

HEPBURN: Yes, to go on to something slightly different, in 1964 Russell led the eighty-three day filibuster against the Civil Rights Amendment.

RAESLY: I worked around the clock with him on that one.

HEPBURN: Now this earned him the title of being a racist for obvious reasons. But was that name really justified? Why did this man, who so far had appeared very reasonable and sensible politician oppose what appears to be a very natural piece of legislation.

RAESLY: Can I quote Senator Russell?

HEPBURN: Please do.

RAESLY: In one of his speeches in opposing this legislation, he said that if the federal government has the right to tell the owner of a hot dog stand by the roadside that he must serve red haired men with blue eyes then under the same interpretation of the Constitution, the federal government has the right to tell that same owner of the hot dog stand by the roadside that he cannot serve black haired men or blonde haired men. Senator Russell saw nothing in the federal Constitution that gave such powers to the federal government but he did know the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution and that states that those powers, not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

HEPBURN: So in fact it was purely a point of constitutional law that--

RAESLY: --Constitutional law, nothing personal, nothing emotional, strictly constitutional. If the federal government can tell you that you must do this, then they can tell you that you can't do the other.

HEPBURN: That's a great difficulty, trying to make sure the federal law doesn't impose too much on the lives of the people.

RAESLY: Right. Now, an interesting thing on that--I think it was eighty- seven days actually. They went round the clock. Senator Russell--there were only nineteen southern senators who opposed that bill. And nineteen senators can't out vote the other eighty-one. So Senator Russell organized them into three teams of six each. He was the general and each team had a captain. And as a prelude to this let me say that any time there is not a quorum present on a roll call in the senate, the senate must adjourn. Whenever the senate adjourns, the pending bill is dropped from consideration and goes back to the calendar and has to work its way up again. All right. What the southerners were trying to do was to compel the senate to adjourn through the lack of a quorum. What the proponents were trying to do was wear out the southern senators. So they decided they'd go round the clock, just to wear out the southern senators. Well, with the team concept that Senator Russell had, with three teams, say team A would take it for twenty-four hours and team B and C would have forty-eight hours off. And then while B had it, A and C were on their off-time. And they, the senators, hid out all over Washington. They were in hotels under

different names. Senator Russell knew where they were and how to get them and each team captain knew how to reach the general. Senator Russell never left the Capitol or the Senate Office Building, He was in one or the other during the entire period. It was during that period that he asked me to work around the clock with him. And I got very familiar with spending my nights in the nurses office room. A couple of times he did tell me about one thirty, two o'clock in the morning, "Take the rest of the day off." He wouldn't need me till six A.M. (laughter)

HEPBURN: Yes, you said earlier that he was a Civil War buff and, of course, with time on the military committees, he obviously picked up a lot of very clever strategy. (laughter) So clearly it was on legal points that made him reject the bill, but was he really a racist?

RAESLY: No.

HEPBURN: How did he feel about the situation of blacks in America?

RAESLY: He believed in bigger and better civil rights for all Americans. But he opposed special privileges for certain groups of Americans at the expense of the constitutional rights of other Americans. Now as far as his relations with the Negro race are concerned, the waitresses and waiters in the Senate dining room of the Capitol are all black. He knew each one by name; he knew their family circumstances. He knew which ones were having problems, which one had an alcoholic husband, which one had a mother who was getting improper care by D.C. [District of Columbia] welfare. He knew which one had a son who was graduating from high school, a brilliant young man, but he couldn't go to college for lack of funds. Senator Russell got him a scholarship. He got the one whose mother couldn't get proper help from welfare, he personally intervened with D.C. welfare in her behalf. And got her a new doctor. He knew their problems and he helped with their problems and I daresay there are not many of the more than so-called liberal senators who even know the name of the waitress who's waiting on them in the senate dining room, much less is willing to put himself out.

HEPBURN: So he was, in fact, a man who cared?

RAESLY: He was, yes, a man who cared. He empathized. There's a difference between sympathy and empathy. He empathized with those.

HEPBURN: That leads me on to the next point. Of course, Washington was torn apart in 1968. They were severely troubled by the race riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King. How did Russell react to this? It must have been a very trying time for him, worrying him so.

RAESLY: This, to him, it was a sacrilege. This was the destruction of his Washington. This was a threat to his Capitol. A threat to the Capitol of the American people and it was to him a tragedy. It was, however, also a time when he got upset with the leaders of this country, the leadership that had been encouraging and condoning disobedience and civil disobedience. Senator Russell did not feel that a mob on the street, just because there's more of them than there are of me could make me get off the sidewalk. Where their rights infringed on my rights then that was civil disobedience and should be treated accordingly. I might say that during this period, while the capitol was surrounded by armed guards--We thought they were armed, they had rifles,

you would think they were armed, and literally battalions of troops were surrounding the Capitol and the office buildings in the area. And Senator Russell was walking back from the Capitol that Saturday morning and stopped and, it was his habit to talk to the enlisted men not to the officers, and he stopped and introduced himself to this soldier, a corporal, and asked him what kind of a weapon he had there. The corporal identified the make of the rifle and Senator Russell said "Do you have any ammunition?" And the corporal said "No, sir." And Senator Russell went along a little further and he stopped and chatted with another one and he asked him, "Do you have any ammunition?" And he said, "No, sir." He came back into the office and he picked up the telephone and he called Lyndon Johnson, the White House. He told President Johnson, and these are his exact words 'cause I heard the conversation. He realized that he was old-fashioned and that times were passing him by but that he still did believe in the sanctity of the United States Capitol, and both of the building itself and of the city and that he had learned in interviewing the troops assigned to guard the Capitol building against the potential onslaught that they were without ammunition. And that he wondered why this was so and what plans were made to get ammunition to them and how long it would take in the event there was an assault because there were rumors of an attack on the Capitol. Well, Lyndon Johnson got off that telephone so fast and turned it over to the army chief of staff and within about twenty minutes here come, with police escort, the army chief of staff and it was flanked by about five other generals and in a few minutes here come trucks with ammunition up there. And then I might say, too, that when Lyndon Johnson called him down to the White House, and this was a time now when Senator Russell was actually getting threats on his life, so were many other southern senators, and there were a lot of crackpots running around and Johnson called Russell to come to the White House to confer with him and the senator went to drive through the gate the guard stopped him and said "Excuse me, Senator, we have to search you and your car." And Senator Russell said "What do you mean, you're gonna search me and my car?" And then the guard said " Well, this is the orders we're operating under. We must search everyone including you." Senator Russell informed him that he had been coming to the White House for thirty some years; that he had never been searched before; that he was a responsible United States Senator; that he did not intend to be searched now and that he hadn't wanted to come in the first place. The President had called him and made him come and if the President was gonna put this kind of nonsense up against him why he would just go back to the Senate Office Building and the President could come see him. The result was they did not search the car and probably it was a good thing that he did not because Senator Russell was carrying a gun.

HEPBURN: I agree, but again this was a reaction?

RAESLY: Yes, and also there had been a number of very serious threats against him personally.

HEPBURN: But eventually it all did settle itself down.

RAESLY: To a degree.

HEPBURN: To move on again to an entirely different situation. The man covered so much of the--

RAESLY: And I'm probably going too long in every area.

HEPBURN: Not at all. Not at all. Government is fascinating as well. In many ways Russell was a man many, many years ahead of his time. A classic example is his attitude to conservation. He was a serious ecologist long before it became fashionable.

RAESLY: Oh, he termed himself--after ecology got to be fashionable, he said "Well, I was the first ecologist in the Congress." And he was. And if you look around Georgia there are research centers for water pollution, how to clean up our rivers and keep them clean. He put twenty-seven research facilities into Georgia, in addition to the military bases that he put in here. These are to enable us in large measure to either get the most from the productivity from our farms and forests, and production of food and fiber, and the agriculture; utilization program, or our research facilities into the preservation and purification and recycling and protection of our natural resources.

HEPBURN: So in fact he was in this like he was in so many other fields, a pioneer of his times.

RAESLY: Yes. There is an agricultural research utilization building here in Athens that bears his name, the last of, I think, five research centers he put in here. Can we get up? (laughter)
[Microphone moving around]

HEPBURN: How are we doing so far? I'm enjoying it enormously.

RAESLY: Does it tell it? I mean, am I getting any life in it?

HEPBURN: Beautifully. I love it.

RAESLY: Good. Hi, Lee [Caldwell Swan]! Have you met Angus?

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HEPBURN: Are we rolling? No. (inaudible) To move on with the senator's work from ecology and conservation to something slightly more different. In 1963 he was appointed to serve on the Warren Commission investigating the assassination of President Kennedy. I believe he wasn't particularly pleased about this. He wasn't happy about that at all. Could you elaborate on that some?

RAESLY: When President Johnson called Senator Russell to ask him to serve on the Warren Commission, Senator Russell tried to beg off of that responsibility. At the time he was facing a civil rights fight. He was Holding hearings on defense appropriations. He had hearings scheduled on agricultural appropriations and he felt that he had all that one man could really handle. He did not like to undertake things that he could do only poorly for lack of time. He asked the president not to put him on that commission. The president insisted that he was going to put him on that commission and Senator Russell again asked him not to and they terminated the conversation. The next day the president called about the commission and was telling Senator Russell about it and again Senator Russell asked him not to put him on the commission and the president said, "Well, I just released the names of the commissioners and you are on it." Senator Russell did

serve. He was not able to attend many meetings of the commission although he did read every word of the testimony.

HEPBURN: How did he feel about the final outcome, the verdict--

RAESLY: Well, he even went down to Dallas and he thought in the first place that Chief Justice [Earl] Warren was all to grandfatherly in his questioning of Marina Oswald. He felt that she should have been given something closer to a third-degree type questioning. And when he went to Dallas, Senator Russell gave her that type questioning. He did manage to get a little more information than had come forth from Warren's efforts.

Senator Russell had reservations about the report of that commission. In the first place--well, to begin with, Warren insisted they were going to have a unanimous report. Everybody was going to sign a unanimous report. Warren insisted further that the report was going to say that there was no conspiracy. The report was further going to say there were only two shots fired and the same bullet hit Kennedy and [John B.] Connally. And there were several other very flat statements that Warren was going to make.

And Senator Russell, in the meeting when the actual final wording of the report was discussed, endeavoured to get this moderated. Warren just--he wouldn't give in. He was adamant that this was the way it was gonna be. And so Senator Russell finally just sat quiet and when Warren was through, he looked around the table and he said, "Now, we're all agreed but we're gonna sign this report." Senator Russell said "Excuse me, Mr. Chief Justice, before you put my name leave a little room for a short paragraph because I am going to put in there that insofar as the information available to this commission is concerned, there is no evidence of a conspiracy." There's quite a difference here and several other statements that he modified similarly.

HEPBURN: So then he wasn't happy that all the evidence hadn't been put before the commission?

RAESLY: He did not know--well, in the first place, we have no way of knowing whether Russia, for instance, gave us all the information in their files about [Lee Harvey] Oswald's stay in Minsk. Now you can't go in there with a gun and demand it. There's no way. He was not satisfied that we had all the information that might be available from the Mexican government. And he had reservations in these areas which he publicly expressed after the report was issued. As Senator Russell stated, the way the report is now worded if later evidence comes along or somebody stands up and wants to be famous before they bow out, they want to say, "I'm the one who conspired with Oswald to kill Kennedy," nothing in the report will be contradicted. It will stand for a thousand years because of qualifying statements that Russell had put in it. And once Russell pointed out this weakness, John Sherman Cooper who was on the commission, Jerry [Gerald Rudolf] Ford, who was on the commission as a congressman, and they immediately fell back in line with Russell and said, "Well let's keep this. Now he's got a good point." And so then the chief justice had to come in and give in and moderate it.

HEPBURN: So, the report is now qualified in case of more evidence.

RAESLY: Right, if in a hundred years something else shows up it will not be contrary to it.

HEPBURN: Of course, the whole case is still being discussed.

RAESLY: And it will be. It will be like the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. A hundred years later it's still being argued.

HEPBURN: Could we look back over the senator's just over thirty-eight years in office?

RAESLY: Fifty in office.

HEPBURN: I mean in office in the Senate.

RAESLY: Yeah. All right.

HEPBURN: I'm not counting from his Georgia appointment. During that period he wasn't directly responsible for putting forward a lot of legislation, but he was the man who drove much legislation through, was he not? He tended to play a sort of supplementary [?] role?

RAESLY: What he did in the first place, he always was willing to do a favor for another senator but he rarely asked another senator to do a favor for him and this was one of sources of his tremendous power in his later years. Every member of the Senate was indebted to Richard Russell and, as a result, he didn't have to offer legislation. He could, for instance, tell Clint [Clinton P.] Anderson, chairman of the Public Works Committee, "I sure would appreciate your putting in an authorization for a dam at Calrke Hill," and it was put in the authorization bill. Once you get it in the authorization bill, Russell was on the public works subcommittee of Appropriations and he'd get the money for it. He didn't have to have his name on bills.

HEPBURN: So he wasn't the glory seeker type?

RAESLY: No, he was a quiet--

HEPBURN: He used the political machine as it should be used.

RAESLY: Right. William White referred to him in his book *The Citadel*, which is incidentally one of the really great books about the senate, referred to Senator Russell as the senate type or the senate man, a senator's senator. He worked quietly but effectively. He didn't seek national glory, national publication, but the people in Georgia knew what he was doing. The people in the military knew what he was doing.

HEPBURN: So, again, his own people could see what he was doing because he was doing so much for Georgia.

RAESLY: Sure. He had dams going up here, research buildings over here, you've got an army base over here and all of it has got Dick Russell's name attached to it. So they knew what Dick Russell was doing and those were the folks that counted with Senator Russell.

HEPBURN: But looking back over the bills he was principally associated with, was there any one that you would say--well, first of all, could you give us an idea of some of the ones that--let us recap, we mentioned them earlier on but to recap on some of them.

RAESLY: Well, the Rural Electrification Bill. He floor managed that in the Senate in the 1930's. The school lunch program that again was initiated in the 1930's and became permanent law in 1945 is still being used today to feed the school children. There is the cotton parity program. There is the protective tariff for the rural people of Georgia and also a protective tariff for some of the industries of Georgia. By the way, he--I don't think we've brought out how many defense contractors he brought in here or the fact that he was responsible in large measure for Lockheed getting a billion, multi-billion dollar contract for the C5A and the fact that it was built in Georgia by Georgians.

HEPBURN: Did he himself single out any one piece of legislation which to him would like to be remembered for as a great contribution to the development of America?

RAESLY: Yes, he stated time and again that the most significant contribution he had ever made throughout the history of his career in the Senate was the school lunch program.

HEPBURN: In fact, we've got a little board here just showing some of the information about this.

RAESLY: The bill up at the top is the 1945 bill which enacted the program into permanent law. I don't know if you can--there you can see it there. That's where it became permanent law and that is the basis for which it is still continuing today. They just amend it and extend it. Previous to that they had to enact a new law every year. Down here is a picture of some children eating the school lunch.

HEPBURN: What was his reason behind considering it so important? It obviously tells us something about the man. I mean, for instance, his rural electrification program, obviously a major piece of legislation, is concerned with people living now. But this one is--it's almost geared to the future, isn't it?

RAESLY: Yes, it's geared to the future. I think there's probably a combination of circumstances about that. In the first place, the REA bill, although he managed it, did not bear his name. On the school lunch program he had a difficult time getting it considered initially and he learned something from that experience. He went to--the first year he was in Washington he introduced the bill, and then went to the chairman of the agriculture committee and said, "Mr. Chairman, I hope you will consider my bill." And nothing was ever heard from it. So the next year Senator Russell, next Congress, gets this same bill, does not introduce it, takes it to the chairman of the agriculture committee and said, "Mr. Chairman, I'd appreciate your looking over this bill and see if you think it is worthwhile for me to introduce it." And the next day the chairman of the agriculture committee introduced the bill and it was promptly enacted. (laughter)

HEPBURN: I see, again learning how to handle the senators.

RAESLY: Right. I really think that a second factor, which is very important in considering his pride in that legislation, was the tremendous love that the man had for young people and the faith that he placed in them for the future of our country.

HEPBURN: To move directly off the senator's own career, I'd like to, just the next few minutes, talk to you about your association with him. How did this all start?

RAESLY: Over my objections. (laughter) I really didn't want to go to work for him. (laughter)

HEPBURN: Huh?

RAESLY: At that time I had been reared in the Virginia suburbs of Washington. I was very happy in the position I had with the army and the Pentagon and I had a nice comfortable little rut and I just really didn't care whether I went over and worked in the Senate or not. My father had been a congressional assistant and I knew the long hours. So they kept upping the ante and I finally went over and started handling, first his military cases, and then I worked into the personal secretary.

HEPBURN: How did he first strike you, the first impressions obviously could be--

RAESLY: Well, now I worked for him--the first six months I worked for him, I only saw the man three times.

HEPBURN: You were handling--

RAESLY: He was rather remote from his Washington staff, in part because he was so terribly busy, and there were generally three or four members of the staff who had complete and total access to him at all times. Of course, during the six months when I was not his personal secretary, I was not one of them. I think--as I say, I saw him twice when I was the only person who took shorthand available for him to dictate to, and then I took a phone message in to him one time. And I really didn't have any--I had heard a lot about the man, but I didn't have any basis to make a personal judgement. Then later at the end of 1956, he asked me if I would like to be his personal secretary, if I wanted to live and stay and travel in Georgia whenever he did. At this point he paid my way to come down from Washington to stay a week and to travel over Georgia and to get to know the state. The understanding was if I wanted the job as personal secretary, it was mine. If I didn't, I could stay on the staff in the capacity that I was in. If I didn't like Georgia, that wasn't going to be held against me. I took me about two days to decide that I wanted the job but he made me take the full week to get acquainted with the state.

HEPBURN: It must have been quite intimidating because at this time, he already had an enormous reputation.

RAESLY: Well, I told him when I accepted the job. I said that I had one grave reservation. I said I didn't know how to be a personal secretary to a senator. (laughter) And he would have been a great teacher if he had gone into the academic field because he told me, said, "Miss

Barboura," he said "I'll teach you what you need to know to be my personal secretary. And I will never fault you if you try and fail. But I will fault you if you fail to try." As a result of that statement I would get into the worst predicaments, and the biggest messes. I'd finally just go in and say, "Senator, look!" (laughter)

HEPBURN: Now you worked for him for more than fourteen years, didn't you?

RAESLY: Right.

HEPBURN: What kind of a man was he to work for? So far we've built an impression of him, from his career: a quiet man, a man who worked behind the scenes, a very industrious man and a very--

RAESLY: He set high goals for himself. But he knew the limitations of human beings. He was a very--the first word that comes to mind, of course, beyond anything else is integrity; second, comes humanity. The way he could empathize with anybody. He was just as at home talking to the queen mother, or the king of England, as he was in talking to the rural dirt farmer out in Georgia. And he talked the same way to both of them. There was one physical handicap that he did have in politics. He never did learn to talk out of both sides of his mouth at the same time. (laughter)

HEPBURN: Again another reason why he became the senator's senator, a much respected man.

RAESLY: Right--and with his family and his friend, even his office associates. If someone in his family had a problem and needed his advice, all they had to do was let him know and he would stop whatever he was doing to advise them and help them and give them the benefit of his thinking. He could take a big bundle of problems and orient to the very heart of the problem and say, "If you solve that one, the rest will go away."

HEPBURN: He also had enormous concentration, didn't he? You were telling me earlier about the day the lights went out.

RAESLY: Yes. We were in Winder and the lights turned off. It was pitch black in the room and he continued to dictate, just as if the lights had not turned off, and I was sitting there scribbling a character and flipping pages and thinking, you know, "How long is this going to go on?" (laughter) He finally looked back at the letter to see what he wanted to answer next and he realized that he couldn't see it and that the lights were off. He asked me what happened to the lights and I said, "Well, they've been off for about five minutes, sir." And he said, "Well, you did get what I said, didn't you?" I said, "Yes, sir, I got it sir. But I can't read it back right now, sir." (laughter)

HEPBURN: In the course of his many campaigns and, of course, in his work with the Armed Services Committee and the Agriculture Appropriations Committee he must have traveled considerably throughout America and, of course, all over the world. Presumably as his private secretary you would accompany him on these. It must have been fairly hectic.

RAESLY: His travel was not typical junket that you hear about; his was a working trip. He would not go headquarters in Paris for four days while he is supposedly studying the military bases out in remote areas of France. He would headquarters right at the military bases and if he had to go through Paris on the way back, that just happened to be part of the route and he wouldn't hesitate any longer than it would take him to get the next flight out. He could go into a place like Oporto, Portugal, where a gentleman introduced himself, Antonio Russell de Sousa. Senor de Sousa traced his genealogy back to the Russells of Engalnd that Senator Russell's genealogy goes back to and he immediately began relating with this kinsman of his. And began telling Sousa the history of Oporto back in the fourteen hundreds and the fifteen hundreds that Sousa didn't know and he had lived there all of his life. He had a marvelous capacity not only to retain facts, but to catalog them in his mind in such a way that regardless of the subject, it was just like he just flipped a little catalog card and here it is. And he could pull out the most obscure facts at the strangest times, where--a subject you wouldn't think he would know anything about. He was a widely read man. These bookcases here in the library contain the--they came from the Washington office. And these were just the three that were in his. private office. The other twelve we couldn't bring with us. Books he kept in these cases, in his private office, well, I think he thought his staff threw books out if they left his private office. He had no great confidence in our ability not to lose a book. So the ones that he particularly prized are in these bookcases. We have replaced them in there and if you glance over them you'll find his reading covered almost every aspect of the human Society.

HEPBURN: His memory, of course, must have stood him in very good stead in his travels throughout the world. He must have had to deal with foreign diplomats and foreign military personnel.

RAESLY: Yes, and I know of at least one occasion when his very dry sense of humor almost got him in trouble on his foreign travels. In 1943 when he made the round the world tour of the battlefronts, they visited Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-chek in their home in China. Senator Russell had known Madame Chiang since her days in Wesleyan College at Macon. And Madame Chiang being a close friend was teasing Senator Russell, sort of giving him a little bit of a hard time, about the fact that he had never married. Senator Russell understood that the Generalissimo did not speak English and naturally the whole conversation was with Madame Chiang. So when she kept asking him about why he never married, he finally, just off the top of his head, said that when he was a young man in Macon he was walking by Wesleyan College one day and there on the steps of the college sat the flower of the Orient, the most beautiful girl in the world. She had won his heart, then and there on the spot, and he had searched the world over ever since to locate her again and it was not until this very evening here in her home that he had again seen the vision of his youth. About that time he looked at the Generalissimo. While it may have been that the Gereralissimo did not speak English, Senator Russell said that there was no doubt in his mind that the Generalissimo understood every word he had said. (laughter)

RAESLY: That's right. You may like to see this set of cuff links and tie claps that was Madame Chiang's gift to Senator Russell at Christmas in 1970. It's one of the artifacts that we have down here.

HEPBURN: Can the camera get--I don't know what you can see of it.

RAESLY: That was a long lasting relationship. The Madame Chiang inevitably every Christmas sent him a very nice gift. One year it was a very handsome ice bucket. Another year it was a beautiful red lacquered bowl. That too has a little anecdote that goes with it. The red lacquered bowl is completely round. That is, there's two sections, and the top and the bottom are exactly the same. It doesn't matter which way you set it, you see. We brought it down to Winder and Senator Russell's cook, Modine Thomas, who had been with Senator Russell and had been with Senator Russell's mother before her death, wanted to know what this double red bowl was. Senator Russell informed her that it was a double grits bowl. You could serve grits in two bowls at the same time.

HEPBURN: And, of course, with America's very close relationship with Nationalist China, this obviously provided a very strong personal link.

RAESLY: Oh yes, and with his position in defense and in defense foreign aid.

HEPBURN: Yes, indeed. We haven't actually mentioned about Senator Russell's private life at all, his hobbies. Obviously he was a very concerned politician but you mentioned earlier these books and the range they covered. Did he have any other great hobbies?

RAESLY: He was an avid baseball fan. Whether it was an obscure outfielder or the current fad in pitcher, he could give you the ERA [Earned Run Average], the batting average, lifelong, for the year, he could tell you where he grew up, what his hometown, how long he'd been in baseball. Football was the same way. He came down to the university in the spring practice of 1969, met with Coach [Vincent Joseph] Dooley and the team out on the practice field, called all the team players by name, never having seen them except on television. You know, started talking to them about their grades and which ones ought to do better, and he knew the positions they played and their weaknesses and their strengths. Coach Dooley later said that Senator Russell was probably not only the greatest fan of the Georgia team, but he really thought he ought to be the coach, he knew the players so well. (laughter) He was an avid reader. He read all the time. He was a Civil War buff. He'd driven Sunday afternoons to the battle fields of the Civil War through Virginia and Maryland. He was a well-broadened, well-rounded man. He did play golf one time. When he was governor of Georgia, Bobby [Robert T. Jr.] Jones gave him a set of golf clubs and he came out to the course and was going to teach him how to play golf. Now there are two versions as to why Senator Russell only played one golf game. His version is that this was the Depression and he didn't think it: was seemly for the governor of Georgia to be out playing golf when people were hurting for food. The other version, which comes from people who were associated with the senator in his employ at that time, was Senator Russell felt that any man who could get beat so badly at any game ought not ever play it. (laughter)

HEPBURN: You've told me so many fascinating little stories about the senator. Do you have any particular favorite you've been holding out on me?

RAESLY: Oh, I like them all. (laughter)

HEPBURN: Well, again, speaking on his private life. You mentioned earlier he'd never married. But there were rumors, were there not, that he was in fact engaged and that the engagement was broken off?

RAESLY: There were rumors and he may have been, or maybe he wasn't. I do know that he enjoyed the companionship of a lady. He dated up to within a few months before his death. I must say, and I went out to dinner with him on occasion, one could not ask for a finer escort. The epitome of southern courtliness. In fact, many of the ladies of our staff said, they didn't go out to dinner with him, but when they were asked his outstanding characteristic, they would reply, "courtliness." The courtliness was there but I go first to the integrity.

HEPBURN: You're not going to answer me are you? You're not going to tell me the truth are you? (laughter) Could you back up to the career of the senator and sum up his character in a few words. Is there any particular--you mentioned integrity. Is this to you the--

RAESLY: To sum up his character would take me the next thirty-eight years. I think integrity, humanity, the acute intelligence, the retentiveness--he almost had a photographic memory, the constancy of the devotion to the Constitution and devotion to the people of Georgia. Every day he wanted to serve Georgians better than he had served Georgians the day before. I think that--

HEPBURN: Again, of course, a man in his position could so easily have abused the power that he had in the Senate but his integrity kept him studiously to the Constitution and to the growing interest of the American people. How did he sum up himself? Is there any way that Senator Russell himself would like to be remembered?

RAESLY: I think that a quotation from a speech he once made on the floor of the Senate would probably best sum it up. He was in the middle of a speech and he said "[Lost on Tape]--by a recall petition from the people of Georgia, by defeat at election or by retirement, I expect to take with me my honor. And I think that is how he would want to be remembered.

HEPBURN: Towards the end of his life he contracted a fever which stayed with him until--

RAESLY: Well, now he actually contracted that many years earlier. They thought it was asthma until 1938, 1958 when it was diagnosed as emphysema.

HEPBURN: At one point he had cancer as well.

RAESLY: That was in 1969. He had a tumor in his left lung. There was no surgery. He received cobalt treatments. The tumor completely disappeared. It never reappeared. It was in no way connected with his death other than the fact that the cobalt treatment further scarred the lung tissue, which was already damaged by emphysema. His death was brought about by the emphysema. There was no cancer involved.

HEPBURN: How did it appear to affect him? It should have slowed him down and limited his actions, did it?

RAESLY: In the last year or so, yes it did, inevitably. But he had a tremendous will and he could--it's like the man who normally can lift one hundred pounds when the occasion demanded it, Russell could exceed his own abilities and where he might normally, metaphorically speaking lift one hundred pounds, he could will himself to lift five hundred pounds.

HEPBURN: So integrity, pride and honesty, honesty in his own work, are the keynotes of the senator's career. Thank you, Miss Raesly.

RAESLY: Thank you.

HEPBURN: Now, although Miss Raesly is shortly returning to Washington, the work of cataloging and indexing the 45 tons of documents, letters and books in the Russell Memorial Library will continue. [It will] continue until such time as everything has been indexed and cataloged and the library can at last be opened and political and historical researchers will be able to study through the eyes of a man who was infinitely involved, the terms of office of seven presidents of the United States and thirty-eight crucial and exciting years in American political, economic and military development. Of course, they will be able to sum up for themselves the life and work, if in this case the two can indeed be separated of one man, Senator Richard Brevard Russell, the senator from Georgia. Again, thank you, Miss Raesly.

RAESLY: Thank you.

