

like 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100

JIM FOLSOM

October 21-23, 1980

October 22 - Wednesday

5:00 Pick up Jim at Airport
6:00 Dogs N Suds at Birmingham Racquet Club

October 23 - Thursday

8:00 Sears Roebuck - B'ham
9:15 University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB)
tour and conferences
12:00 Luncheon UAB
2:00 Estes Nursing Home
4:00 University of Montevallo Reception
6:00 Chilton County Rally - Clanton

Mark Lovelady, Jack Folsom, Jim War^d, Linda Nesmiths, Rich Burns, John (JJ)
Guthrie, (Mark's address: Route 3, Cullman 35055)

My problems in getting here, and knowing how to get here and trying to figure out where "here" ought to be have been enormous. After Stewart's defeat, I had to decide whether to call it a day or whether to pursue Folsom. On the one hand, it might be throwing good money after bad; on the other hand, at best, it might put me in touch with a U.S. Senator and, at worst, it might shed light on Stewart's loss. So I decided to build on my investment rather than cash out.

I talked to Louise Lindblom. She told me it was very much a family-run campaign (how right she was!) and suggested I get in touch with John Guthrie, Jim's father-in-law.

*looks like he ran
pretty negative camp
vs. us - he
talks about thick
skin in politics -
his father tries
to negative
camp. seems
to accept it.*

I talked with Harold Stanley. He offered to call his friend Mike Waters, who played football with Jim's brother Jack and played in a rock band with Jim. Harold called Mike. Mike calls Jack and tells him about me. I call Jack and he says "You want to spend some time with the candidate, don't you?" I say yes; and we make a tentative date for October 20. I tell Harold "It was too easy."

A week later, I call to check on our arrangements and I get Rachel Richenstein, the scheduler. She turns out to be Jim's sister (Louise tells me that later--though I didn't know it at the time). She says "The 20th is not a good time." When I mention riding in the car, she says "The answer to that is uh uh. He's tired and he needs to rest when he's in the car." She suggests I go to Huntsville on the 22nd, and "get a car and follow him." She tells me that he'll be in Birmingham that night. She tells me to call her when I get to Huntsville and she'll tell me what his schedule is there so, presumably I can watch him. I ask her if she can give me a "maybe" that I could get to talk to Jim if I come down. She says "I can't promise you anything. I can give you a maybe maybe." With that, I tell her I'll call her from Huntsville.

At that point, I'm pretty well stymied. I call Louise to see if she knows who this Rachael is and find out she's Jim's sister and that Louise doesn't know her at all.

Then I decide that it makes no sense at all to go to Huntsville. I would be wandering around by myself, possibly without any contact person, not knowing where to stay, then driving back to Birmingham for the night activity, possibly never even getting to say hello to the candidate. Altogether on my own, without any moorings or sign posts, I decide my best course is to go to Montgomery, take a taxi to headquarters, arrive with my bags and put the ball in their court, hoping to create a personal contact of

some sort. I figure that I'll play it by ear once they see me, and I see them. I'm going to throw myself on their mercy.

I do just that, arrive at the Montgomery headquarters suitcase in hand, ask for Rachel. And the first thing I learn is that Rachel has no mercy! She does not know the meaning of the word. She is the coldest hearted person I've yet met in my travels. I come in and say "Hi, I'm the guy who called you from New York last week, the guy Mike Waters called you about." "Oh, yes." "I just thought I'd stop in and say hello and check on the schedule." "I thought you were going to Huntsville." "Well, I just wanted to drop by before I did anything and let you know what I'm doing. My bags are out there by the door. I just got in." "I'm very sorry but there just isn't any way you are going to be able to ride with Jim." "What does the schedule look like." She gets it out, goes through it, and comments at each point how busy it is, i.e., "There's no possibility tonight. He gets in too late." It turns out he flies to Huntsville with his wife, tours NASA, holds a press conference, goes to a "private" luncheon and then flies back to Birmingham. We talk a little about distances for me if I drive, how I would catch up with Jim, who I might contact there (she doesn't know) and it soon becomes clear that for me to drive 4 hours to Huntsville would be a great waste of time. So I cross that off. Later in our conversation I said "I'd drive the 4 hours to Huntsville if you could find me 20 minutes to talk with Jim." "I don't see how I can do that. I'm sorry. Your best bet is to go to Birmingham and you can catch him at the blue grass and hot dogs dinner tonight and talk to him then" (they expect 500 people). I say "That will probably be a mad house." She agrees and says, again, "I'm sorry I can't help you." I then move to discuss Thursday and the possibility of renting a car and following him around in Birmingham that morning and to some outlying areas the next day.

"You could go to Sears Roebuck. He'll be there in the morning. But then the University tour would be a problem. And then there's a private lunch." She proceeds to go through the rest of the day, Montev~~e~~llo, Claton County and Cullman County indicating that he'll be flying part of that time. "It's too bad you can't follow him on one of his whistlestop tours, handshaking in the little towns and the court houses. That's when he's at his best. He doesn't like this other kind of campaigning. If you followed him on a whistlestop tour, you could follow him easily in your car. But that won't be till the 27th." "I need only 15 minutes. Is there any leg of his travels that I could join him for on Thursday--for just 15 minutes?" "I know you want to talk with him but I can't promise you anything. If you went with him to Claton, you'd be there without a car" (for the first time, she smiles). "I'll worry about that when I have to. I've come a long way to talk with your brother." "I'm sorry I can't promise you anything, I can't put you in the car with Jim."

There are long pauses during all this. She is eating her lunch. And ^{when} the pause gets too long I say "I'm just trying to figure out what to do." She nods. In the early part of this I do tell her the other Senators I've travelled with, but she is totally unimpressed. "Good luck with your book," she says. She could care less about the rest of the world. I go through my spiel partly because I hope it will ring a bell and partly because I don't know what in hell to say to her.

I then take a different tack and ask her who I could contact to help me follow Jim around Birmingham on Thursday in my rented car. She mentions Mark Lovelady. "I don't know whether Mark is in town or not. Maybe he's going to Huntsville. Maybe he's up there now, I'm not sure. But he'll be with Jim on Thursday."

I then ask her if I can talk to John Guthrie and Delmar Duboise. She says yes, that would be helpful, gives me Delmar's telephone number and says John Guthrie will be in later to the Headquarters. I ask if I can talk to the elder Mr. Folsom. She says "My father is in the hospital. He's not very well." (It turned out he had been in the hospital, but was home now!) So I get up saying, "OK I'll wait and talk to Mr. Guthrie when he gets back."

I get up to leave and she says something about "Jack." I say "Can I meet Jack." We walk out of her room and bump into Jack. I introduce myself. "Hello Mr. Feeno. I'm glad to meet you. When did you get here?" "About a half hour ago." "Let me introduce you to Mark Lovelady. (who is standing right there). Mr. Feeno called me on the telephone. He's from New York. He's writing a book. You want some time with Jim, don't you." "I sure would." "Well, we'll do that. We sure will. You've come all the way from New York. We'll get you some time. It's too bad you didn't come in earlier today. Jim just left. You could have gone with him today. Let me go talk to Rachael about this."

He talks to Rachael and he and I go back to his office. While he talks to Rachael, Mark Lovelady asks if I've ever seen Southern politics. It is the first time when I might have mentioned Stewart. But I am on the ropes at that point and I don't do it. I mention Pryor. He tells Jack I've been with Pryor. Mark tells me I really would like to go politicking in rural areas, where among other things "they pass the hat." I tell him I passed the hat in Georgia with Jack Flynt.

We go to Jack's office and Jack ruminates about what we can do. Telephone rings. It's "Big Jim." Jack indicates to me he's going to put me on the phone. He talks to his dad and then says "There's man here I want to have talk to you. His name is Richard Feeno. He's from Rochester, N.Y. He's

writing a book about the Senate and he's down here to learn about Alabama politics." "Hello, Mr. Folsom." "Hello there. So you've come down here to learn about Alabama politics." "Yes, and about your son." "My son is going to be Senator. I'll tell you why. He isn't a lawyer."

"We've got too many of them already."

"The other fellow was a lawyer; but Jim isn't. The other fellow was a Senator, too. The lawyers take out of one pocket, and Senators take out of one pocket. Senators who are lawyers take out of two pockets. The other fellow lost; Jim is going to be a Senator.

"Good, that's what I came down here for."

"You want to learn about Alabama politics." I've lived here a long time and I never learned all there was to learn about Alabama politics."

"I don't believe that, I'll bet I could learn an awful lot from you. I guess I came here too late."

"Well, I wish you a lot of luck. It's been nice talking to you."

"It's been a privilege for me."

"Put John Guthrie on will you?"

He was calling to report to Jack and John something he had read in the paper.

Jack and I work out a deal and we'll see what happens.

I asked John Smith how it was going--"as of Oct. 22". "I'm scared to death. And the reason I'm scared to death is because it looks so good. We've got to run scared."

Mark said on way to Birmingham - "We can't lose this unless Jim makes some terrible mistake or gets caught in bed with a black woman." "This is a democratic state. If the blacks turn out we've got 'em. We've got

labor too. Where else are they going to go? And Carter is working to get them all out. They are crucial to him. Between Carter and us we'll get out the vote. I'm glad it's a presidential year."

He talked about various problems Stewart had. E.g., "if he'd turned out his black vote, he'd have whipped our ass." "We doubled our vote in Jefferson County in the runoff. There were 5000 people laid off from U.S. Steel. That's why politics is so feverish here. There's a lot of dissatisfaction. People don't know the issues and they won't want to know, but they know if they've lost their jobs. And they want the guy out who's in."

I asked if Jim thought he could win his congressional race and he said no. "He came around to the farm one day and said he was thinking of putting something together to run for Congress. He wanted me to help. All we did was ride around and hand out cards. He got 24,000 votes. That was more than we expected."

Then I asked if Jim thought he was going to win the primary. He grinned "On the night of September 3rd we were sitting in his living room and he said "My god, we've forced a runoff." He was in shock. I don't know what Jim thought. But the general public didn't give us a chance, I'll tell you that. People came up to me and said "Do you think you've got a chance?" I'd tell them "We're working, we'll be there." They wouldn't say anything, but you could see it in their eyes. All we wanted was to force a runoff. We figured Finis St. John would get 20% and that would take a lot of the load off of us. He didn't get but 11%. He never did get off the ground. He didn't carry his share of the load. Then a 4th candidate ran, Mrs. Frank Stewart. She got 20,000 votes--the ERA vote," I guess. But that was 5% of the vote. She forced the runoff. Once we made the runoff, we had "no"

*Don't
pull
as WAF*

going for us. People began to look differently at Jim. They began to take him seriously. And the money began shaking out of the trees."

"The people are in Northern Alabama. 75% of the population lives from Birmingham north. In the south, you have pockets. But you drive 200-300 miles from one little town to another."

How did media treat you? "The big city papers treated us badly and the small town papers treated us great. We'd go into a town of 5000 and be plastered all over the paper. Up here (Birmingham) they were against us."

Mike is a farmer--grows sweet potatoes and soy beans with his brother in Cullman, roomed with Jim in 1973-74. "The people in headquarters are almost all from Cullman--the Cullman mafia." says Jim worked for the state in industrial relations PR work and then sold space in the yellow pages before he got job in Sheffield. (That's in quad cities area--Florence, Decatur, Tuscumbia, Sheffield).

Cullman a german town, settled in 1900s' by Germans from Cincinnati--came on L & N railroad
/no blacks there--Winston, next door, had a few blacks and actually seceded from Alabama during civil war and set itself up as independent. So Jim did not grow up in black area. Mark says how Germans are intolerant.

Re Jim - "A lot of his philosophy comes from his father. He was a populist. He was poorer than we were." I asked if Jim was a populist too.

"To a degree you could say we were. Stewart was on the banking committee and the bankers were for him. The blacks, or organized blacks were for him. Labor was for him. I guess you could say that wherever there was a group, they were for him. Wherever people thought they had the power, they were for him. So we cut through the power groups. And the good part of that is that we don't owe any of them anything. They have to come to us."

Not sure where this goes.
R. Skunk
he
W. Skunk
you
It was pitiful--couldn't hold a press conference. ~~Can't~~ hold one and say
no comment. *the* *has* *and the* *still in the*
Judgeship sitting on desk; Anderson *shifting papers.*
stagnant

All along the road coming from Montgomery to Birmingham (a ride which was pretty flat and woodsy pine till the hills near Birmingham) we saw little Folsom signs on sticks in the ground, on telephone poles and some large home made signs. I would comment on them when I saw one. At one point he said, "Posters were our forte, if we had one. We couldn't afford anything else. We had money enough to buy them and that's all. We ate a lot of hamburg and slept in the car. A lot of them were home made, too. Our poster campaign made the N.Y. Times. The reporter said that the main identification people had with Folsom was through his posters on the utility poles."

How was that says people
mean?
P He was very proud of that--as were the men who took me to the motel Tuesday night with their car filled with posters. "You'll have to excuse my appearance. I've been making signs all day. We'll be out all night putting them up. We're the people who turned it around for Folsom. I say I'm the man who did it, but the fella next to you will say he did too. We put on a real hard campaign. It's the first time an incumbent U.S. Senator has been beaten in 50 years in Alabama, Will Bankhead was the last one to do it. You probably know that, but I researched it. See--there's one of my signs right there. It's in a good spot; and it won't come off. Oh, we've got 'em all over Montgomery and in the county, too. That's where we both live."

Jack
Jane
In the morning, Mark, Jim Ward, ~~Jane~~ I went next door to have coffee. "This is one of George Wallace's favorite eating places. He comes in here a lot. I saw him in here the other day. The governor's mansion is just two blocks away and he used to come in here 2 days a week." It was a pretty ordinary looking cafe-store combination.

^{Mark} Jim had started talking before we left the headquarters. "This was a very unusual campaign. We had to go back to what you call stump politics-- where you go out and shake hands and make speeches from the stump. It hadn't been done in Alabama since Jim's father did it. We had to do stump politics because we had no money to do anything else. We had a lot of home made signs, but no media."

Mark chimed in "We did it on a shoe string."

I asked Mark what his first memory of the campaign was. "A couple of days before he announced, he called me and said he was going to do it. He said he didn't have the \$600 filing fee, but he said that if his announcement didn't bring in \$600, then he didn't deserve to run. About \$7000 or \$8000 did come in, from friends."

Mark said "He had been toying with the idea of running for Congress against Dickinson. The filing date was winding down and none of the heavy-weights had entered the Senate race. They didn't think they could beat Stewart. Only Finis St. John had entered. Jim had got wind out of Washington that Stewart might be in some trouble. There was the 60 minutes thing. They weren't on his back yet; but it looked like they might get on his back."

Jack said: "In Alabama politics it seems like the person who comes in second in the primary, wins the runoff." (And they discussed cases where it held and where it did not).

Mark said: "People most like the underdog."

Jack: "That's what worries me. This time we're not the underdog anymore. We're ahead."

Mark : "That's why I say, this is no time to get organized. If we get

organized and put our ties on and start looking for houses in Washington, we'll lose."

Jack: "I wish people wouldn't say we're not organized. We are organized. And I think we are well organized--in the sense that in every county we have people that are working hard and who know what to do. We have a lot of volunteers. And I'd rather have them than a half million dollars. That's how we beat Stewart."

Mark: "All Stewart's people had ties on. They didn't put up posters or take care of plant shifts."

Jack: "The day I knew we had him beat was when I went up to Etowah, to Gadsden. I heard he had been there the day before and so I asked 'what did he do.' They said that he had 'a high level strategy meeting.' He probably talked to 10 people. You don't win by having high level strategy meetings. Why, we've never had one 'high level strategy meeting.'"

Mark: I wouldn't know 'a high level strategy meeting' if I was in one."

They talked about the big vote turnaround in Huntsville and I asked Jim why. "We worked harder. We had more volunteers."

Jack asked if Wallace was strong in Huntsville. Jim demurred a little.

Jack said "Well he may not be popular with the businessmen you come in contact with, but when you get out in the boondocks, with the rougher element, with the people who work with their hands and the steel workers, you'll find they love Wallace. That's how my daddy won. And that's how we won in those rural counties. Paw laid down some pretty good tracks."

Jack said "I wish you could have talked with my daddy. One of my favorite stories about him is "When a man from the Los Angeles Times was

interviewing him. They were sitting around the table drinking coffee and the man asked Big Jim what he thought about ERA. He said "I'm for it. I think it's time we brought women down to our level. They already have half the money in the world and all the ____."

Mark said "One of my favorite stories was when Big Jim was talking at the Cumberland Law School. You know how he hates lawyers. He told a story about the Irishman whose cousin was ^{visiting} / him from Ireland. They ^{to} went around/the cemetery to look at the headstones of their ancestors. And they came across one tombstone which read "Here lies a lawyer and an honest man". The cousin from Ireland looks startled and he jumped back and said "I didn't know you buried them two to a grave."

We discussed Jim's attitude toward lawyers. There have been a startling decrease in lawyers in the Alabama legislature.

There is, as I noted when I was doing Home Style a personal-non bureaucratic way of behaving that is very southern. When Jack called Birmingham to ask the woman at the headquarters to get me a room at the Hilton, he said, "I want you to do this for me personally." And at the Dog and Suds party, she kept saying "Are you being taken care of. Jack asked me personally to take care of you. And when Jack says that, we do it." When Jack asked Jim Ward to get something done re Tenn - Tom, he said "We've got to get this Tenn-Tom thing done. It means a lot to Jim and it means a lot to me. The only way to do it is to do it. It's 80% finished and Jim wants to get it finished. It may be no good, but it's 80% finished. You can't stop now."

Jack was worried "We haven't done a good job with scheduling. After the runoff everybody called and wanted him to go here and go there. We overscheduled him. We need to get him off the road for a couple of days to get

ready for that debate Sunday. I wish we hadn't scheduled him to go to Dothan on Saturday."

"I know," says Mark, "but they've got him scheduled for a parade!" But he went on "The debate could be crucial."

Jack - "None of the big dogs entered the race because they didn't think they could beat Stewart. Now they're all sorry."

Jack - "You know, it just hit me the other day. I was thinking, if we win--when we win--Jim will be up there with the big boys--with Kennedy and the others." Mark - "They're all ____ out the back the same way. The trouble is they all think they are big boys--better than everybody else. Their heads get swolled (sic)." Jack - "We call Mark our redneck philosopher."

Incredibly, the name of Arthur Young came up. I don't know how. Jim Ward said "I used to hear from Arthur Young all the time. I haven't heard from him for weeks." Someone said who's he and Jim said "He was Stewart's Northern Alabama coordinator." Someone said "How is he?" and someone else said "He's with us. He's in touch with John Guthrie." Then, when we went back to the headquarters the phone rang and someone said "Arthur Young is on the line for John." Someone said "What does Arthur want, a job?" And, later, there was a hushed conversation in which I heard Arthur's name mentioned. After that I felt I was walking on eggshells. All I need is to bump into Arthur. He's still on Stewart's staff and he's playing footsie with Folsom. But I have not yet told them I've been with Stewart. They haven't asked and I haven't volunteered. A meeting with Arthur would be embarrassing.

After the Young comment in the restaurant, Jack said "There are still

a lot of scars left from the Stewart fight, deep scars. That's the way it is with my daddy. He still carries scars from his fight with George Wallace. And that was in 196(2)".

When I said Javits wouldn't quit ⁱⁿ N.Y., Jack said. "Just like my daddy. He just wouldn't quit."

The "embarrassing meeting" with Arthur occurred about 1/2 hour after I wrote the words two paragraphs earlier. Mark came to pick me up in the car and who should be with him but Arthur Young! Arthur and I greeted each other and said we knew each other and had travelled together but the circumstances were left pretty vague.

We drove to pick Jim Folsom up at the airport, and I got maybe 10-15 minutes to talk with him riding back to Birmingham.

I told him what I was doing and he asked me if I was studying Alabama politics and did I know anything about Alabama politics. I said I had spent two days with Stewart in July, and that the reason I wanted to watch his campaign was that he had beaten Stewart, but that I didn't know much about Alabama politics. He asked if I knew V. O. Key and I said yes it was a bible for me and he said how much Key knew about Alabama and "I'm amazed at how accurate it is even today, with exceptions, of course."

I asked him if friends and neighbors politics still held in Alabama, and he said a lot of it did, but that of course Alabama had changed a lot since Key wrote. I asked him what those changes were and he talked about Alabama for quite a bit--both in terms of changes and diversity.

Re changes he mentioned educational level, urban-rural, Huntsville a new city, people moving into Northern Alabama, black vote.

"It's a very diverse state. When you go from Mobile--which is like New Orleans, a port city, Catholic, French, Irish blacks run by old

wealthy families that have been established there for 200 years, where you hardly know how to politic---from there to the Appalachian foothills in Northern Alabama, Scotch-Irish, protestant, white and poor, that's great difference. Then you have Huntsville, a new city and all the industrial activity along the Tennessee River. That is a very mobile population. Then you have Birmingham, which is like no other place in the state. And you have the black belt.

He added some other items and I asked him "Won't that be a hard state to represent, or haven't you thought of that?" He smiled and stumbled around a bit and said something like it would be interesting. It was not a question he seemed to have thought about or relished.

I asked him what made him think he had a shot at the nomination. "I knew Don had some negatives. I knew that he did not have strong hard core support. I knew some people thought he was too liberal. All he had done was beat Maryon Allen and, to tell you the truth, that was not much of an accomplishment. Finis St. John had entered the race. I figured him for 16-20% of the vote. But I knew he could not win. Another candidate, Mrs. Frank Stewart was in the race, and I figured she might get a few percent because of the ballot mixup. I thought I could get 25 or 30%, and with 4 candidates, that meant Don could only get 48 or 49 but not 50. I never thought I would get more than 35% at the most. It all worked out, except that St. John didn't get 20% and I go 36%."

I asked him where his volunteers came from and who they were. "Just acquaintances of mine, I guess. Some were family, some were college classmates, some were from my home town or home county, some were people I had met in business or on the Public Service Commission. A lot of them were friends of my fathers, those that were still active. They were either ~~in the 30s or 40s~~ under 30 or over 50--we didn't have much in between. ~~One group~~ One group put up signs

and one answered the telephone. "I'm kidding, but it was true of most county coordinators. Just friends and neighbors I guess."

He said "I'll bet I'm the youngest person you've travelled with. I hear a lot about my age when I campaign. When people say 'You're so young,' I say to them that the way we've been campaigning the last four months, the schedule we've been following I couldn't have done it if I weren't young. If I were 50 I couldn't do it. I don't see how anyone 50 years old could do what I've been doing."

After the Dog N Suds event, when I got back in the car, he said "Dr. I forgot you were with us. I should be careful what I say with you around. Do you have any connection with the press?" I said that anything I write won't be out for 4 years. "Then I'll just let ~~em~~^{er} rip." he said.

"We had a fellow from the Washington Post travelling with us a week ago. Maryon Allen gave an interview to Sally Quinn of the Washington Post just before the primary. It had her cussing and taking her ~~problems~~^{poodles} to the office and stuff like that. It didn't go over real well in Alabama. It absolutely finished her. The opposition took out a full page ads and ran them in all the newspapers in the state for four days running before the primary. She never did recover. She lost the media centers. The closer a place was to the media centers the worse she did. They could have kept her in Washington or sent her to Europe for the last 2 months and she'd have won." Alabama politicians are skittish about national papers, ~~write~~^{with} that as an example.

"This was not a typical campaign evening in Alabama. Jefferson county is not like anything else in Alabama. It's media oriented. It's factionalized. The blacks aren't organized. It usually goes the opposite way, politically, from the rest of the state. Even the politicians don't understand it. I was worried about Jefferson County after I ~~look at~~^{lost it} 4-1 in the primary. So

I went to my father and said "Paw, I'm worried about Jefferson County. What can I do to improve down there." He said "there's nothing you can do about Jefferson County. I never did carry Jefferson County and never did understand it." About a week later I dropped by to see George Wallace. I asked him the same question, how I could improve my position there in the runoff. I got the same answer. Sitting there with a cigar in his mouth he said "I always lost Jefferson County by 40,000 or 50,000 votes, but I carried the state by 125,000-175,000 votes. Don't worry about it. Once a man got only 20% of the vote against me, and I still lost Jefferson County by 40,000 votes."

Cornelia Wallace was at the party and provided an undercurrent of anxiety. When Jim got in the car at the airport he and Mark were trying to figure out how to keep her from coming to the party. They consider her a liability. They do not want her out front. But she is a "strong willed woman" and Jim's "kinfolk" (She is Big Jim's niece and Jim's cousin) and they don't know how to handle her. They were trying to keep her in the Headquarters but she shoed up, sat in the back and was chewing out Jim Ward when I left. She apparently comes to Headquarters to work and won't stay in the background.

As we got out of the car at the motel he said "How come everybody at the party was telling me go this way, go tht way. Who is this county coordinator. I'm not the coordinator."

"Too bad we wasted Merle Kilgore on a Jefferson County crowd. Somebody didn't put that together right. We should have him up in the county."

In the elevator, "Dr., did you ever see anybody make such a fool of himself, playing the guitar and singing. (I said I'd heard plenty of candidates sing). "It started up in Limestone County. Someone yelled out Jim's

going to sing a song. It's been a regular thing ever since."

The Dog n Suds party began with Merle Kilgore (from Cullman) and a group singing country songs. When Merle came on he said "It all started with 10 believers...and now we have ourselves a Senator." He played "Ring of Fire" among others - he's had some hits. To introduce Jim he sang a revised version of Folsom Prison Blues, said he had checked it with Johnny Cash."

It started:

"I hear the train a coming

Rolling round the bend

Carrying Big Jim Folsom

Up to Washington" etc. etc.

Jim: "I've come here to tell you there's good news from many parts of the state (and he ticked off all the counties 10-12 of 'em where he's been lately). "We have a good bit of momentum going, but I need your help."

"The Republican National Committee has sent 250,000 down into the state. They have targeted the state, and they have targeted Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile. They have the audacity to target those counties. Are we going to let them get away with it? "No." "Let me hear that again." "No". "Again." "No."

"We need people to get excited. We need people to work with that country determination.

"I want to carry Jefferson County. Are we going to carry Jefferson County?" "Yes." "Are we?" "Yes."

"I won't forget you, the people who were with me on the ground level. I look forward to working with you... I want to bring back down here the friends and neighbors politics that has served us so well in the past, that is such an important part of our heritage."

Then cries of "Sing, Jim, Sing." "Start Pickin', Jim."

So he puts on the guitar and sings "Flyaway" "I'm ~~fly~~ flying away oh glory, I'll fly away."

Then Merle Kilgore closes with a "Y'all come" and everyone sings.
Very different from Stewart.

Arthur Young - "#1 reason was personality. You've been around Donald enough. Don't you agree?

Bill Lester

1) Washington image - too much influence in Washington talk people not interested in that

2) Jack Anderson

3) Black judgeship

4) Byrd story (which is really #1

Lester sees him as *brilliant* and honest and potential leader - says he's finished unless he gets out from under Anderson cloud.

Jim skittish re getting out front - wouldn't go to moral majority meeting with *Denton* - pleaded "pressing matters of state" - 200 ADC officials meet - he doesn't go. Later goes to *Arrington* group - everyone sees Reed ~~as~~ *ad*ead. "Mark says we want them to work for us without endorsing us, if you get what I mean.

It seems like he does not want group endorsements , Turns out he really doesn't like "*groups*!"

Stayed away from moral majority meeting. "It was a set up. They are working for my opponent. I wasn't going to walk into any set up."

As a kind of summary comment (written on Friday morning) I have to say that from what I know of Senate politics, Folsom can't win. If he does win, to put it another way, he will have won with the most unusual Senate campaign I know of. It is, by conventional standards, totally unorganized. The candidate says almost nothing on the issues. The candidate does not court, and may even shun, the media. The top staff is almost entirely a family affair--or at least a Cullman affair. It is really old fashioned politics. None of the staff is paid so far as I know. It's a throwback campaign--beginning with the comments about V. O. Key! and ending with Rachel's "panic" over the media. They certainly are not running against Denton. They hardly ever mention him or what he's doing. They are running ^{parallel} ~~political~~ campaigns.

On Thursday we began with handshaking and a short talk at Sears Roebuck. (Polly Chambers) We went from there over to the University of Alabama at Birmingham where Jim met with the President. *Dr Hill* Then the Vice President, then another group of administrators, then had lunch and a slide show with the President and 6 vice presidents. From there, he was picked up by Tom Whitley and taken to Hayes International Corporation to talk to the President a prospective contributor. From there he went with Tom Davis to the Estes Health Care and Retirement Center outside Birmingham. There, he made a short talk and had a Channel 6 interview. From there we drove to Montevallo University for a reception with students. And then we drove down to Clanton for the Chilton County Democratic rally.

By any standards, up to the Clanton rally (which I did not stay for), it was not a productive day. (He was flying to Cullman for a rally later that night). After the Nursing home visit, as we drove away and down to Montevallo, he exhibited a lot of frustration at the day he had had. As he

got into the car, he said "At least we got some media coverage." Then he turned to Mark and said "Who put that schedule together? These Birmingham people don't know what to do. They are afraid of something. I don't understand this place. Where did Tom Whitley come from? Who got him in on this? They don't know what they are doing. It's crazy. What have we done today? Tell me, what have we done? We have wasted one whole day in Birmingham. Who scheduled it? We haven't done anything since last night. We're going to have to change. I'm going to have to do the scheduling myself. This has got to stop. I'm mad as hell. Why did we spend all that time at the University? Those people were acting like I'm elected. So were the people at the nursing home. I know what happens. These people in high positions in these groups call and ask me to come, and my staff gets so carried away with how important these callers are that they accept. I'll work with all of 'em after I'm elected. But I'm not elected yet. Playing Senator before you are elected can be costly. At this point in time I should be out in the cotton fields. Those people don't want to help me. They just want to court me. The President of the University could help me if he made 40 or 50 calls a day. But he isn't going to do that. He's just pushing his interests. And I'll bet we're going to run into the same thing where we're going now-- at (the University of Montevallo). We haven't accomplished anything today... I'm not going back to Birmingham. I can't do any good there." Frustrated, discouraged.

Mark told him not to concede it. Ironical that Birmingham calls itself "Magic City". Jim can't figure it out!

Then he picked up the paper and started to read. There was a story about Eagleton denying a charge by a niece of his that ^{he} ~~his~~ is gay. Jim chuckled out loud as he read it. There was no sense of "isn't that awful"-- which would be my eastern middle class reaction. He said "I wonder how much

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out loud
a front runner
people who think
he's going to win
and in a h
+ keep Jim
for ready
people he needs.

the niece was paid to say that. If you are a sensitive person, you can't survive in politics. If you are sensitive, you shouldn't ever go into politics."

I asked him if he had been born with it or learned--not to be sensitive. He laughed.

"I don't know whether I was born with it or I learned it, but I sure have a thick skin now. It's just part of the game. I think that being around ~~with~~ my father, I lived with it and accepted it. That's just the way it is. I could cite you example after example."

"In 1954 when my father was getting ready to run for governor, he was opposed by the mayor of Birmingham, Albert Bartwell. My father and his friends used to hang out at the Redmont hotel. One night, he left the hotel and was driving out of town, when he was picked up by the city police and put in jail for driving while intoxicated." "Drunken driving" they called ^{it} in the headlines of the Birmingham papers, which had always been the enemies of my father. He got a dozen of his friends who were at the Redmont to swear to the judge that he was not intoxicated. Albert Lee Craig was one of them. He and the Judge were old friends. When Albert Lee was put on the stand, the Judge asked him if my father was sober. Albert Lee said, "Judge, he was as sober as I've ever seen him." (Jim laughs and repeats the line a couple of times). The judge started laughing; and everyone knew it was over."

"In 1947, he had a paternity suit filed against him, but nothing ever came of that. In 1952 Governor Pearson, whom my father had opposed in the Democratic primary ⁽⁷⁾ convinced the legislature to investigate my father's term in office. For four years, the legislature investigated his term as

governor. They never found anything. In 19__ the legislature tried to impeach him. That time he took them on in a referendum and beat them at the polls. He said it was his hardest campaign."

"That's just the way it is in politics. I grew up with it. I don't know how it is anywhere else; but down here it's hard ball politics." He laughed about all the attacks on his father's enemies, as if that's just what you do. Thus his cracks at Stewart i.e., "worst Senator in Alabama history," "crook" and "liar" were just normal Alabama politics.

I asked him about his run against Beville^{to} in 1976. "I did it/learn the ropes and test the waters. I thought it was a good way to learn what politics is all about. My father suggested it would be a good way to get my feet wet without hurting myself. He had run for Congress twice in the 1930s before he ran for governor. If you run for Congress against an entrenched incumbent, if you're a young man and if you get some votes, then even if you lose you're not dead politically. If you run for state legislature or Public Service Commission and you lose, you are dead. I never expected to win, barring a miracle. We spent 6,000. We went around the district and I learned a lot. I was afraid to stand up and give a speech before that campaign."

Then I asked him about PSC race and why he did that. "Because I thought it was winnable. It was between state legislature and the Public Service Commission, and I thought the PSC would be more of a challenge. So I jumped in."

He has, therefore, run 3 races in the last 6 years--every two years. The question whether or not he would go into politics seems not to have ever been an issue. He was born political, into a political family. And he talks about his father in terms of a model, or in terms of his advice a great deal. It

is important that he comes from a political family. His father ended his career in a kind of disgrace and maybe he wants to atone--though I saw none of that. He was often^{ly} asked about his father's influence and said "I'm proud of my father and what he did for Alabama." Pell comes from a political family, too. He is at the other end of the social scale. He does not talk about "RI politics" as if it were really something special. There are other differences I would note.

At Montevello University, Jim declined to make a speech to the assembled Young Democrats. He accepted the key to the University in a little ceremony. He thanked them for the key, (said he would treasure it). He also said he had been at UAB earlier and Montevello has much warmer feeling." But that was all. The students were invited to talk to him individually. But few did. Denton had, one guy told me, spoken for an hour to "the biggest crowd we ever had." I'm sure they expected him to "say a few words." I think he was just upset at the scheduling and didn't feel like it. Mark said it was "his private decision." I didn't ask.

In the car driving to Clanton, we talked about Herman Talmadge and I told my story about passing the hat for Jack Flynt. "When Herman was testifying before the Ethics Committee, he said, Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." Everyone of those sons of bitches knew he had done the same thing. Herman made it. I think he had slept in every house in Georgia. Two people active in my campaign who came from Georgia both said Herman had eaten at their homes and was a great friend of their fathers. If he hasn't slept in every house, I'll bet he's eaten in every house in Georgia." He chuckled at the idea of the Georgia legislature electing Herman governor when his father died--and the discomforture of the Lieutenant Governor.

But re money: "If anyone gives me a check, I'll take it. But if someone comes up and offers me a twenty dollar bill, I won't touch it. I say to them, "You give it to some other fella." "I won't touch cash."

"It's too bad you haven't seen a real Alabama campaign day. Tomorrow we got to Anniston, Oneonta, Sylacauga, Talladega and back to Birmingham. That's a real campaign day." "He couldn't wait to get at it."

During the ride from the Nursing home, Mark said "When I called Rachel, she was in a panic. She said 'There's going to be media at the Nursing Home. Does Jim know that? He's got to get prepared. He isn't prepared.' Doesn't she think you've ever met the media before? Everyone is panicking in this campaign." Jim just laughed. Rachel's attitude told volumes about the skittishness of the campaign and their unfamiliarity with the media. Even Jim was not as exultant as candidates usually are that he got on Channel 6. They don't trust the media, really.

When we were sitting in UAB President Hill's office chatting, Hill mentioned that the press wanted to catch him sometime. "We have an associated press reporter following us around today. They pop up every now and then. But you have to be very careful what you say to them. I remember what happened to ~~Mayo~~ Allen two years ago. Now, the doctor here (me) doesn't worry me because he won't be writing anything for 3 or 4 years." As I had thought the evening before, his question about my association with the press was the key one for him. Mike Waters, who had told Harold that their big concern would be my writing anything during the campaign was correct. John

Guthrie, standing outside of the rally at Clanton said to me. "I'm sorry I didn't have time to talk with you. When this is over I'll give you all the time you want--more time than you think I will. You'll run out of ink when we talk." I said it was a deal. He seemed very willing, but--and this is the point--not now. Later he said "The only ^{thing} I'm interested in now is Jim's campaign. When I left home I told my wife, you can use everything while I'm gone but my toothbrush. That was three months ago." I asked him if his toothbrush was still dry and we laughed.

Jim's little talks--you could hardly call them speeches--were virtually issueless except for statements opposed to deficit spending and for balanced budget. That should not have surprised me. When I was in Jack's office in headquarters, Jim Smith came in. "Do you know what Davis Bacon is?" Jack replied "Never heard of it." Jim said "It's an issue that's very important to labor, just like situs picketing is." Jack said "Hasn't _____ gotten anything up on that? I'm not supposed to know about those things." Jim. "No, we don't have anything on it."

Later on Jim and Jack were over at the counter where their one sheet on "The issues" was laying.

Jim: "When is our new statement on the issues coming out?"

Jack: "This is it right here." I didn't know we had a second one."

Jim: I heard we did. The people in headquarters are complaining. They say people are coming in asking them what the issues are.

Jack: "You mean they want things to talk about?"

Jim: "Yes."

Jack: "Well, Jim is for the balanced budget. How can we write that one up?"

The comparison between Folsom's one issue sheet and Specter pile of issue papers is the distance of light years.

At Sears Roebuck, after we handed out cards to people coming in, the employees gathered in a room and Jim talked.

Started by saying that now he knew where his TV got fixed. And he kidded someone in the audience who had said he was going to run for Senate. "I've come here to announce my withdrawal from the Senate race. I hear John Smith is running for the Senate, and I know I can't win." Lots of laughter.

He started by saying that "the country faces the greatest crisis since the depression " and said that what we need there are "clear thinking, hard working people" to deal with the crisis.

"I offer you the capability of working hard, growing into the job, and gaining seniority." "I love Alabama, like you do. I was born in Alabama, in Cullman county, in the hills of northern Alabama. I've been all over our state. I understand what the people of Alabama want. All you want is the chance to make a decent living by the sweat of your brow and to get a decent return on the taxes you pay."

Said there was too much deficit spending and that he wants to balance budget and put "your tax dollars to work for you."

"The South and Alabama have always been in the forefront in terms of patriotism, love of state and of God."

"I intend to take your principles to Washington and make them work for you."

Alabama has a "bright future" and he went into energy area "we have the natural resources and the technical resources." "Can make the state boom" in the future.

"I want to work with you to make sure Alabama is a better place to live."

"My door will always be open. Alabamans expect that my door will be open. You can pick up the phone and call me in Washington and talk to me.

Your letters will be answered and I will work with with you."

Moderator asked for questions. There were none. He said "I appreciate you're letting me come by. Please help me in this election and come see us any time you want to."

His talk at the Estes Nursing Home, before about 40 old people in wheel chairs was similar. They were around in a circle and had been playing "a game" of horse racing.

"I've talked with people all over Alabama, and people are willing to see a new change in Alabama."

"There's been talk of putting a freeze on increases in social security benefits. I come here to tell you I'm against putting a freeze on social security benefits. I'm going to be highly critical of the social security system."

"I want to face the future with you, to make Alabama and the country a better place to live." (I think he even talked about 'our children' to this group with average age of 75-80.)

"I'll come back and see you and if you want to call me in Washington, I'll be receptive to your problems."

Question:

What party are you?

I'm a Democrat.

That's what I thought. I'm voting against you. I'm a Republican.

Owner asks medicare. "My father would never have gotten the kind of care he has been getting if it had not been for medicare. I'm a strong proponent of medicare."

Gun Control? "I am totally, absolutely, unequivocally--I wish they'd get the camera on me--against any form of gun control in this nation. If you implement gun control the only people carrying guns will be criminals."

They'll have as much chance of enforcing it as they did prohibition. It is every American's right to bear arms." This is the only time I saw him get excited about an issue.

After his talk, Channel 6 (the biggest TV station in Alabama) got him for an interview in the reception room. Mostly for a profile to be put on later. It was the interview that had Rachel 'panicked'. Jim shaved first and then went on, and in the course of the interview, to answer questions about various issues. I'll put that in later. But I never heard him say anything in the car that showed any concern about a problem or an issue.

When I came down to breakfast, he was reading Newsweek, he chuckled and read me a passage.

"That reminds me of my campaign. God and country, that's about all there is." I noted that Marshaw^(?) was talking about how the stories of Jim's college debts was taking attention away from "the issues." But to see Jim as interested in "the issues" is crazy. Denton, with his one-note Americanism, probably is more issue-oriented.

On way to Hospital, Mark said he had been told that the President controlled 5000 votes. "They vote like he tells them." Jim said "You don't really think he controls 5000 votes do you? Ninety-nine people out of 100 make that mistake. They assume that if someone says he influences 100 votes or 500 votes, he really does. It's not true."

After Sears, Kendall Weaver of AP caught Jim for some comments, and he was especially interested in the endorsements he was getting. Mark said

"He was picking at you about the AEA and the blacks. When did the AEA (Ala. Educ. Assn) endorse you? "I guess they just gave it out. I was hoping none of the groups would make endorsements. We're better off without them. All they want is a winner. I was going to say that to the press, but I figured it wouldn't look too good in the papers." An example, early on the second day, of the difference between what he'll say to me and to the press. All of which illustrated that his comments to Dr. Hill (later) were true.

The reporter had been with Denton the day before and Denton had, apparently been criticizing Jim's proposal that funds left over from interstate highway system be used to repair county roads. Jim's reaction to that was bemusement." He said it was illegal? We'll make it legal." That was almost the only time Denton was mentioned.

In Dr. Hill's office, he said "My father took a great interest in this hospital. He helped to start it. Tuscaloosa fought him tooth and toenail. He took a lot of heat for it. But he believed in it. (They all agree.) Whenever he has to go to the hospital he insists we drive him down here. He won't go to Baptist or any other one. He wants to go to 'my hospital...' I'll look forward to working with you. Because of my father's interest, I especially want to carry on his work. It's part of my heritage. I'll support you all I can."

They asked him whether the party was helping him. For him, the party is something he sees as a county by county proposition. "They are supposed to help. Some county party work, some don't. Some of them sit around, have coffee, talk about what they are going to do and then go home and watch TV. You're better off with a couple of 22 year olds in every county who will put up posters and hand out literature. That's how we won the primary."

Quanta

They asked him how hard it was to schedule and he said ideally they would do it "county by county" but they had to hop around.

Mark told me that "The two guys who stole Etowah County right out from under Stewart had never been in politics before. They were in the furniture business. The Stewart people didn't know what had happened. Etowah is a big union county and it's right next to Stewart's home county."

Mark said they had 4 days of media in primary and 6 days in runoff. Media is done by Hartsfeld Agency in Montgomery. (Jim Ward would not tell me who their media person was!)

Thinking about Cullman, Mark~~s~~ said "That's our backyard. We'd better have the grass mowed there."

Mark read out of paper that Republicans thought that Stewart's defeat would help them. (I have the article). Jim said, "They would. They have never gotten over the fact that Stewart got beat."

He was asked about committees a couple of times and wouldn't answer. "There are a lot of committees that would be good. Agriculture might be good. But I haven't boiled it down to anyone. I'll see what the maneuvering is when I get there. A lot depends on who you know. I think I'll have a shot at some good committees because of the people I know."

Very ambiguous--very unlike Tsongas who is issue-oriented.

Mark - "We're getting a lot of people looking for jobs. But no promises have been made to anyone. When it's over we'll sit down and see who did the best work. As Jim says, "Those who baked the pie will cut the pie!"

The headquarters--big room with 3 people along far wall, one a Kelly girl had just started day I came--typing thank'you; for contributions. Two other typists and receptionist, too. They left at 5:00 promptly, like office

workers. Another woman came in after 5:00 and was typing. Rachel was in a huge warehouse looking room off to the right, one desk and empty space the size of a department store all around her. On left was Jack's office. John Guthrie had another office behind his. They could close doors. No one else could. Jim Smith had a desk in the hallway between front room ^{and} ~~to~~ the huge empty back room storage space. He had a telephone and a desk. There was one volunteer at a long table addressing envelopes. ^{Sam} ~~Sam~~--the black man hurring around running errands, fixing the xerox machine which kept breaking down. There was an old refrigerator--a ladies and men's room (a handwritten sign in men's room asked men not to urinate on the toilet seat!). And that was the headquarters. It had lots of signs in the windows. And it was next to one of George Wallace's favorite restaurants. It was the least "professional" looking campaign headquarters I ever saw, certainly of any Senate campaign. They had other headquarters--the Birmingham one I saw and it was a perfectly OK looking satellite headquarters. But it had only two people in it. Linda Nesmith said that normally, she was the only one in there. When I stopped in, Linda was behind the one desk; another woman was working on letters in a partitioned off room; an old man was sitting in one of the couches drinking coffee (he had just stopped by) and Jim Ward was passing the time of day waiting to go somewhere else. Then Clay _____ came in from putting up signs. He had run out of stakes. I had talked to Clay the night before at the Dogs and Suds party. I had asked him why he was killing himself (mostly putting up signs) and he said he couldn't explain it, but he enjoyed it. Up through the runoff, he had done it for nothing. "After the runoff, when the money came in, we got gasoline expenses."

I tried to get several people to describe the campaign organization. No one could. It cannot be described. Jim Ward said "Jim is his own campaign manager." Someone else said "Jack is the campaign manager."

Jack said "John Guthrie is the chief strategist." When I called Jack about coming down he had said "I'll check with Jim and Delmer (Duboise) but I'm sure it will be all right."

Mark put it best. "When the Stewart people saw what we were doing, they couldn't understand it. 'You're not organized,' they kept saying. Of course we're organized. We do whatever needs to be done. We don't have any titles. There isn't any campaign manager. We just do what has to be done. JJ has a job, because he reports to the FEC. All this money goes to him. He has to be the treasurer. Some of the others want titles. But there aren't any."

Two other items should be recorded - the trip to Hayes International Corp. where Jim thought Tom Whitley had arranged for (Mr. Tom Hagan to give him a contribution. But he hadn't and Jim was put in embarrassing position. He should have been furious--it took one hour out of his day. Hayes asked him a bunch of question--"What committees do you want to get on? How do you stand on the moral majority." And he says nothing--it's an inquisition. Then this: Hagan - "What can I do to help?" Jim - "We'd appreciate any support you can give us, talk to people--any kind of support. Tom - "I'm a country boy and I like to say things up front. I hope this is all right with you Jim. (Jim nods) What we need is money."

Hagan - "Well I'll think about it. I assume you're not in any great hurry.

Jim - "We'd appreciate anything you can do.

Tom - "I don't want to rush you, as we could use it soon as possible.

Hagan - "Well, I'll look at my hand and I'll make my decision."

We leave - Tom says "That guy plays his cards close to the vest. But do you see all those national guard airplanes over there. That means contracts. There's no way he's not going to contribute." But Tom put Jim through a one

hour long ride and quiz" without producing any visible payoff. We didn't ride with Jim after that so I don't know how steamed he was. But he was sure upset when we did get back together as I've noted.

Other interesting meeting was the luncheon with Press and all but one of UAB VPs. Following 1 1/2 hours at meetings of UAB--We ate. They a slide show of 14 minutes about the University. The show was impressive. 14,000 students, 20,000 if you consider all who use facilities. 250m budget, of which 52m comes from federal government. Classes all hours, 6 days a week. Mostly community students; a renowned medical center, incredible growth and building, etc. After the show, they ask him to make comments and ask any questions he has. And he says "I appreciate your letting me come by. I look forward to working with you. But I'm not elected yet. So I'll appreciate any support you can give me. If you'll talk to your friends and to your kinfol~~y~~, I'd appreciate it. I need your votes and I'm asking for your votes. Thank you again for letting us visit with you." That was it. He didn't make any comments about UAB or its greatness or whatever. He needs votes at this stage. I wonder if they understand his frame of mind or whether they thought his response bizarre. He had no substantive interest to express at that point. (He had expressed some in the private meeting with Hill). They should have expected it. They kept saying they only wanted to "have you meet some of the people here, especially the administration, to open up communication." If that's what they wanted, they did it. They did not accumulate a lot of good will, because their timing was awful. But he doesn't blame them. And if they understood his preoccupation, then it would be OK. I hope they didn't see him as just another, politician

looking for votes." That would have been a total misreading of why the meeting occurred. (It was the last place he wanted to be!)

- I have notes from Chic interview in my notebook

John Smith - " a lone operator" as campaign manager - "You could say we kicked off this campaign over night. When we first started talking about it we were never sure it would come off. But with his name and his charisma and his abilities as a political candidate, we won. That Folsom name is religious in some areas of the state. Some people would go to fighting over it. He was just a clean, unscarred candidate. That helped a great deal too."

They worried about money most. DS had 500,000 in hand and Folsom had only 22,000. He borrowed and spent 40,000 on 1st primary.

45 // Montgomery Adv - Sept. 28. - Sam Duvall - "By any calculation, Stewart lost his seat on Sept. 2 when he garnered 48% of the vote."

A Steward adviser afterwards: "Maybe we shouldn't have had him concentrate in speaking to local leaders and small groups such as the chamber of commerce, instead of just going out and shaking hands where the people are" and Duvall says "Stewart was not known for his warmth when it comes to glad handing with the public" says how, when Pres. came to Tuscumbia, James spent 30 minutes shaking hands and Stewart walked right into a building from his airplane.

Bob Ingram - Alabama Magazine - margin so thin that any number of things could have made the difference. "Certainly the incumbent was hurt by the charges that he had mishandled campaign funds in 1978.... No doubt further violence was done to Stewart by the cross over vote of Republicans in the runoff. But there is strong evidence that it was the failure of this Ala. - Dem. Conf. to deliver the black vote which may have been the fatal blow to Stewart. Stewart took a terrible risk in the controversial federal judgeship appointments. Already branded as 'too liberal' by many conservative

Folsom -

whites, Stewart gave these people even added ammunition by his role in the judgeship affair. Having done so, he had every reason to expect that the ADC would deliver the solid black vote in the runoff. It was not forthcoming."

AP story Dothan Eagle - Sept. 24 - also in Huntsville Times written by Kendall Weaver. "Stewart's difficulties seeking Dem. renomination seemed to rest largely on his lack of a solid constituency and his label as a moderate at a time of rising conservative sentiments in Alabama."

One article comments on how JF got his margin from Wiregrass counties; another notes that JF "overwhelmed Stewart in North Alabama."

Huntsville Times - Sept. 24 - JF: "Difficult times and difficult periods dictate different stands on the issues. When my father came to prominence in state politics, it was after the war and there was lots of money for government programs. Today is a different period with new problems, but we have to find new solutions." A comment that gets quoted a lot.

Comment by Denton on how he needs Democratic votes. "You can't just work hard singing in the choir. You have to get the Democrats. It's going to take unusual work. This mountain has never been climbed."

Cullman Times - Sept. 25 - on a story that was widely repeated in the clippings from various states: "He was cleared of wrong doing by the Justice Department less than a week before the runoff, but Folsom denounced him as a 'crook' and a 'liar' and raised the issue repeatedly during the campaign."

One guy says it's a change when Alabamans don't go with seniority. A tradition has changed.

Florence Times - Oct .5 - "The Admiral and the Good Ole Boy" by Chas. Dean. "Intentionally or not (and probably more intentionally that not) Jim

Folsom

Folsom cultivates the image of a good ole boy--and for purposes of this election at least, the issue is of a 'young' good 'ol boy... Folsom speaks slowly, at times even lazily. He has a deep Southern drawl... When Folsom talks, he always talks about the 'folks'. He talks about giving the 'folks' the kind of Washington representation they want--down home and basic. He talks about remaining in contact with every Alabama County once he is a Senator in Washington. When he is finished speaking, Folsom makes the rounds, shaking hands as he goes, patting backs along the way. And he always seems to be smiling. His face is young. He is personally warm and friendly and always seems to project the image of being comfortable and relaxed. He is, to use one word, folksy."

DS says
not
likely

He also notes that JF notes his age often and article by Al Fox in Birmingham News said that when the two met face to face JF said "Admiral Denton is older and maybe more knowledgeable, but I am younger and have more hope for a longer term in the Senate." Fox notes that "he said it with a big grin toward his opponent."

Jack Smollen - Opelika - Auburn News. "The vote was, as has so often been the case lately in so many elections, a negative one--anti-Stewart, not pro-Folsom.... Well publicized allegations about Stewart's campaign probably hurt the Senator even though he was cleared by a Senate ethics committee finding. He was also hurt rather than helped by senate colleagues whose endorsements gave the impression that outsiders were trying to influence an Alabama election."

Anniston Star - Oct. 5 - DS "The one thing I never imagined I would be faced with was an assault on my integrity. It had never happened before and I doubt that it ever will again, because there was no taint there. The Justice Department discussed the allegation, the Senate Ethics Committee

dismissed them and still they came. I must be the most scrutinized senator in history."

*new
sit
pastor
sm
SWF*

Florence Times - Mel Newman - "Stewart's Thin Support Just Dried Up"
"A mile wide and an inch deep. That was how the support for U.S. Senator Donald Stewart was described in early summer. The summer long drought proved too much for the shallow stream, and it dried up in Sept. In the early summer when Stewart should have washed away the opposition, he didn't, and when he gave it the effort late, he could not. Stewart's trouncing of Maryann Allen 2 years ago had little to do with his popularity; instead, it was evident reactions against the incumbent. Folsom's narrow victory Tuesday is as much attributable to his opponents miscalculations and personality as it to Folsom's abilities. Stewart spent a tremendous amount of money, somewhere around 750,000 to 1 million, much of it on paid staff. Folsom did not exceed 100,000 we hear. Stewart's television and newspaper advertising had all the cogency and charm of a Ronald Reagan lecture on the history of the Klu Klux Klan."

He goes on to cite problems in various counties - In Bl DS
organization was in charge of a Republican. "In Madison County he lost the services of some hardworking volunteers and ended up relying on paid staff people. All it did for him was to lose the county to Folsom and a campaign run by a bunch of amateurs. In Colbert County he had used labor union volunteers in 78, but this time conservatives took over. --- the enthusiastic people left the campaign.

"Stewart was the victim of the political establishment, in a manner, because two years ago there were many who thought they would have made a better Senator than he. They took it out on him this time by helping Folsom..."

article by Steven Allen in Fort Payne Times Journal. "Factors Added
Up to Stewart Loss" good on facts. (xeroxed)

Cullman Times - Sept. 28. - "The Women in His Life". JF was asked when she 1st knew he was going to run "married to Jim, I have come to expect the unexpected." "He gave a great deal of thought to getting in the race before he decided to. One thing that influenced him greatly was people coming to him and saying "We need a more conservative voice in Washington. However, getting in the race late may have helped with the timing. Candidates have been known to peak too soon. In Jim's case, the money has just seemed to keep growing."

She says that he worked way through Jacksonville State, worked in a cotton mill, a post office, drove a dump turck for state highway department. "He can really identify with the working man, and the farmer and the people of rural Alabama."

His mother described his race vx. Bevill. "He ran vs. Tom Bevill when he was 26 just to assess his strength. His father had done the same thing in coffee County when he was 26. And he got a surprising 25% of the vote against a very strong and practically unbeatable candidate."

He worked for Reynolds Aluminum.

Got 86% of vote in PSC race.

Dothan Eagle - Oct. 5 - Stewart's Statement, which gets widely reported is that he is not going to stay in D.C. "Alabama is my home and that state has always been good to me. I'll be active in the Democratic party-- I always have been--and I'll continue to work for the things I believe in, like rural health services and the development of an alcohol fuels program.

Cherokee County Herald - Oct. 8 - JF attacks Congress and perks "What we've got is an imperial Congress; some of whose members have come to believe they are better than the people who sent them there...(attacks all perks).

"It is changing from the representative assembly the founding fathers intended it to be into a privileged castle, like the nobles of medieval society."

They don't pay social security, they don't obey fair employment and safety laws. Members of Congress "shield themselves from the problems of ordinary citizens".. live "outside the world of supply and demand."

Montgomery Advertiser - Oct 1 - Folsom says main difference between himself and Denton is age.

St. John endorsed no one, but said he would vote for Folsom.

Folsom widely quoted as calling Stewart "the worst Senator in Alabama history."

Alabama Journal - Sept. 22 - Stewart "I'm not the prettiest face in the campaign, but I'm not running in a beauty contest; and a sparkling smile, pretty teeth and a handsome face isn't going to convince a Northern Senator to let loose of money for the Tenn-Tom Water^{way}ing project."

Mrs. Stewart got 20,479 votes - supports Folsom.

Alabama Journal - Montgomery 9/24 - Lou Elliott and Sam Duvall painted contest. "Stewart spent 2 years campaigning, paid out more than 500,000 and used political heavyweights like Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd and Sen. Russell Long chairman of Senate Finance Committee, in his quest. Folsom, eldest son of former 2 term populist Gov. Jim Folsom, Sr., used his family name, spent only one-tenth of what Stewart had and courted the black and rural vote."

Opelika Auburn News - Sept. 22 - re DS, says Lulu re DS coming home every weekend. "He felt that was the best way to keep in touch with the people in Alabama, to come back home often. He tries very hard to make himself accessible."

Dothan Eagle - Sept. 22 - JF "I'll be no one's pup in Washington. It will be wonderful to be able to serve in the Senate without ties to any special interest groups."

Anderson article quotes Dennis - "No one was closer to Donald than me."

By count 1/4 - 1/3 of all clippings have to do with Stewart and problems.

Some idea of drum beat - Mobile Press - Sept. 5 - "Stewart says tapes clear him of fraud charges." Also Sept. 5 - Mobile Register "Stewart plays tapes, claim they clear him." both cases long story - Same AP story carried everywhere. (I have copy of it from Scottsboro Sentinel)--all on Sept. 5.

Sept. 12 - another Jack A. column.