

SHERYL VOGT: It's November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2006. I'm Sheryl Vogt for the Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies at the University of Georgia, and I'm interviewing Kil Townsend in Atlanta, Georgia. This is part of the Russell Library's Political Party Oral History Series. Mr. Townsend, would you please state your full name, and when and where you were born?

KIL TOWNSEND: It's Kiliaen Van Rensselaer Townsend. That's a family name, and you're never named "Kiliaen (inaudible) Van Rensselaer," and that was the Dutch habit. I was born in Garden City, Long Island, New York.

VOGT: And would you tell us something about your family in general?

TOWNSEND: Well, my father was interested in politics, I guess, but he was in Wall Street. Went down there at the age of 16, and he was a partner -- the youngest partner at the time -- at the age of 22 at a big firm, and did very well there for a long while, until the Great '29 Crash. My mother was a socialite out of Southampton, and she was a great athlete herself, as far as women. And so we were a big deal in Garden City, which of course was a small commuter town. My father started the country club there, and started the first Fire Department on -- having paid firemen, and all that. So we -- we were, you might say, a big deal in a little pond until 1929. Then the Crash came, and my father lost everything. My parents were divorced. My mother moved to New York City. She inherited some money, so she lived in the grand style for a while, and we went to the right schools. And then I went off to boarding school along with my brothers; they went to Choate, and I went to Trinity-Pawling. And then the money began to give out, and the school said I couldn't leave. I -- my mother said she couldn't pay for it, so I stayed as a

guest for the last two years at boarding school. (laughter) They had me do a little work, and I sold the *New York Times*, and I used to be the reporter for the *New York Times* on the athlete reports about Pawling's football team, and they'd -- I'd send little articles into the papers Saturday night, or telegraph. And sold the *New York Times* paper, and worked in the office of the school at night as the night telephone operator. I think there was only one telephone in the whole building, and I'd have to go up and get whoever was being called. So then I was going to go to college, and of course there wasn't any money, and Duke at that time wasn't much of a college. It had just gotten all its money and had no standing at all, and very cheap -- I guess to induce people to go there. So we figured out I should go there, and I applied there, and one of the teachers at Pawling said, "You've got to go to a real college. You can't go to Duke." And I said, "Well, I can't afford anywhere else," and he said, "Well, I'll get you a scholarship at Williams." And of course, I didn't know much about Williams at that time; it was just sort of a regional college, a good reputation. So I got the scholarship, and it all worked out fine. I went to Williams, waited on table in the fraternity -- I -- I joined a fraternity that I knew needed people to wait on -- to wait on people. And then was the treasurer of the fraternity house, and this all paid my room and board. And I didn't do much at Williams. I didn't even do well academically. I was too young. I went when I was 16, just turning 17, and that's too young to go to college. But I got along all right. So then when I graduated, my brother -- who meanwhile had married a -- a Jell-O heiress -- had enough money to help me go to law school. So we picked Virginia -- or I did -- because I thought it was -- well, first I was -- entered Har-- Harvard. I remember it was no trouble getting into law school in those days, and they took anybody that got -- graduated from Williams. And I paid my

\$25, but then I came through Charlottesville on the way back from my brother's -- my other brother had a ranch in Texas by then -- and I just fell in love with Charlottesville, and the university, and the grounds, and the whole thing. I was just overwhelmed with it. So I went in to see the dean there; it was the middle of summer, and of course, it was much too late, theoretically. And I said, "Dean, is there any chance that I could go here, to this law school?" And he -- and I said, "I went to Williams." He said, "If you went to Williams, you're in." So, and this -- this is how easy it used to be in those days (laughter), and he didn't -- hadn't had any Williams men. So I said, "There's one problem, though -- I have a very good friend who's -- not very good marks, but's a good football player." He said, "Well, I don't know about him." And I said, "Well, we're big friends, and we're going to be coll- law school together." He said, "Well, I'll take a chance on him." So he took him, and so we two went to Virginia, which gave me my transportation, because he had money and a car and everything. He lived in New York City. So Virginia worked out very well for me. I got on the law school re-- review -- the review -- on the *Law Review*, and (inaudible), and had go- good marks, and fortunately, lived on the lawn in my last year, which was really quite an experience. If you've ever seen Virginia, it's just a great privilege to have a room on the lawn over their horrible little rooms, and you have to go outside and freeze to death to go to the bathroom. But by my third year, I couldn't wait to see if I was qualified, and so that was a nice experience. So then the war came along, and everybody was joining the war, and a lot of patriotism, and everybody felt guilty not signing up. Well, I -- my eyes were too bad to get into -- well, everybody was going to the Office of Naval Intelligence, most people, or Army Intelligence, and I couldn't get in. And so Judge Parker, who was a famous U.S. Circuit

Court of Appeals judge in Charlotte, was -- had lost his clerk to the Army, and of course, being a clerk of a U.S. Circuit Court judge is a great honor, or a great job to have. So he interviewed me, and -- and -- and employed me as a -- I think they called them "secretaries," but we usually say they're "clerks." And that was a very interesting experience, though it didn't last too long because then I had to go in the Army, anyway, eventually, so I went ahead and volunteered that summer after I graduated, and spent three-and-a-half years in the Army.

VOGT: Well, while you were at Virginia, were you involved in politics at all?

TOWNSEND: Not --

VOGT: Local politics, or... ?

TOWNSEND: -- not really. I had -- my father of course was for Wendell Wilkie, who was a big Republican (laughter) running again Roosevelt. And everybody on Long Island around Garden City seemed to be a Republican at the time, and so I didn't know much about the Democrats. So no, I didn't really -- involved, and I think I -- I voted in -- in 19- let's see: I guess when I was 20 years old I voted, and from then on. In fact, I guess I voted for Wilkie, as I remember, and my father got me to register. So I really wasn't -- except -- and my father and my grandfather had -- editor of a newspaper which was sort of a Republican mouthpiece around Long Island, and going way back, of course, my father told me and showed me the history of the Van Cortlandts, and the Van Rensselaers, and Scotts (sp?), and all who were all involved in politics in New York. But other than that, I didn't have any particular interest in it.

VOGT: That was one of the original Dutch families (inaudible)?

TOWNSEND: Yeah. The -- Kiliaen Van Rensselaer was the first Patroon, and of course, he owned all the land, and they had given him -- the Dutch had given him all the land between Albany and New York City (laughter) up the Hudson, which I'd -- he didn't leave me any of it. But anyway, they were a big deal until the English took over, and of course, the Dutch ran everything for years until they lost out, and the Scars and Cortlandts and Van Rensselaers and all were intermarried, and so my father named me Kiliaen Van Rensselaer Townsend. As I said, you have to use -- the middle name goes with it. You can be called a "Van Rensselaer" without "Kiliaen," but you can't be a "Kiliaen" without a "Van Rensselaer," at least theoretically. So my mother said, "You can't name him that! They'll call him 'Kil!'" Well, of course, he said, "Oh, no -- they'll never do that." (laughter) Of course, that was my name from then on. And I must say, the name has been very helpful in many ways, because people are always sort of interested in -- and it's -- the funny thing is the way they remember it. I'd run into anybody -- especially back in college and law school, they don't say, "Hey, Kil!" They say, "How's Kiliaen Van Rensselaer?" And I don't know anybody's middle name, but just around here, a lot of people know my middle name. (laughter) It sort of strikes people's fancy, so... And then in a couple of cases, it -- it really meant something as far as -- well, my Army career, and people that saw the name and helped me. So anyway, the Army experience was very much non-military. I got in the counterintelligence corps, and we put on civilian clothes, so I wasn't even in uniform the last three years of the war. And I was stationed at various cities -- Savannah and Mobile, and Oak Ridge, up at the -- yeah, atom bomb center up in Knoxville, and that was interesting. And then I married the boss's daughter, the boss being a colonel of the -- of the intelligence corps in the

Southeast, (inaudible) Everett, who was a civilian reserve who was in the Army now.

And so we were married when we got out of the Army, and -- well, no, just -- well, no. I was married when I was commissioned as a second lieutenant while I was still in the Army, married up at Carlisle Barracks, the famous Jim Thorpe school. And then, of course, I was discharged within about a year, and moved to Atlanta. And of course, I had my law degree and got my bar exam out of the way in Atlanta, but I didn't practice any law for a couple of years. I was busy trying to make money in the war surplus business. A number of us bought all this stuff from the wa- Army and resold it, and it -- it worked out pretty well, so I did that a couple of years.

VOGT: Well, what -- what brought you to Atlanta? Was it --

TOWNSEND: Well, my wife is -- was from Atlanta. And so I moved here, and my family -- my father hadn't -- well, he still lived in Long Island, and -- and then my mother had moved to Florida, and so my brother was in England, and my other brother was in Texas, so there wasn't much reason to go back to New York City. Oh, I still have quite a few relatives up there. So that got me as far as Atlanta, and then I didn't practice much law. I -- Dorsey -- Sam Dorsey, Dorsey & Dorsey Law Firm, he asked me to work with them, or for them, and I did. And then I got interested in this heating glass -- heating product that had just been invented. It'd be able to heat homes electrically, and heat motels, and... And so I got a franchise for that for the Southeast, and started an electric heating business. And of course I immediately ran right into the opposition of the power company, because they didn't want any heat load in the winter. They had too much load in the winter now, and they didn't have any air conditioning load, so they fought me every time I tried to do anything. They fought me to the death, and did kill a lot of sales,

but I managed. We were fairly successful throughout the Southeast, and it's -- incidentally, ten years later, the power company president called me and said -- Ed Hatch (sp?), he called and said, "Kil, I have a Christmas present for you." I said, "What's that, Ed?" He said, "We're going to help you rather than fight you. You're right: we should have been helping you all along because we're going to need the load in the winter since our air conditioning load will be outbalanced." See, it used to be there was too much in the summer. Now, they're going to have too much -- I mean, they're going to have too much load in the summer, and they needed a load in the winter. But that was too late to save my making a lot of money out of it! (laughter) So meanwhile, I'd gotten interested in politics, which is what you're interested in, and -- and do you want me to go into that part, how that all started in 1947?

VOGT: Well, that's right. How soon did you get involved with the Republican Party?

TOWNSEND: Well, as soon as I got down here. My father said, "The lawyer's club is very exclusive. You get blackballed by one person, you can't get in." He said, "Nobody gets in practically unless they're -- nobody knows them too well. They only have about -- less than 100 members." There are now 2,100 members. (laughter) He said, "And I've got to get you in there before they get to know you (laughter), or somebody might blackball you!" So he got me in, and here I am in the lawyer's club with a young -- well, I guess I was 30 -- 28 years old, with all these well-known lawyers in Atlanta. And so when I went to one of the meetings of -- early meeting, Elbert Tuttle, who was the famous lawyer at the time -- he later became one of the most prominent Republican... He had moved here from Hawaii, and was recognized by everybody as a very courageous lawyer because he took on all these segregation cases and -- and things against Black people. He

defended a lot of Black people, and most people wouldn't touch that in the South, but he didn't give a damn. He just went ahead and did it. And everybody admired him even though he wasn't supposed to do it. So anyway, I knew who he was, and he cornered me in the lawyer's club. He'd just -- he'd gotten out of the Army; had volunteered in the Army, been stabbed in a foxhole by a Jap. Here he is, 45 years old and volunteered to be a captain in the Army. So a great guy. So he approached me. He said, "Kil, you must be a Republican because you're from up there in New York, Long Island." I said, "Well, I am, I guess." He said, "Well, we're trying to start the Republican Party. There is no party here." There are just a few people who used to go up to the National Convention who were paid by whoever -- whoever was running. Taft was running at that time for President, in -- back in '44, in those days. So they would pay the delegation to come up, which of course, a number of them were Blacks, and some very respectable people would -- would go to the Republican Convention and vote for whoever brought them up there. And so that was done throughout the South. So he said, "We want to start a real, legitimate party, nothing to do with that kind of monkey business. And would you help?" And so I said, "Oh, I'd be glad to." So he met with Bob Snodgrass, who was a very prominent automobile layaway -- he financed automobiles, and Harry Summers, who was the leading businessman in town, the Chamber of Commerce and the whole bit. He was a Chrysler dealer for apparently the whole state of Georgia. Well-known. So these three people were very well known, respected people; want to start a party, which gave it a good start to begin with. Of course, I was nobody, but I was going to be the legman. Obviously, I was the young one; they were all 50 or so years old. And I would do the legwork. So the first thing we had to do was to get organized, because we had -- the next

President was going to Tom Dewey. There wasn't any question that Tom Dewey would be the next President, and he was going to run, and had to have some support and publicity. So we went to work on trying to get publicity for Tom Dewey, a Dewey/Warren ticket. Governor Warren was going to be the Vice President. And so we were a big deal then because everybody figured we were going to be the leading people as far as politics in the Republican Party, and there were practically none of us. There was one other fellow named Bill Schotzer (sp?) who -- I was named the secretary of the party, I think, and I think Bill was named the vice president or something. He was a businessman locally. And there were about -- I guess there were 20 or 30 of us, me and Pendergast (sp?), and a few people that came out of the woodwork and said they wanted to help the Republican party. And of course, some people were very suspicious -- suspect because they figured Dewey was going to win, they had better get on the bandwagon, including Mayor Hartsfield, who was a good friend of mine later on, a great mayor. He had enough sense to help us because he figured if we get in, we could certainly help the city of Atlanta. See, the theory is that there was nobody here for the Administration to appoint. You could figure Elbert Tuttle would probably be Attorney General, I'd probably be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and -- and Harry Summers would be Secretary of the Treasury. There was no telling where we'd all go. (laughter) I mean, we were just joking, but I mean, in a -- in a sense, it would have been hard to find anybody in Georgia to appoint for all the jobs they -- the poli- these political things, offers. So Bill Hartsfield let us put a banner across Peachtree, a Dewey/Warren -- a great big banner up high, 15 feet above the street, across between the two office buildings. Which was unheard of -- nobody had ever been allowed a banner, much less

Dewey/Warren! (laughter) Right in downtown Atlanta! And I'm -- too bad I don't have a picture of it. And so then the -- somebody gave us a great big ground floor store, which you have a picture of with a big Dewey/Warren banner right next to the Henry Grady Hotel, which was the big Democratic headquarters. That's where all the politicians stayed during the Assembly, and the governor and everybody used the Henry Grady as their headquarters. And here we were right next to them with this huge Dewey/Warren headquarters (laughter) for... And of course, they were running Harry Truman. And of course, Harry Truman was then the President, and had no chance to beat Dewey, because everybody thought was -- Truman was not any good. And so here we were in the driver's seat, and we had the party started, you might say, and some publicity. And Warren came down to Macon; he never came to Atlanta, and he had a friend (inaudible) in Macon, as I remember. And so we had all that we wanted, and we were in the catbird seat. Well, of course about 3 o'clock in the morning, we were all down in that headquarters, and there were a lot of people at headquarters that night because, of course, again, we were going to win. And so there must have been a hundred people who came in to just make contact with the Republicans. And people bowed and scraped, and I thought I was a big deal, and everybody was so nice to me, and I didn't realize that -- what the reasons were (laughter), because in politics, it's strictly what they can do for you. (laughter) There's none of -- there's no friendships except for -- for, you might say, "the wrong reasons." Not none, but I think most of them. So anyway, about 3 o'clock in the morning, after the *Chicago Tribune* announced that Dewey had won, it came out that Truman of course had won. Well, I mean, that place just died. (laughter) (inaudible) We all slumped home, and nobody ever heard about us or spoke to us for about two more years! (laughter) I

say that, but I mean, here we were. I -- we were probably sort of objectionable because we were so sure we were going to win, and here we (laughter) -- here we were just nothing. So we got to start over again. And so nothing happened for, oh, 1951, and here comes -- the '52 elections are coming up. And Elbert Tuttle comes me. And of course, he had kept in touch with the Dewey people. The Dewey people were the key to the Republican Party because he had been the nominee, and the people in his office sort of -- you know, the Republican stronghold. And so Elbert called me and said, "Kil, I've got something for you to do. We've got to -- we've got to get a 'Citizens for Eisenhower' committee together, because we're trying to make Eisenhower run as a -- for President, and hopefully, he'll run as a Republican." At that time, Eisenhower was head of -- head of NATO in -- in Paris, and he made a big point of never letting anybody know what his politics were, and wouldn't tell anybody anything. And people as prominent as Hugh Scott and Dewey himself and everybody went over to Paris to try to persuade him to run, and he wouldn't give anybody any indication that he would. So the big hope was that -- among us who were Dewey people -- was to get him, because we were trying to stop Bob Taft. Taft was the Senator from Ohio who had voted against the draft and almost killed this country (laughter) back in '41 as far as the Army after -- and very conservative, and almost ridiculously conservative. Very bright and fine person, but... And he was the one that had this political organization to get the people from Georgia to come up to the Convention and vote for him. And he had the same group of people who would come up to the Convention and would be voting for him in 1952 unless somebody opposed him. Well, we were going to be the opposition, if we could get Eisenhower to run. He would be the only person that could possibly stop Taft, because Taft had everybody locked up

politically through all his connections and years and -- and contacts. So Elbert said, "We have to start an 'Eisenhower for President,' and I can't do it because I'm the chairman of the p- party." He was our state chairman, and Harry Summers was our National Committee man. You had to have those, and -- and a -- a semblance of an organization. So he -- he -- he said, "I'll -- I'll look to you to do it." So he -- he said, "Get a bunch of people, and let's get a -- some publicity in the newspaper about an Eisenhower -- 'Citizens for Eisenhower'." This was a "citizens," not so much "Republican," although we all knew it was Republican. But the idea was to show that everybody was for Eisenhower -- and they were. They -- a lot of Democrats and a lot of Independents. Everybody loved Ike, even then. So I got 15 friends -- absolutely nobodies like me -- and took the names down to the *Atlanta Constitution*, I'll never forget, and looked up George Goodwin, because I'd read about -- I guess I'd met him. He had won a Pulitzer Prize, and he's the Political Editor of the paper. He's the one that exposed the 250 dead people who voted alphabetically for Herman Talmadge, and that won him a Pulitzer Prize. You know that scandal? And so George said, "Kil, I -- you -- you've got to have some big names. I can't -- you can't get publicity just through 15 people saying you're for Eisenhower. (laughter) That doesn't mean anything." He said, "You've got to get a name." I said, "I don't know any big names." He said, "Well, what about Mr. Woodruff of -- head of Coca-Cola? He's a big friend of Ike's." Everybody knew that. I even knew that. And he said then, "Bob Jones. You know, he's -- has him down at Augusta, and you know, he's building a house (inaudible), and they're big buddies." And he said, "You need somebody like that." I said, "Well, I'll see what I can do." So my father-in-law's friend Herb -- I mean... Pope Rock (sp?) had been Mr. Woodruff's attorney at one time, and he pointed out, "He's a

very difficult man, and he doesn't speak to anybody unless it's God himself. And it's going to be very difficult, but maybe I can get him to listen to you." See, I was going to ask him if he'd support us. I thought -- I assumed he would, because, you know, he's a big buddy of Bob Jones. And then as far as Bob Jones himself, luckily my wife had gone to school with his daughter, so that gave me a little "in" there; I mean, at least introduce myself as -- so he'd know that I was somebody he should talk to. Well, I took on Mr. Woodruff first. Well, he couldn't have been ruder. He just said, "Who the hell are you, and what do you think you're doing calling me, and who told you to -- you could talk to me?" I mean, he just -- I'd heard he was a rude guy. Everybody thought he was wonderful, of course, for the same reasons everybody would like him. But anyway, so I got absolutely nowhere there, so I thought, "Well, Bob Jones has been known never to have leant his name politically. Never backed anybody; very careful about how people use his name, trying to" -- you know, take advantage of his... And he was -- Bob Jones at that time... you called him "Bobby," but he's -- we call -- he's really "Bob." He was bigger than Babe Ruth or anybody. I mean, Bob Jones hasn't faded away, but in the -- in the early Fifties, that was a great name. And so I called him with much trepidation and said, "Mr. Jones, this is Kil Townsend; my wife knows your daughter and all..." He said, "Mr. Townsend, what can I do for you?" And I thought, "Well, at least I can talk." So I gave him my spiel about how we were starting a "Citizens for Eisenhower," and we needed a -- a good name, and get some publicity, and see if we can get him to run for President. He said, "Mr. Townsend, will you give me 48 hours?" Well, right away, I knew he was going to call Ike. He wasn't going to put his on something that Ike wasn't even going to run! (laughter) So of course, Elbert immediately called Tom Dewey in

New York and alerted everybody that I was waiting on talking to Mr. Jones within 48 hours, because they knew that if Ike said, "Yes, I'm going to run," Bob would lend his name. If he said, "No, I'm not running," Bob would obviously -- it was just as clear-cut as that. So of course, within the 48 hours, I called Mr. Jones. He said, "Mr. Townsend, what do I do?" (laughter) Well, we all fainted! I called -- called right away, and (inaudible) called New York -- and of course, Herb Brunelle (sp?) was the big deal in New York with Tom Dewey. And they really realized that Ike would run as a Republican. Say -- I made it clear that it was a "Citizens for Eisenhower." And so I go down to George Goodwin and say, "Now I've got a name for you. How about this?" I said, "I got Bob Jones going to be on my committee." Well, George was (laughter) really excited. He put it on the wire, the AP and the whole thing, and all over the country, college friends of mine, classmates and all sent me clippings from San Francisco, Chicago, Boston -- "Bob -- Bobby Jones backs Ike," or "Bobby Jones on committee to help Ike run for President." Tremendous publicity! It was really a -- a great thing for -- for the whole thing. And that was the first club started, also, the first one to get going. So that was a big deal. And so now we really had something to work on, but of course, Taft's people really went to work then. I mean, they -- they realized they had somebody who was a threat, and tried to pooh-pooh the whole idea. So Ike came back, resigned from the thing in -- NATO, I guess, and gave his first speech in Kansas. And of course, he wasn't much of a speaker, and -- and it didn't go over well as far as his talk. But everybody loved Ike. It just -- it was just a -- like Santa Claus. So we had a lot of people willing to help us, and said they would vote and everything. So we were doing well here, had the publicity, and... nobody bowed and scraped to us in the sense they knew we were

going to win -- they just wanted -- hoped Ike would win, but most people thought Taft would probably win. So all of a sudden come that spring -- or that summer before the Republican Convention, we hear rumors that there's another group claim-- or -- or we had our convention. Let's -- let me back up. You have to have a convention to nominate your delegates before the National Convention. You're supposed to have it in an open meeting; newspaper ads about having a meeting so that everybody can come and put up whom they want. So we had our meeting; had about 300 people came down to the Fulton County Courthouse. Had quite a few Blacks that were interested, which was fine, and some of the old stalwarts like John Wesley Dobbs, who was a famous Black preacher here, and we were going to put him on the committee, of course -- I mean, on the delegation. So we had our meeting. Everything was (inaudible) just the way it's supposed to be done, and picked our delegates. So we were very careful to name some Taft delegates because we felt that was only fair, because there were Taft people. And our national chairman, Harry Summers, was a big Taft friend, and was for Taft; made it very clear he -- he wasn't a- against Ike, but he was -- had been more of a Taft man. And then there was some people very loyal to Warren. Warren wanted to run for President. Everybody knew he really wasn't going to get it, but he was very much like Ike: he was a moderate liberal Republican, governor of Ca-- California, and very respected. So we put a Warren delegate on the sixth (inaudible) because 14 delegates, I think, or 15. Had a Warren delegate, and had three Taft delegates appointed. See, we had control of it, so we were able to appoint who we wanted, so we made a point of putting three Taft delegates, including Harry Summers, and then 11 or 12 Eisenhower delegates, which we figured was about the balance. So here we are, all set to go to the Convention. Then we hear

there's another group going to go to the Convention and claim *they're* the delegation, that we're not legitimate. And all of a sudden, they go before a judge down in Macon -- I think his name was Barlow (sp?) -- and he ruled that that delegation was the legitimate delegation. It had -- it had nothing to do with courts; there was no (laughter) reason to rule! They just got this statement which, it wasn't a suit of any kind that had anything to do with the judicial system. (laughter) But anyway, he ruled it, and these people -- I knew a number of them -- were all Democrats that of course recognized that if they could get Taft in, they could get a lot of contracts and a lot of the, you know, appointments. And nice people like Roscoe Pickett, who everybody knew and I knew, and Foster; they had been very busy with state Democrats, and defense contracts and road contracts, and were very tied to him. But that didn't matter, because they were going to be the Republican Party. So here we are, faced with a battle as to who is the legit-- legitimate delegation to Chicago. So Elbert goes up a week early to do the groundwork; of course, be a lawyer, since he was a lawyer anyway, and the head of the party. And I went busy trying to find clippings of our meetings to be able to take clippings blown-up, show that we had actual meetings. And they couldn't show they'd ever had a meeting except in a telephone, and we could show that we'd met at the County Courthouse, and hundreds of people, and voted legitimately. Well, that all looked good, so when I got it all together, I left for Chicago, brought it up there to Elbert. And meanwhile, they were having the Convention -- pre-Convention delegation... seating and the arguments appear before a camilla -- committee that was headed by Carroll Reece, who was a Tennessee Republican Congressman; big man -- big Taft man, very close to Taft. Committee was stacked against us, we knew that. But we figured there was just no legitimacy to this other

crowd, and there wasn't any. There was nothing they could show, and we had Harry Summers on our side. He was (inaudible) the National Committee, and he was a Taft man. How could we lose? I mean, even Harry Summers (laughter) will say that we're the only legitimate delegation, because we were, and he was one of our delegates, had been to our meeting. So we get in the meeting, and Elbert Tuttle shows the reprints; I had them blown up and brought up, and it was newspapers. Gave the arguments about how we had the meeting and who we were, and how this other crowd didn't even come to a -- our meeting, and had no meeting. And -- well, Carroll Reece didn't even listen, so then Elbert used his trump card, and he said, "Now, Harry Summers will tell you who's the chairman." You know, he's -- he's -- Carroll Reece and he were big buddies, big friends. And so this was going to be a clincher. Well, Harry Summers wouldn't speak. He wouldn't speak for us. He just didn't say anything. So here we were, sitting there with Harry Summers (laughter), who was our big friend and started the whole party (laughter), and even though he was for Taft, he was our friend. And he just deserted us. Well, Reece just ruled, "You're out; the other crowd is in." So we were all thrown out of the Hilton hotel -- see, they have these -- all these rooms reserved by the National Committee. Had to find a flea bag to sleep in -- the Marson (sp?) Hotel, which was a terrible hotel. (laughter) And Elbert and his wife, and my wife and I, we all slept in one room with -- we were lucky to get a room in Chicago. And they took over our rooms, and they were going to be the legitimate delegation. We were out. Well, of course, when Ike heard about this -- see, if they didn't have the Georgia 14-15 votes, Ike couldn't be nominated. It was that close. Everybody knew that. And Texas. He -- he needed Texas, too. And they ruled Texas out, but Georgia was going to come up first alphabetically at

the Convention. So if the Georgia delegation voted for Taft, that was the end of the whole thing. Taft would have been the nominee. So el- Ike was in Ka- Denver, and came to Chicago by train -- in those days, everybody went by train -- and he was furious. And we thought, "Well, he's our only savior." Meanwhile, I'll never forget: my wife got stuck with pins. When you had a Taft button on in the elevator, somebody would -- (inaudible) (laughter) would stick you with a pin! I couldn't believe it! The Taft people were all over the place, and they were plenty of Ike buttons, but people began to stop wearing them -- they were afraid they might get assaulted. People called me from all over. Even Ralph McGill, the big Democrat editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, called me in Chicago and said, "Kil, this is a crime! You -- you people are legitimate. They're just trying to steal this thing from Ike." And they were. They were going to steal the nomination. And so then, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was the famous Senator from Massachusetts running the campaign, and he asked me -- because they knew I was the one that had gotten Bob Jones involved -- to see if I couldn't get Bob to come up to Chicago and speak on TV for Ike. And in those days, apparently, they didn't have remote or something, but for some reason, you had to come to Chicago to do it. And so I -- well, I said, "Well, you know, he's all crippled up." By that time, Bob was really in pain. I mean, perspiration, and just his hands, and he -- you know, he had that problem, crippling problem, and had two -- two canes, and... So I called; I said, "Bob, I hate to ask you, but they would love to have you come. It would be a big help, because we really are in a hell of a shape up here. We need everything." And he said, "When's the next train?" (laughter) That's the kind of guy he was. He was really a great guy. And there was a lot of trouble when he came up there with Cliff Roberts, I'll never forget. And I met him at

the train station. And of course, Cliff Roberts hardly ever spoke to me. I don't know what he thought I was -- some kind of animal or dog (inaudible) or something. I don't know. Anyway, Bob couldn't be nicer to -- to little me. And so we took him to the station, and he -- he made this broadcast for Ike; got back on the train, and went back to Atlanta. Really, it's -- really, it was a wonderful thing to do, and I'm sure it helped. So anyway, Ike has a reception for all of the delegates and people, and he speaks to us there, and we can see he's just livid, because he saw this thing as just being stolen. So we decided, I -- "we" -- they decided. I went to all these meetings a lot of times because I was nobody, but I was always sort of like a legman, carry his bag. And Herb Brunelle and Jim Ha- Jim Haverty -- Jim Haggey -- Jim Heighety (sp?) was the press secretary, and Sherman Adams, New Hampshire governor, and Henry Cabot Lodge, and -- I'm trying to think. There were about seven of them who ran the whole thing. I mean, they were the Ike managers of the campaign, and... So we -- they met, and I -- Elbert always said, "Don't say anything -- just sit -- sit here." (laughter) So I heard them decide they were going to take the floor of the Convention -- had never been done -- and see -- let the -- let the Convention itself decide whether Georgia was legitimate or not -- or, which delegation. So this was a big hoo-rah, and a big thing, and of course Elbert Tuttle was going to lead the fight. So Elbert Tuttle has to get up in the -- in front of the whole Convention when they start the Convention Monday morning and argue the case for Georgia. And of course, all the politics were going on meanwhile, trying to persuade delegations. And the Ford people and General Motors were all for Ike, and Chrysler people were all for Taft, and that's why Harry Summers had to vote and stick with Taft, and why he killed us: because Chrysler apparently -- we heard later -- said, "You'll lose

your dealership if you don't do what we tell you to do." This is the way politics worked. So I don't blame Harry in a -- in a way. (laughter) So Ford and -- and *Time* magazine was all for us, and *Newsweek*. And *Time* put out a special edition of *Time* -- it looked just like a *Time* magazine, but it promoted Ike (laughter) in a sense, the pictures and everything. And that was put in every delegate's box. And I mean, all sorts of things were done to try to get the delegates for Ike, and then the Taft people doing all sorts of things for their people. And so Elbert did a splendid job. Harry Summers was sitting up on the platform with only about 15 or 20 of the most important Republicans in the whole delegation -- I mean, the whole room. And of course, Harry was there because he was such a big Taft man; had been a Taft man the last four -- eight years, and was being honored on the platform up there. So here he is, sitting up there on the platform, and Elbert's arguing against him. And Elbert won. The delega- the -- the Convention voted - - very close, but voted to seat us, and that -- that was -- it was all over. I mean, once we were seated, they knew the vote would be enough for Ike. Well, I was in the back. I walked out around -- I mean, I wasn't -- I wasn't -- I wasn't seated in the Convention because we weren't seated. The other ones -- the other ones, incidentally, were seated until we -- the routing, and then they threw them out, and we got our seats (laughter), and got our hotel rooms back. So I was out in the back of the platform -- I remember there was these curtains -- and Harry Summers came out of those curtains, and of course he and I had been big friends because he and I were the Humane Society. He put up the money, and I did the work trying to get a Humane Society started here, and -- and we were very small then, but we got it going. And so of course I spoke to Harry, said, "Hello," and he just said, "Hello," and he walked out. Nobody knew where Harry went

for two weeks. He was a missing person. It was very strange. Everybody called me and said, "Where's Harry?" And, "You ought to know." I -- I hadn't heard from him. And this is how it affected him. And what he did is he hid down in (inaudible) with some friend. The whole thing was so embarrassing, and -- and he's -- he is -- I mean, Elbert Tuttle and he was great friends. He was just letting him down politically. This is what's happens in politics. People take on a -- a character that they really shouldn't be. I mean, they do things politically that are just beyond honorable friendships. So finally, Harry's - I got hold of him, and -- or he called me, I think, and he came -- came back to Atlanta, and -- and they never spoke again. When Elbert needed to know something from Harry, he'd call me and say, "Will you ask Harry this?" Or Harry would call me and say, "Oh! Will you ask Elbert this or that?" (laughter) They never spoke again, and here they'd been, you know, just... So that was the -- so now we have Ike as the nominee, and we obviously were going to win because we were going to beat Stevenson. So we get him down here, and of course the mayor and everybody is now bowing and scraping. He had a police escort to Hurt Park, and we -- (inaudible) he speaks at Hurt Park, and Talmadge sits on the platform with him. (laughter) You know, he's smart enough to realize that Ike's going to be President. And so everybody is for Ike, but -- and Georgia, what happened: he got 40% of the vote. He didn't get all the vote (inaudible). He got -- which is very big. I mean, Republicans usually got 2 percent or something, and he got a big vote here, and had a parade down Peachtree, and mobs, thousands of people, and it was quite a successful visit. But he didn't need the state of Georgia as far as the election. And so that brought us up to Ike being President. He'd had our delegation up -- before he was President, up to Tacoma University, and we'd met with him there. And of course,

Ike thought a lot of Elbert Tuttle, and a lot of feeling that Elbert Tuttle would be appointed a -- a judge, but they appointed him Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, I think is what they made him. I think Hubert Humphrey -- not Hubert Humphrey. The head of General Motors I think was made Secretary of the Treasury. So Elbert was a -- he -- Elbert was in the sub-Cabinet then, and of course, Bob Snodgrass didn't want any job, and of course Harry Summers was out, and I didn't want a -- I mean, I wasn't expecting to be Attorney General. And so we (inaudible) around there. In '52, the party really got started, you might say; I mean recognized as a legitimate party. So then --

VOGT: At this time, how would you say that the Republicans distinguished themselves from Democrats, especially --

TOWNSEND: Well --

VOGT: -- in terms of platform?

TOWNSEND: Well, we -- we were -- we were looked on as fiscally conservative, but very moderate. I mean, Ike was a very moderate -- he would qualify as a middle-of-the-road Democrat now, just like me. I mean, we were -- we were the moderate people. The Democrats, especially in the South, were the segregationists; you know, against -- well, all for segregation, and headed up all the important committees. So Congress was very conservative, and we were the -- we were definitely the moderate side, and the party (inaudible) all the good things, I thought, was trying to help the average person rather than just help the rich (laughter), and the thing was -- it has completely reversed. I mean, it's -- it's absolutely exactly the reverse to what we were. And so I was one of these moderate Eisenhower -- I call myself an "Eisenhower Republican." And we were looked on like that, and... And so then Nixon -- of course, get back to Nixon, I should tell this

tale, because it's interesting. Nixon was then a Congressman from California, and we wanted Warren to be friendly to the Eisenhower run for the Presidency, because he -- he -- first of all, he -- he was like Eisenhower. He was very much of a moderate. And we were going to -- the idea of might even put him on the ticket. But Warren wanted to make a run for the Presidency; just, you -- you run one time, or second time around, you know, you just let them nominate you, and then you switch on the second or third ballot. So everybody knew that Warren couldn't win, but we wanted his votes, California being big -- a lot of delegates. So what does Nixon do but in the middle of the train ride, Ike coming from Denver, he calls -- I think Herb Brunelle -- and says, "You know, I've got some people who will vote for Ike instead of Warren." Well of course, the very thing we didn't -- the damn sneaky -- Tricky Dicky, the very thing we didn't want, and here he is messing it up for -- and you know, under- undercover sort of business. And of course, they nixed the whole idea, they said no. Well, as I got in these meetings, I was very unimpressed with whatever came up about Nixon. He -- you know, he had -- he had won the nomination out there by accusing -- what's her name? A Congressman of being a Communist. Congress- a Communist and a Red, and all that. And really won that whole election out there on the wrong -- on the -- unfair tactics. He was just that kind of guy. So I -- I just didn't like him from the very beginning. So when they nominated him as President -- I mean, as Vice President, I never did understand. I -- I didn't hear that particularly -- wasn't at that particular session, and Elbert never could explain it exactly, except he was so well-known because he was a big anti-Communist crusader, and they figured that would help Ike, and that he would be popular because he's thinking everybody was a Communist. And that was very popular at the time to think that way.

And Ike didn't want to get in the middle of that, so they could let Nixon do the dirty work about accusing everybody of being a Communist. So I was all against Nixon. So in '56... or whenever it was when Ike had his heart attack -- '55, I guess -- the question was, what do we do without Ike? Nixon is the Vice President; he'll end up as the nominee for the party next time. So I started a "Nix on Nixon" campaign. Got stickers and -- and bumper stickers and all, and wrote all of my friends -- and -- and I knew a lot of the national Senators and people who had been at the C-- Convention with -- with -- for Ike. And most of them agreed. They said we shouldn't have -- he'll get it because he's the Vice President. It's sort of customary for the Vice President to be in the lead for the nomination if Ike isn't the Pr- isn't running. And I said, "Well, if we don't stop him now, even if -- if we let Ike make him his Vice President again, he'll be the (inaudible) in 1960, he'll be the favorite." Well, I had a -- some support, but not enough to do anything, and in fact, I ever suggested we put Milton Eisenhower on the ticket in place of Ike. Milton was his brother; quite a famous college president. And so anyway, in 1960, we have our convention down at the Courthouse; a whole crowd of people now show up because the Republican party is, you know, well -- better known, and more people are getting interested. And we'd had somebody run for Congress as a Republican. Was that Randy Thrower? Let's see: Baxter Jones ran, and... You know, we'd had a little national activity, or at least an attempt at national during the Fifties. And so our convention was whether to -- who to nominate for President for 1960, and of course, the sentiment was for Nixon. So I spoke up at the County convention for Rockefeller. I said we needed -- and Rockefeller had been a big Eisenhower man, and of course, he's governor of New York, very popular, and been governor for years. And I just thought he'd make a good

President because he's very moderate -- like maybe you might say "liberal." (laughter) And got nowhere; in fact, made some enemies because I was against Nixon. And they went ahead and voted to back Nixon, and of course, they voted for him for President in 1960 at the National Convention. I didn't go to that Convention, and in fact wouldn't have been asked, because they figured I'd probably be for Rockefeller. (laughter) So Nixon was nominated, and Georgia helped nominate him, and of course he was a disaster as it turned out. But Nixon catered to Georgia constantly after that. He came to this state I don't know how many times because he was going to run again. You know, he ran for governor and lost, but he decided he was going to run for President, I guess because he kept co- see, people love to be spoken to and have their picture taken in politics, and he'd have everybody come to a dinner and take a picture, and -- and cater to them. So they know him, whereas they didn't know -- well, you know Rockefeller, he hadn't been traveling around, and they didn't know... any of his other competitors -- you know, Nixon's competitors. So Nixon worked hard at it, and did a good job as far as Georgia -- getting Georgia to be very much Nixon territory. And the party bigwigs who took over were of course all Nixon people. Now, we should get into that, because there was a whole takeover of the party in 1964. See, we're talking 1960, so they're Nixon people, but not at our convention particularly. But in '64, the whole Goldwater, which was sort of part of the Nixon crowd prompted --

VOGT: Right. It was the (inaudible) in '62.

TOWNSEND: Yeah. The -- and -- yes. So we were going to have all different delegate-- bigger delegations, and --

VOGT: You had Callaway that was elected.

TOWNSEND: And Callaway was elected to --

VOGT: Congress.

TOWNSEND:-- Congress, and he was a big Goldwater man. And of course Nixon didn't try to oppose Goldwater. I mean, he wanted to sort of (settle?) along with him. So they were all part of that same crowd. So they took over in '64, and threw out all the... what you might call Eisenhower Republicans" in the party positions, and -- and in fact, named Harry Summers as an honorary chairman, because of course he'd been a Taft and would be a Goldwater person. So Harry made sort of a belated comeback -- although he never cared to do anything about it -- in 1964, 12 years later. He was redeemed, you might say, as a Taft man. And so the Goldwater people took over, and -- the party, and -- and Bo Callaway of course headed up the party. And so Bo won the Congress seat from a fellow named Garland Byrd, who was no good anyway, but I mean, he was a -- had been lieutenant governor, and wasn't hard to beat, probably. But anyway, Bo won, and so then he just -- he was -- you know, he started to run for governor, and I got all involved in that because he was against Arnold and Maddox. Arnold and Maddox were running in the Democratic primary, and Maddox won the primary, but Arnold had this tremendous following, particularly among the Jewish community in my a- area -- the northwest. All the influential Jewish community pretty much lived right out in -- right where I represent -- represent. And of course, I know a lot of them. And a lot of other people were for Arnold because he was not Maddox, and was a very progressive moderate Democrat who had been a very good Governor. So people didn't want him to quit the race, so they decided they were going to do a write-in. And you have to have a majority of the votes to be a Governor, and if you had three in there, you run the risk of a -- not getting 50%. It

don't matter who you are, you -- either Maddox or Callaway couldn't get 50% with Arnold in there as a write-in, because this write-in was very serious. I mean, everybody knew it'd be thousands of votes. So I remember, I got with Bo; in fact, I drove him up to -- we -- he wanted to visit some children's prison. What's the one up here in north Georgia? And I drove him up there, and I said, "Bo, you've got to get these Arnold people off your back -- I mean, or out of the race, because with them in there, we are in terrible shape, and they -- they are much more for you than they are for Maddox." You know, they were all -- those kind of people were not at all for Maddox. (laughter) And -- and I said, "If you'll just get with them and cater to them, and all they -- they'd probably give up this effort." Because they wanted somebody, and -- and Bo here was -- he sounded like Maddox all the time. You know, he was way over (laughter) on the right. Very conservative, all with the Goldwater thing, but not *that* conservative. (laughter) I mean, Maddox (inaudible) and kill all the Blacks, or -- or at least eliminate them. So I said, "You just have to move over a little. If you'd just be sort of in the middle... Don't -- you don't have to be real liberal. Just -- just -- just cater to them and tell them what you're willing to do, and you're not against the Blacks and all that, and... Well, he didn't listen. He didn't do a thing about it, and of course, they got 50,000 write-in votes, I think, and -- and then you know what happened then. Callaway -- we had the vote in the General Assembly. Of course, I voted for Bo, and all of us did, but he didn't have enough votes. Maddox lived in my district; I represented him, and I was very embarrassed because when I voted for him, we each made a little speech when we voted, and I said, "In the -- in the district that Mr. Maddox lives, they voted nine to one for Callaway." There was no need to point that out, that he was very unpopular in his own -- he lived out

on Mount Paran Road. And I apologized later to his wife. I said, "There was no reason for me to say that." She was very nice, and I always got along with Maddox. I always thought he was a pretty nice guy. I mean, he's crazy in a way, but he's -- I always say he's the only Governor I know that left poorer than he -- when he went in. (laughter)

Everybody else made a lot of money.

VOGT: Going back prior to this '64 -- or '66 campaign, when you were working with the party, were you involved in recruitment for the party, identifying candidates to run, and...?

TOWNSEND: No. No, I didn't -- I really didn't do much of that. I -- I kept in touch more with the national party, and of course -- and I got into the Rockefeller effort in 1968 and '72. And I was always in -- interested and involved with the people involved nationally, not locally. Locally, I didn't really have any big say. Of course, after '64, I always had no say because everybody knew where I stood. I was this "renegade Republican" (laughter), and so I -- I really didn't have any influence on that. Of course, I supported people like Fletcher Thompson and the ones that ran, but I knew the others -- a lot of them better. I knew (inaudible) Fowler (sp?) and Judge -- what's his name? Who was a Congressman? Much better than I did the Republicans. I mean, I -- I knew a lot of those moderate Democrats. So I really was -- I'd say from -- from 1960-64, I wasn't involved -- oh, well, I was involved in '64 -- yeah, again nationally, because we were going to try to nominate Scranton against Goldwater. The governor of Pennsylvania was a guy named "Scranton." A very fine Governor, and everybody thought a lot of him, but he was a moderate, Eisenhower-type guy. And so I and my wife and child, we went to San Francisco to try to help Scranton. I wasn't a delegate; Bo Callaway had headed the delegation. And we

got out there, and Goldwater had just taken over. You couldn't even get a telephone as far as special phones or anything. It was amazing how the Goldwater people just took San Francisco over, and you had the feeling that you can't win because mechanically, we were (laughter) sort of -- they were way ahead of us, and much better organized. And of course Rockefeller was going to run, too. And there was no problem there because all of a sudden, Happy -- you know, his wife -- announced her pregnancy. And of course, in those days, you weren't supposed to be divorced, even though Stevenson had been, and this brought attention to everybody that he was -- Rockefeller, his second wife, having another child, sort of as if that was a crime. I mean, today, it'd be a complement. In those days (laughter), you were condemned if -- any kind of marital thing. So that was the end of the Rockefeller campaign. And the Scranton thing went right down the tube. We didn't get anywhere. And here I had to see all my -- my friends, people I knew, the Callaway delegation just triumphing, and they were going to be the big deal. Well of course, they ended up losing (laughter) overwhelmingly in the general election, but I don't think any of us knew they were going to lose that badly. They just did terribly, as you know. So that set them back. But then I think that's in 1968 is -- is that when Fletcher Thompson first ran? I can't remember.

VOGT: That may have been in... But I knew that Callaway was really involved in -- was it the Young Presidents Organization?

TOWNSEND: Probably, yeah. He was under 40, and they -- you had to be under 40, head of a company, and he was big in that.

VOGT: And I think he did a lot of -- a lot Re- a lot of promotion of the party through that organization.

TOWNSEND: He did. He got a lot of young Republicans and conservative ones like Dillard Munford (sp?) locally, and a lot of them... And in fact, I was looking through my stuff the other day, and here's a letter sent out to registered voters against me; a letter signed by Dillard Munford (sp?) and Bob Redfern (sp?), and... LaCraw (sp?), and six guys, all of who are friends of mine, and good friends now, and what I thought were friends then. (laughter) But they wanted -- they thought I was too liberal. This was 19- nine- not 1952. 19... 65, when I ran. I was too liberal for them, and they wanted this other fellow, V. H. DeGolding (sp?), who ran against me. Very nice guy. And I -- I had completely forgotten that. (laughter) And of course, they never mentioned it after I won. They were big supporters. Once you win, you have no problem (laughter) with your enemies. But... so no. I'd say Fletcher Thompson was the first move of any sort -- see, Bo was dropped out by then as far as elected office, and Fletcher ran against... what's his name that didn't want to be on the Maddox ticket and quit? You know, he'd been in Congress. So what -- not -- what is -- Danny's dead now. Judge... became a judge later. Very fine guy. Been in City Council here, and been a Congressman. He refused to stay on the ticket with Maddox, and resigned from Congress, which I thought was a -- sort of a noble thing to do. (laughter) And so here was this vacancy, and a guy named Archie Lindsay (sp?), a Democrat, was going to run for it. He was a nobody; he was a County Commissioner. And so Fletcher Thompson jumped in there. He had been active, I guess, in the Goldwater movement, a lawyer from East Point. And he jumped in, and nobody gave him a chance. I mean, (inaudible) win and raise money, and -- and all that. And no further. No, I guess, he'd gotten in the race before the fellow was resigned. Yeah, he got in there anyway, and had no chance at all against the incumbent, and -- God, I can't think

of the incumbent's... what was his name? Anyway so then when the incumbent resigned, then Fletcher had a very good chance because he was as well known as this other guy, and won. And so he was the Republican party, you might say, elected nationally, and of course locally, we weren't running anybody for -- until Rodney Cook ran for City Council. Well, I guess he ran in '64 or five, maybe, or six. Rodney Cook and Dick Freeman -- did you have Dick Freeman's name?

TOWNSEND: No, I didn't have his name.

VOGT: Well, Dick Freeman became a Councilman with Rodney Cook as a Republican. Everybody knew they were Republicans. So they were elected to the City Council, although it was a nonpartisan race, that people knew they were Republicans. And Dick Freeman won. I think he's -- I don't know whether Dick's still alive or not.

TOWNSEND: We're at the end of the tape.

VOGT: Yeah. So the -- so there was a little movement there locally.

## **END OF PART 1**

VOGT: So we were talking about Dick Freeman and Rodney Cook in 1964, and local politics here, and what the -- what the scene was like in '64.

TOWNSEND: Yeah. Well, there was no real Republican party of any standing, you might say, but they were -- people were known as Republicans, and there wasn't anybody particularly to contribute to it (inaudible) except those two, as I remember. But then when the reapportionment came, of course that brought out all sorts of interest in doing something about it, because Fulton County alone was going to go from three representatives to 24 representatives, and go from I think one part-time senator shared

with Dekalb to -- to a couple of senators. And so it made a lot of "open sports," you might say. You're not running against anybody -- you're running for an open seat, which of course is a lot easier to win. So I hadn't paid any attention to it particularly from that angle, but apparently people were thinking about it, and recruiting people to run. And Mike Egan and Rodney Cook were two of them. Well, I guess Mike had known Rodney, and probably supported him as City Council. So I remember, I came from -- I'd been to Bermuda or somewhere, and Rodney -- and Mike came -- Rodney or Mike came by and said, "Kil, we have something for you to do." I said, "What?" They said, "You're going to run for -- out in Buckhead for the House of Representatives." And -- well, I -- I didn't even know how it was divided up. I hadn't -- I don't think I'd ever been in the Capitol. I might have been down there once. And -- yeah, I guess I'd been once. I knew nobody, and hardly knew what they were talking about. And I said, "Well, what does it entail, and what do you mean?" He said, "Well, you'll have no opposition. There'll be nobody running against you -- a Republican, there won't be any Democrat -- knows they can't win around Buckhead, and no Republican is going to run. And you just to go two -- once a year, and see, I had a business then. I was setting up a company, and we -- I think we'd gone public already, and responsibility. So I said, "Well, OK. If that's all there is to it, I'll do it." Well, the very next day, what happens but a Democrat announces. Ada Toombs, whose -- who I knew personally. I knew her husband; friends of theirs. Fine lady. I mean, so much more qualified than I was, really. I mean, politically, or what goes on in the state, or how they spend their money on health and different things. She was an expert on it. Had formed a Women's League of Voters or something with -- trying to bring pressure on the Capitol to do the right things, and... So here's Ada running, and then

the next day, Felix DeGolding, a Republican, announces he's going to run in the primary. So here I -- now I'm in a primary race (laughter) as well as the general! And of course, I didn't know Felix well, but I knew who he was. A very prominent family. He had 14 children. I only had one. An old Atlanta family; he had plenty of money to spend on the election. So here I am in a political race, know nothing of what I'm doing. So Felix and I got along fine, though. We didn't call any names, and it was a very clean campaign, and I arranged with Westminster to have us both speak there, because I knew they'd talk to their parents. And Felix -- I was no speaker, but he was probably worse. But anyway, we went through that and did a few things together. And of course, his children, though, were of tremendous help to him because he gave them these things to stick in windshields and run around, you know, in the parking lots, and I only had one child to do that. I think my child was seven or eight years old. He had them every age, so he got all sorts of stickers around, West Paces shopping centers and places. And it looked as if 'd have a hard time, but didn't. I don't know -- I didn't know how it -- I don't know why it... it... Anyway, I won fairly easily, as I remember. So now I've general election. Well, I keep up the same friendly business, because they are friends, and we -- certainly, she said nice things about me, and I said enough -- people use to say I was her campaign manager because I said such nice things about her. Well, of course, I think what I had going -- and I know I did -- is a woman couldn't win. I mean, it was wrong, but if -- Grace Hamilton, a famous Black lady, won in the Black community, but other than that, it was almost impossible for -- in those days for a woman. For a woman, it was just ridiculous, but I mean, that -- that -- that was probably what -- well, plus the Democrat. Of course, that hurt her, too, in a Republican area, Buckhead. So I didn't have any problem beating Eda,

and so then here we are, 24 of us, with Judge Ethridge -- Jack Ethridge -- was alive still, and around -- ex-judge. He was our delegation chairman, and he couldn't have been nicer. He was a big Democrat, but he showed us what to and how to do it, and where to show -- show up, and when to shut up, and that whole business. We really had excellent help there from Jack and -- as our delegation chairman. So we go down there, and the first order of business is to unseat -- or, not give Julian Bond a seat. He ---- he and Ben Brown, they took the two of them and decided they weren't going to seat him. Why they put Ben with him, I don't know why, because Ben wasn't that well known. And we were going to vote on whether to seat him. Well, of course, it was ridiculous in my opinion, and Mike's opinion, and -- and Rodney's that we -- why we could deny them their seat just because they were against the Vietnam War. You see, in those days, it was very unpopular to be against the war. They were dead right, and we -- everybody else was wrong, but then, you -- you couldn't be against the war, because that was unpatriotic. Just like now, they try to make people feel as if they (laughter) are unpatriotic because they're against the war. So here this thing, a big brouhaha about this, and they got up and gave all these speeches. You see, Ben -- oh, I know why. Ben Brown and Julian Vann the year before had gotten up in the balcony of the General Assembly, and Floyd -- "Sloppy" Floyd, who was a big Democratic representative, got up and s-- pointed; he says, "Get those two sons of a bitches out of that balcony!" And they sent the police up in, threw them out of the Capitol. And that's where it all sort of sorted. I guess that's when Julian decided he was going to run! (laughter) So anyway, they didn't hesitate in what they said, and of course tried to persuade us to make a unanimous vote of the whole 200 members of the house, and vote them out of their seat. Well, we decided we weren't

going to do it. And Judge Walling (sp?), a very fine lawyer from Dekalb, and Elliot Levitas (sp?), who is still alive, you know is a Congressman -- was a Congressman from Dekalb -- Eliot Levitas and Bob Walling (sp?) and we three, and there's one other White -- who was the other White fellow? There were three -- I mean, six Whites, three from Dekalb and three from Fulton County, it's all in the thing there, decided we were going to vote to see them. And out of the 200, of course, we were the only ones -- plus the Blacks; there were six or eight Black delega- men -- you know, people that had been legitimately elected -- who voted for him. So he only got about -- whatever it was -- 15 votes. And boy, did that put the kibosh on us! (laughter) I mean, that was all -- 190 White legislators already spoke to us to see if we were some kind of... well, "nigger lovers," I guess. Well, it was all right. They weren't too bad, but I mean, obviously, this was on the funny side. So they were going to -- the Supreme Court's going to decide next fall, and -- who should be seated. Well, of course, all of a sudden, I have opposition: Morton Rolston (sp?), who you know. Morton, a friend of mine. He was going to run on the basis that I voted to seat Julian Bond, and therefore, I'm a nigger lover and ought to be thrown out. (laughter) And of course, Morton had all sorts of money. He had just sold the heart of Atlanta, and was perfectly willing to spend it. And boy, he started saying awfully nasty things about me. He really ran quite a campaign. He ran big ads in the paper. I mean, he had all sorts of (laughter) money and stuff, and... And so I thought I was in a race. He was running in the primaries; he was a Republican. And Morton's still around, still a friend of mine. And he -- he didn't -- he didn't get any votes. I think he got -- I don't know -- a couple of hundred votes. Somebody said his wife didn't even vote for him, but I don't know about that. (laughter) But he -- he got practically no

votes. So -- so what does he do? That doesn't discourage him. You know, I got 10,000 or 15,000 votes; the whole district's only 20,000, I guess. And he's going to run as a write-in in the general election. You know, which is crazy. But... so he runs in the general election, too, and I think he got about three votes then. I can't remember what (laughter) -- what Morton got for the... So that was my biggest race, really, in a sense, because so often after that, I didn't have opposition, or had -- well, mostly friendly opposition. One unfriendly one, but... But that was an interesting campaign. So Rodney and Mike had no trouble getting reelected, and then Rodney decided to run for mayor -- I guess that was '68 -- against Sam Massell. And of course, Sam Massell was a big friend (laughter) of mine. He succeeded me as president of the Humane Society. I had gotten him interested in the Humane Society, and got him to be president after me, and -- and all. So that was a -- I (inaudible) just keep my mouth shut. And of course, Sam Massell won, and that's when Paul Coverdell got involved, because he worked on Rodney's campaign. He was the manager, I think -- campaign manager for Rodney Cook for mayor. That's when Paul Coverdell -- you know who he is, right?

VOGT: Right.

TOWNSEND: And Paul was there with my wife -- future wife, or -- I didn't know her then -- was also working on Rodney's campaign. And that's where they got to know each other originally, Paul and -- and my wife. First wi- I mean, second wife. Elizabeth. And later on, we ma- Paul was -- she wanted -- and we named Paul as our child's godfather. And Paul and I were close, of course. And so that's when we -- I say we got a Congressman in, and then we picked up some votes -- I mean, some Representatives around the state,

and we got up to about -- I don't know. We got up to 17 or 18 from the original 12, and maybe we got up to 20 before the Watergate thing.

VOGT: Well, let me ask you this, because the way you came into politics, and considering what your first term was like when you had this vote for -- when you decided to go for Julian Bond --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- what motivated you to continue to seek office after this?

TOWNSEND: Oh. Well, I -- I -- I enjoyed the challenge. No. My second year, I decided this whole place is just a mess as far as what goes on. And Talmadge had appointed three -- what I'd call "crooks" to be the Pardon and Parole Board. There were three of them, these people he knew: one woman, two men. And it was -- just stunk to high heaven as far as paying off -- people knew that you paid off to get paroled, and got the right lawyers, and -- and this is -- whatever, and it's all in the thing. And she had the -- all the prisoners take care of her place, and they just abused the whole system. So a newspaper reporter -- Pennington (sp?), I think his name was -- came to me with a journal with all these facts about this and said, "This is awful, and we ought to do something about it." Well, what do we do? Well, I don't know who told me, but I had heard they'd never impeached anybody. No -- in a hundred years, nobody ever brought an impeachment. They impeached the Republican governor in 19- in 1868. You know, they got rid of the Republican governor back then, and he fled the state, you remember, before any action could... That's the last impeachment. Well, I decided I -- I went to the Legislative Counsel and the lawyers and said, "I -- I am going to bring an impeachment against this guy, these people, and get them out of there!" It's the only way you can get them out.

You can't -- you -- you have to impeach them is the only way to remove them. So I brought this impeachment against these two. Klaxon (sp?) was one of them. He'd shot not one but two people; one guy in a barbershop, apparently. And so I brought this impeachment. Of course, that was a sensation because nobody had ever brought an impeachment, and they didn't know what to do with it, because, well, how do you do the impeachment? Well, you have a hearing in the House, just like the United States is supposed to do for impeaching -- Clinton, for instance, and then the Senate decides. Well, we have to have a hearing in the House. Well, everybody asked me to please take it out, don't do it, withdraw it, don't do it; you're just causing utter confusion over here. It can't get anywhere. Well, I'll never forget: Robin Harris (sp?), a very prominent Democrat, was head of the Judicial Committee; he encouraged me to go -- stick with it. He said, "Go ahead and do what you want." So I left it in, and we were to go through the hearing of impeaching, and take up half the spring, probably. (laughter) Because this was a big political issue, because all the Democrats got behind these -- these -- all these Talmadge -- what was then (Griffin?). I don't know -- well, I don't know who it was then. But anyway, they were all backing a Democrat. So I got them to resign. I mean, they didn't -- it was -- they finally -- Harris went to them and said, "Look: you're causing so much trouble, you'd better take Town-- Townsend's (laughter) effort and -- and just resign." So I got both of them to resign. One resigned that year, and the other one agreed to resign the next year. So that was a pretty sensational act, and did a lot of good in a sense, because it -- then they appointed a new Pardon and Parole Board. Maddox had to appoint a new one, and appointed some decent people, and that ended the -- the paying off for pardons. They actually just bought pardons in those days. So I don't think they do

much of that now, although there is still monkey business everywhere. So then the next year, I was reelected, and I guess I just thought I was something. I don't know what I thought I was, because people came to me and wanted me to reform the whole place, and bring me all the -- I was the one to head up anything -- effort like that. Well, we had a chain gang in Georgia. Still, it had chain gangs. Really, they weren't chained, but they were put in these huts and camps, and treated just terribly, and did roadwork and worked for the County Commissioner, and there was all such monkey business about that. And there was a terrible head of it. The head of it was this -- I think a sheriff of one of the counties, and a complete conflict of interest. So I brought an impeachment to get him out, so here was another impeachment (laughter) the next year. Well of course, you'll see that's why my office has all that stuff and those books; just page after page, and just gave the newspapers a field day to write about, the Capitol. And so I got the guy to resign, so we were successful in that, and then I think my next move was probably -- maybe the pari-mutuel -- oh, no. Maybe the next thing was pensions. Big racket of -- in pensions. People would get up -- legislators themselves and give themselves pensions. Stand up, and people would say, "Well, who's this for?" "This is for me!" (laughter) Special pensions. And I was sort of shocked with all that, so I brought a big to-do about pensions, and studied about it. And nobody knew anything about pensions and how costly they are, and how they are abused. And so I made the -- I mean, I was known as *the* pension expert because I -- "expert" because nobody else knew anything, and I knew a little something. So I was on the pension committee, and... no, no. There wasn't any committee. That's right. No. There was no committee; nothing was being done about it. There was nobody to impeach. And so the only way you could do -- stop it is to stop the

legislation that awarded the pensions. The legislations would be -- it would be a bill. So George T. -- no. George L. Smith, who was the Speaker -- who died a year or two later -- big Democrat, called me in his office and said, "Kil, you're right. We got to stop this. It's terrible, all this monkey business. And the only way we can stop it is to get a pension committee and -- and stop it before it ever gets on the floor." So you would have to come before the -- if there was a committee, just like an appropriations bill has to come to Appropriations, and if you can kill it in a committee, that saves anybody voting for it. So he said, "What I'm going to do is I'm going to form a pension committee. We don't have one." They had about eight or ten committees, as you know, on agriculture and -- and different things. And he said, "I am going to put you on it. I can't make you chairman. You obviously should be, but I can't because you're a Republican. But I'll make you a vice chairman, and you tell me who you want on it. And we'll just have five people so you can control it." Most committees had 15 or 20, and you -- you couldn't control them easily. So he let me pick the people to go on the committee; people I knew would -- thought like -- as I did. And so we had a Pension Committee, and we killed -- we just killed everything that came along that was wrong. It was great. And so this is a big deal with -- for me, because everybody came to me about (inaudible), and... Then George died. Well, T-- Tom Murphy left me on the committee as vice chairman for about one more year, and -- and all of a sudden, he put Peggy Charles in my place, a Democrat -- nice lady. Then -- and increased -- he left me on the committee, and increased it to 15, which meant it was out of control. So that was the end of that. You'll see a lot of articles about that. And so I guess that was my biggest claim to fame in -- right in there. And --

VOGT: And also in terms of efficiency, you looked at consolidating the (inaudible).

TOWNSEND: Oh, yeah. Well, then -- that came later. Now, meanwhile, the pari-mutuel came along, the lottery. And I was big for lottery -- (inaudible) -- big on lotteries and pari-mutuel betting for horses because why not? I mean, everybody has it, and -- or everybody was going to get it, and -- and it's -- it's here to stay, and should be here in Georgia. So I was the pari-mutuel horse-racing headman for several years. They had a big lobby; the horse people raised a lot of money and did a lot of mailing, and trying to get us a pari-mutuel bill, and I was trying to get the lottery bill. And of course, then everybody from Governor Miller -- or whoever was governor -- and all had to frown on it, because politically that was looked on as a -- a way to lose votes, to be for gambling. You know: you're a sinner. And so -- but my people in Buckhead could care less. I'd say most of them go to the tracks anyway (laughter), right? So maybe I was lucky to be in a district that either didn't care, or agreed with me. In most cases, they weren't that involved. They -- all they wanted was decent, honest government, and stop worrying about whether people were gambling. And so that was a big thing, and we had a vote on that. So one time, we had a vote on the lottery, and Guy Hill -- you know Hill? He -- well, he's dead. He was a Republican. So you can't interview him now. He was against it, and several others we knew were against it. So what we did was, we had them called to the telephone -- you send in these messages you -- you're wanted on the telephone -- and get them out -- off the floor, and have the vote when they're off the floor because we knew they'd stand up and oppose it. So we pulled it pretty well one time. We got two or three that were really against us, and I remember Elliot Levitas helping us, helping me, and we got it through the House. Which was a -- remarkable to get that through, because theoretically, everybody was supposed to be against gambling. And then we got over in

the Senate. Maddox was lieutenant -- no, he was -- he was governor then, I guess.

Anyway, it got over in the Senate, and George T. Smith, the Senate leader -- lieutenant governor, I guess -- said, "You can pass that -- we'll pass that bill over here if you'll get Maddox to agree not to veto it, because I don't want to make a political issue of it."

George T. had planned to run for governor later. So I took this main horse man down with me that was interested in gambling, or legitimizing it, Jones Lane (sp?) from Swainsboro, and he was a big Maddox man, a big supporter, and... and went down to see Maddox. And Maddox couldn't have been nicer, but he said, "Kil, I -- I'll have to veto it. I can't -- I can't let anybody (laughter) have legitimate gambling." So that's as far as we ever got. We got pretty far, but we never got it done because that killed it in the Senate.

So then I guess I had nothing else to do; I can't remember. Oh! I started the page -- I'm very proud of that. I started the whole page business. You'll read about that. The second day I was there, we had 600 bills. How am I supposed to know what's going on? Six hundred bills. We have 2,000 now, I think. I don't -- you know, I -- I said, "I need help." So I ran into a very nice -- Susan Lawrence had just left her job at the First National Bank. I said, "Won't you come down and help me? I can't pay you much, but I mean, I'll pay you something, and you will find it very interesting." So Susan was my aide, and very pretty, and very attractive, and got a lot of things done on her looks, you might say, and everybody's a flirt down there. And so that was invaluable. Everybody envied me. Nobody had any help. You -- you had -- what they called "pages" were ten-year olds, children who were brought up for the day. And they would run and get you a cup of coffee, but I mean, they aren't going to read you bills (laughter) or tell you what to do. And so we had the -- all these pages running around, all these little eight, ten, 12-year

olds, and was overwhelmed with them, and no help. There was a Legislative Counsel where you could go and get your bill drawn up, but nobody was going to do research for you or check the calendar, or tell you when to eat your lunch, or -- you know, keep you going, and tell you what's going on, and who are you supposed to meet with, and who is going to go to a committee meeting if you can't go. Sometimes at the same time. So it was just invaluable. Susan was terrific. So the second year, I got two college students from Agnes Scott. I called the -- the Political Science teacher out there; she was from Chicago, and she thought it was a great idea to let them -- she said, "You'll have to take two, because I can only let them do half-time. Come down three days a week." So they took the trolley down from Decatur alternately, each day. One was very good; one wasn't worth a hoot, but... So everybody noticed this, and thought -- they thought Townsend was just sort of stuck up, and here's the only one that's got an aid, and he's very rich.

Everybody thought I was very rich then. I was pretty well know-- well off before then; I'd already lost (laughter) most of it. And so they thought I was just showing off or what. But then they began to use them. They'd say, "Well, can I borrow so-and-so?" Or, "Will they do this for me?" And... and so they didn't frown on me my second year, when I was doing it the second time. So then the speaker got me -- hold of me and said, you know, "What's going on?" He said, "I gave you permission to let them go on the floor." Well, in fact, everybody could walk around; you didn't have to have permission in those days.

All these little pages walking in and out of this Assembly. Voting at other people's machines, too. Everybody doing that, and the whole thing chaos. So I told them what I'd done, and he said, "Well, why don't we start a program?" You know, I said, "We ought to use college students." I mean, I suggested that. I said, "I'm using college students, and

they'll give them time off, and let them learn something." So he thought it was a great idea, so he contacted the heads of Georgia and Morehouse, and Tech, I guess, and different ones, and everybody agreed it was a good idea to give them time off and let them be a -- and pay them, though. I said, "Don't pay them much. I only paid mine \$10 a week. Of course, you know, the state, they had to give them hundreds of dollars a week. (laughter) Of course, they had to live here, some of them. See, a lot of them were from out of the state, and I had ones from Athens. I had a great girl -- daughter of a professor over there -- as my personal aide. But I -- so I -- but I didn't pay her much. So they started a whole program, and had about -- well, they had to have aides to the committees, and then the state didn't pay for anybody's personal aide. They just paid for students to come as aides. But if they were on a committee -- you were on the Pension Committee, you got a couple of aides assigned to that committee. You could ask them to do -- not your personal things, but whatever you wanted done: some research which you need, you know; what bills are what, and which ones are put in by whom, and what are they all about? And so then people began hiring personal aides, and -- and I never forget, I -- you -- you don't know (inaudible) Betty Jo. What happened with my -- I was going to rehire her the second year (inaudible) one of my good friends now, and they were -- he offers her more money and hires her away from me! (laughter) So everybody began to have aides. Not "everybody," but I would say there were -- the time I left, there were probably 50 or 60 or more people had them, or more than that. Personal aides. And the college had -- the colleges had... oh, I don't know -- 40 or 50 students down there under the aide program. So that turned out -- oh, and they tried to stop it. They had -- somebody tried to put in some legislative -- something in the paper thing about they tried to stop it, and

they -- the *Atlanta Journal* said, "Townsend's child thing is being (laughter) thwarted by somebody." Some people objected to it. And I don't know why. So that was a -- I -- I felt that was an accomplishment, or a good thing. So then I guess I got to the consolidation. I don't know what else. I tried to -- I tried to le-- legitimize prostitution, a whole bunch of other stuff, but that's all minor.

VOGT: (inaudible) said -- didn't you have a -- some legislation that had to do with abortion?

TOWNSEND: Oh, I was -- I -- oh, yeah. Yeah. I was the abortion king. I mean, I was the leader of the pro-choice. Everybody knew that, because I was the one that always argued -- you see, before the Supreme Court ruled, we had some arguments, and I would always be on the pro-choice. Then when the Supreme Court decided, of course, then, you know, it divided up into pro-choice and pro-life. So I always big pro-choice, and known as such, and would do the speaking for whatever bill was put in to try to stop it or handicap it, or minimize it. And so I used to get calls in the middle of the night: "Your name is Kil Townsend? You're well named, because you kill babies." And you know, that sort of business. Got a lot of lip from some from people. Priests would come down and always pick me up -- I mean, pick out me to talk to. And I'd say, "Well, why don't you adopt some children, then? If you want them all here that nobody wants them, why don't you take them?" (laughter) They don't take anybody, as you know, except abuse the children (laughter), some of them, but... Anyway, you know, such hypocrites. In fact, I always cite this: not one, not two, but three legislators call me one time -- not the same time or year -- and said, "Kil, you know, I've always been against you. I don't agree with you. I'm all against abortion, or pro-life. But I have a friend who has a problem..." (laughter)

And of course, it's a girlfriend, probably, but they always say it was some "friend," or not their daughter. "And do you know where we can get an abortion?" I mean, I had -- and I mean, the hypocrite -- the hypocritical business in that whole thing is so huge, because anybody that gets hit personally changes their mind. They realize how crazy it is to have some baby that nobody wants, but... And so I'll never forget: one of them was a veterinarian, I remember, down in south Georgia, and he said, "Kil, I'm embarrassed to call you, but (laughter) -- and I don't agree with you, but I've got to help this friend." So yeah, I was the abortion... And it -- it... I don't know that -- I mean, yeah, people have held it against -- some people held it against me, and -- and some of the women, when I ran, I -- nobody ran too much against me on it. I don't remember -- I ran against a very nice doctor, and he didn't even mention it. And so it wasn't -- I -- I -- I can't say it was a problem politically. The -- in fact, the -- the betting business might have been more of a problem. And another thing I did which I was proud of, or -- proud of at least I tried to do it: we had a tax on food. You know, the sales tax was on food. And 20 states had already eliminated it. We were about to pass an extra 1 percent sales tax good for everything, which was going to produce millions of dollars. And instead of making it too hard on the poorer people, I said, "Why don't we exempt the food when we pass this tax, because they'll pay the tax, but they haven't got the money to pay on food? And 20 states don't do it now, and we can do it." Well, that raised a hell of a lot of furor, because of course the administration -- I don't remember who was governor. I guess -- not Miller, because he later passed it. He was agai- everybody was against it. Miller was lieutenant governor, and -- and Harris couldn't vote for it because politically, you know, the food people -- I mean, the Tax Department didn't want to give up the revenue because they

could build more roads. So I got up and talked about that, and what do they do but get up and just lie about that whole thing. I'll never forget that. The majority leader got up and said, "It doesn't work," and told all about how Kentucky -- all about it, what Kentucky's experience had been with it. It turned out to be absolutely untrue. But, what? Eight or ten years later, they passed it. Same thing with the lottery, of course. And so I was on the right side on that. I was... you know, I was looked on as too -- everybody. I mean, you'd be amazed, just like on the consolidation thing. Almost everybody would come up to me and say, "Kil, you know, I -- I go to the races. I -- I like that a lot! (laughter) But I can't vote for you!" And on the consolidation, I mean, people from the smallest counties, the most ridiculous counties that never ought to exist, would come up to me and say, "Kil, you're absolutely right. Well, I think my county makes no sense at all! It's just a waste of money, and terrible services. But I can't vote for you." I mean, it -- it was amazing how many people (laughter) would go to the trouble to tell me they were on my side, really, but couldn't vote. (laughter)

VOGT: Now, a lot of issues, it seems as though you were ahead of time.

TOWNSEND: Well, that's what people have always said. Don Quixote. (laughter)

VOGT: Yeah. And then too, it seems -- where would you say, conservative versus liberal and -- (laughter)

TOWNSEND: Oh, well --

VOGT: -- that -- that you stand?

TOWNSEND: Well, I was considered very liberal, because if --

VOGT: Right, exactly. And --

TOWNSEND: Even though --

VOGT: -- how -- how you got into the Republican ranks in Georgia, it seems...

TOWNSEND: Well, that -- it... You see, the "liberal" word is so misused because if you're liberal, I mean, if -- if something should be done for the -- usually, it's for the mass of people. If it's for everybody rather than just certain interests, it's "liberal." (laughter) Really, when you think about it. I mean, people -- politicians -- and they get all their money from a select group of people tax-wise and everything. And so the average person isn't served. And I always looked on as trying to serve them. Now, that -- this is another thing that came up which was interesting: the welfare. We didn't -- we just gave them practically nothing. \$200 a month or something, and a family, \$300 maybe, and the... So they were going to raise it 3 percent, finally, which was just a pittance. So I had a bill to raise it 10 percent, because I said, "Nobody can live on what we're giving them. And 10 percent won't even do enough for them, but why don't we really do something now that we -- we seem to have a little money?" This -- I think it was during Busbee. I can't remember who was governor. We had some money, and they were going to give it all to teachers, and of course, the teachers are the big lobbyists there, and they get everything they want. And it seemed a little more than they needed at the time. And so I got up and spoke for it, and you'll see some newspaper articles, they're kidding about "Townsend, the button-down Brooks Brothers patrician, speaking for the Blacks," pretending it's all for Blacks. And a Republican in addition to that, which made me practically a liberal Black. (laughter) And incidentally, the Blacks didn't help me much. They didn't get up and talk about it. I was sort of the -- the leader on welfare reform for -- which was really for mostly Blacks, although people don't -- people don't realize there are more Whites than Blacks on welfare in the country. But not in Georgia. And so I didn't get anywhere on

that, but I -- well -- well, I was glad I made the effort, anyway. So then the other thing is, I tried to help Georgia Tech. I got a lot -- I didn't -- I never introduced bills, practically, because if you introduce a bill, you're locked into the system. You've got to get votes, and the only way you get votes is vote for their bills, they vote for yours. So I wasn't the one that anybody was going to help me if I introduced a bill, be- unless it was very non-controversial, because they could get -- get -- I wouldn't support their bills, and... But I did introduce a bill that passed all right for Georgia Tech, which was to let them put a fence and gates and -- and close the campus, because they were having all that trouble about people coming on campus at night, and somebody was killed, and this and that. And I was able to get -- and the -- and the Blacks, who always liked me because I was always for them and the welfare, and -- and the -- and the Blacks -- the Blacks, I've always gotten with the Black race. Hamilton just thought I the greatest thing that ever lived, and she was a great gal. So I was always proud of that, that they liked me better than most people, but -- than most legislators. But on this one, they were against me because they thought I was trying to keep the Blacks off the Georgia Tech campus -- which I was, as far as ones that wanted to (laughter) rob anybody! So that's the only falling out I had with them, so they didn't support me on that. But I introduced very few bills. I'd -- I'd cosign good bills, you know, if I thought the bill was good, but I made a point of being independent. That's the only way you *can* be independent, is -- is just don't get involved in trying to... And that -- and of course, things like the pari-mutuel, I introduced that bill, and that wasn't anything out against me. They were just people who thought it -- back home, it was -- their constituents didn't want any gambling, even though they were gambling themselves. And then the -- and then the food bill, it was just

the Democrats didn't want it, didn't want to use the revenue to -- the poor people, so they... They wanted -- it wasn't personal, in other words. It was just, they had their own reasons. Now, the county -- county consolidation, you want to get into that? That's -- that fills a couple books! (laughter)

VOGT: Well, let me first ask you: do you think your position on Civil Rights changed over the years? Or do you think that that was... ?

TOWNSEND: You mean about Blacks?

VOGT: Yeah. Or do you --

TOWNSEND: No, I --

VOGT: -- you think that was pretty much from your -- your growing up in -- in the North, or do you think --

TOWNSEND: Well, I --

VOGT: -- it was just (inaudible) your makeup to --

TOWNSEND: I -- I -- I --

VOGT: -- to be fair?

TOWNSEND: I'm as -- I guess as liberal on the Black thing as I've ever been, but I recognize that -- that you've got bad elements on both sides. I -- I -- I suppose I'm a little more conservative on the whole civic -- I mean, I was always trying to do something about them, and I never could -- I never could understand how it got -- well, once I moved to the South and saw the elevators -- you know, White elevators only (laughter), I realized that... all about it. I didn't -- I wasn't too conscious of it. I had just good -- everybody always says this, but I did have my best friend at Williams College -- not "best friend," but he was the house man in our fraternity, and he and I -- he used to take me fishing and

everything, and just a great guy. And I just never thought in terms of Blacks and Whites until I moved down here. So I probably... got a little more conservative about how we had to be a little more strict about (inaudible) I can't really answer that. I -- I think I'm about the same, right? I -- I don't think my votes changed any as being on the liberals' side, and all my candidates -- see, I've -- see here, I was Rockefeller, John Anderson -- you don't even know who he was. He was a liberal Republican. I was his campaign manager. He didn't have anybody (laughter) but me in Georgia. I was... Pete du Pont's co-chair- chairman in this state, and worked hard for Pete. Pete would have been the best one I knew, and best one for President. A very intelligent, decent guy, but when he said "Pierre" in that debate, that ended his campaign. When he used the word "Pierre," everybody thought he was French, (laughter) and that was the end of his campaign! I thought it was funny how these campaigns turn on just nickels. It's like Rockefeller's baby killed his campaign in San Francisco in '64. So then I was Ross Perot's co-chairman here, and of course that raised all sorts of hackles because a lot of people thought Ross Perot was crazy. He wasn't crazy, but he was a little strange. And then I was Steve Forbes's chairman. And now of course, he's flipped over in order -- he -- you can't be a Republican and be pro-choice, so he's flipped over. He used to be pro-choice. He flipped over like Reagan. Reagan used to be our big pro-choice governor. And George Bush was our most pro-choice Congressman. We used to use him as publicity, and when Reagan decided he couldn't win the nomination, he became pro-life, and then when he asked Bush to be President -- Vice President, Bush didn't have guts enough to say, "The hell with you. I'm going to stay pro-choice." He switched over. This is -- this is how bad politics are. Laura -- his wife has never forgiven him, I don't

think -- you know, Laura Bush. I mean, Barbara Bush is very pro-choice. It's -- that's sort of sickening. People say why did I quit politics, or what do I think of politics? It's awful in a way as far as what people will do dishonorably. I mean, just for their own -- either -- either to get elected or to win votes, they give up any principle they have on almost anything, no matter what it is, including taking and stealing money. But on these kind of issues, they -- they go with the... I mean, a few people have -- do what they should do, but if -- (laughter) or think they -- how they think, but most of them go according to politics rather than what they really believe. And that's what --

VOGT: And do you think that's becoming even worse than it has been in the past?

TOWNSEND: Oh, it's terrible with the Republican Party now. It's just completely given in to that whole lobby effort and the money --

VOGT: The special interests?

TOWNSEND:-- and the whole thing. Yeah. And the Democrats were no better when they were in, but... We need a third party is what we need, a reform party. And that -- it's going to get to that eventually if these -- if one party or the other doesn't try to do something about this whole setup. And -- but... But anyway, the consolidation, you will have to read about that, but that's the most absurd thing we have in -- in this -- in the whole country, but in this state. So we had all those counties: 159 counties. One-third of the counties -- 50 counties -- one-third of them only have 5% of the population. They -- they just -- they have no reason to exist. They have 2,000 or 3,000 people, no business, no jobs, no health, no education, and no -- no law enforcement, really. They have -- there's a sheriff who's on the take because they didn't -- can't pay him anything. We've got 33 sheriffs in jail now, been on the take because they get so much from the drug people. Health: no

doctors, no nothing. They pool whatever they have, and it was -- it was very poor. We rank almost last nationally. Education, we *are* last, because who's going to teach in Podunk County with a bunch of illiterate parents? (laughter) (inaudible) not illiterate, but I mean, uninterested in education. They have these children that have no background, no nothing. I mean, a terrible problem. You need better schools; you need -- it used to be you had to be able to walk to school. Now you can take a bus. Within 40 minutes, you can have a decent school in Albany and not have a dumb school out in Itawa (sp?) County out in the boondocks. See, if you can put people in schools and have -- and you can combine the money and pay to have decent teachers -- and of course, the whole teacher thing is chaos, because you don't have to be -- any requirements to be a teacher. You can go to Georgia Southern or somewhere and get a degree. And if you really have a degree from a real college, you can't be a teacher. I mean, they don't want you in the (laughter) union. So anyway, don't get me on the teacher thing. Oh, by the way, I was the foremost anti-teacher legislator in the legislature, along with Paul Coverdell. When I say "anti-teacher," stopping and robbing the state on the pension business. I'm not against the salaries, but I am against the structure. If you have to have a superintendent job to get a decent salary and the teachers don't get -- you know, you can't get a high salary. But the pension thing is just absurd. A teacher after 30 years can retire on more money with their Social Security than he was earning as a teacher. And it -- it's just huge, and they keep trying to reduce the age. It used to be 34 years; now I think it's down to -- I don't know if it's down to 26 or 27 years, you get your full pension. And terribly expensive, and -- and -- and fine if they would use some of the money to have better teachers. But anyway, I -- I was always listed -- they sent out a sheet every election of

who was for them and who was against them, and Paul and I would be 100 percent (laughter) against, and everybody else is -- almost everybody was for them, because again, they control politics in Georgia. They elected Purdue. No question about it. And they un-elected Barnes. They can do politically a tremendous job, and it -- it's just, their lobby is so strong, and... So when I used to speak -- one time, I was speaking against them -- I mean, about some pension thing -- and I got up, and I said, "Of course, it's easy for me to be against this because I don't have any teachers in my district. My teachers are all in private schools like Westminster and (laughter) (inaudible)." Which wasn't true at all, of course. We had some public school teachers in the Buckhead area, but... So I was conservative on that pension business. Now, let's see... I still haven't gotten into the -- into the consolidation too much. Well, we can't afford -- the counties. The state has to do this -- State Patrol is the policing authority, pretty much; the investigating has to do it all for them. The state has to provide the healthcare. The counties just -- those counties just don't have any money, and they're mostly Black. You know, some of them are over half -- percent -- Hancock and all of them are over 50 percent Black. And by combining the counties, you can then pay the sheriff -- if you take three salaries and give him all three salaries of having three sheriffs... And the same thing with the teachers and everything you have, combined the services, you -- you have enough money to do something. So my idea was just cut out these counties, because the counties were formed originally as just -- on account of politics. A person wanted a county because it gave him a vote. See, we used to have the county vote system. So what you did if you were in the General Assembly -- and John Greer did it, several that I knew -- you get yourself a county. You start a new county, and that gives you a vote. And that's the way most of

these counties were started. They were -- there wasn't any reason for them except politically, a guy that lived in the area decided he could have some influence in the capitol, so he'd have a county. So a county (laughter) -- people just started counties! (laughter) It made no sense at all. It didn't have anything to do with the right boundaries or economics or anything. So I was for that, and everybody was for it, but everybody knew I couldn't get anywheres. We went around the state and had hearings, and this is interesting, because the sheriff in one of the counties said, "You better get out of this town, or I can't be sure I can protect you from the irate citizens." He was the irate citizen, of course, because his job would be abol-- or at least, you'd hire somebody qualified if you had the money. So when I was in Waycross, Georgia, a huge turnout: all these employees of the county where the -- of the little counties come up to Waycross. Waycross was a legitimate county; it was big enough to be a county, (inaudible) county. But they came from these other counties. So we got talking, and I was giving my usual spiel, and I was saying, "You won't lose your job -- they've got to have people. And some of you, take your early retirement, they may do that, and as people retire, but we'll have better-paid jobs. And see, you'd have three different -- e- each county had a -- a solicitor, and each county had a surveyor, and all the -- they couldn't pay them anything. I said, "You can have these jobs pay better." So, and I said, "The average education in these counties" -- and I think I named a county -- "is eighth grade." That's the average. I know some go to high school; a lot of them don't even go to high school, and a lot of the parents never even went beyond the fourth grade. A guy gets up -- he's about 50 years old, sort of a scrabby-looking sort of fellow -- and says, "Mr. Townsend, what's wrong with an eighth grade education? I've only had a third grade education." (laughter) Well,

what's the answer? I mean, there is no answer. And he's the county commissioner! He says, "I'm the county commissioner." (laughter) So I mean, you know, you had people that didn't even know what I was talking about (laughter) as far as education. So the State Patrol followed me out of there to Albany that night. They assigned a State Patrol man to me -- they were afraid somebody might try to blow up my car! (laughter) Or something. Oh, that was fun.

VOGT: So what do you think of the concept of "two Georgias" after that --

TOWNSEND: Oh, no. (laughter)

VOGT: -- visit to... ?

TOWNSEND: Can't -- yeah, they can't do that. No, that -- I mean, and there *are* two Georgias.

There's no question there's -- and see, I fought -- I fought on the Highway Department all the time. I fought with them on a lot of the stuff, but that's a whole 'nother story. The Highway Department is owned and run by four big highway contractors, and they -- they get all the work. I mean, they -- they're good people, and they have to bid. They divide it up, of course, in many ways. And the Highway Department is a paving department. It has nothing to do with the public as far as getting transportation that's really needed. I mean, that's why the rail and the commuter stuff has never -- and now they're embarrassed; they're having to do something. They wouldn't do a thing in those days. Everything was paving. It didn't matter whether there was nobody on the road -- they were going to pave that road. Just like between Tifton and Waycross. I don't know if you've ever been there. Two-lane road; there isn't anybody. You can't find a car. Now they've made it four lanes, so it'll be even harder to find a car. I mean, it -- it's crazy, the -  
- the paving that we do, and all at Metro Atlanta's expense, because they charge us for our

400. We've got to do our own paving, and we put 200,000 people a -- a day on that, and they put 2,500 people on the road down in Tifton to Waycross. But they get it free, and we pay for our road. (laughter) So I used to use that argument a lot about it, and was against the toll on 400, and argued that it was just wrong. I mean, it's -- and we've got to have 400, but I mean, as far as where does the paving go, or who -- who pays for it, or... You know, I mean, it's crazy. But Atlanta's never had a -- and then just like the State Patrol, where it's all outside of Atlanta, they're just beginning to patrol in the last ten years 285, and all the -- all the patrolmen that we're paying for with State Patrol are doing the -- outside. They don't -- we're paying the money -- 40 percent of all the money comes from here, but we don't get any of the (laughter) (inaudible) benefits. So I used to argue a lot with the State Highway Department, and I did do one thing which was pretty good. I used to give out a -- an atlas to everybody because I -- oh, excuse me. I was going to get the -- can you pull that atlas out? See, I still had some money, so I didn't mind spending money. Come in. So I used to put this atlas out for my customers in the motel business; a big ad on the back, and everybody loves atlases. They were only \$2 or \$3 then; I think they're \$18 now. So what I did is, I gave everybody in the capitol an atlas. Everybody in the legislature, the governors, all the workers -- everybody. I even run into people today at some parties: (laughter) "Boy, I remember your atlas!" So I gave out the atlases. And -- and then I sent a letter with it. I said, "Note where I-16 goes." Well, I-16 goes between Macon and Savannah, but you'll notice on the map of Georgia that it's already paved outside of Tala-- Talaver (sp?) County there by Jim Gillis -- he was the head of the Highway Department -- by his home, or by his county. So they have to do the rest by him, because he's put the little pieces -- just ten miles; the other 200 miles -- or 100 miles

-- is not done yet. But he put that little piece there so they (laughter) had -- you know, for -- for his county! So I put that in my letter and sent the atlas to everybody. (laughter) No, I had some fun, and people -- I think people enjoyed some of my antics, and some of my letters that I had sent out about, they could see -- they could stay in my motel, the Howard Johnson -- see, Henry Grady was torn down, so the legislators had to go somewhere. They were all at Henry Grady. So I told them they could stay at my motel at -- I built that Howard Johnson down by the stadium, which is the near -- near the capitol. And -- and they could stay there free, but they had to pay me \$30 a night for parking. You know, letters like that. And then I would keep track. And then I would -- sent the letter, and I said, "Don't I-" I said, "I'm sending a similar letter to your wife, and I'm going to keep track of what you're doing up here." And I'd kid around, and I'd... And I did keep track of some; would survey -- it was through my housekeeper (laughter), and found out all sorts of things. So a lot of them used to stay down there, and the Speaker moved down there for a couple of years. And he paid me. See, they never had to pay at the Henry Grady. I -- I charged them.

VOGT: (inaudible) Speaker Murphy?

TOWNSEND: Yeah. Then he moved up to the motel that they built -- which they never should have built. They lost their shirt on that motel right by the capitol, you know? It's still there, but Georgia state's taken it over. So, you know, I think I got along better in -- in many ways for -- for funny reasons. I say "funny," I mean -- and I could do things for people, and they needed rooms, you know, I could help them on that if they -- and things like that. So I was treated -- I can't complain about how I was treated by the Democrats or Republicans, and the -- and the governors were fine to me. I campaigned for Busbee.

I used to give speeches at the little Rotary Clubs for Busbee, and he'd call me up and ask me to -- would I go to some club that wanted him to speak? And I'd go and speak for him. And I got along fine with Governor Harris. He'd been in the motel business, so I knew him. And I got along with Maddox. And of course, Carter -- Jimmy Carter -- well, first, it was Carl Sanders, who was a fine governor, and I always supported him. He was one of the only Democrats that I think (inaudible) Republicans support him on a couple of bills. (laughter) He appreciated that, and he's always been nice. And then I -- Jimmy Carter, my second wife worked for Carter, Jimmy Carter, before he ran for -- no. Yeah, before he ran for governor -- or, when he ran for governor, she was on his staff. She was his first paid employee when he ran for governor. He paid -- no, he gave Jordan -- Ham Jordan and what's his name? Well, I guess he gave them some money. They were college students. So Elizabeth was his -- his aide when he was running for governor the second time, when he won. And he was running against Carl Sanders, and he couldn't win. There was no way he could win that election, the polls showed. And so I persuaded Elizabeth to quit him. I said, "You know, you're -- you're with a loser, and he can't win." And we -- we were going to get married, and he was going to -- she was going to wait until she got him elected. And I said, "Well, let's just go ahead and get married." Well, then he came out with "Cufflinks Carl," and he won the election. And he became a temporary segregationist, too. You remember he started talking like George Wallace? (laughter) And then the -- his inauguration speech, he repudiated (laughter) the whole thing, because he wasn't a segregationist at all. He was a very fine man. So Jimmy Carter was close to us because -- in fact, we named our son "Carter," Elizabeth and I. Not after him -- supposedly after relatives in Virginia, they were all "Carters," "King

Carter" and all that. But we always kidded Jimmy that we named him after him, and he came to his christening, and always kids me when I see him about how is his namesake doing? And then Zell Miller, I always got along fine with him. And then, of course, that was the end of it. I -- I quit while Miller was governor. I --

VOGT: It's interesting that your -- your stance did not hurt any of your elections, your getting reelected.

TOWNSEND: No. They -- no. They -- well, the second time, I ran against a crippled fellow.

He had -- he had palsy or some- a very nice boy. Cline (sp?). Nice -- he really had the -- and really, troubles. And so of course I always said nice things about him, and he said nice things about me, but he was running as a Democrat, and this is a Republican district, so unless I had a -- somebody in the primary, there really wasn't much danger of being in Buckhead, and a Democrat. And then I ran against this doctor who couldn't have been nicer. We used to travel together to different ta- campaign speeches, and -- and he couldn't be nicer. In fact, he wrote me a nice letter you'll see, maybe, in the file saying there's three things I learned: he said, "Don't run against somebody that you agree with entirely (laughter), and -- and don't -- just..." In fact, the medical profession supported me. And then I ran against one son of a -- I mean, I guy I didn't think much of, and he didn't think much of me. And he put out letters that I burned down his signs and stuff, and took my cigarette lighter and lit them. You know, I don't even smoke. I don't have a cigarette lighter. But he was pretty nasty. But others have been nice opponents, and then many times, I didn't have any opponents. About half to the time, I didn't. Nobody ran. I always said nobody wanted the job. (laughter) No, I didn't -- and my friends put up money if I needed. It only took a few thousand dollars in the beginning, but later on, it

got -- you know, you could spend \$10,000, \$12,000; you needed to spend that much. And of course now, it's \$100,000. I mean literally, there are people paying \$100,000. In fact, Taylor, when he first got elected in Albany, spent \$100,000. Terrible! See, when I first ran, I wouldn't take any contributions, the first two or three races. I just said, "I don't need it." You know, it was just a couple thousand dollars, and I don't want... And then later on, I took it, but I would send back -- if I didn't -- I mean -- well, I remember the -- somebody sent me \$500, and I send it back. What were they trying to do? They were trying to do something that I didn't agree with. Oh! I know. I didn't want -- the -- oh, I was for the 14-foot trailers. Oh, there was another big -- (laughter) not big, but we had 12-foot widths on mobile homes. And 14 feet was now being allowed all over the country, practically, except in Georgia. You couldn't get them out of Georgia because we had a 12-foot lot -- limit, and we had the largest -- we were the second-largest manufacturing center of mobile homes.

VOGT: Second to California.

TOWNSEND: Big, big ordeal -- yeah. So I suddenly became the spokesman for them, because I think it doesn't make any sense. I mean, nobody -- a trailer isn't -- I mean, mobile homes, if we regulate them, they got to get on the Interstate, certain roads, and be careful. And so I was the spokesman for them. Well, the first year, we didn't pass it, and then the second year, I was -- well, I got up and I -- I don't know. I guess it was my bill; I can't remember whether I -- the bill. But, so it passed. So they sent me \$500, and I sent it back. I said, "I didn't do this for a contribution." (laughter) And then I'll never forget: Carl Sanders sent me \$500. And I called Carl; I said, "You can't give me that, because it'll look as if you're not supporting a Democrat." And so we agreed you didn't have to

report \$200, so we changed it to \$200. You did not have to report under \$200. Then Mayor Allen always sent me money. You know, I had a lot of Democrats' support. But then I find -- you know, I started taking money because it got expensive. And they didn't pay anything in those days. See, we got \$2,000. They get \$16,000, plus all you can turn in on expenses. They get all sorts of expen- they get \$25,000 minimum now, with their daily \$125 allowance and everything. See, the first few years, we didn't get anything, and I -- I can't remember what we got. We got the -- about \$2,000. We might have gotten \$1,000 or -- I don't remember that we got much of anything.

VOGT: You know, we used to say that a Southern Democrat was really conservative. There wasn't that much difference between a Democrat and a Republican in the South, anyway, so...

TOWNSEND: No.

VOGT: But what do you really think constitutes the rise of this new conservatism that we have now, today? The difference between the... ?

TOWNSEND: Well, I think it got caught up in religion. Yeah, I think it's --

## **END OF PART 2**

VOGT: I say, "I want to live to be 100, but I want to know what's going on," (laughter) you know?

TOWNSEND: Well, that's the problem. Well, I -- I -- I assume, what I read, that since I haven't got it yet, I won't get it. Most people, its signs show up by the time you're 70, or a lot of them, 60. I had a good lawyer friend who had it at 55, and had to -- he lived for ten or 15 years. Just died. It -- it does hit some younger people.

VOGT: You know, often, we've said that a Southern Democrat and a Republican are pretty much the same thing.

TOWNSEND: They are now.

VOGT: Yeah. But so -- especially talking about conservatism. So what -- what do you think constitutes the rise of what we'd call this "new conservatism" that we have today?

TOWNSEND: Well, I think particularly in the South, they had got to where you -- Republicans could see you couldn't win if you were looked on as a moderate: if you're looked on for gun control or pro-choice, certainly, or prayer in schools sort of issue. And I think most politicians, as we were talking earlier, sort of go with the flow if they -- and they have to if they want to get elected. I mean, you can't get -- even nationally, and certainly locally, you can't be on the wrong side of those three or four, what you might say are "semi-religious" issues. The -- the gun control is sort of religious because you're not supposed to kill people, I thought the Bible said, but you know, (if that aids?) the number of people that are shot, are killed, it's -- it's the wrong side. So I think that took over on the party becoming more conservative. And of course, the Democratic Party was on the right side of those things in many cases, like pro-choice, but then they began to realize they couldn't get elected, either. It just sort of -- I don't know. It -- it picked up, I think, pretty much through the religious thrust. And they're -- and they're so well organized. When you get -- if you can get some Right Wing people for you, they'll all show up, and all give money and work. You get other people for you because you're on the other side; they're -- they're -- they're not like little bees working. There's a -- a certain organization, I think, among religious people. It's very commendable in a way: when they believe in something and an issue, they -- they really work at it. Whereas the great majority of

people don't take that much interest or do that much for their -- their side, and they're not as well represented. And you can see that up in the capitol: the -- these other -- the ones we were talking about, these various causes are far better represented than the average person, you know, from welfare on up, or transportation, or whatever it is that would help. And of course now, a lot of people are for -- lobbying for transportation, but I mean, it -- there was nobody down there screaming around yelling for what the average person needs: the healthcare and those things. Not that many people are lobbying for it, whereas for the other causes, the religious people just rallied around and carry the day in many elections.

VOGT: Now that's interesting. I mean, if you think back to the Sixties, though, when we had the student movements of the Sixties and we became very liberal as a nation in the Sixties, we did have a lot of activism --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- among our youth --

TOWNSEND: We did.

VOGT: -- and a lot of political activism --

TOWNSEND: Yeah, and I think that was --

VOGT: -- among our youth.

TOWNSEND: You're right. The -- the whole youth thing, and the Civil -- Civil Rights, without that whole movement among -- really led by the Blacks, though, and it got the students involved. They -- they did bring about that, and -- against the Right Wing Democratic conservatives. And the Republicans supported it -- it more than the Democrats, in a sense; certainly in the South, because... Well, many Republicans then, of course, had

moved down here from the North, like myself, and they were -- tended to be more moderate to begin with. I don't think that's true anymore. So many people have moved South now, it's not just the -- what -- moderate thinking, but all sorts of religious groups, and Pentecostal, and church movements that (laughter) are -- have grown up out of the North, pretty much. They've moved down here.

VOGT: And I think in the Sixties, too, we had the other elements of the assassination of Kennedy and the Vietnam War that --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- that played a role in that.

TOWNSEND: Yeah, the Vietnam War, and -- which is --

VOGT: And (inaudible) as well.

TOWNSEND: -- so similar to this war. I mean, trying to make -- you see, that's what killed Romney. Oh, I didn't tell you about the Romney campaign. See, we were trying to elect Rockefeller -- or, nominate him to beat Nixon in 1968, Bob Snodgrass. And so we had him down here, Rock- I'm sorry: we had Romney. We -- we were going to use Romney because Bob Snodgrass knew Romney, and Romney wanted to run for President and start a little movement. So we thought if he comes down to Georgia, it'll help a little for him. And he knew Romney, so he called Romney and got him to fl- fly down to Atlanta. We gave him a reception -- and I say "we." Bob, they arranged the money and the new Hyatt House. And we didn't expect many people. Well, quite a few turned out. I don't know whether they just wanted the free food, or... It wasn't a lot of food, but we had a reception. But a good turnout, and we were quite impressed, and Romney was impressed. He was a very fine man. So what does he do? He goes to New Hampshire

next week, and he says, "We shouldn't be in Vietnam. It's wrong." Well, that killed him, because the country at that time had been brainwashed into thinking we should be, and of course we shouldn't have been there at all, and certainly shouldn't have (laughter) been there in '68, when we managed to kill another 10,000 or 20,000 Americans. But that killed his campaign. Just a -- just a misstatement like that, like -- as I say, like Pete du Pont debating Fo- Bush said -- Bush turned to him and said, "Pierre, what do you think of this?", and that was the end of that campaign. And Forbes' campaign. They all -- Perot's campaign turned on his saying that people were trying to upset his daughter's wedding, and running around his front yard (laughter) or something. They thought he was crazy. So little things like that can turn -- but anyway. And so we still had to try to beat Nixon, so we thought of Rockefeller again. So I didn't know him, but somebody -- I guess -- I knew -- I guess Bob Snodgrass knew him. We asked Rockefeller to come down -- come down. Well, he was delighted because he was going to run, to try. And he came down in not one but three airplanes: the press in one -- they were all his planes; he has a fleet of planes -- he in another plane with his drunken doctor who always traveled with him; and - - and then Happy came in a third plane. So here they all arrive, and a big deal in Atlanta, and a reception at the Hyatt House. Well, we thought we'd probably have as many as Romney had. Well, we had ten times as many people just turned -- I mean, that place was just *jammed!* There must have been a thousand people there. Because of Rockefeller's name, they showed up. So we all went to Miami, I guess. Or was it Miami then? I can't remember where... Anyway, tried to elect Rockefeller, but of course Nixon already had it all locked up. And then in '72, we Rockefeller people tried to make a deal with the Reagan people -- we did with the Reagan people. We joined forces to stop

Nixon. But we already were lock-- we didn't get anywhere. The Reagan delegation and the Rockefeller liberal delegation actually got together to try to stop Nixon. (laughter) I was part of that. But...

VOGT: Well, let's talk a little bit about Nixon's presidency, because you had said you were already anti-Nixon way --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- back in the days of Eisenhower, and didn't trust him to -- even back then.

TOWNSEND: No.

VOGT: And so, of course, he certainly lived up to your expectations.

TOWNSEND: (laughter) Yeah.

VOGT: So what did you think of his Presidency, and certainly Watergate?

TOWNSEND: Well, he -- he -- he -- you've got to give him credit; he did do the China deal, which really made a lot of sense. And his foreign policy, he -- Nixon was the right guy, but he was just as sneaky and under- under- underhand-type deals, which he liked. So I - I just never changed my opinion of him, but... And I was glad to see him finally get caught up with -- for different reasons. And I always admired Randy Thrower, whom you may talk to. Randy Thrower was a big Republican locally; he's now -- still alive, about 92 years old, a prominent lawyer with Sutherland Asbill & Brennan. You should talk with him, because Nixon appointed him Internal Revenue chief. You know, a big job. That's a -- you can call it sub-Cabinet level. And quite an honor, and quite a -- you know, a -- a pat on the back for Randy's reputation. Well, as I understand it, Nixon, of course, in his usual monkey business wanted the IRS to investigate and file things against people that -- he had enemies. You know, he had an "enemy list," and he really worked

on that, and apparently he tried to do some stuff through the IRS. And as I understand it, Randy told him to go to Hell and resigned. He wouldn't do it. I mean, he was absolutely crooked, and he resigned, and I think that's the reason he resigned. Now, Randy can tell you -- I think it's probably pretty true, but it was -- it certainly put Randy in a good light, and it put Nixon in an even worse light. (laughter) But that's the kind of thing Nixon wanted to do. And of course, he had a crook as his Vice President, Agnew. So he was just bad news. But I wasn't involved. At the time, in -- in -- in '76, of course, I was for Jimmy Carter, even though he was a Democrat. And I wasn't against Ford. I mean, he was a fine man, but I knew Jimmy and -- and was for him. But I didn't do anything. I didn't do anything nationally -- I mean, attempt after him until, of course, '80, when we had John Anderson. And of course, we got nowhere with him. He was a fine man, but he didn't get anywhere against Reagan.

VOGT: So you didn't stay with Carter for his second... ? Did you stay with Carter for his second run?

TOWNSEND: Well, I guess I was -- I was really for him, but I took on the An-- the Anderson thing with -- I knew Anderson wasn't going to go anywhere. (laughter) I just -- I -- I -- I -- we -- what happened -- you'll be interested in this. Paul Coverdell knew Bush, Sr. I've forgotten how that connection was, but he -- he -- he knew him. And so in 1979 or '80, Paul wanted to get Bush on the ballot down here to -- you have to have so many -- you have to have 25 people, I think they have to each give \$50. There's some regulation about getting listed on the -- what was it the ballot for? I can't remember what it was about. Anyway, he needed somebody with \$50 that would support Bush. He was having a hard time: he couldn't find 20 or 25 people. So I said, "I'm trying to help John

Anderson, but I'll give you the \$50 because you're a friend of mine, and you put my name down." So I was on that little list of people, and he had a little reception. As I remember, Paul had a reception. I think -- I think Bush came down, and we all -- I think we went and -- you know, a few people, but there was just no interest in Bush, and he couldn't get anywhere against Reagan. And that's of course when Paul started with Bush, and so when Bush -- he always kept in touch with him, of course, and Bush appreciated the fact that Paul was one of the Republicans in Georgia who would even try to help him. Paul was the main one. So he made Paul his Peace Corps director. Do you remember? And oh, he's always been close to the Bush family. So he picked the right man, and I kept picking the wrong ones. I've -- I've had nothing -- nothing but losers since Eisenhower. I picked -- and then, of course, I was for John McCain. Still am, but I mean, I tried to help him, and of course, I -- I've had -- I've been very successful, and everybody kids me now. In fact, I gave a talk at Rotary where -- and when I introduced Steve Forbes, I mentioned the fact how if I'm for you, you're dead politically. (laughter) Which is true! And you know... (laughter) As far as Presidential candidates. And the -- the du Pont... worked hard on that, and we didn't get anywhere. That's when I --

VOGT: Bush -- Bush sen-- Bush, Sr., did you go for him, and -- after Reagan?

TOWNSEND: No. I wasn't enthused. I mean, I didn't do any work, or -- well, I was for Perot, of course. Perot ran in '92, you see, and ruined the whole thing. Yeah. Would've won, of course, if he'd stayed in and hadn't gone off his rocker on that wedding business. You know, the polls showed he would have won in June. He wouldn't have gotten the majority, but he would have had 34% or whatever it was. And that whole thing just folded up. (laughter) So... no, that -- the Presidential thing has been interesting, and I

met a lot of interesting people because of it, but it didn't have much to do with my career's as far as -- well, it did as far as being interested politically.

VOGT: Do you still find you like national politics over local politics?

TOWNSEND: Yeah. I'm... still for John McCain. I'm very disappointed that he had to cater to Bush, but you have to get nominated. And you -- you've got to talk a little pro-life, and you've got to talk a little gun control, and... I think he's done too much. I think he could tell everybody to go to Hell and he'd still be elected by the people, but I -- you can't get nominated by the party. Those 500 people that go up there determine who's going to be elected, and that whole Christian coalition crowd, you've lost them right away if you're not -- all these pro-life business. So I can't blame him. And Paul Coverdell had to modify a good bit when he went to the U.S. Senate. I mean, you -- you just can't get anything done if you're way off in left field or, I mean, too moderate. So I'm --

VOGT: Tell me what you think about this last election, with this -- the House and Senate and the --

TOWNSEND: I'm delighted. I think it's just right. We -- we -- well, first of all, forgetting everything else, you've got to have somebody look under the rug, because I don't care who it is: there's going to be a lot of monkey business, either party. So it's very important to have some Democrat control if you have a Republican President, and vice-versa. And they both need looking at and under (laughter) their rug. So this is -- the only way to get it is to elect Democrats this time, and if the Democrats go berserk the way the Republicans have, then you've got to get the Republicans back in if the Democrats get in the same position. It -- it's amazing how it... turns, and of course, that's the fault of the whole lobby situation, and the whole campaign thing. See, we should have public

campaign financing, like England. And very limited in the amount of space and how much you can spend, and get out of this whole business, because the lobbyists now control -- they just control the government. There's no question about it. And once in a while, the people rise up, and they all back off a little, and then the whole thing starts up again. And it'll start up again. (laughter) But for at least two years, maybe, (laughter) there'll be some semblance of -- of sanity on this issue, I -- I -- I hope. I have hopes.

VOGT: Will it take them that long to switch how they approach their lobbying?

(laughter)

TOWNSEND: (laughter) Yeah, that's right! Yeah. No, I have hopes for that. And McCain is that kind of guy, and at his age and all, I am hoping he'll just tell them all, "Go to Hell" they try to influence him -- once he gets in. But you've got to get in to -- to do it, and I -- well, I -- I -- I don't know how that's going to work out. I would thank God we got rid of G- George Allen. He was a threat. Giuliani, I don't think he's moderate -- certainly moderate, but I don't think he can -- I don't think he can beat Hilary Clinton, and that's, of course, the problem they're going to have. I think McCain will show in the polls, and that's where a lot of Republicans will jump on his wagon, if it shows that he's the only one who can beat her. But... So nationally, I stake that interest, and locally, I have absolutely no interest, no -- no contacts. I mean, I have -- have -- have any influence or (laughter) closeness to any local... Well -- well, I -- well, I -- well, I'm for people like Lee Morris, and of course he lost. And that was a -- that's one of the terrible things locally that's happened, but that's a whole 'nother --

VOGT: I do think I would be

TOWNSEND: -- story.

VOGT: -- remiss if I didn't ask you about the Newt Gingrich time in --

TOWNSEND: Well, I --

VOGT: -- in Congress.

TOWNSEND: Yeah. Well, I knew -- I've known Newt for 30 years, I guess. I knew him when he was a little professor at Georgia --

VOGT: West Georgia.

TOWNSEND: -- West Georgia, and Newt was as moderate and liberal as Mike and I were.

(laughter) He was our kind of guy! I mean, I don't remember his -- any stand, but he was very moderate; he was a very bright guy, a very able guy, and used to write speeches for Mike Eagan (sp?), and came down a lot and tried to help us, involved. And then, of course, then he began running for office. He kept losing, and then he finally got in the middle enough, I guess, to -- to win. I don't know -- but he was running an incumbent, and then the incumbent didn't run, I think, the last time, so it was a vacant seat. Now, I'm -- I'm a -- I'm an admirer of Newt's, but of course, I don't agree with him now. He's gone way over there; he's had to, politically, and... But I -- I think his heart's in the right place. I think he -- he thinks -- and I'm -- I kept hoping he'd grab hold of this health issue. I don't know whether he will or not. He seems to be so interested in the whole problem of -- of health, and the public, and the cost, and... So he -- he's bright enough to talk well about it and influence people. I -- I don't think he has any chance of winning the nomination, but I don't know. Who knows? (laughter) I -- I don't -- I mean, he's certainly got a big following in the right wing of the party, and... But I think he has other... I guess they -- I know they don't care no longer if they're divorced, or what -- that part of it, I don't think that part will hurt anymore. That would have killed them 30

(laughter) years ago! But Newt's a very intelligent, bright guy, and as I say, he's moved on over, which all successful -- most successful politicians have had to. There are a few exceptions, and I always think of Lugar up there in Indianapolis. He hasn't moved an inch, I don't think. He's my kind of Eisenhower Republican. There are a few of them that stand their ground and somehow (laughter) get elected again. But...

VOGT: I was thinking more of the Contract with America and the -- the lack of bipartisanship that we saw that came out of -- out of that. Because we had about --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- ten or 15 years of, it seemed, a -- a real lack of working together.

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: Which -- which it really seems that this last election was just a -- finally a reaction to that.

TOWNSEND: Yeah. Well, I think that it was a good idea politically, and of course, Newt wrote it, or -- or invented it, and they didn't -- they claim they carried everything out. They didn't really do a lot of it in depth, but... None of those things are -- I mean, the -- the -- the whole health and education thing -- and you might say transportation, too -- are for everybody. Everybody has those needs, and yet there's not -- and there's not that much interest or that much effort or money spent on doing what everybody needs. In other words, beginning with Iraq and \$200 billion, think that would do for our health system in this country, or the education system. (laughter) Or spending money on highways that aren't needed, or -- or all the earmark deals -- you know, the bridges to Alaska and that stuff. We're talking about money that we desperately need in health to get the cost down, and -- and not to get it "better," but to get the costs for the average poor person and all the

uninsured, or be able to take care of them in the emergency room. And then the education thing: the bigger classes, and the poor pay for teachers because they don't have e- counties and states don't have enough money to pay them well. And then of course, that gets into the taxes: that the people that have a lot of money have to pay for it. And this whole tax thing of the 1 percent now that -- you know, for Cheney to save \$20,000 and Bush save \$30,000 a year on their taxes under this new -- under the present tax bills is crazy. The average person saves \$6 in the income under \$50,000. Under \$100,000, they only save something like \$500. You know, there's no saving at all to them. It's -- you know, you've got to get the money somewhere. And then gasoline can be taxed, which would hurt some of the poor, but a lot of them don't even have cars, and you would have to subsidize none of that, and -- and... And then the estate tax, you know, unlike Buffet and Gates, I mean, I don't have any money, but I mean, they're right: somebody has got to pay for all this, and that's where you're going to have to get it. You can't get it out of the... And then the -- and then the whole gasoline thing. If -- if Jimmy Carter had been able to put in enough tighter regulations -- you had to have 30 and 40 mile a gallon by the year 2000 -- we wouldn't be importing any oil from Arabia. But you realize they haven't changed that even one -- a one-gallon difference from the last time that Jimmy got it up to 21 or 22 gallons a -- a -- a -- a mile. It's just maybe up one mile or something. It's ri- and Congress won't do anything about it, and it's just an instant cure. And the guys with SUVs, we don't take their cars away -- they just don't buy another one. That's -- that's their problem. They just pay more for gas, and -- and if they wanted to pay more, let them pay it. They don't have to get rid of the SUV, but they're going to have to pay a - - some charge for -- figuring if you don't get 20 -- I mean 30 or 40 miles a gallon, you're

going to have to pay some kind of surcharge if you want to be that luxurious. It's crazy. And the public would go for it. It's the kind of thing that if the Republican party would tie on to something that everybody would benefit from, and particularly this whole Arabian thing, get us out of the (laughter) middle East... But they're not on that track at all, and I don't see that the Democrats are making any big noises yet, be- see, their contributing -- their -- their lobbyists, and General Motors, and Ford, and all -- they -- they contribute to the Democrats just as much -- enough to the Republicans -- or, Democrats to keep them under control. And they don't want any of that. And meanwhile, the Japanese just beat us to death. They'll have it, and we won't have it. We'll -- the -- the whole thing is... I mean, nobody seems to show much foresight on the big issues for the average person, and the average health costs are 13 percent in this country of our gross income, against 7-8 percent of all the other civilized countries. Why is that? They complain, "Oh, we'd have poor healthcare here." It wouldn't be poor; it would just be regulated, and get everybody to have health. But they don't seem to be on that track. I don't see the Democrats making any great moves in that direction. So I guess I'm disappointed (laughter) already in -- in what they sound like.

VOGT: Let's -- let's end on this -- this note of looking forward to the future, and how you think the immigration issue and the changing communities we already have -- you know, Georgia has changed significantly --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- with our -- our immigration, changing cultures in all of our counties, and...

TOWNSEND: (Vacant?) Georgia, yeah. We're one of the prime states where they're moving to, and I don't blame them.

VOGT: Exactly. So how -- how do you think that's going to change us? Well, we already see changes here in our own -- in our own state, but just thinking of us -- of us as a nation, how do you see --

TOWNSEND: I like --

VOGT: -- how do you see this going?

TOWNSEND: I'm like, I guess, Pat Buchanan: I think it'll ruin us. I think if we don't get Mexico under control -- well, however we do it. And some people say, "We'll make them more prosperous so they won't move here." I don't know what it takes, but if we don't eliminate this overwhelming number, they'll be so strong politically -- they -- they'll take over Arizona and New Mexico in the next two elections. Already, almost. It's a very serious problem. Johnny Icing's (sp?) right: we've got to somehow get this thing tightened up. And yet, we need them to -- we can't throw the ones out that have children born (laughter) here. We need the workers. We've got to come up with something that, you know, tightens the immigration, and yet still allows some of them to work here. And that -- that's a very difficult problem. I -- and... it's a much worse problem than Iraq, for instance. We should be spending our money on -- if -- think if we spent \$200 billion on trying to get that thing straightened out instead of Iraq. I mean, you get right back to where are you going to get the money? And if we don't -- and if -- well, we -- we keep paying so much for oil, and you know, pampering all these Arabian princes running around with our money. And those are two major problems that we -- we've got to face head-on. And I certainly don't have any solution, but I think some compromise like McCain's work permit, or -- you've got to have something. And you certainly can't send 12 million people back. So we're going to have to legitimize the ones that are here, and

then we've got to keep the pouring through the border of all the rest, or a lot of the rest. I -- I -- I think it's an in-- insurmountable problem, almost. And they're not all Mexicans. Apparently, about 20 percent or more are not. They're just people from South America who are taking advantage of the situation. And so we're all in-- interested in that, and that would be good for everybody if -- about the jobs and the wage scales, and the -- and the school systems and all -- if we could get it under control because they are overwhelming our ability to handle them. Georgia is really serious. I mean, (inaudible) county and the schools, and you see where schools are getting overwhelmed by -- by minority -- minorities. And we hurt the Blacks indirectly, which we've always been trying to help, but... And the more they pour in there and compete, the worse it is for those that are -- don't have much education. And... boy, I -- I don't know, but I -- I don't have any (laughter) quick answer on any of that, huh?

VOGT: And I think we're all looking for a quick answer that --

TOWNSEND: Yeah.

VOGT: -- (inaudible) don't have. Yeah. Well, we really appreciate your time today, because this has been very nice to have this conversation with you.

TOWNSEND: Oh, if --

VOGT: The time has flown by.

TOWNSEND: If you started -- oh my lord! The darn restaurant closes at 1:30. I didn't pay any attention to it. I guess...

VOGT: Let me take a minute here and... (conversation with technician)

TOWNSEND: You need any more?

VOGT: Like as in a wrap-up? OK. Well, Mr. Townsend, I want to thank you very much for your time today. As I said, this is November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2006, and this is for the Richard B. Russell Library. We're very much pleased that you took this time to talk with us today for our Political Party Oral History Series. Thank you very much.

TOWNSEND: Well, you're welcome, and I appreciate your interest, and hope I can contribute something that you won't get other-- otherwise. (laughter)

VOGT: I'm sure you have.

TOWNSEND: Because I know -- as I said, my age group is -- is all gone. Randy Throw would be an exception. He's -- he goes way back, and he was an Eisenhower-type Republican. But other than that, I -- unless he can name you somebody else, I don't know anybody else that you would be missing as far as way back.

VOGT: Which is all the more reason it was important for us to talk with you today.  
(laughter)

TOWNSEND: (laughter) Yeah, well, nobody can refute what I say because they weren't around.  
(laughter) But I didn't make any of it up. But -- well, I'm sorry I was suggesting we would eat downstairs, but they close on --

**End - RBRL\_OHD\_010\_Townsend\_Transcript\_V02\_Formatted.doc**