hampton Hotel, including Cauthen, who was secretary of the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association. He and Edgar Brown were great friends and he was also scared to death of Byrnes. He went out and checked around and found out that there was a caucus in Florence that was being held by Jimmy Byrnes with the idea in mind of putting Donald Russell in the race. Cauthen thought somebody found out about it, and he talked to somebody that was at the meeting and they said that while they were there, they got the message that Strom had come out as an Independent and that Byrnes had referred to Thurmond as "that energetic idiot." John West headed Edgar Brown's campaign. He and Dick got to be real good friends, and he was a constructive man, wasn't anything destructive about him and he was easy to get along with. I got along with him fine. He was a good lawyer and he understood it, and he used his support to change the constitution and other legal matters that Dick was very instrumental in. He was very fond of West and they worked very well together and they're still friends. Did you have anything special in mind about him?

Duffy: No, I just wanted to ask you about him. Most people would agree that West and your son sort of meshed in terms of reform in South Carolina.

Riley: They did. Dick was really fortunate or however you want to phrase it, I don't know, but he's got more publicity with his educational standing. I heard this fellow, Bennett, on nationwide TV say that it can be done, and if you don't believe it can be done, go down to South Carolina and see what Dick Riley's done. And you read the write up. He's the chairman of the area committee on education in several states and he goes to those meetings and usually governors are present. I think that penny did more than any penny I've ever heard of.

Duffy: How do you explain the fact that Greenville produced major reformers down there like Dick and Nick Theodore and also produced some of the most conservative politicians in the state?
Riley: I don't know, but Greenville is all peppered up with a bunch of what I call outsiders. A big group of them were Republicans when they came in, and they had holdings and positions and that added a good deal to the money part of it. Greenville voted Republican for the last three or four presidential elections.

Duffy: Probably when you think of the fundamentalists, you think of Greenville. Do you attribute that to Bob Jones or is that something that's native?

Riley: I think there's no doubt about it that Bob Jones had great influence on that particular area. His crowd is getting scattered around the county now and they voted solidly Republican from the bottom to the top, and in one district it is overwhelmingly Republican. "Old Man Bob" started it and then Bob, Jr., and then Bob, III, and that coupled with the fact that the money people moved in here from other parts and were affiliated with it. Take Milliken over in Spartanburg, he's in power over there and got everybody scared of him and they don't want him to know it if they don't vote like he votes. I think it's more that way. Charleston gets a lot of input. They tell me a lot of outsiders have come in there. But that is where they get their money. That boy, Goldsmith, a member of the House and a Republican, swindled his bank out of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and just pled guilty to one count. He was on the front page of the newspaper for about three weeks. Last night his lawyer said that he had told his client to stay out of the newspaper; there had been too much of it.

Duffy: Who are you talking about?

Riley: Skip Goldsmith, member of Greenville County Council and just convicted in Federal Court, swindled the banks out of a great deal of money.

Terry: Earlier we talked about Governor West and his strengths as a governor. In your dealings with the Democratic Party, who was the worst governor you had to deal with?

Riley: I thought Olin Johnston as governor probably brought the state down in standing considerably. This, of course, is hearsay, but the man who was his law partner, John
Williams, was in Columbia, and I asked him how it was going. He said he had just come out of the governor's office and he said he had three pardons and $3,000. The governor could pardon. He said, of course, he had to leave a little bit over at the State House. Whether that is true or not, I don't know, but I think Johnston was more partisan, and he thought more of his political standing or status, which I guess a lot of them do, than he thought of doing something good for the state. He went in as a poor man's friend and worked and got the Highway Department mad at him, reducing licenses and things of that kind, and they had a law suit on him. Judge George Bell Timmerman was chairman of the Highway Commission and his testimony, as the story goes, and cross examination is really worth reading.

_Terry:_ Were you involved with the Highway Commission?

_Riley:_ No, I was not involved in it, just interested in it. Some of the people that were involved in it were close to me. Sid Jones was head of the Highway Department and I've never seen it, but they say the road that runs past his house is two or three miles long. Olin Johnston, I remember in one of his races after he'd outsipped Jones, called it the "sipping highway." During Olin's race against Fritz Hollings, the time he beat him, at the campaign meetings somebody always came around with about 50 or 60 whisky bottles on a string to pull them around. Fritz Hollings was wet; you know Charleston.

_Terry:_ What kind of campaign was that?

_Riley:_ Well, I followed it pretty closely and, of course, Olin beat him. Fritz was a good friend of mine; I supported him strong for governor. I didn't take any part in the primaries. Fritz carried Calhoun County, but we didn't know until early in the morning that he was carrying Calhoun. It was as close as that. Judge Martin asked me to go to Columbia with him. He said Olin wanted to talk to me. I told them whoever won, I would be glad to help. Olin asked me to head up his campaign as state chairman and I said I would. That was the day after the election. I told him we hadn't had much experience in a two-party system, but I studied it a good deal and talked to county chairmen from two-party states, and what they always did is the winner invites the loser to come in and join hands and beat the Republican.
Judge and Olin and Edgar Brown and some others thought it was a good idea, and so I told Olin to go the next morning and talk to the governor and invite him to come in. Olin couldn't so he was going to send his brother, Bill. Bill said he wasn't going over to talk to him because he had been all over the country calling them drug addicts and gangsters, and he said he wasn't going to have anything to do with him. So I went over to talk to Fritz. He said he was going to support the party, but was not going to make a statement about it at that time. He was in shock. I told him I could understand it. He said I could tell Olin and any of my friends that he and his folks were going to vote the Democratic ticket, but he wasn't going to get out and feel the woods for them or anything of that kind. He said he had friends that would have to let it soak in before they found out he was even going to vote for him, but they wouldn't have anything to do with it. It was a pretty rough campaign.

_Terry:_ What type of charges were you referring to when you said racketeers and drug addicts?

_Riley:_ It was a man that Olin was connected with in some way [Nicolo Impostato], sort of like Dukakis and those things that ruined him. The pros tell me that if Dukakis had come out swinging and fighting, he would have been nominated. At one time he was in, but he let Atwater outguess him. But now Atwater is doing a lot of explaining. He hopped on the wrong man when he hopped on Congressman Foley.

_Terry:_ Did Atwater come from around here?

_Riley:_ Columbia. I was talking to Trip King, who is Fritz Hollings' representative here in Greenville, and he said he and Atwater went to high school together and he knew him well, and he had been that kind of fellow all of his life.

_Terry:_ I think the reason I was thinking he was from here is because we were talking about a newspaper story we had read coming up this morning that was in the paper on Sunday about the problems that Carroll Campbell is having with his Republican senators, and they were talking about the connection or identity between Carroll Campbell and Lee Atwater.
Riley: Well, politics made out a mighty good case.

Terry: What was Strom Thurmond's relationship with the Democratic Party after he left? Obviously, there would have to still be almost a love/hate relationship there.

Riley: You ought to read the lovely letters we got from Strom when Dick was elected; what a great man he was, what a great governor he would make, was known all over the country. You would have thought he was a long lost friend.

Terry: What kind of impact has Jesse Jackson made on the upcountry?

Riley: It was mixed in that he swamped the Democratic Convention, state and county. He had practically all the delegates, no doubt about it. The whites went to the convention and didn't vote for Jackson and the blacks didn't like it. Dick didn't vote for Jackson at the convention and I don't know whether any of the whites did or not. He's from Greenville.

Terry: Do you think he's good for the Democratic Party in the state?

Riley: I don't think he's good for it. I think it's the worst thing that ever happened to it. Don Fowler was strong for this black man who is the new chairman, Ron Brown. I asked wasn't he stepping out kind of quick, but he said if I knew the fellow I'd be for him too. He's undoubtedly going to rebuild the Democratic Party.

Terry: We were talking in general terms about why the upcountry seems to have two very distinctive types of individuals who would be elected to state office. It also seems like up here you have two distinctive towns in terms of political direction too. You have Spartanburg which is on a local level pretty solidly Democratic, is that correct?

Riley: It was. I don't know what the percentage is, but they've got members of the Republican Party in county council and at the State House. Donald Russell's boy is the
senator from Spartanburg. He ran as a Republican. Spartanburg was a Democratic county, so was Anderson County, and both of them have got Republican sheriffs now. They beat T.W. Edwards, who had a long record in the House.

_Terry:_ Let me ask you something totally unrelated. We have an exhibit at the University now from one of America's foremost painters, Jasper Johns. What is your relation to him?

_Riley:_ I'm his uncle.

_Terry:_ Did you have much dealings with him when he was growing up?

_Riley:_ I didn't get to see too much of him. His mother is my sister. She and his father divorced. Then she married, and for some reason or another, Jasper went to live with his grandfather, Johns, and then went to live with one of his aunts. He stayed with her a good deal and then he went to Carolina. I see him occasionally. He built a nice home down at Edisto Beach and his mother lives there all the time. It has been miraculous in the way he has gone over as an artist. It's a different type of art. I don't know that he ever tried to paint a picture of a person or not; I never have seen it. Back when he was a little boy he used to visit us. Pat's about a year older than he is. We were at the art museum here looking at Johns' works, and the boy who was the director went to Carolina and studied art with Jasper. Martha told him about this Christmas card Jasper had painted and sent to her. He had signed it, "Love, Tump." He said if you find it, don't tell anybody about it and go put it into the bank and then establish it as a trust fund because you can get your own price for it. That will be the most valuable thing you can find. And my wife went to looking. Never found it.

_Terry:_ He is a fairly shy individual, isn't he?

_Riley:_ Yes. He's an introvert. I don't know what his lifestyle is in New York. The times I've been in New York I have called him and he wasn't in. One of his sisters married Joel Wells, the Clemson star halfback. The other girl is named Owen. My brother, Owen, had no children and he helped Jean's children in school, and she had Jasper, and then she had an
older girl that she named for her husband's father, and a boy named for his father, and she said the next one, boy or girl, was going to be named Owen Riley. So that was her name.
**Terry:** Mr. Riley, what do you think about the election that just occurred and the future of the Democratic Party?

**Riley:** I was pleased with some of it and displeased with some of it. I was not particularly surprised in our local race. I was disappointed that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Education were not re-elected. I think that it probably wasn't as much of a coattail on the part of Governor Campbell as it was white backlash on the part of the Democratic candidate for governor, in my opinion. I think that had a decided effect throughout the state and throughout the elections, and when you analyze it from top to bottom, I think the Democrats did pretty good taking everything under consideration. They stayed about the same nationally, but the Democrats pulled up a little bit. You asked me what's the future of the Democratic Party. I think it would have to be a turn around on the part of South Carolina Democrats to put leading people in as our candidates. We've had a dearth of leading people. We've had local areas where we didn't have opposition, and when they got opposition, a lot of time it was just a shadow, not real opposition. We've got to get to the place where we can interest enough people of outstanding ability and recognized leaders to get back in as candidates in the Democratic Party. We've got them if they will just do it. There was a pretty strong movement on foot to try to get Bob Royall to run for governor, and he was real interested, but I think the ordeal of a campaign and Campbell's incumbency and things like that kept him from taking it. You couldn't get an outstanding white man to run for governor, and it's hard to say those kinds of things. I think the North Carolina situation was where all the pollsters and experts had it neck and neck with Gantt leading a little bit, but when they shook his hand and said I'm for you and then went to the polling booth, they didn't vote for him. There is no doubt in my mind that there's got to be some definite and strict regulations on the expenditure of money in elections. One man said if they put all the money that was spent for elections in the budget, they could have made a big reduction in the national deficit. But I think the key to the rebuilding of the Democratic Party in the state is our ability to put able people in as candidates.

**Duffy:** Let me phrase this in a historical sense. Compare the kind of politics that we had in South Carolina when you started out in politics with what we obviously have today.
Riley: The approach is entirely different. The general feeling of people toward candidates is entirely different, in my opinion. In the older days usually the people who were candidates were actual leaders in the community and business, able people generally, and it didn't take a millionaire or the millionaires didn't have to back you. There was your filing fee and what you spent traveling around. There was very little newspaper advertising and it was before the days of television, which is where the big money is. It's entirely different. Of course, I can remember when the Democratic Party primary ended in South Carolina, the officers running the state from townships and counties statewide had already answered as to who the Democrats nominated or who was elected without opposition. That was all true except in the national election where you had a little crossover at times, but not much. There was in some places a lot of instances that scared the blacks away from voting, but gradually they got to where their vote was something to be considered in the state. I hate to see it, and Virginia upset it a little bit, but in North Carolina and South Carolina, I don't think there's any doubt but that the white backlash is more potent than the one man, one vote advantage that the black people got. But I think that you will never go back to the 1960s politics in South Carolina.

Duffy: At one time you were chairman of the Democratic Party in the state. Was that after integration?

Riley: It was supposedly after integration in 1960, when the Kennedy race began. I was chairman of the Party and managed his campaign in the state. He was, in addition to being from Massachusetts and not a Southerner, a Catholic, and that was taboo as far as politics in South Carolina was concerned. Didn't anybody give him a chance to carry South Carolina. Young people or anyone that might get this tape have to realize a big change was taking place. I received some of the worst telephone calls you've ever heard in your life. They called me everything in the world and the unbelievable thing is that it was from a religious standpoint. That was in 1960. The law had been passed to open up the primary, but the minds of the people didn't go along with the change of the law. I don't think there's any doubt about it.
**Terry:** How important was the black vote in that election in 1960?

**Riley:** Not too much. It was some. It was very close. It could have been the deciding vote because the vote was very close, about 9,000 votes different. All of the polls showed Connecticut was going Democratic and that South Carolina was going Republican and how surprised the Democratic Party heads and the Kennedy headquarters were when I told them they were ahead in South Carolina. I talked to President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Bobby, and they didn't believe me.

**Duffy:** Let me ask you something on the technical side. Thirty years ago did you use or did the candidates use extensive polling to find out how they were doing?

**Riley:** No. It wasn't as general as it is now. The newspapers did a little bit of it, but I guess national headquarters would call people like me and leading people around the country and get a general idea of how they felt about it. But to answer your question, the polling as it is known now was not then.

**Duffy:** What about hiring media experts to help the candidate?

**Riley:** They did to a certain extent. The night before the election we tried to arrange television programs with Governor Hollings, Senator Johnston (couldn't find Senator Thurmond), and the leaders to meet together and show that we were together as far as the Democratic Party was concerned in South Carolina. There was a lot of talk about the fact that we couldn't get Johnston very active. Hollings was very active for Kennedy and was a lot of help. We finally got Olin to agree to go on this program with us and it had a good effect, but we almost couldn't do it because we just didn't have the money. I had to sign a check for $2,000 to make up what we had to pay the studio for the time. I had already put as much money as I wanted to put into it, but I had to do it in order to get that show on. That's how tough things were for us. A great friend of mine came to me and said he had always voted with me, but he wasn't going to be able to vote for Kennedy. I asked him why. He
said, "You know why. You know good and well they're digging a tunnel in the Atlantic Ocean and the Pope is going to ride over, and as soon as Kennedy gets elected, the Pope's going to come sit by him and run the country." I said, "George, you don't believe that." He said, "Oh Lord, it's a proven fact. They've got the facts." I said, "Show me one grain of dirt they've dug out from under that Atlantic Ocean and I'll go along with you." Of course he couldn't do it, but that's how narrow people felt. I'd go to a party at a country club or Poinsettia Club and have a Kennedy button on and I'd get insulted. People don't think that with it being a free country you could have situations of that kind, but that's what you have.

I got a lot of blacklash on the present election. I made no question about the fact that I voted for Mitchell. I don't say I did it reluctantly at all because I figured the people that told me they didn't want to vote for Carroll Campbell, that they were just going to write in Dick Riley or somebody else, was using their vote for Carroll Campbell. Whether they liked Theo Mitchell or not, if they didn't like Carroll Campbell as much as I don't like him, they would vote Mitchell because that's the only way they had of voting against Campbell. You could tell by the vote that straight party ticket voting was very limited in South Carolina. The blacklash—and by blacklash we mean that black people are getting the vote and the white people who will let them in the South are not ready to accept the black man socially or politically, and they, therefore, vote against the Democratic Party because the Democratic Party has opened it up to the blacks—has caused a lot of good black people who got the nomination to be defeated in the general election.

Terry: During that 1960 election, did John F. Kennedy visit the state?

Riley: Yes. I've got beautiful pictures. There was a big crowd. He talked on the State House steps and I mean they were way back up the street. Hollings and Johnston were there and all the leaders were on the rostrum. I introduced Fritz and Fritz introduced John Kennedy. He got a rousing reception and he was tickled to death with it. Of course, we saw all kind of nasty signs going to and from the airport. You get those everywhere, but we had never had those kind of things before in South Carolina. He made a wonderful speech and people were tickled to death with him. He promised Fritz and me he would come to South Carolina and he came.
Terry: The presidential election of 1960 was the first, if I'm not mistaken, in which a TV network used computer analysis of exit polling to predict election results long before the final figures were officially tallied. What was your reaction to that development?

Riley: I think one of the unfair things as far as elections go is the difference in the time in the West Coast and the East Coast. During national elections a lot of people on the West Coast say it's no use for me to go and vote because he's already elected, and I'm not going to vote for a loser. As the voters leave the polls, they ask them how they voted and then they put them all together and get a general feeling as to a trend.

Terry: In 1960, what types of trends would you all have looked for that evening in terms of counties coming in?

Riley: We knew pretty well that Charleston, Richland and Greenville were heavy Republican. In those days, Anderson and Spartanburg were going to narrowly stay with the Democratic Party. York, Lancaster, Chester and Cheraw were strong Democratic. The morning of the election, I voted up here and then went to Columbia and had a meeting with the press and some other people. They had a map of the state counties there and everybody had picked Nixon to win by 30,000 or 40,000 votes. Frank Sloan, who was my fulltime employee, and I discussed it. I went through county by county and when I finished up with all the figures we had there, it was Kennedy by 10,000 votes, and he won by 9,000 and something. It was a guess, but it was what we had estimated. The day before the election, I called individuals that I knew around the various parts of the state, and that's what I based my opinion on. I didn't call the sheriff or county office holders or delegations. Everybody was surprised that I got the impression, which was a pretty sound one, from using that system which had never been used before. But people were pretty slow about coming out for a candidate.

Terry: Did you all take any precautions during that election to make sure there was no voting fraud?
**Riley:** The first time we had watches was, I think, the first time we ever had the big boxes in Charleston, Columbia, and Greenville. But we didn't have them, generally, and we never had any crookedness to amount to anything. Dr. Crenshaw, who was my preacher and retired now, said to stay away and not to vote for any reason was as much of a sin as it was to stuff the box. I never thought of it in that way, but he was trying to get people to vote.

**Duffy:** One of the things that struck me about this election, even in South Carolina, is that I think in the end you’re going to find out that a lesser percentage of the people voted than voted in past elections. Certainly that's going to be true nationally. Why do you think there has been this fall off in interest on the part of the people in elections?

**Riley:** I think you're exactly right and I still think that the financial situation which limits the type of candidate you get who can raise the money has got the people where they don't take too much of an interest. In most instances, less than the majority of the registered voters vote. People in foreign countries can't understand that, especially countries where they don't have a right to vote. I think if somebody could find the answer to that, it would be about the best thing that could happen because if the majority of the people voted, it would be much more impressive and would encourage more people to become interested in voting and in being candidates.

**Duffy:** You mentioned the need for strong leadership in the Democratic Party. You have a phenomenon here in Congresswoman Patterson's election. She ran and got about 60% of the vote or was it that high?

**Riley:** She got just about 60% of the vote. She ran a good race.

Ms. Patterson is probably one of the most conservative voting Democrats you had up there. They used against her, pretty effectively and generally, that her husband was a banker and she was high up on the banking committee and her influence would favor him over other bankers and things of that kind. Of course, Terry Haskins was late getting in and he didn't have the money that she had. It's unusual that the Democrat had more money than the
Republican. But she had more money and she used it wisely and she made a good run. She led pretty heavily in Spartanburg and Union County, and she carried the Democratic ticket in Greenville for the first time. The other times she was running against the mayor of Greenville and a prominent and popular member of the Greenville City Council. They were pretty well heeled and they ran a closer race than this boy ran. Of course, another thing against this fellow is that he ran for two offices. He ran for Congress and for re-election to the House of Representatives.

Terry: Who are some of the other rising stars in terms of the Democratic Party? Who do you think will be running for statewide offices?

Riley: I don't know. It's not my brainchild and I'm not the one that thought it up, but what we need is a better candidate and it's pretty general. I talked to the other leaders and we are all in agreement that until we get interesting outstanding people like Bob Royall or someone of his stature to run, we're going to be in a bad way and that's what we've got to work on. I was talking to Don Fowler, who has been state chairman of the Democratic Party and makes his living representing other candidates, and that's his feeling. It's a general feeling among the leaders of the Democrats that we've got to get people to run. One thing that got me was that Senator Bill Bradley spent several million dollars and just did squeeze his way in. The boy who is the whip of the Democratic Party from Missouri, Gephart, just got in and he had all kind of backing. Of course, on the Republican side Spence just did get in, but he walked out on Bush in one of the hearings on the tax budget thing. But there is no doubt in my mind that we've got to, in some way, cultivate interest in able people. We need people who are successful in their business or profession and who are recognized by the general public—outstanding people with ability and integrity as possible leaders. Until we get that type of person from the Court House to the State House, we're going to be in trouble.

Terry: How did you prepare leaders for the Party back in the 60s, or was there a need?

Riley: I never thought of there being a need. That was the first time a survey was made to try to get people out to run and I worked pretty hard on it. I knew good and well that if you
didn't have somebody of the old political feelings running, they would crucify you, and so we did bring pressure on people to run for the House and the Senate and local office, things of that kind. We had candidates which we haven't had lately, haven't been able to. Those in authority and power might try to do it and I know they do. Locally they work hard to get candidates to run and what I tell them is don't just get a candidate, get a good one. But I think it's like the atmosphere, the weather and the rain fall and everything else that is changing and politics is changing too along with it. You can't operate like you did in the old days, it's a new day.

Duffy: But yet up in North Carolina, even though Gantt didn't win, he did run an extremely good statewide race for the first time, wouldn't you think?

Riley: He did run, but not nearly as strong as everybody had it doped out to be. Somebody said he would shake somebody's hand and they'd say I'm voting for you, and then they would walk in and say they were not going to vote for a black man against a white man and they would cast their vote. I think he was actually and honestly surprised that Helms beat him as bad as he did. He couldn't believe it. It's like the story about the old man around Barnwell County that tied a knot on a string for everybody that said they would vote for him. My daddy tried to keep him from running and said he couldn't beat Palmer down there. He showed my daddy this handful of twine with knots in it and said that every one of those knots were votes. He said he had enough votes promised to beat all four opponents in the first race. He ran a poor last. He said, "You know, Doc, I've sure been educated. I've found out there are more lies in Barnwell County per square inch than anywhere in the world. You know, Doc, in politics they'll take an honest man and accuse him of stealing a horse." My father said, "Accuse him, hell, they'll prove it on him."

Terry: Sol Blatt told me once that the first time he ran for Speaker, he went around not at the Capitol, but just visited each legislator in their office or at their house in their home district. He would have a sheet of paper and once they said they would vote for him, he would have them sign that sheet of paper so that they couldn't go back and say they didn't say they would vote for him. He told me he had it down to when he was elected. He had it to
one vote as to how many votes he was going to get, and the reason he didn't get that vote was because the man left the Chamber while they were calling the vote, and his vote wasn't counted.

Riley: Sol changed his system a little bit. He got to where he would request a letter. I don't know whether his signature thing had played down a little, but he'd ask for a letter. He called me about one or two or three of them in this part of the county. He told me they had said they were for him, but he wanted me to get them to write a letter. And that's what he tried to do from then on. Got to where people wasn't as reliable on their word, had to have a letter. Talk about advertisements and something future people might be interested in, this fellow in Florida paid for a full page advertisement that said to throw the rascals out. He spent hundreds of thousands of dollars himself and he picked up a whole lot of help throughout the country, like the governors of Texas, Florida and California. There are always two or three of those signs in the big crowds saying throw the rascals out. But they didn't do it. The rascals, the majority of them, were re-elected. Some of them were close calls, as I just said, but they didn't throw the rascals out like they thought they were going to do.

Duffy: Some of the things that have happened, particularly with the election, since we talked to you last is this State House scandal called "Sting". Do you think ethics has changed very much? Is this something that would not have happened in the past or is this something that would have been treated differently in the past?

Riley: I think it's different. Of course, we all know the influence and the activities of lobbyists and it's a known theory that they give parties for the legislators and furnish alcohol for them and maybe someone is inclined to send them a lady. That's not new. That's been going on a long time. In politics, actually taking cash with the understanding that it is for votes is new, in my opinion. Of course you're not supposed to, but I know money has been advanced to legislators and people in the past who had very important matters in the General Assembly and who would attempt to use their influence. Marion Gressette was a man I didn't think anybody could buy any way in the world. I was representing the South Carolina
Beer Association and Jim Sheppard was representing the whiskey people. Marion would get some folks together because he was very strong for it. It wasn't on my account or Jim Sheppard's account, he was just against the local option bill that was being fought, in my recollection, and Marion was interested in it. We would get up the money and have a dinner and he would invite some of the legislators there and we would explain the bill and everything to them. But, as far as passing out any money or anything to vote for it, that wasn't thought of. That's a new thing. I don't know exactly how to say it, but I don't appreciate the FBI using the type of method that they used to get this sting the way they did. It seems to me that if the people were guilty, they could have handled it in a different way. I think that it has brought about a general feeling upon the people that they have lost confidence in government, and yet there were three people who were under indictment and were elected in their particular counties. Of course, all three of them were black and they were in black dominated counties that had a majority of black people, but they re-elected them as far as that's concerned and evidently didn't think too much about it because the only one that has been tried so far was convicted. I was a prosecuting attorney for a number of years and the hardest job we had was to sell a crooked informer to a jury to convict somebody. You used a lot of it, of course. In the dope and alcohol situations and other things, informers were used or you used somebody that had been in trouble. The first thing the defense does is try the informer, and it's hard to get a jury sometimes to send a man to jail on the testimony of a crooked informer and that, of course, is what you've got in this case.

**Terry:** One thing in addition to the Sting Operation and the big scandal at the State House is it seems like we're losing a number of public officials in various capacities due to other types of questionable behavior. For example, the head of the Highway Patrol, the head of the FBI in Columbia, the head of the Highway Department, in terms of not reporting an automobile accident, the president of a University, with regards to spending and things like this. Do you ever remember a time in South Carolina's history where the press was looking so hard at public officials?

**Riley:** No, I've never seen it and I think you're right. They'll get an inch on something and they'll keep digging at it until they've got a mile. I think the Highway Department has been
blown all to pieces; I don't think there's any doubt about it. Of course, Carroll Campbell now is wanting to come in and have the governor take over all of these agencies that the Legislature appoints, but the Legislature isn't going to give it up right quick, I don't think. If you read the morning *Greenville News*, there was an editorial that referred back to Dick Riley's second election, that he had a bigger percentage majority vote than Carroll Campbell, and he didn't go around waving, whooping and hollering about having a mandate or anything of that kind. Some of the legislators spoke up, like the senator from Manning, who said that he didn't think it was the same thing that happened to Dick Riley and it didn't change government so much that the government went to the people with this thing. He said things haven't changed as far as the power of the General Assembly and that he didn't feel that that was a mandate. I think Hoover, who writes for the Greenville papers out of Columbia, put it strong for Campbell and strong for the mandate. He thought it really worked both ways. I think if you're a Campbell supporter, you feel like it's strong founded and the others still have got to go through the Legislature. That's still there, sting or no sting. What concerns me are statements made by Senator Hollings that there are going to be at least 15 others indicted. Why don't they go on and indict them? I hear it rambled around that the dope proposition is going to be greatly enlarged as far as legislators are concerned. That is hearsay, but the federal government has got the information and is just holding off the indictments. I know Fritz got the information or he wouldn't have said it. I think he got it from the United States Attorney or the Attorney General's Office, but if that's true, there's going to be some awful shaky people in the General Assembly. I always took pride in the fact that we didn't have any big fraud or crookedness in our government officials and judiciary. The judiciary has been high and wonderful and, of course, elected by the General Assembly. A lot of judges are elected by the people in other states and they have some trouble. But we haven't had it. We've been free of it, and if somebody's head has been there, we just didn't know it. But I don't feel that way about it. I think that by and large our government officials have been honorable people and considered their office as an office of trust and for the people. That's certainly the way I've felt about it, and I think the way most of our people have felt about it, and this has been an awful blow and disappointment to a lot of people in the state.
**Terry:** Are you skeptical as to whether or not the governor can capitalize upon this to really make some sweeping changes with regards to taking the commission structure and altering it for more control?

**Riley:** I do. If you will recall, when Dick Riley went into office the first thing he did was to propose altering the manner in which the members of the Public Service Commission were elected. The Legislature and the big utility companies like South Carolina Power and Electric and Southern Bell and all of their big shots lived in the lobbies of the Legislature lobbying against it, but finally the people got into the situation and it changed, but it was a hard job. Then he wanted to put a one cent tax on for education and when he started it, I'd say 70% of the General Assembly was against it; I don't think there's any doubt about it. And it was like Dick was fighting against a brick wall; he didn't have a chance. He said it was a good thing and it was the thing we ought to do, and so he went after it. The legislators would go back home and the people would call them and show that they were interested, and he gradually started picking up support. He got to McClellan and finally sold him on it. He was head of the Ways and Means Committee and he was a lot of help to get it over. McClellan lost this last time. I thought he was one of the outstanding legislators we had and he did a wonderful job. But to answer your question, it's going to take a whole lot to make the General Assembly give up because they like to have people calling and begging them for jobs and things of that kind. It's influence that they've got and they don't want to give it up—like those judges who think they ought to be appointed, things of that kind. One thing the governor will go after is appointment of judges and legislative commissioners and everything like that. Even in the face of that terrible dishonest sting thing that came about, I don't think they're going to give up their prerogatives of electing people easily. Of course, they're elected every two years and what they do can be checked on two years from now.

**Terry:** Do you think that we're beginning to enter a new era with regards to South Carolina politics, due to the public scrutiny and the newspapers?

**Riley:** I think we've been in a new era. I'd say that since the election four years ago and certainly up to now, we've been approaching it gradually, and I think that undoubtedly we're
in a new era because of the way people are looking at government and acting on it and the lack of confidence in government generally. You see letters to the editor and things of that kind which are much more critical than I've ever seen in the past.

_Duffy:_ But people essentially don't want to have to pay for the services. Basically they want the services, but they don't want to pay the taxes.

_Riley:_ And if you analyze it, the type of persons that are in opposition to paying tax for anything are the ones that receive more benefits from it. You take the school tax, the good and bad of it is that the people who fuss about the taxes are mostly the ones that get the most out of it. That's how I feel about it. They voted down the auditorium tax here for about the third or fourth time. I represented the auditorium for a number of years and then when the new man came in, he wanted to know about the auditorium tax and what chance it had and I told him I didn't think it had a chance. That was a couple of years ago. We almost had it worked out one time with Tommy Wyche and his group. They were interested and we really worked out a deal, but it changed the complexion of the county council or something and it went out. I told him that in my opinion the only chance we had to get an auditorium and a coliseum, and I was certainly in favor of it, was through private capital. They overwhelmingly voted it down, voted down the sales tax and the things of that kind. They holler at the sales tax. That's poor people's tax. You're taxing the poor people and the rich people don't mind it. The poor people will feel a dollar or two extra when they buy groceries.

_Terry:_ I want to ask you a question as a follow-up to a very brief comment you made when we talked about blacks at the beginning of the century and your early memories of social structure in South Carolina. You mentioned Emancipation Day or the Fourth of July. Tell me a little bit about those days and how those dates were observed by blacks in the community.

_Riley:_ I believe January 1st was Emancipation Day and what they called Celebration Day. All the blacks would borrow their bosses' horses and have a big parade. They would have
feathers in their hats and be all dressed up and it was their day. The man who led it in Barnwell was Ferdinand Hankinson. He ran a little restaurant around the corner, but brother, he was a big shot that day. He had a big white horse that the livery stable man let him have and he would prance around. They all had as nice a horse as they could get. Everybody came out to see their parade. They rode down Main Street in front of the depot and went around the circle. They made their speeches and I remember there was an outstanding black that made a speech and I remember he said, "What the black man needs is not more voting, it's more smoke houses."

_Terry:_ Did the whites in the community attend the parades?

_Riley:_ No, just the blacks. Whites lined up on the streets to look at them.

_Terry:_ They were spectators. Did they have a big meal?

_Riley:_ They had a big barbecue or a chitlin strut or something that they liked.

_Terry:_ One thing that we're finding is that those freedom days or emancipation days varied throughout the South depending on the communities as to the dates those slaves were freed.

_Riley:_ That was the day they were given their freedom and that's what they called it. I think ours was always on January 1st.

_Terry:_ What happened to them is very interesting. Once they came out with the civil rights movement, they quit having them, and Martin Luther King's birthday is really the observance now that has taken place of those other ceremonies.

_Riley:_ And you see what controversy that's causing in some places.
AUGUST 29, 1991
**Terry:** Mr. Riley, when did your family come to the United States?

**Riley:** My family first came to the United States back during the Colonial period. The first direct ancestor was Miles Riley who came here in early Colonial days and the records in Barnwell County show that he was appointed a commissioner of supplies by the King of England.

**Duffy:** Did they come in through South Carolina?

**Riley:** Yes. He was a Protestant and his family was from Ulster, Ireland. He was a member of the militia and served in the Colonial Army in the United States. Miles Riley married the daughter of the Parker family. They were Barnwell people and the records there show that they owned a good deal of property in the Barnwell District. Of his children, the direct descendent that we came from is Miles Riley, Jr. He was born in 1799 on his father's plantation, Fiddlepond, in Barnwell District. It was a large tract of land consisting of about 3,000 acres and is recorded in the office of the Clerk of Court at Barnwell Court House. Miles and his older brothers were educated in private schools. Miles Riley, Jr. fought in the war of 1812 against England. He married Winifred Kirkland, daughter of George Kirkland, and her great-great-grandson served in the Senate of South Carolina. George Kirkland was also a soldier of the Revolution. Winifred Kirkland's origin indicates that she was of Scottish descent. She was born in 1787 and some of the land owned by the Kirklands was land grants from King George. Miles Riley, Jr. and Winifred Kirkland had nine children and the one that we descended from was James Wilson Riley.

James Wilson Riley married Emily Cleveland Myrick and they had five children. My grandfather, George Owen Riley, one of their sons, was born March 3, 1843 and educated in private schools with head masters Heavener and Quinn, noted teachers of that time. He was a student at Furman University. That's something I never knew until I reviewed his history. I'm a graduate of Furman and both of my sons are. He left Furman University and joined his father and brothers as members of the First South Carolina Volunteers, Company I, under
Captain Johnson Hagood and General Beauregard. He became a successful planter and was also auditor and sheriff of Barnwell County. He married Martha Melinda Roberts, who was born April 29, 1840. She was a gifted musician. Her parents were Mr. & Mrs. Richard Roberts of Barnwell District. Her only brother, Dr. Preach Roberts, was a dental surgeon. Two sons and one daughter were born to George Owen and Martha Melinda Riley. Their first son was Richard Wilson Riley, who was my father. He attended prep school, Yorkfield Military Academy and the Citadel. He became a dental surgeon and married a young widow, Meta Dowling Simms. My father was at the Citadel when Meta Dowling and Govan Simms married, and stood in his Citadel full dress uniform in their marriage. Govan was the son of the famous South Carolina historian and poet, William Gilmore Simms. Govan Simms died relatively young and then my father married my mother. They had four children; three boys and one girl.

The oldest boy was Richard Wilson Riley, who went into the newspaper business and was at one time the publicity director of the political campaign of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia in his race for governor. Governor Russell was elected and Will Riley, as he was known, took a job with the Associated Press. He later became city editor of the Augusta Chronicle and also worked at one time with the Columbia State and the Greenville News. He married Vivian Owens of Allendale, who died young. They had one daughter who married and divorced and then died in an automobile wreck about 1960. Will Riley died about 1948.

The second child of Richard Wilson Riley and Meta Dowling Simms Riley was George Owen Riley, named for my grandfather and one of the original Riley boys that came over from Ireland. Owen Riley attended the Citadel. He was in the Army's officer training in World War II, but the war was over before he got his commission. After the Citadel, he entered the insurance business in Columbia and became a very successful insurance man. He married Lydia Glover of Orangeburg, SC, who was the daughter of a prominent banker, Col. William L. Glover of Orangeburg. They had no children. Owen died in about 1974 or 1975 and his wife died about two years later.

I was the next child of Richard Riley and Meta Dowling Simms Riley. My name is Edward Patterson Riley and I was born October 27, 1900. I went to school in Barnwell, SC. I was the first drop-out that I know of. I left high school for three years and during that time
worked on a dredge and behind a soda fountain. I also played a little semi-professional baseball. I went back to school, entered the tenth grade and finished with an athletic scholarship to Furman University. I entered Furman in 1922 and graduated with a J.D. degree in 1926. I stayed in Greenville and practiced law and in 1927 married Martha Elizabeth Dixon of Williston, SC, who was a graduate of Ashley Hall. Martha was born July 13, 1906 and she died January 16, 1986. We had two children, Edward Patterson Riley, Jr., nicknamed Pat, and Richard Wilson Riley, nicknamed Dick.

The other child of Richard Wilson Riley and Meta Dowling Simms Riley was a daughter, Meta Jeannette. Jean was born in 1905 in Barnwell, SC and was an infant when our mother died. Jean married Jasper Johns of Allendale, S.C., whose folks were big planters at that time and they had one son, Jasper Johns, who was born in Allendale. Jasper has a national reputation as an outstanding artist and his art work is sold for a fabulous amount of money. Jean divorced Jasper Johns and later married Robert E. Lee of Williston, SC in Barnwell County. He was a farmer and later went to work with the Federal Tax Commission. Jean and Robert Lee had three children; Robert E. Lee, Jr., Alexander Lee, and Owen Riley Lee. They all lived in South Carolina. My sister had a wonderful relationship with her grandmother.

That completes the list of the Riley clan from Miles Riley pre-revolutionary days to Jean, the youngest direct descendent of Miles Riley.

Terry: A lot of people would marvel at the fact that you have your genealogy all the way back. What are some of your memories of your grandparents?

Riley: My grandfather died when I was young. My mother died when I was six years old and my grandfather died two or three years ahead of her. My grandmother, Martha Melinda Roberts Riley, took over the running of the family. Her other two children had died young, so my father was her only living child. Her girl died about twelve and her son, Sammy, who was quite a musician, died a young man. Mamma, as we called her, took over and she was the most wonderful person I have ever known. Through hearsay, my grandfather was very active. He eased up on his farming and apparently went into politics in Barnwell County. He was elected county auditor which is termed, generally, the bookkeeper. He was also
elected sheriff which was the highest law enforcement position and he did not carry a
sidearm. One particularly bad character that everybody was afraid of was wanted for murder
and he lived on a place down on the river, well fortified and defended. He said he would kill
anybody that came after him. My grandfather said he was going out there and one of his
friends told him not to go because that fellow would blow him apart. The story is that my
grandfather rode within hearing distance of the place and this fellow yelled, "Owen Riley, if
you don't stop where you are, I will roll you off that horse." My grandfather called his name
and said, "You wouldn't shoot an unarmed man, would you?" He said, "You mean, you're
the sheriff and you aren't armed?" He said, "That's exactly right. I want to come talk to
you." He said, "Well, come on in, Owen." And before he left there the man was disarmed
and rode back to Barnwell with my grandfather and went to trial. My grandfather also
witnessed some of the famous takeovers that were commonly called lynchings. I don't have
too much personal recollection about him. When his father died he owned a big plantation,
as did his brother, Trottie Riley, and his other brother, Billy Riley. The names of the
plantations were Trottie Place, Sycamore and Fiddlepond.

My grandmother was undoubtedly the most wonderful person I have ever known. My
father finished Baltimore Dental College, which is now the dental college of the University
of Maryland and the oldest dental college in the country. He practiced dentistry for a while
but he had been raised on plantations and had the easy life. He loved race horses and fox
hunting and those kind of things. He gave up his dentistry and attempted to farm, which he
didn't do too good at. For some reason or another he got into financial difficulty. It was my
understanding that he got in the stock market and during the Great Depression when eggs
were selling at five cents a dozen, he went down and was financially strapped. But my
grandmother, in the frugal way that she could handle things, raised her son and his three
children. She and her husband, George Owen Riley, were charter members of the Barnwell
Methodist Church. A few years ago we went to the 100th anniversary of the church and
Martha Melinda Riley and George Owen Riley were prominently recognized at that
anniversary. She was an excellent pianist and even when she was getting along in years,
young people would gather to dance and she would play the piano. If there was someone in
the crowd who could play the piano, she would get each one of the grandsons to dance with
her. Although my grandmother was a very religious person, she was not narrow-minded.
Her religion was one of the most wonderful things I ever knew. I never heard her say an ill word about anybody. As a matter of fact, she said if she couldn't say something nice about people, she remained silent. Her feeling was that it was not the use of things that would harm you, it was the abuse. Her son, at one time, abused alcohol. He came in one day, put the bottle on the mantelpiece and said he had finished with it, and from then on, as far as I know, he never took another drink. He wouldn't let us drink punch at a wedding for fear it had alcohol in it. We were all very fond of Mamma and everybody in town knew Miss Martha Riley. It's unusual, but my wife's name was Martha, and now I have a great granddaughter named Martha Riley Smith, who is Dick's granddaughter.

Mamma consented to let me sign up for the war in 1915, when they were getting ready for World War I. I enlisted in the National Guard and went to Anderson and from Anderson to Columbia. I was a member of the machine gun company and rode a flat car, which was a truck with machine guns on it. We came to what was then Camp Moore and later Fort Jackson. I will never forget the first breakfast I got. I went up to the soup kitchen and the mess sergeant asked how I would like my eggs. I said I would like some bacon, grits, and eggs over light. He threw out in front of me a glob of grits with some hot grease on them and that was my first breakfast. Two weeks later they mustered the state militia into the federal troops. The army officer who was doing the enlisting looked at me and asked what I was doing there. I said I saw the sign saying you wanted men for the army, and he said for me to go back and live a few years, that I was too young. So they turned me out of the army. They had signs saying if you can't fight, work. Congressman Byrnes, who had been solicitor in my circuit and was a great friend of my father and of mine, got me a job with the army engineers. There I was, a ninth grader out of high school and an instrument man. I had never seen an instrument. They sent me to Charleston, SC and assigned me to an engineering corps and my job finally turned out to be rowing a boat and keeping it on target for a dredge. My grandmother died a few years after that, in 1917. I stayed out of school for about three and a half years and then went back. My father, in the meantime, got elected to county auditor and served for 16 years. He died in September 1922 after he had just been re-elected for another four-year term.

I don't know anything else to tell you about the Riley grandparents because I didn't see too much of them except for Mamma. She was really my mother because, as I said, I was
just a youngster when my mother died.

On the other side of the family is my grandfather, John Caldwell Calhoun Dowling. I don't have the exact dates, but when the Dowlings came to the United States, the three brothers landed in Pennsylvania. One migrated to South Carolina back before the Revolutionary War and served with distinction in that war. He later became a planter in the lowcountry of South Carolina. They were prominent people in the state and I have a record of it, but it's misplaced and I couldn't find a copy of it. But my Grandfather Dowling was a planter and he married Elizabeth Babers from Aiken County, SC. He had five daughters and one son. My mother, Meta Jeannette, was his youngest daughter. The other daughters all married and lived in South Carolina all their lives and were very prominent. The Dowling reunion is held every year in Hampton County where they started from, and it is very well attended. Once when I was visiting my Grandfather Dowling after he was old and bedridden, he turned to my wife and said, "Martha, you married Edward, the son of my youngest daughter, Meta." And my wife said, "Yes, I did, Grandpa." He said, "Well, is he of any account?" Grandfather Dowling also said he went through Furman University and I said I didn't know that. He said, "Oh yes. I went through the front door and out the back to join the Civil War." His wife died relatively young and he never remarried. He had a big family of daughters and a farm in Perry, S.C. He lived by himself. He had a practice of all of his grandsons spending the summer with him. He had enough of them to have a baseball team, the Dowling Rangers. The rule was that your folks would give you a ticket to Perry, and he would meet you at the train. You could go home any time you wanted to if you made enough money to buy your ticket, or you could stay and work. He would pay you. You had to make up your mind what you wanted to do. He was religious and would read the Bible to all his grandsons every night and then he would pass this long stick candy around. You couldn't participate in the candy passing until you had made enough money to buy some candy. The first night I was there he passed me by and I didn't get a piece of candy because I hadn't made any money, but that was the way it was. One night he had read the Bible to us and was telling us about some of the battles he was in with the Yankees and he said, "By the way, you boys are awful fortunate to be here at all." We asked him why. He said, "Well, I was circumcised by a Yankee bullet." So he had a close call, apparently. He was a very hard task master and you had to work, but he was good to you and let you play when your
work was over. He was a great fellow. His five daughters were all very nice to us when we visited with him. Aunt Lizzie Dowling Rhodes McAllister lived in Augusta, Georgia. She was married twice. She was a fiend for accounting for the family. She had blueprints all over her room with family this and that. I took my fiancé over to meet my Aunt Lizzie and Aunt Lizzie told her that if she married me she would marry into royalty. She got all these blueprints down and there was Edward this, Edward that, every line of royalty had an Edward in it, sure as shooting. She said, "Martha, if you marry him you're going to marry into royalty." When we were going home I said to Martha, "You needn't get excited about Aunt Lizzie connecting me with royalty on account of the fact that I've got Edward in my name, because I was the third son and they ran out of family names and they named me for the doctor, Dr. Edward Patterson." So that was the Dowling side of my family. They said that my mother's first husband was Govan Simms, and the records will show he was the son of William Gilmore Simms, who was one of the outstanding citizens in South Carolina back in those days. He owned a plantation over in Bamberg County. They were my mother's people and, of course, there were loads of them. As I said, the Dowlings are a very prominent family in the state.

**Duffy:** What kind of work did you do when you were at your grandfather's in the summer?

**Riley:** Well, everything you do on a farm. Pick and chop cotton, pick peas, drive the cows in and out of the fields, milk the cows, help to feed the hogs, kill the hogs, butcher a hog for food. We would pick the cotton and load it up in two big wagons drawn by two mules and then ten or twelve grandsons and the old grandfather would go to town to have the cotton ginned. We would go from Perry to Wagener where the gin was. After he got his cotton money, he would buy us all a piece of candy or a cookie or something at the store. He organized a baseball team called the Dowling Rangers and our uniform was a solid green shirt and solid red pants and no shoes. The hardware man that my grandfather traded with gave each one of us a white painter’s cap with the paint name on it, and that was the uniform of the Dowling Rangers. I used to look forward to those days, but he put us to work. If you made out like you were sick, you had better have a temperature. He would give you a dose of epsom salt. It would make you wish you were sick.
I was born in 1900 and it's hard for young people today to realize what the situation was at that time. We lived in Barnwell and there were very few, if any, families that had indoor toilets and indoor water works. The children lined up on Saturday night to take their Saturday night bath in a tin tub filled with hot water. In the summertime all the men went to Turkey Creek with a towel and bar of soap. It was a common meeting ground. There was no such thing known as a swimming suit and everybody was in the nude. The first warm day you went barefoot. There was no electricity so we used oil lamps. It was a gift to make lamplighters. You would buy rolls of colored paper and fill them with a frizzly top and set them in vases and things like that to use in lighting lamps. You cooked by wood on a cook stove. There was usually a pump on the back porch where you would wash off your face and hands when you came in for the meals. There wasn't much at the market at that time. You could buy canned food and I remember when the first loaf of bread was put on sale. We raised a good deal of fruit like apples, peaches and pears in the low country, but we couldn't get the outside fruit like bananas and oranges except during the Christmas season. That was the only time, that I know of, when you could get fruit and during Christmas the stores would put up special stands out front and put the fruit in it. Of course we had fireworks. At Christmas time you would go out in the woods and cut a beautiful holly tree full of red berries and sticky leaves. Candles would be clipped to the wings of the holly tree and lit with a lighter. Of course you had to watch out for fire in the holly trees because the leaves were dry and there were fires caused by the candles. We never saw the Christmas tree until Christmas morning. They brought the tree in and put it up after the children had gone to bed and you would see it Christmas morning. It wasn't an old thing on Christmas day like it is today.

The people in Barnwell were pretty close knit from a political standpoint. There was never anything but the Democratic Party. Whoever got nominated as a Democrat was elected and you had to wait until the next general election was over because they didn't have any opposition. I think we've gone into that before, but the town of Barnwell and the people were very close together and everybody knew everything about everybody. Almost everybody went to church. You had one suit of clothes you called your church suit. I can remember my father taking his three boys into the dry good store and asking the man, Mr. Joe Porter, what he had to fit his boys. He would fit us out in a suit exactly alike and it
turned out that, of course, me being the youngest one, I turned out wearing mine and my brothers' a lot of the time as hand-me-downs.

I think that generally covers it unless there are some particular questions you have.

_Terry:_ What family member would you say had the most influence on you?

_Riley:_ It would be my grandmother, Martha Melinda Roberts Riley. No doubt about it. Mamma we called her. I don't have to stop and think. I loved my father and we got along fine and my brother and I did fine, but Mamma was really the prominent person in my life and I think my brother and sister would say the same thing.

_Terry:_ Who would you say you've influenced most in your family?

_Riley:_ I can't answer that question. I've gotten along well with my two boys. They're different as day is from night, but they're very fond and close to each other and I've been very close to them. They both have done well and I have no complaints about them and so who I have influenced, I wouldn't attempt to say. I get along fine with my grandchildren and now I've got great grands and I'm getting to know them. Our relationship is very close. Just put it that way.

_Terry:_ Is your sister still living?

_Riley:_ My sister is living, but she's ill and has a memory problem. I talk to her very often, two or three times a week. Generally her health is good but she was critically ill at one time and they thought that she was gone, but she came back. She has four children. One of her children, Jasper Johns, made quite a record. He's a graduate of South Carolina. I noticed in the paper the other day where one of his paintings sold for an astronomical amount of money. The boy is certainly pretty well fixed. That's unusual for an artist. They usually die poor and people get their art work afterwards.