

William J. Brady, Jr. Oral History Interview – RFK #1, 11/5/1974
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Biographical Note

Brady was lawyer, a Harvard University classmate of Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), and a Kennedy family friend. In this interview, he discusses playing football at Harvard with RFK, Dean Markham and other of RFK's friends, John F. Kennedy's 1960 primary and general election campaigns in Pennsylvania, and initiatives to hire minorities as U.S. attorneys, among other issues.

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William J. Brady, Jr.—RFK#1

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First of Two Oral History Interviews

with

William J. Brady, Jr.

November 5, 1974
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

By Roberta W. Greene

For the Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Project of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

GREENE: I guess the best place to begin is at Harvard [Harvard University], which is where you met. Is that correct?

BRADY: That's right.

GREENE: Okay. Why don't you begin by describing when and how you met Robert Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] and how your relationship developed?

BRADY: Well, it would be 1946 in the fall. We were both striving to play football, really, and I met him then. I had known him by reputation through my sister who had gone to Rosemont [Rosemont College] with Pat [Patricia Kennedy Lawford]. I had met Pat there, which would be 1941, roughly. But in 1946 we got to know each other quite well just playing on the football team, really, and slowly but surely meeting one another at that time. And mostly in 1946 I didn't play very much football at all after September 5th or 10th because I got injured fairly seriously and didn't play much that year at all. And then I did play basketball. Bobby would come to the games, from time to time to basketball, and we would see each other then. I was always on the training table in 1946 so I would see Bobby then. And he would be with most of the members of the team whether it would be O'Donnell [Kenneth P. O'Donnell] or Gannon [Thomas H. Gannon] or Wally Flynn [Wallace J. Flynn] or Rodis [Nicholas Rodis] and the rest. We'd all just be sort

of like a group of us together constantly discussing what was happening to the fortunes of the Harvard football.

And when I played basketball in that winter and spring, as I say, I saw Bobby then a good bit. And then at the end of that season we both went out for the spring football. That would be 1947 in the spring. And we started to see each other fairly frequently. And that summer we both went to that semester which would be the summer semester, but in those years it was really almost like three semester because it was the war group coming back. And he lived at a house just off near the law school, really, where I would stay with him quite frequently, and that's where for a couple of months we were basically roommates, although most of the weekends we'd be going to Maine or going to Hyannis Port or going to New York. We did go to Hyannis Port once I think, the whole bunch of us, Gene and Bobby and I think Cleo O'Donnell and myself and a few others. That summer we were really pretty active. I saw really a great deal of him.

Then in the fall it was football again, and he was the end on the team that year. He was first team. But however, he broke his leg in a practice, actually. That would be the second or third game. He had scored two or three touchdowns against Western Maryland early in September of '47. Then the problem was that he had only six weeks to recover, and he really never was able to get back completely well. And all this time it was really mostly a case of trying to be athletes.

There was a period in '46 when he was very active with Jack [John F. Kennedy]. I think all of us were active with Jack. I remember mostly in 1946 in the election just the college girls from most of the Catholic colleges and ourselves were always going to something in a place called Dorchester. I didn't know Boston that much. I really would just go there because everybody would be there, usually. And Jack would be campaigning in that period, and I wasn't even aware of the election other than it was always good to be around them because there was a lot of joy and frivolity, really.

But that was 1946 when he first ran. And in that following year when I did go to Hyannis Port with Bobby, Jack usually played touch football with us then. It was only two or three occasions, but he was really very interesting. I met Jack, I guess, mostly at that point. Bobby's grandfather was there all the time singing the Irish songs, which I always thought was amazing. Honey Fitz [John F. Fitzgerald]. And then after the season I was playing basketball again and I saw Bobby very frequently.

And then he was getting ready to do something overseas at the end of his senior year. That would be 1948, I think. He was living with George Terrien at that time, as I recall. And then he went over, I believe, he went to the Middle East at that point. I remember saying goodbye to him at one point.

During this year, when we'd go to New York, of course we'd see Ethel [Ethel Skakel Kennedy] most of the time. Jack would always tease him about, "If you don't marry Ethel, I'll marry her." And we would go down there to see the horse. I remember the horses always scared me to death at the stables. They had horses right in Greenwich there.

GREENE: I'm sorry, I didn't catch that.

BRADY: They had horses right at their house in Greenwich, in the thing if you walked down the length of their house. That would be 1948. And then

Bobby came back from his trip. And I really didn't see him. I guess I called and got in touch with him. And then I became engaged at the end of '48. I guess he was at law school then in Virginia. And then in the following June I was married, and he had told me that he was going to be in Europe and couldn't be in the wedding. But at any rate, lo and behold, at the time of the wedding he was there and he and Markham [Dean F. Markham] and the rest of them would tried to kill me if I wasn't there. But he came back, and he was an usher and Markham was an usher, and that was in 1949. And then I wrote to him again once or twice. And I went to Kansas City, Missouri, of all places, right after that. I came back the following year, June in 1950, for his wedding with Ethel. I was an usher with the family and we spent a week or so together practically at that point—trying to tear the Harvard Club apart, really. At any rate, that was that June of 1950. And then—they went to Hawaii, I think, for their honeymoon.

GREENE: Right.

BRADY: But at any rate, they came back through Kansas City after they left San Francisco, I guess. And they stopped. He had called me and told me that he had stopped over. And they stayed at the Meuhlebach [Meuhlebach Hotel]. And I always remember my wife had called the Meuhlebach saying that Robert and Ethel Kennedy would be there, and the thing that concerned the Meuhlebach at one point was who was going to pay the bill or something like that. And then my wife said, "Well, don't you know that this is the Ambassador's [Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr.]son and daughter?" And immediately they sent the flowers up to the room, and they did everything imaginable; they were so embarrassed that they didn't know the whole thing. But we spent about two or three days—they spent two days there and we went out and spoke, et cetera. And by this time—I don't think he was a lawyer yet; I think he had another year to go. At any rate, we had a great time and they left Kansas City, and I think they went on to Chicago, as I recall. I don't remember where they went after that. That would be 1950. And then...

GREENE: Maybe before you continue we could go back a little bit and go over some of the things on the time at Harvard before we get too far afield.

BRADY: Right, right.

GREENE: Did you go to classes with him at all at Harvard? Do you remember?

BRADY: Oh, yes. It was funny because you were with him all the time almost, and as a result nothing stands out a great, great deal when you're a classmate, when you're perpetually talking about little things, you know what I mean. It really was a very, very mundane life when you're seeing somebody every day and you're going through the normal college days. And that's what it was; it was just a constant.... And we just always saw each other quite a bit.

His intensity about football was really an all-consuming feeling. And I was the same way. We both wanted to play and make the team and become stars. And there wasn't much room else. He was always a pretty good student, but we never cared a great, great deal about

talking about courses a great deal. You know, a lot of the lineman and a lot of the other members of the team were always looking for easy courses and stuff like that, but it wasn't.... We never talked about it. He was always a good student and I was not that far behind. You know, I could get by subsequently. But we were really more concerned about playing football because both of us were not very large. I don't think Bobby ever weighed more than 160 back in those days. That's really giving him a break. He had to make up in intensity and effort for what he lacked in size because they had an enormous number of ends that could be played. They had Glynn [Charles R. Glynn], Peter Garland, Felt [Thomas R. Felt], John Fiorentino, Walt Coulson [Walter Coulson]. The list was endless. And he was up against people weighing thirty and forty pounds more than him and four or five and six inches taller. So he really didn't have any.... It was a hard time for a guy like Bobby because he was playing with people who had been there for years and years and years. He was playing with the class of '44, '45, '46, '47, '48, so it was all the veterans coming back. And it was a very difficult thing for everybody. Everybody was.... There was great sort of disenchantment because of the numbers. Harvard never had eighty and ninety guys out for football team before. So it really made it much more, in the vernacular, dog-eat-dog. We were much more competitive feeling, and we had to wrestle with that. Both of us did in a way. He overcame it and he became first string in his senior year. And he probably played a great deal as a junior, although in his junior year he had an awful lot of seniors who would have graduated years ago if it hadn't been for the war. That created an enormous morale problem because the fellow that would come back from the war was twenty-four and five, and Bobby was twenty or twenty-one. And it really was sad for everybody because nobody was very happy about it. And it really never worked out. Every college had it, but Harvard had it especially for some reason, I think. And I think it created a morale problem because Harlow [Richard C. Harlow] left after that year. After '48, I think Harlow left, or '47 I think he left. Yes, '47. He wasn't too well at the time. But he knew football pretty well, but he was an older man.

GREENE: But football really dominates your memories of him in that period.

BRADY: Yes, it does.

GREENE: What he was involved in academically or how he saw his education fitting into his future, that kind of thing didn't stand out?

BRADY: That's right. It was personalities. As I say, there were so many good players around, and the difference between us all really was very slender, you see, and it really was a matter of personalities: coaches liked certain people for certain things and each day was more concerned with so-and-so is a favorite today. And it was a big thing. Whereas, as I say, in past years and today I think you'll find that there isn't the same competition. That is, people normally get fixed pretty well and the coach as a team, he knows pretty well who's going to play. There's one or two exceptions, but in these years there were enormous exceptions. Even though it boiled down to a lot of people predictably playing, there were a number of people who at first didn't even think would be playing. I know Goethals [Henry Goethals] was at quarterback and he started to

play a lot, but he had been superseded by Miklos [Frank J. Miklos] there early in the season. And Miklos was a very good passer and an able guy. I thought it was always especially true of the ends where Bobby was because he had ten people, ten ends, who were all bigger than he was and stronger. And they were all real good. I know he was holding his breath in his junior year trying to figure out how he was going to get in. He just made an effort and did it. And by the senior year, he was first team. And as I say, he scored three touchdowns against Western Maryland.

GREENE: The injury to his leg then must have been a really big disappointment.

BRADY: I think it was a severe disappointment, yes. It was a severe disappointment in that it happened at a dreadful time. In those years we only had nine games, usually. Well, it happened, roughly, just about the second game. So to heal and mend a broken bone just took the season right away. If it happened three weeks before the first game, he would have been able to play half the season. But happening right after the first game and right before the second game, he only had six or seven weeks, and he wasn't even ready for the Yale game. He and I went in together in the Yale game and we both got our letters. I had separated my shoulder, and I had a tendon that was torn in my hip and I really couldn't run. And Harlow sent us both in together and we were the "walking wounded." You had to go into the Yale game to get your letter and that's the way we got our letter together, Bobby and I. He went in with an enormous cast. His leg was really not in good shape at all. But he had made his mind up that he was going to play anyway and he went on and he made the effort and he got the letter. But his leg never did get better until that Christmas for very much.

But his life was like.... Maybe it's because I was more oriented, you know, maybe toward nothing but athletics, but I always felt the same way about Bobby, that his, really, desire those years and his all-consuming energy was being used just to go ahead and play football, really.

GREENE: His friends, from the ones you've mentioned and from what I've read, were all football types also. Is that true?

BRADY: Yes.

GREENE: The people in his own sort of social milieu were not people that interested him, is that accurate?

BRADY: Well, I don't think so. I think he had a fairly two-sided situation whereas I saw him from the school and the football and pretty much only that during the day. You never can separate the family influence and his brother—Jack and his father—because when he would leave he'd be with them and he'd be with the other friends of the family and his friends from Milton, things like that. But that was something I really didn't see that much of, actually. I went to Hyannis Port just a few times, but at Hyannis Port it was really a family affair. The Gargans would be there or some friends of Jack would be there. I remember Gene Tierney was there the weekend I was there, for

instance. Or some other friends of Pat Kennedy would be there. And Jean [Jean Kennedy Smith] was there and Eunice [Eunice Kennedy Shriver] would always be there, as I recall. Lem Billings [Kirk Lemoyne Billings] was there all the time, for instance. Most of the time that I've been with the family, Lem would be around. I didn't see Dave Hackett [David L. Hackett] much in that period, although I did see him much, much later.

GREENE: How close was Markham at this point?

BRADY: Markham was my roommate. I was much closer to Bobby than Markham. And at that juncture in life, Markham, his personality was not conducive really, I guess, to Bobby at that point from the standpoint of he always took things not too seriously on the surface—although he was as intense as Bobby or I was about football. But he was never the same outwardly. He was much more sophisticated than we were structurally. And he was probably one of the best linemen in the school. He was an absolutely superb athlete. He could do anything well. But it was a case of where his personality never really inured itself to the coach, a fellow named Harlow. And Harlow would have a tendency to make fun of him. And for that reason, Bobby used to look upon Dean as something of a cut-up. And it was always funny because.... It's funny, in 1950 when Bobby came to Kansas City, Bobby's opinion of Dean was changing then very much. And I remember getting into an argument with Bobby after dinner and Bobby saying, "Oh, he was always fooling around. He wasn't that serious." And I said to Bobby, "You're crazy. Dean is the greatest guy I'll ever meet. And he was a great lineman and everything else." And Bobby agreed with me that, "I was wrong, Bill, thinking he was too much of a cut-up." Because Bobby took football very seriously and if you were a cut-up in the thing, you really lost a little of his esteem. So from that standpoint, I've always got a great kick out of it because in later years, of course, I always think that Dean and Bobby became the best of friends—along with Dave Hackett. I think Dave and Bobby were probably the closest. But Dean was very, very close and he was very much of a different person than Hackett. Dean was outgoing and uncontradictable and just somebody that I adored tremendously, somebody who just made your life—it was just like going through a Hollywood set. He was just continually creating problems. And Bobby and he, I always think, became closest of friends.

GREENE: Was it—I assume it was through Robert Kennedy that Dean Markham got involved with George Skakel [George Skakel, Jr.]. Wasn't he working with him at the time that they were both killed?

BRADY: He was working with Skakel, that's right. But you must remember something about Dean: Dean had an enormous propensity to make friends. I mean Skakel adored him, George Skakel just adored Dean because he was such a fascinating person. Even Ethel I think.... Ethel and Dean, for instance, were enormously friendly because he was such an entertaining guy. And I don't remember ever anybody.... I never thought Dean was capable of it, but he simply adored Bobby to the point where I was just amazed when he told me how he felt about Bobby. You know, where you'd do everything and anything. He never showed his feelings on his sleeve, Dean, really. But in regard to Bobby, in those years from 1960 to 68, Dean really was an absolute—his whole life

was Bobby, actually. And the fact that he was with Skakel was, sure, because of Ethel. But it was Ethel who adored Dean too, and Bobby. And George himself adored him. They just really....

And it was very difficult for Dean, really, being a father and a husband with five children. I always thought that he may have been stretched just too far in a very personal position, you know what I mean. He just was doing too much if, I mean. Bobby wanted him to run off to Florida, he'd be with Bobby. If George wanted him to be in Wyoming when he was killed with George, he'd be elsewhere. And somebody else was always talking to him and things like that. I sort of, you know, really enjoyed Markham. He used to come to Philadelphia every year for about a week and spend it with me. He'd almost kill me, he'd play tennis....

He was an absolute physical culture nut too. He took tennis up and became a great tennis player. But his relationship with Bobby just became really amazingly tight. In spite of the fact that Dave Hackett and Bobby knew each other all their lives, for some unknown reason I don't think Dave really ever felt anything but real friendship to Dean in that relationship, really. I think it was just one of those situations that was beautiful, really. Markham, he was just too ridiculous to.... You'd have to sort of be with him all the time to realize what he was capable of doing and saying.

GREENE: And it was always that way, not just when he was very young.

BRADY: Yes, he was just.... I don't know what it was. His father died when he was a very young boy. And he went to junior college. He always tells me the story, Markham does, when he was there he lived in a chicken coop and he used to live on tomatoes and chickens and things like that. And after they lost their game at the junior college, the coach stopped giving him tomatoes and he had to fend his own way. His whole life has been.... At seventeen he was a police officer and he arrested the mayor of the city whom he didn't know. And there was an assault and battery charge placed against Dean, and he went back to Harvard and they were still looking for him. He just was.... Everything that he was involved with was just wild. And I think as it went along, Bobby really had a lot of the same qualities. And Bobby and he really became very, you know, inseparable in their whole outlook and things like that. It was really quite a friendship. It surprised me because I didn't see Bobby that much in the mid-fifties and the late fifties—I was in touch with him all the time—on a month, couple of month basis, but I wasn't.... I didn't know what they were doing. I wasn't going to the parties with Bobby and Ethel like I had, whereas Dean and Sue [Susan Moore Markham] were all the time and they were very close social friends all through that '58-'62 period, really. You know, they were constantly going with them. And they had formed an enormously close base. Bobby never.... After I think when I went back to see Bobby, I guess in '60, he never really had much to say about Dean because Dean and he were the best of friends, really. You know it wasn't a case of my saying to Bobby, "You're crazy thinking Dean was silly," or something like that, "he really is the greatest guy you'll ever meet," and all that sort of stuff.

GREENE: Do you remember anything in particular about the time of the accident when Dean was killed, the effect on Robert Kennedy?

BRADY: Honestly, Bobbie, it was really funny. Bobby was helping me. We sat next to one another in the pews, and I couldn't stop crying all the time. And Bobby—I don't know whether it helped Bobby, but he was always looking at me wondering what was wrong with me. I remember both him and Ethel at the grave. They were the only ones there, the last two to leave the grave. I just think it had a tremendous effect on both of them.

GREENE: Someone told me that actually that was more difficult for them than—even for Ethel—than losing her brother at the same time, that that was more of the tragedy of that accident for them than even George Skakel's death. And she was close to that brother, wasn't she?

BRADY: Yes.

GREENE: I think that was the closest of them.

BRADY: Yes. I spoke to her about writing a book about George and all that sort of stuff and writing memoirs for George and what he had done as an athlete and all that sort of thing. Yes, she was very close to George, that's right.

Well, Dean, I don't know, he had a very amazing way about him that... The lack of friction between Dean and his close friends was almost unbelievable. I don't know what he didn't do with them. For instance, Ethel, she just adored him as if he was a brother. You're absolutely right. And everything he said to her was something that you knew she just enjoyed. He'd make people be so pleased with everything. He really had an enormous knack in that. And Bobby just got the greatest kick out of him. And Bobby returned it. I mean, as I say, I always thought it was remarkable how Dean changed in his attitude—because he never was that way toward anyone I knew (and I knew everybody that was a close friend of his). But to Bobby he really had unbelievable dedication. He really did. He was quite willing to die for Bobby and all that sort of thing.

GREENE: When do you think that started? Was that after Kennedy went to the Justice Department, in that period, or did it even precede his own national prominence?

BRADY: No, I think it started probably around... I think it built itself up probably in '60, '61, and '62. We all went up in New York in '64 and Dean Markham and Jim McShane [James J.P. McShane] were the ones who were the basic bodyguards for Bobby. And that would be '64, the fall of '64, when we were all together up in New York. And at that point Dean was absolutely engrossed. I mean a lot times I couldn't see him or he said, "Bill, I can't talk to you now," which he never did in his life before, you know, in terms of being busy. But he was very taken with his role as Bobby's right-hand man, in that sense—one of his right-hand men. So I think it happened slowly but surely. I don't know when it started because I wasn't around him that much in '57-8-9. I'd only be calling him. I wouldn't be going down there to the parties or anything like that. And

Dean at that point was working in Westerly, although Dean and Sue were seeing the Kennedys at that point to some degree. I don't know how frequently.

Then in 1960 I think Dean went down there just after the election, probably early '61 I guess, because I used to get letters from Dean and he used to see me. He was a godfather to my oldest child, and then he'd write her notes or something like that. She'd [inaudible] or something like that and he'd send pictures to her her. And then he was chairman of the President's fitness and national health campaign or something like that. And then he went into the narcotic end of it in '62, I guess, and he was over in the executive office of the White House. And I guess at that point he merged off into Great Lakes [Great Lake Carbon Corporation] because they had an office in Great Lakes for him in '64, right after that election, I guess. And I guess he was with Great Lakes Carbon all the time until his death. See, he died in '66, September. So I guess he must—maybe he left in '63 or '64, about that time.

GREENE: It's interesting because the picture that you painted [of] Robert Kennedy in at Harvard is so different from the way a lot of books have portrayed him, as kind of a dour and dull and almost monkish figure except for his athletics.

BRADY: Well, he was not unlike that to begin with. If he ever got interested in you, that's when he would start. You had to touch his right bone, you know, to get him to turn up. Otherwise, he'd ignore you or something like that.

GREENE: That's from Margaret Laing's book, and it's one of the more descriptive paragraphs I found on that period. I would just be interested in your reaction to it.

BRADY: The underlined area?

GREENE: Yes. And that kind of thing is repeated in a lot of different places, that type of description.

BRADY: Well, I don't know. I think a lot of it is.... It's just impossible.... The intellectual capacity, I think that sort of measurement is just almost ridiculous to talk about.

GREENE: The comparisons, you mean, with his brothers.

BRADY: Yes. I just don't know.... I just don't think any of us will ever know what Harvard did to Joe [Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.], Jack or Bobby in a measurement scale. At Harvard....

GREENE: Were his attitudes as inflexible as she describes them?

[BEGIN TAPE 2]

BRADY: I think Bobby had a great, great deal of defensive mechanism about him, and that would fit in with “preconceptions” and “inflexibility.” You must remember that an awful lot of the so-called blue-bloods there disapproved of Bobby Kennedy, you know, structurally as a second generation rich boy’s son and that sort of thing.

GREENE: But that’s what I meant before when I said that he seemed to seek out athletes who were probably of ethnic backgrounds, and veterans, and older and rowdier than the blue blood types who were sort of the social end of Harvard. Did he react to them the way they reacted to him?

BRADY: I’ll tell you, you still have to go back to his basic personality, and his basic personality is basic. I mean he really adored playing football. And the only way you get good is to talk to the good guys and to try to stay with the good guys and get tips from the good guys and think football with them. I don’t think he gave a darn about anything else. I mean, you must remember, when one’s interest is overwhelming in one direction, that’s going to take care of his personality to a very strong degree. And I think that’s true of Bobby. I think he just.... He was like all of us. I mean you’ve got to be sort of an athletic dope, I think, to recognize what it is. It’s a concentration of efforts and a concentration of, “What can I do to get on that team, and where am I slipping? And what exercise does Charley use and what trick does Tony use? And why do you think the coach doesn’t like me? That quarterback throws the ball too hard. Why doesn’t somebody tell him tell that he ought to soften up his pass? On blocking that big tackle, you’ve got to get an angle on him or he’s going to kill you running right at you. And going down on punts, how do you get away from that one guy who blocks real well?” It’s just that sort of thing. And to say that he doesn’t pay very much attention to somebody else, well, we had the Peter Garlands and the other la-dee-das, so to speak, playing, and they were doing the same thing that Bobby was. They were all-consumed with football, you know. And I think it’s much more of being a football player and walking the path of what you have to do in your own mind to make the team than it is having choices. I mean he just never paid much attention to the clubs or all that sort of stuff. You would hear from time to time that he can’t go into Porcellian or something like that. But that was just guys who had nothing else to do, who were writing for the *Lampoon*.

GREENE: He was a member of a number of clubs...

BRADY: Spee I think.

GREENS: ...and Varsity.

BRADY: Hasty Pudding.

GREENS: And Hasty Pudding, yes.

BRADY: Well, they're not the la-dee-da clubs.

GREENE: The top clubs.

BRADY: I think Porcellian and A.D. are something. But I don't know, I wasn't a member of any of that stuff either. But I think that those guys had a tendency to look upon college from their club position much more than Bobby and the rest of us were looking at it from the sports position, you see. Never the twain should meet. They could talk, you know, in their sly ways, but I don't think it bothered Bobby to any degree at all. You know, that sort of thing was always taken care of by his father. His father really, I think, structured him on who was important, really, and where should you be and that sort of thing. I don't think he.... After all, he was with a lot younger guys. I mean I'm two years older than Bobby and I was a veteran, but most of the other guys were three and four years older than he was: Cleo O'Donnell and Moravec [Vincent P. Moravec] and Gannon—God, Gannon was old enough to be an uncle, I guess. And the rest of them, they were just older guys and he really had to fit in with that. He wasn't an outgoing guy, so he really had to sort of make up for it in concentration on the game.

GREENE: I have a quote from him where he says at one point, "I didn't go to class much. I used to sit around, and talk and argue a lot about sports and politics." Do you remember much of an interest in politics in this period? It certainly sounds like no question that sports was a big thing, but was politics also something he seemed interested in?

BRADY: Oh, I think yes, he was always knowledgeable about it and he spoke about it a good bit. Frankly, not being a Massachusetts person, I really, you know, did not care. The only thing I cared about was Jack and his great campaigns and the pretty girls. He would be talking about somebody all the time about politics. And I, as often as not, wouldn't really get into it in that degree. But there's no question that politics and Jack were a big thing. Because Jack was so nice to all of us. You know, if you ever went to the house—he was such an outgoing guy to begin with. And he really looked very, very warmly to Bobby, Bobby and he were very close. I remember when he was in Philadelphia in '56, his saying to me, "Make sure you see Bobby," or something like that. "He's doing fine, Bill," and all that sort of thing. They really had an idyllic relationship—I mean all their lives; I mean not just when Jack was president, but all their lives they really complemented one another very beautifully. Jack was a real magnificent showman.

GREENE: By the time you met him in '46, and when you got closer to him in the next couple of years, did he already have a serious relationship with Ethel? Or were you aware of any other girls at any point before her?

BRADY: No, I was never aware of any other girls but Ethel. But I don't know whether it was that firm. He wasn't that much of a.... He didn't have his

mind much on women really, in my judgment—I mean girls—even at that age, '46 and '47. But I know he was extremely fond of Ethel.

GREENE: Did she seem to have much of an influence on him?

BRADY: Oh, I think so. But it was a hidden part. He really kept that part of his life pretty hidden. Even when he was going to get married, you could guess it I guess, but he never let you show it, whereas somebody else would. Dean Markham you knew was going to marry Sue Moore. I never could say that about Bobby, he was definitely going to marry.... Although when I was with him, the girl he would be with in New York would be Ethel all the time. But he was more cautious than the rest—although you just knew he and she were perfectly attuned to each other. It was a beautiful relationship. I'd never known him to go out with any other girl but Ethel all the time I knew him, my recollections of him.

GREENE: How important did religion seem to be in his life at that point?

BRADY: Well, I was pretty religious myself at that point too, so I was as religious as he was, so it never impressed me. He impressed me later in life, the importance of religion. After '60, for instance, we'd be in New York together and he'd always insist on going to Mass when I might I not have insisted, let's say it that way. And the family would always be going in McLean to church. It was a very, very structurally important part of his life all the time. On a comparison basis, his stayed stronger than, say, mine did in a way.

GREENE: Did he seem to have much interest or curiosity about other religions—particularly, I was thinking, after he came back from the Middle East in '48 when he was there at the time of the first Arab-Israeli war. Do you remember anything about his reaction?

BRADY: I think he had great.... I always thought he had great praise. And I think he felt that, you know, the Jewish effort was very worthwhile. I think he really thought that they were very brave people. That would have appealed to him, the fact that they were brave, really. Of course he was well-read in those later year? I skip a lot. I didn't.... You know, '46, '47, '48, '49, and '50, there weren't very many serious things we had on our minds. If he was being very serious, I probably wouldn't be listening to a great extent because I didn't care a great deal—so I'm the receiver of the conversation. But it was later on that you always saw him....

Edith Hamilton's *Greek Way* and a number of books that he had and he would refer to me, and suggest I might read or something like that—it was very interesting. And a lot of them did concern the Middle East and things like that. Of course I never read them. He had a maturing effect in terms of all those experiences, I think. And once again, If you weren't interested, I mean he certainly wasn't going to...

GREENE: Impose it on you.

BRADY: Yes. He wasn't going to preach to you at all. If you had enough sense to ask him and listen to him, you're going to get a lot of good information, but if you weren't, you were not going to hear that much about it, really.

GREENE: What about the subject of money in his younger days? Do you remember that?

BRADY: I remember it very well. He never had a nickel, the bum. You know, we'd go on trips and he never had any money, and whatever it was I'd pay. I had nothing, but he just really never had any money with him. It didn't make any great deal of difference because we never spent a great deal of money. But we'd visit some place or that place.... But he really was amazing about his money; he just never had any.

GREENE: When you were laying out all this money, did you ever get it back, or was there ever an explanation or an apology or anything?

BRADY: In all fairness, I really never had to lay out that much. It would be his car, and he would have a full tank of gas. I might have to put some gas in it, or I might have to pay a bridge toll or something like that. But to me, spending any money was very important. And it always amazed me that he literally never had any money. He just literally would not have a check or a dollar or anything like that.

GREENE: And he never explained, or made apologies or anything?

BRADY: Well, but not much was involved. I mean if I were spending a dollar or two dollars that would be the most. But I would always be amazed. I'd say, "Where's your money?" And he'd never... But that was true all his life, though; he never had any money with him on a cash basis. Whenever I've asked him, I said, "Well, don't you have some money? Five, ten dollars?"—I mean to pay for something. He said, "I don't have that money." But I thought that was an idiosyncrasy of his. It amounts to nothing really, but it was just something that would stick in my mind because being poor and his being rich, I would just say to myself, "Why is it that you don't have any money?"

GREENE: Do you remember anything about the impact of his sister's death in 1948? Did you see him in that I period? That would be May of '48.

BRADY: That would be right at our graduation. Yes, I remember Katherine's death [Kathleen Kennedy Cavendish]. Kathleen.

GREENE: Kathleen, right.

BRADY: And I remember the shroud pulled over everything. But I didn't see him too much. I remember the situation, but I didn't.... Nor did I ever even

talk to him about it.

GREENE: He never discussed the whole religious problem there with her marriage?

BRADY: No, no.

GREENE: Did he visit you at your home as well in this period? You said you went to Hyannis.

BRADY: That would be 1947, basically, the biggest year—'48 once, but '47 maybe twice. It was an unwritten rule, basically: you didn't go to Hyannis Port very often. I think Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy [Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy] really only wanted to see you maybe once a month, or something like that. I don't remember.

GREENE: You mean the same friends.

BRADY: The same friends, yes, something like that. At that point, he never came to our house, my home, no. [Interruption] I lived in Philadelphia. And then we'd go to the seashore, but I don't even think we.... My family, we rented some places at Ventnor [Ventnor City, New Jersey] or something like that, but we never had.... And I was in school in the summertime up there anyway. That was one of the reasons. I was trying to finish school in a hurry. He finished in a hurry, too.

GREENE: This is sort of jumping ahead a little bit. Did you see him very much in the period he was in law school, or just letters?

BRADY: No, just events perhaps, one or two events in a given year. In '50 for instance, it was between his second and third year when he was married, and I saw him a whole week at that time. And in '49 I was married and he was at the end of his first year in law school, and he came up for three days to Larchmont. And then I had a fellow who lived with me in Chicago who I wrote a letter to Bobby for, et cetera, and Bobby communicated with me about him, or something like that.

GREENE: Did he seem any more serious in this period, and have any more direction as far as what he wanted to do?

BRADY: Not a great deal of change between us. But once again, you weren't talking to him in any degree of depth. So I really wouldn't be able to really say. It was just both our lives were just getting started in a family and a professional way. There wasn't that much there. There wasn't that much to report on really.

GREENE: Do you remember anything in particular about his wedding and the period before and after, the parties, and his relationship with the Skakels? I know

Kenny O'Donnell talks a lot about that and how the Skakels, especially Mrs. Skakel [Ann Skakel], were kind of aghast at Bobby Kennedy's friends and the sort of rowdies he had around him then?

BRADY: Yes. Those two brothers, Jim [James Skakel] and George, at that juncture of their life, they were absolutely [the] most entertaining people. They were really wild. I had known them a little bit more actually, the Skakels that is. I had seen Ethel a fairly good bit, and I had known the mother a little bit. And there's no question that there was a problem, you know, with all the noisy Harvard football players. But George Skakel and Jim Skakel were such strapping human beings; they were hugely big and strong, like wrestlers. As I remember, Markham and I and George and Jim, we just had the greatest time in the history of man. I've never had a much better time. It really was the funniest, the most amusing, crazy wedding. We were at the Harvard Club, and they ended up sending us a bill for ruining their pictures. And George was running around the halls, and I was too.

And then back at the house the parties were just tremendously interesting. And Jim, I'll never forget, we both got up early in the morning, I guess—I forget when it was—after a long, long night, and we went outside and he was frying ham and eggs for me, for both of us, I guess. And Markham was down there in the kitchen. Anyway, he burnt them, and he goes outside and sees a big dog and says, "Here, take them," or something like that. I'll always remember, I thought it was the funniest thing in my life. They were so burnt and terrible, the dog started to eat them, and the dog bit Jim, bit his hand. And Jim took a big club, and hit the dog in the head. I thought it was the funniest thing I've ever seen in my life. And we really had gone through a terrifically exciting time. I remember Mr. Skakel [George Skakel, Sr.], who is a charming, charming person, he was there all the time watching George and Jim and Markham and myself and all the other bad boys and always, you know, just shaking his head because it was a very, very exciting period.

GREENE: Did you have any impression of what Robert Kennedy's relationship was with the Skakel family at that time?

BRADY: Well, Bob was a real athlete, and I always felt that—and those guys, George and Jim, were really professional athletes, and I they were so big and strong that... I know Bobby took a back seat to nobody, but I think to some degree that there was an element of cautious with those Skakel brothers, you know. And Bobby and George, they were both strong individuals, really. And strong individuals don't necessarily become all of that good friends. I think they respected each other and liked each other all through their lives, really, for what they both were. I think it was very difficult for both of them to become friends like, say, Markham or Bobby or something like that, or Hackett and Bobby.

GREENE: And what about with Ethel's parents?

BRADY: I always thought Ethel's father and Bobby were very close. I thought Ethel's father was a very, very wonderful person. Her mother was more

outgoing than her father, and her mother was very active in a very—you wouldn't say dominant because Mr. Skakel certainly was that too, but a more gregarious and somebody with something to say about things. I wouldn't be aware of what Mrs. Skakel thought of Bobby. But I dare say that when two big families like that marry, you have internal problems which are sort of.... You know, who is richer or more important, all sorts of things I would guess.

GREENE: But they weren't evident to you.

BRADY: Yes, they weren't. Friends of each family had more to say about those subjects, as I remember, than the principals, as in all cases like that.

GREENE: Except for the visit that you mentioned on their way back from their honeymoon, you didn't see too much of them in the early fifties, is that right?

BRADY: That's right.

GREENE: And what about at the time of the campaign in '52? Did you participate in that at all, in the Senate campaign?

BRADY: In the Senate race? No, I didn't participate in that at all.

GREENE: Do you remember talking to Robert at all about his job at the attorney's office in New York and having to leave that? Do you remember that period at all—to serve in the campaign?

BRADY: No, no. I just remembered what he did and after he did it, talking to him after the fact. But I don't remember any of that preliminary at all.

GREENE: And what about when he went to work for McCarthy [Joseph R. McCarthy]?

BRADY: Well, that was the point we started to get back together again. That would probably be '53—although I didn't see him very much. I may have talked to him once in Philadelphia at that time. He had a lawyer working here in Philadelphia in that committee, I think. I didn't see him when he went through the problem of rectifying his differences and that sort. And then he left the committee. I really saw him much more right after that, the following year. That would be '55 or 6 when he started to work on the McClellan subcommittee [Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations]. So that period, '53 and 4, I wasn't there much either in that period.

GREENS: And did he talk much to you about the Hoffa [Jimmy Hoffa] investigation?

BRADY: Well, he'd be in Philadelphia once or twice, and he called me a couple of times and I spoke to him at that time. He told me in general what he was doing. I was an assistant district attorney at the time. He never really told me how important the stuff that he was doing, or I would have probably wanted to join him, actually. But I guess it was a fairly secretive business, actually. So I never did get into it with him very, very deeply.

GREENS: Did he ever discuss later the fact that he had made this reputation for himself as the tough young prosecutor, and that reputation kind of followed him around? Did he ever talk about it at all in those terms?

BRADY: Yes. In '64, I guess, when I was with him, I was very critical of him for continuing to be a sort of a lightning rod for the Hoffa vendetta. I really felt strongly that he ought to let it alone, get somebody else to be the protagonist rather than himself—although that was one thing that he just wouldn't think of. You know, if you're going to take him on, he's going to be ready for the enemy, he's going to have to. And I thought he was above that and beyond that, and I don't think he should have bothered with him, really. Because we made a speech to the U.S. attorneys in '64, a speech I tried to write for him. It's a speech and the whole picture of everything and not playing up. And he just really wanted to have himself directed to the Hoffa stuff and how important it was.

GREENE: How did he respond to your criticism?

BRADY: Well, he just felt that the big thing that was accomplished was the Hoffa business in helping the labor union members have some decent leadership and honest leadership was awfully, awfully important. And he was right. I was really looking at Bob politically, I was looking at him on that. I always felt that he would be president, and I really was looking at it in the long pull. I don't think it would have done him all that good to continue a running condemnation of Hoffa. But no, he didn't listen to me.

GREENE: But he wasn't angry that you had raised it.

BRADY: Oh, no, no.

GREENE: The next thing, I guess, would be that sort of pre-campaign period of '58-'60 when I gather you saw a lot of each other.

BRADY: Well, we didn't see a great, great deal of each other. Really, what I ended up doing was probably talking to Hackett and people constantly and getting all the correspondence beginning in '59. I had seen Jack in '58 at the dinner here, and I had introduced a lot of the state legislators to him, that sort of stuff. And we had talked to him a lot that night, and told him I was going to do this, or told him I

would be there with him. And he said, “Oh, of course Bobby will need you.” He was always complimentary.

And then after that I started to get all the correspondence from everybody in Pennsylvania—like Hiram Andrews, who was the Speaker of the House. And he would be constantly writing to Jack, and Dave Hackett and Bobby, for whom Dave worked, would send it all up here. I still have a lot of the correspondence from all over the state that would be funneling through here. And that started in ‘59.

GREENS: How did you become the focus of this correspondence? Why would the correspondence be funneling through you? At what point did you take on this capacity?

BRADY: I don’t know. It was just like everything else they ever did. It was just like in ’68 or ’64; you just reached the position. And Bobby would say to somebody.... For instance, Bobby had to say to Dave Hackett, “If it’s Pennsylvania let it go through Brady.” Now that happened somewhere along the line, you see. And that’s the way it happened. And then David would just continue to write me, continue to write me.

And then there was a campaign chairman. We had an honorary chairman named Richardson Dilworth, the mayor. I guess Joe Clark [Joseph S. Clark, Jr.] was also. But then Bobby called Dilworth and said, “Well, your campaigning manager is going to be Brady.” And that was the way that was. And we worked the whole state. That would have been the spring.... That would have been just after the primary election because in the primary election of 1960 I ran as a delegate, and we had a write-in campaign all over the state from about January of ‘60 to May of ’60. And we got some enormous number of write-in votes. That was built up.... That had been from the ‘59 correspondence that I had gotten from Hackett and all that sort of stuff. So I spent all that period getting ready for that. And then we had the write-in campaign, and the candidates pledged to Kennedy.

GREENS: Even before that, did you get involved in some of the early planning and strategy sessions, particularly when they were talking about what to do in Pennsylvania? Do you remember that?

BRADY: There was a difference there. I was always off of Bobby, and that was always all my life. That is, you had Joe Dolan [Joseph F. Dolan], and you had Kenny O’Donnell, and you had probably Larry O’Brien [Lawrence F. O’Brien], but I never really went with them in any way, shape, or form. That is, I went down to see Bobby, I guess, in ‘58 or 9, and we had lunch, and I brought two or three lawyers from Philadelphia who I said would work for us when we got ready and all that sort of stuff, and went over everything with him. But it wasn’t anything other than.... And he never brought me down with Dolan. Dolan would come up here and I’d have lunch with Dolan, and I met with Dolan a few times. I think Dolan was one of the persons that I suggested Dilworth as a state chairman, honorary chairman because of his position as mayor. And Dolan would be with the Citizens for Kennedy and off of White, Byron White [Byron R. White], Whizzer

White. And then I guess you had the California guy who came in every now and then. I forget his name.

GREENE: Seigenthaler [John Seigenthaler]?

BRADY: No, Seigenthaler, I met Seigenthaler after the election, John. Well, before too. I was thinking about the fellow from California who was Brown's [Edmund G. "Pat" Brown] assistant or something like that. He was with the Kennedy Foundation for a while. I can't remember his name. But that was only once or twice. But Joe Dolan would come up here more. I think Joe had Pennsylvania with Byron White. So I wasn't down in Washington at all in '58 with Bobby or anything like that. The only thing they would do, they do would call me and say, "do this or that."

GREENE: Do you know how the decision was made not to go on the ballot in Pennsylvania? Was there any consideration given to allowing his name to appear on the ballot?

BRADY: I'm certain—and I wasn't privy to it—I'm certain that David Lawrence [David Leo Lawrence] and people like Matt McCloskey [Matthew H. McCloskey, Jr.] and they had a guy in Philadelphia named Bill Green, Sr. [William J. Green, Jr.] and Jim Clark [James P. Clark], who all hedged the bet, and convinced the pros in Kennedy's camp that it isn't necessary to do it. It was really lucky that we did it though. They sat on their hands for everybody, you see, and then we went ahead and got 220,000 write-in votes which was the greatest in the history of the state, you see, and showed some enormous strength. And they were.... It's funny ironically when you look back on it. Green and his committeemen, when I was getting everybody to write in, they were saying, "Don't write in. You'll break the machine." At that juncture Green and Lawrence wanted to show the Democratic national leaders—and Kennedy was one of them certainly—that they controlled Pennsylvania. And for a huge write-in to have gotten like we did, was going to water down their position, you see. And that was always something that really never ever came out. I never wanted to crow about that because all it did was make Green and Lawrence mad; and the happier they were, the better off. So we really just sort of went hand-in-glove.

GREENE: Well, it was interesting in the news clips of the days after the primary that even though it was obvious that Green and Lawrence (especially Lawrence) must have been very upset by the results, the fact that Kennedy did make a strong showing. Every time Lawrence was questioned about whether or not the Kennedys had really organized this drive, he said no, he saw no evidence of organization. Why would he do that? It seems like that would have been a good way for him to reduce their effectiveness.

BRADY: I think if he said the Kennedys organized it—and I don't think they organized it because we received no money from David or Bobby; there was no at all involved. This was just a personal thing of me and....

GREENE: But he made it sound like this was some spontaneous.... He supported the conclusion that people might have that this was some spontaneous outpouring.

BRADY: Well, it really was. We really were lucky. We got everybody sort of off their guard, you know, and everybody really responded well to us in the last three or four weeks. We had a fight in Blair County and Cambria County which helped us immensely out there. But basically it was all around southeast Pennsylvania, the real turnout, and a few places in Lackawanna. We had a guy named Cox up there. But it was one of those things that was just building up. And the correspondence that we had been getting from '59—we had a couple of ex-policemen in Erie who were very strong. We had that interest going along in [unclear]....

We just sort of started to go by word-of-mouth and say, "Let's have a write-in campaign." And it was that much. And working with people in campaigns, you don't know who's going to work and who's going to sleep. You just have to touch as many people as you can. And if you're lucky—as we always were with the Kennedy campaigns—everybody worked and nobody slept, so you really had so much more as a result. And that's all that was; it was just one of those.... And he was right.

See, I think.... [END OF TAPE 2] If Lawrence had said, "The Kennedys double-dealed us," and came in here and wanted to make me look bad, he couldn't have said that, you see, because after all, Kennedy, by that time, was almost the candidate. Not quite now because West Virginia is not over yet, but at any rate he was almost the candidate, and Lawrence wanted to—because Lawrence had an article in the paper in which said a Catholic couldn't win. Once again, he was really trying to hedge his bets. But he didn't want to come out and have any battles with the Kennedy forces at this juncture. So he said the smart thing. And they did the smart thing, the politicians. Instead of being bitter—because I had some people who really wrote in, on some of these committees in Philadelphia, the committeemen in Philadelphia, the ward leaders were just frantic. I mean the ward leaders supposedly wanted to kill him. And we had people lose their jobs over some of this.

GREENS: Well, I know there's one letter in your file that I brought along from a guy named Alfred Cozzi.

BRADY: Yes. He was one of the champions. Yes.

GREENS: I know you wrote to the candidate, to Jack Kennedy.

BRADY: Oh, did I? Yes.

GREENS: And you mentioned this, the fact that he had lost his job and that you had written to Bill Green and I think to Lawrence too trying to see if you could get him reinstated. What ever happened with that?

BRADY: I don't think they reinstated.

GREENS: They didn't.

BRADY: They got rid of the.... He was one of the ones with a big family, but they never relented.

GREENS: Actually, what I had in mind was I thought that since Lawrence really was opposing Kennedy and pushing for Symington [Stuart Symington, II] or possibly Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson], that it would have been to his advantage to make it look like this whole Kennedy thing was an organized, thoroughly rehearsed kind of a turnout, right, unlike contributing as he did to the impression that it was a spontaneous outpouring of enthusiasm for this young, attractive candidate.

BRADY: I always think he was really in the middle. I don't think he wanted Jack, and I don't think he wanted anybody else. I just think he was so happy to be governor after all these years, you know, as being a political boss, that he really didn't want anything. Even in the campaign when we'd travel around with him, he just wanted to get the darn thing over with. He really didn't care very strongly one way or another. I don't know what else to say.

GREENE: I have some questions about how you go about organizing a thing like this and how you go about choosing the names for the delegates when you did have people for petitions in favor of Kennedy. Where do you come up with these guys and who makes the final choice? And are you looking only for people committed to Kennedy, or in some places do you have to accept those who are uncommitted but that you think will eventually go to Kennedy?

BRADY: The biggest thing we had really was the fact that we wanted the write-in campaign. We really knew that running as delegates was bad. I ran as a delegate pledged to Kennedy, and I think I had only two other fellows do it. But basically it was bad to do it, really. I ran in my area because my area is the only liberal independent area in the city. All the other controlled wards, we decided against it simply because the organization at that time was so strong that you would have gotten a lot of flak, and they would have gone out and beaten you, and in the process the people who really were neutral or didn't feel strongly would not have gone to the trouble to write in Jack Kennedy's name, see.

This was the area.... The committeemen in Philadelphia who were under the Green and the Jim Clark machine really never dreamed that there was this much undercurrent strength for Kennedy. And it was only as the day went on that the thing began getting—and that's when they got upset about it. And that's why at the end of the day when Cozzi had 350 write-ins out of 440 voters, why, the ward leader blew up because the ward leader was going to get Green on his back. This happened all over the city. And I went all over the city to maybe sixty or seventy people that I knew were real strong. And they didn't really care, most of them. They figured, "Yeah, I'm for Kennedy. And Bill will do it." It was just a sort of a testing of sentiment, and the sentiment was really much stronger than we thought and much

stronger than any else thought. So you really had a good reception. And when we learned of it, say a month before the election, we just did nothing except contact, contact, contact and answer the letters and tell everybody that wrote us in all the letters that Hackett had sent me, had all these people by telephone writing in, "Let's write-in, let's write-in." In the outlying districts it was a little easier to write in because you could write in on the paper ballot whereas here you use a roll which is really vicious. It's just terrible.

GREENE: You said it was extremely difficult to do in Philadelphia.

BRADY: It was terrible. And then we had the committeemen finally at the end of the day screaming—I don't know, Luke Foley and the rest of them—"You'll break the machine, lady!" And she says, "Oh, I only wanted to write in Kennedy's name." And he says, "If you do it, lady, you'll break the machine." That's the way they started to stop them from writing in.

GREENE: But you also said in your letter that "you can rest assured that Philadelphia is entirely behind you, and at any time during discussions with Pennsylvania leaders and Philadelphia leaders you can point out that one of candidates for you pulled an enormous amount of votes with the help of less than eight volunteer helpers against a thousand regimented party workers who were, I might say, doing something that was distasteful to them personally, namely using the time-worn phrase to the registered Democrats, 'You better not write in anybody's name because you'll break the machine.'" Was there really this sort of this sort of reluctance on the part of the organization people to do this sort of thing?

BRADY: There was some reluctance, but the organization is so strong, Bobbie, that it really was only a verbal reluctance. They had their jobs and they weren't going to lose them because of the fact that they liked Kennedy a little bit. It was an absolute bar in their mind. They were not going to fool around with any Kennedy write-in and give Kennedy support because the word had not come down and they just weren't going to fool around. And that area I was talking about where the eight people in my senatorial district—the senatorial district isn't quite that big; it's only one-eighth of the city—we just went around. We didn't want to do anything about getting into an awful fight because our purpose and my purpose was not to get mad at Green—later on I did that—but not to get him mad at us because we realized that he meant a great, great deal in the November election, you see.

But if we could get the sentiment expressed—and it worked out just about as we hoped really; it was terrific sentiment, terrific expression, and just because Green was a Catholic and Lawrence was a Catholic, you weren't going to be hurt by them backing a Catholic because the whole state really had come out and had given Kennedy a pretty good backing. And that's what we really wanted in the structural sense of the thing.

GREENE: Did the President or Robert Kennedy come in here before the primary?

BRADY: Oh, no.

GREENE: No. Not at all? How much contact did they have themselves with Lawrence and Green and some of the other major figures?

BRADY: I really think that that was one of the things. I think Bobby may not have had a lot of contact or the President, but there was constant undertone of “don’t worry about it, we’ve got it.” But this is really basic political jargon, “Don’t worry about it.” When the roof falls in, you don’t have to worry about it, I mean if they went for Symington or Stevenson. And this is always the case of the big organization: Don’t worry about it. What does it mean when you analyze is, you see. And to some extent, I think Green, so a guy like O’Donnell or O’Brien or somebody like that because they were much more experienced than those guys.

GREENE: Have you read Kenny O’Donnell’s book? He talks quite a bit about Pennsylvania. He attributes winning Green over to Keogh [Eugene James Keogh]. He credits him with having made that breakthrough, and then having done it and Kennedy knowing at this point that he’s got Green and the city organization, not ever telling O’Donnell or Robert Kennedy because he didn’t trust them to keep their mouths shut, is what it amounts to, and that by the time that this had happened then Lawrence had no choice at all. I think it was just pro forma his pretending like he was delivering the delegation.

BRADY: I think Kenny always, always liked.... I talked to Kenny about Lawrence’s article, the article attributing his belief that a Catholic can’t win. And that set Kenny off terribly because, being younger like he was—and that bothers younger people, bias, much more than older people. And Green, for some unknown reason, really got close to Kenny, and Kenny never lost the respect for Green because Green at that juncture had enormous, enormous bastion of power here. The thing really was powerful. For the first time in thirty years you had a Democratic governor named George Leader [George Michael Leader] from ‘54 to ‘58. Then they were able to put across Lawrence as governor in ‘58. And so the city was absolutely completely Democratic. Dilworth was mayor and they were working pretty well together so the power was overwhelming and Green could really show the great strength. And it was enormous; there was no question about it.

But they never understood and they never believed—I’m sure that O’Donnell was absolutely wrong in the sense that he never had a chance basically to whatchamacallit. He never had a chance to realize in my idea really that Green had no place to go but to go with Kennedy. The Symington balloon had really burst by April or May as I recall and the whole structure was out. But I also felt unfortunately—and it’s not very kind—that one of the problems you had is that people who are political advisers like to latch on to somebody with strength and use him as sort of like “this is my guy and this is what we’re doing,” you see what I mean. I don’t think it’s ever black and white. Kenny has always been a black and white guy structurally. But life just isn’t that way in the slightest. You’re totally kidding yourself. I mean all courageous people, you think of courageous people, you think that they’re black and white, but you know it really isn’t. I knew that whole thing just by heart.

And Green himself was a shrewd guy and a very knowledgeable guy, and as I say, he was able to handle the O'Donnells and the O'Briens very, very well. And he had the marbles to do it too. I think there was a give and take there that made a lot of sense.

GREENE: Does the O'Donnell feeling that Keogh is the one that really broke it for Green, does that fit or do you think that again there was the inevitability in that?

BRADY: I think it's utterly, utterly silly. I think it's just absurd, like icing on a cake. I think it has nothing.... To know those people is to know—you have to be one of them in a sense, and that's what I am, an Irish Catholic. They're almost.... The stories are almost heavenly but they really aren't, they're just like anything else. It's a little this and a little that. I think that idea is—you know, he and Keogh were drinking buddies and that sort of thing. And sure you want to keep a fairly close arrangement with your drinking buddies and things like that, but to make it sound like a fairy tale isn't good. I think that some of those stories end up like fairy tales, and just nothing is that simple, really and truly nothing really is that simple.

GREENE: Did you ever have any real doubts that you would get Green in the end?

BRADY: Well, I went along pretty much and I just always believed that he had it, that the time was right, that the whole structure was right. I really thought that, as I looked at it, I had a winner and what difference does it make how we get there? Stevenson waited too long and Symington never got off the ground. And things just kept better and better and better, and I just really felt that the Democratic Party at that juncture had no place to go—you know, Truman [Harry S. Truman] wasn't strong enough to hold the line. Now there was a situation where I believe he was much stronger, Truman, with Green than anybody. For some unknown reason, Green admired him because of the similar qualities that Green had and Green liked to picture himself as a Harry Truman, which is of course....

At any rate, that to me was Green. And when Truman wasn't able to come up with a viable guy, Green just sort of stood there with his hands empty; and I'm sure Truman never said to him "don't go with Kennedy" although Truman was absolutely opposed to Kennedy. I just don't think that—as a practical politician, he recognized you can't say to him "don't do something when you can't give him an alternative." So I think that was it. I just think that thing just wove itself out in Kennedy's favor actually. It wasn't any of that Keogh got Green. I mean there were so many other things that were involved.

And you had Jim Clark himself, who was an awful powerful guy. And that was Matt McCloskey, who was Matt for? We don't really know. I think Matt was a lot like Lawrence. These are older men who are really looking around and not sure of what was going on, and they were just uncertain reeds. There was no leadership, and that was one of the big things with Kennedy; there was no leadership in the country, you know, to galvanize it. So I think that really was....

GREENE: Do you remember talking to the President or Robert Kennedy or Kenny

O'Donnell, people like that, after the primary, after you've had these really...

BRADY: I think I wrote a lot of letters and called a lot of people up. I think I was too exhausted for a couple of weeks to do much of anything.

GREENE: Did they come in at all between the primary and the convention?

BRADY: No.

GREENE: Neither the President nor Robert Kennedy?

BRADY: No.

GREENE: What were you doing in that period? Was there a lot of courting of the delegates who had been elected?

BRADY: Yes. Then the mail became immense, you know, who's going to be it. I got the master lists and all that sort of stuff. But then, see, then Green moved into my area. And what did I want to argue with Green for? He moved in and I guess the rest of them moved in, and that was perfect. I mean it solved everything; we didn't have to remain a Gary Hart operation. You were, you know....

GREENE: There were forty delegates elected at the primary who were committed by petition to Kennedy. They were worth a total of twenty-three votes, I think, at the convention. The paper said that they were not really obligated; they were committed only morally to go for Kennedy but they didn't expect any of them, or very few of them, to actually feel committed on the first ballot to go for Kennedy. Do you remember that group and what you had to do with them and how successful you were?

BRADY: I think the law was at that time—I think it's changed now, but the law at that time was you didn't have to go with the guy, so you'd get a cop-out there.

GREENE: It was sort of a meaningless...

BRADY: We had about.... Half of those were internal fights in some of those counties that we had. When we spoke with them by phone most of them all said, "We're for Kennedy. We're for Kennedy." That article in the paper really didn't give too good a picture really of the whole thing. We never thought we were going to lose them really; we never thought it was going to be a problem of losing them at all. We never thought that. I don't think that ever presented much of a problem because in all fairness, we had a May 15 primary that year...

GREENE: April 26.

BRADY: April 26 was it?

GREENE: Yes.

BRADY: Yes, April 26. Well, I think by May 15 or thereabouts it was pretty knowledgeable that Green and the rest of the city committee was going to be with us and work with us.

GREENE: May 15 may have been West Virginia. I should have checked that exact date, but West Virginia was not long after that.

BRADY: It was very shortly after that, that's right. That's right. But we had the feeling and I had some phone calls from the city committee people that "don't worry, he's coming around" and stuff like that.

GREENE: Did West Virginia have a big impact?

BRADY: Not here.

GREENE: No. Again I'm going by the clips, there was a lot of feeling that West Virginia would have a strong effect here because of the Catholic thing, that if they could dispose of it there they could dispose of it here and make Kennedy kind of inevitable.

BRADY: Here you were pretty lucky. The Catholic thing here really was a quiet thing anyway. It permeates West Virginia, but you see, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Erie and Philadelphia, the Catholic thing is only good in those fifty counties in between. And there aren't any big papers so you don't know it until the election day in Pennsylvania as much, you see, so you had a different situation.

GREENE: It's interesting, O'Donnell describes an incident where he was flying with the President to a speech at which Governor Lawrence was going to be present. And Kennedy said, "Well, what do you think I ought to say?" And O'Donnell suggested that he sort of take on the religious question and point out that among other things forty percent of the Democratic Party membership was Catholic and to object to a Catholic as a Democratic candidate just didn't make any sense and was totally unfair. And Kennedy did this and Lawrence was furious. And O'Donnell said to him, "Well, you're the one who has been talking religion everywhere Kennedy's name comes up." I thought that was interesting that they would even, that since Lawrence had been talking so openly about his feelings on the subject that he would resent as much as he apparently did Kennedy's raising the question.

BRADY: Yes. Kenny O'Donnell, he had a problem with Lawrence. Lawrence upset

him. I don't know why he upset him that much because everyone of that ilk or that generation was saying almost the same thing. But that bothered Kenny O'Donnell a lot. I'm not so sure whether or not it was O'Donnell favoring Green against Lawrence or not for the head of the state, but I wouldn't be a bit surprised if it was just a personality choice by Kenny O'Donnell choosing Green, who was much younger than Lawrence, over Lawrence because he was just an easier person to have gone along with. I think the subsequent months after the election sort of bear it out because Green did play a bigger and bigger role even during those three years of the Kennedy administration whereas Lawrence never moved in there in any substantial way.

GREENE: Is O'Donnell exaggerating the importance of the Catholic issue to Lawrence? He makes it sound like that was really the thing that held Lawrence back from Kennedy, he just would never accept a Catholic.

BRADY: Well, I think as a politician—I think that Kenny O'Donnell was right, that as a politician Lawrence honestly believed that a Catholic was going to be hurt. And I think he was right. I think that what Lawrence said was right. Now, the results are infinitesimal difference. Ten or twenty thousand votes in one or two different states would have changed the whole thing, so I think Lawrence basically was right because everything worked well for Kennedy in that election, everything: Eisenhower [Dwight D. Eisenhower] coming out late at the wrong time, Nixon [Richard M. Nixon] getting injured in September for ten or twelve days, and the thing never taking off, you know, the campaign, the debate being popular. And then the most important thing was October 15 to November 1, the real basic feeling that we had won. And that really did the thing, even though by November 8 it was an absolute Mexican standoff. But we really thought we were going to win. And the last five days I became ancient, I really felt that we had almost had blown it. I think if Eisenhower had come in on October 15 instead of November 1 in a big way, I think it might have very well been off. I just could feel us losing our grip at the very end there, and the thing being reappraised at the very end there, you know what I mean. I felt strongly about that—maybe it was because I was up in the hinterland all the time. So I think the Catholic thing was important, but how you played it I think was—he played it just about as good as he could ever play it. I don't think you could do very much about it.

GREENE: But the West Virginia thing, which I have the impression was really a breakthrough as far as Pennsylvania and Lawrence, that it was...

BRADY: Oh, did you feel that?

GREENE: Well, just from what O'Donnell says primarily.

BRADY: See, West Virginia and Pittsburgh is significant. Philadelphia and West Virginia is insignificant; it's nothing. The only thing that was good about West Virginia as I see it and I recall it clearly is that the national press made a big thing out of it. The national press really came to grips with it, and he beat Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey], a Protestant, and he beat him head-on, and FDR, Jr.

[Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.] was a big help, et cetera, and it was really the first real run-off between two people that year.

GREENE: I think I was thinking of it mostly in terms of people like Lawrence, or Lawrence in particular, that it kind of dissolved their arguments.

BRADY: Well, yes. I think Lawrence was keeping.... I don't think Lawrence harped on it that much, you see. I think Kenny took a comment in an article about Lawrence out of context and really wanted to jam it down his throat. I don't know what good it was because Lawrence could be handled. You must remember the Pittsburgh people even at the convention voted for Stevenson. That would be Genevieve Blatt and that group and an offshot of Jim Finnegan [James A. Finnegan] and those people.

So you had Lawrence being very much prevailed on by that western wing, I think Molly Yard and especially Genevieve Blatt and probably Stohl, the city solicitor, and then Lawrence himself. But then Lawrence's connection was all Mellon and that Protestant money basically. He was extremely close to that. And he really was in the twilight of his career, and he really was, I think, saying what he believed, that a Catholic would have an awful time winning the presidency. I think he believed it in that he got on it, you know, he got his hand caught on it and they never let him forget it, I don't think. I don't think it was as malicious as they say it was. I really don't think it was any malicious thing.

GREENE: Well, what do you remember about the convention, particularly about the Pennsylvania delegation at the convention?

BRADY: Well, it was pretty much cut and dry. I went out there just for a few days. I didn't even have to worry about the convention, the deals were—you know, the relationship was constructed. Green was delivering it and Jim Clark and the rest of the thing. It was fairly structurally.... It stayed pretty much the same. I think the western group stayed with Stevenson and there were a few other odds and ends.

And we got the eighty percent of it roughly, something like that. And it stayed that way. All southeast Pennsylvania went with Kennedy and a good portion of the central part went for Kennedy. You had some of the central cheaters perhaps in Allegheny and a few other counties that split off a bit—but not enormously. I don't think there was any enormous break-up. I think the thing pretty much stayed. I think Stevenson did have....

Finnegan had been Stevenson's campaign manager in '56 and Finnegan and Genevieve Blatt were very, very close, boyfriend and girlfriend sort of. And that will always remain.... Genevieve Blatt was always a familiar figure. If you remember, in '64 Genevieve ran for U.S. Senate against Scott [Hugh Doggett Scott, Jr.] in a bitter fight. She always remained, I think, a Stevenson advocate and she had a lot of people there. I forget the ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] at that point where they stood. I think they were for Stevenson too. He had a handful of people around—although they did work well when we started campaigning in September; they all did a pretty good job. But you had that Stevenson bastion. I mean I always felt it was there. You weren't going to anything with the fifteen or eighteen percent. It was just a sort of liberal wing that was never for Kennedy anyway, but they never were strong enough to make any inroads. They didn't break any of the big groups.

I think L.A. [Los Angeles] was pretty much cut and dry, although it was still touch and go in a big way. It would have been pretty hard to beat him by then. At least my feeling was that it was all over, although I was an optimist that year.

GREENE: Well, the only threat seemed to come from the Stevenson rally, and even then they knew that they could never put it together.

BRADY: Right.

GREENE: Did you see much of Robert Kennedy at the convention?

BRADY: Not a great deal. Once or twice. He was with Kenny O'Donnell most of the time, as I recall.

GREENE: And you weren't one of the floor managers at that point?

BRADY: No.

GREENE: Okay, I guess the next thing then would be the general election campaign. Why don't you describe what you were doing and how you spent most of your time in that period?

BRADY: Early on we went up to Harrisburg, probably in September, and the first big thing we planned was a September 15 York County fair. It was a huge thing, and I took myself and a few others of us up there. We were there maybe three or four days getting that thing ready. We had from Washington, Walter Sheridan [Walter J. Sheridan] came up and he was in Pennsylvania too. Walter and I worked very closely. And then, and I'll never forget, that was the first time, that York deal, that I ever really almost had a heart attack, and that was because the chairman Luther Yough and Barney Wagner and the rest of them started to tell us about how many people we were going to have—150,000—oh, we were in ecstasy practically. Anyway, it turned out that they had about ten or twelve. It was fierce.

And I was with President Kennedy from Harrisburg at that point; I had met him there. And we had a great rally in Harrisburg. He landed in Harrisburg and he toured that area and then he came through Dawson County and he went east to Lebanon and then he went south to York. We were at York and he made a good speech at York. Walter Sheridan was trying to keep—he turned off all of the things that kids go on and we were having all these problems. We were cutting off the electricity here and there just so they could hear President Kennedy speak. That went conceivably pretty good. I'll never get over it because of the great build-up that they gave me, the York County people. And at the end of it, it was really.... I don't think they ever had 150,000; sometimes they've had 75 or 80,000. But anyway, I remember that distinctly.

GREENE: Was it that they were just exaggerating what they could produce or that they weren't able to produce what they thought they could?

BRADY: They were exaggerating what they could produce and they were exaggerating what Kennedy meant. And that was a terrible thing because they didn't ever really level with me about the anti-Catholic feeling, because I came there the following month and there used to be some just regular meetings, like to talk meetings. And there used to be a Reverend Green and he would start talking about what a Catholic president would mean and how many would come over and "how many of are going to vote for Kennedy now?" And maybe twenty would be left out of three hundred or something like that. And then they'd say well, then they'd built the tunnel and they'd come here and "You think you're going to keep Rome away from here" and they just...

[BEGIN TAPE 4, SIDE 1]

GREENE: Okay.

BRADY: And then we had the big rally up in Scranton, Lackawanna County. That was the big thing. That was fairly close in time. I'm just not certain.

GREENE: Was Sheridan in your area also?

BRADY: Sheridan really had direct contact from Washington in a very tight way. I had direct contact with all the Democratic county chairmen, and I went with Dilworth on our first trip, about fifteen days maybe from September 1 to September 10 to about twenty or thirty counties. He would make a pitch for the Kennedy people and introduce me and I'd sign up what he'd call a county chairman for the Citizens for Kennedy. He was tremendous. He really was running for governor but he was mayor. It was a beautiful operation we were having together. We got along extremely well. He would lead.... For instance, he probably spent three days or four days on the road and I spent the ten days. I would sign up everybody and the local Democratic chairman would underwrite the Citizens headquarters. And we would get a chairwoman or a chairman, either one, and we'd start developing what would be the next visit, who would be coming. We had all sorts of people. We had Vice President Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson] into Allentown. We had a guy named Oscar Chapman [Oscar L. Chapman] into some of the southern counties. I took care of the speakers' platform out here every day or my law partner did, and we had Ribicoff [Abraham Ribicoff] and we had Truman. We had everybody. We had great speakers from history. From about September 30 to November 2 it was just fantastic.

GREENE: Did you organize this on your own, or were you working through the speakers bureau?

BRADY: Well, I organized.... We set it up ourselves right here at the bank. And every day at 12:00 and 12:15 somebody would come into town who was a very big figure. And a lot of times we didn't even know it. And we would be working pretty much through the Democratic city committee and Washington. If it was really a big guy, Washington would call me or something like that. By October 1 or October

5, I had a list of people who were available. And they were going to come in at 12:15 and at 12:30 they were going to speak. And we always had Democratic city committeemen, Green's henchmen, always working around and making sure of what was being said and crazy stuff like that—although they were helping us; they weren't involving. But I've never seen anything as effective in my entire life. Then Bobby came in. Bobby came in the last week, October 31 I guess. It was just a madhouse, absolute madhouse.

GREENE: Did he speak on that occasion or just meet with you?

BRADY: Yes.

GREENE: He spoke. How was he?

BRADY: [Unclear] he's great. In Delaware County, which really did a great thing, we set up a deal out there on the 29th and 30th for Bobby, which is the greatest I've ever seen in Delaware County. We only lost by about 8,000 with about 250,00 to 100,00 registration against us. But he went out there to the places. He had three places, and there must have been ten thousand people each day. And he just killed them. Green went with him. Green wanted.... I can always remember Bobby saying, after Green would get through with introducing, Green would be stealing the speech. It would be an awful lot of Bobby's speech and Bobby would say, "There he goes again." Then he got up to recite the speech. At any rate, he was always there and, oh, it was just unbelievable.

GREENE: A lot of people said that even as late as '60 that he was a very poor public speaker, but you make him sound quite effective.

BRADY: Well, when you have a crowd, it really grows on you. I mean it was really waiting to hear every word. He was just terribly effective then. He was terribly effective. His speaking ability, it was all his moods anyway—and the occasion. If Bobby wanted to give a good speech, he would give a good speech; if he really didn't care for you very much or he didn't like you very much, he wasn't going to give a good speech at any time, it didn't make any difference. But this was just unbelievable. I mean these were his people and they were Kennedy rooters to the n-th degree. It was really a very, very strong, electric feeling going on in these places where we had him. Drexel Brooke and some sort of an alpine club and just huge places all through Delaware Country, which is sort of the suburbs where all the white people went from West Philly when the blacks moved in. And therefore, it's amazing because they're conservative and really very conservative voting. But that was.... Never in the history of the city has anything ever been like it. You just, you know, it was a confluence of events, sort of, that really.... And Bobby was looked upon pretty much as Jack had been. So that was really amazing.

GREENE: Can you remember any particular problems he had in that period in terms of organization and personality?

BRADY: Well, the biggest problem was with the German counties getting county

chairman. It was a fierce.... They were very, very strange people, really. I'd go into the counties, into the German counties, and I'd talk to the county chairmen. You know, I would have a group of people, I'd have a couple of young guys helping me and I'd want to go out door to door or something like that or farm to farm—just generally, I'd just like to get an idea. They would never let you talk to the people. The average farmer really, it's just considered to be an affront to go up and say, "Would you vote for Joe Doe?" You really have to know them. On any number of occasions if I was being introduced to somebody there, the person who'd be introducing me wouldn't know me at all, the county chairman. The people that would be talking to the county chairman would speak in Dutch.

GREENE: Right in front of you.

BRADY: It was fascinating just to see it. I'll never forget one woman writing me from I guess it was Monroe County and saying what a job I'd talked her into taking, because I'd talked her into becoming a chairman. Monroe was just a fiercely, you know, general Lutheran, and she took an awful lacing for it, but she just did a magnificent job. All the chairwomen and chairmen were just really unbelievable. They were overwhelming really. It really is a terrifically spontaneous group all through those counties. One of the toughest things was that.... After the election was over, the toughest thing of all was writing and thanking them and then having them write you. I really was never in that political machinery, so to speak. I couldn't call up Joe Smith and say, "Will you help Mary Lou, will you help...." You know, and it really was an endless job for me because I'd have to go through Bobby and he never wanted to hear all that anyway. It was a very difficult, very difficult operation because as soon as the election was over, of course, Green walked into it lock, stock, and barrel and went away with it.

GREENE: Did you have to give up your practice in that period?

BRADY: Yeah.

GREENE: You did completely.

BRADY: Yeah, I didn't do anything. I didn't do anything for a year almost. I mean, I had a good practice, I really was a good, I had a good operation, frankly. But I gave it up, pretty much because it just, I guess, got impossible. And they, my law partners helped me quite a bit.

GREENE: What about the Kennedys? Were you able to get any money out of that?

BRADY: I never got any money from the Kennedys.

GREENE: Even expenses?

BRADY: But I got, the state committee started to give me some money at the end

and I ended up getting some of my expenses by the end. But at that juncture, I really never.... You know, I'd made the commitment, I had only one child and I really wasn't thinking much of the money, amazingly enough. And so it wasn't really much of a thought, it was just the movement had become so remarkable that I was just going through it. But at the end there I did get the expenses that they gave me. I think for some weeks they gave me, you know, \$150 or \$200 dollars, I forget which. But it wasn't, you know, it was really.... I was out all the time anyway and you just couldn't.... There was nothing you could do, it was an endless job, it was seven days a week. Somebody always was wanting to see you and call you and I was shipping things all over and was just constantly on the road, really, because you had all these places to visit constantly. I went through a snowstorm, what was that state college? I went from a place called Lewisburg State College. My god, I don't know how I ever lived it. The road was up and down, up and down and it was snowing. There must have been six inches of snow. I felt so helpless being up there, I said to myself, if I go off this road I'm dead. It was really godforsaken country. I've always wanted to go back but they say now it's all built up, it's all one of those big highways. It was really, Huntington and Aliquippa and all those counties out there. I've never been back, Indiana and everything else. But each county had some really interesting people.

GREENE: Well, what happened.... Is there anything in particular about the election day organization that's worth discussing: the get out and vote effort? Did you get heavily involved in there?

BRADY: Well, one of the biggest things we had was getting out the brochure—like the magazine, you know, like the daily news.

GREENE: Yeah, tabloid.

BRADY: Yeah, we had that for Pennsylvania. It was a backbreaker, really a backbreaker. And that was sort of the last six-day operation.

GREENE: You mean the delivery of it.

BRADY: Yeah. But we did a good job and it was easy to do and all that sort of stuff. But just getting it around, and we just didn't have enough of it, too, like always happens, and we had to cut down. The job of getting the vote out was fairly, was tremendous. There was such participation. We never had any problems, it was no problem. By that time, I was the darling of the organization anyway, you know. It wasn't till after the election that things began to get cool. But everything was perfect. We had enormous money—I guess, because I never saw any of it, but all the committeemen really got a lot of money and things like that.

GREENE: You mean to use in the districts, from the national Kennedy...

BRADY: No, no, from the city and state. See, it was all Democratic and the dinners

were huge and everything was huge and the money was big. Green by that time, and Clark, well, they really felt that they were going to maybe win so they really felt big about and they really made an effort, and it paid off.

GREENE: Was there a lot of money coming into Pennsylvania from the Kennedy national headquarters that you know of?

BRADY: I wouldn't know anything, I don't think...

GREENE: The state handles it.

BRADY: The state has a bundle. We have McCloskey here and all those people and you really couldn't tell.

GREENE: What do you remember about the transition tour between the election and the inauguration? Did you have much contact with Robert Kennedy in that or with some of his people during that period?

BRADY: Well, during that period I was really always writing, constantly writing for this person or that person. You know, I was just, they were coming through me, all these chairmen in the various counties.

GREENE: With their appointments?

BRADY: With their problems, yeah. I had an enormous number of guys in Harrisburg who'd done a great job for us up there and they wanted to go to Washington. Who to send them to? See I wasn't in the main stream of the thing and Green wasn't going to get me to write.... You know, Green didn't want to develop anything in my regard to a great extent. So I just wrote letters to Bobby and wrote letters to I don't know who else, there were one or two other fellows down there. Sheridan got off scot free. I should have realized that he knew all these guys but I didn't know that.

GREENE: What do you mean he got off scot free, he didn't have any follow-up activities?

BRADY: Well, yeah, everybody came to Brady, you see. You know, everybody. You know, it was just endless. So for two months all I did was answer letters and say who to see. You know, bands were going to Washington and they wanted to play for the President in January. You know, you get the craziest things you can imagine from Allentown or someplace. And so I was deluged all through that period. It was a weird period from the standpoint of you not being able to do much because you didn't know that much. And then the inaugural party came. I think Bobby had written me in November, I guess the sixteenth or something, about coming down there with him and working in the Justice Department.

GREENE: I was wondering about that.

BRADY: Yeah. I really thought I was going to secretary of state after it was all over. It's unbelievable.

GREENE: What did he offer you particularly?

BRADY: Oh, nothing, just to be with him in some job.

GREENE: And you weren't interested?

BRADY: Well, I don't know. I really had mixed feelings. It was still a period where I was exhausted and I just didn't know what I wanted to do, you know. And I really thought that after the whole year's show that I really would want to be ambassador to Great Britain. You know, I was just, I really didn't have my eyes properly tuned in a sense, you know.

GREENE: So in a way, his offer was a disappointment.

BRADY: Well, yeah, I didn't really have any idea.... I don't know who could work any harder, in a sense. It really was an exhausting year for me. I really didn't know what I wanted to do. I had the firm which I'd started in '59 or '58 I guess and then I was trying to figure out what to do about the business and all that sort of stuff. Things went along. I didn't make anything. And then, like in all the political campaigns you learn quickly: when the thing gets set, everything's changed; the thing is over with. I didn't know that as the months went by.... I went down there with him, I spent, we played touch football the day of the inauguration, that terrible, terrible rain...

GREENE: Snow.

BRADY: ...terrible, terrible freezing snow day. I spent that day and a half with Bobby, and Dean was there and then Red Fay [Paul B. Fay, Jr.] and Teddy Kennedy [Edward M. Kennedy] brought over Priser and all those guys from the [unclear] who were close to play us and nearly beat us, or tried to beat us. And then we went though that. I don't know what happened after that. I sort of just...

GREENE: Did you talk to him on that occasion about possible positions?

BRADY: No, I don't think I ever did. I really can't.... Nothing was very clear. I'd go down, I think my wife wanted me to go down there and I didn't know what. But I don't think I did very much for a couple of months. Then I inquired I think sometime—I forget what it was but it was just one of those situations where everything was pretty well set in a structural way, you know, and I never did go down much after that.

GREENE: Did they consult you in the transition period at all on Pennsylvania appointments or did you make recommendations to them or was that handled mostly by Green?

BRADY: Yeah, I think Green. Green really had all practical control, I think. The only thing, Joe Dolan I guess was checking on judges or U.S. attorneys or something like that and I think that he may have talked about that end of it, but I don't think anything...

GREENE: Were you hurt by this, by the way, you know, by the...

BRADY: I don't, no, I really don't think so because...

GREENE: It didn't hurt your feelings?

BRADY: I had a pretty good law practice, really, and it was just the beginning.... It was so much the beginning, I think, Bobbie, that it really never, you know, that it never meant much. I didn't know that much about Washington or I didn't know that much about anything, let me put it that way, so I really was more interested in having been on the winning side and all that sort of stuff. And I was never one to try to fool around with the pros, so to speak, you know, O'Donnell, O'Brien, and John Reilly [John R. Reilly]. I just didn't want to be bothered with that end of the ballgame because it didn't appeal to me structurally to waste a lot of time as a political operator.

GREENE: When you were down there that time around the inauguration and thereafter, did Robert Kennedy talk at all to you about what he would do? Did he discuss the President's wanting him to be attorney general or anything else?

BRADY: I really don't know. It was such a wild period and they were all running around, that I don't know whether the attorney generalship had been fixed then or not. I guess it must have been though.

GREENE: Uh-huh. But he didn't discuss even in a general way what he hoped to do?

BRADY: No.

GREENE: Well, in this administration period, I have your correspondence folders and there are a few things—a lot of it is very routine but there were a few things that were of interest. For one, in a July 7, '61 note to Ralph Dungan [Ralph A. Dungan], you raise the question of a conversation you had recently had with him about a possible appointment overseas.

BRADY: Right.

GREENE: And then there's a follow-up letter from him to you on the twelfth of July saying that since you had no previous overseas experience, a deputy mission director's job would probably be the most appropriate. And then that's the last, we have no follow-up at all as far as how that was resolved.

BRADY: Yeah, I... No, I think what happened there was that, I think I talked to Kenny O'Donnell about saying to him—I've forgotten what it was but there was something I wanted. I remember going in to see Bobby once or twice and I remember meeting the guy, Phil Elman [Philip Elman] or somebody who became an FTC or something like that, I forget what he became—Federal Trade Commission.

GREENE: [Inaudible]

BRADY: But I kept saying to him, what's a good job, because I was going to, you know, and all that. He thought I was nuts, I guess, because he had been in the Justice Department but he became federal trade commissioner. And then I, you know, I really didn't know what I wanted or what to ask for. But anyway, it was inconclusive there. I think I was up for U.S. attorney probably but I don't think Green would go for me, you know, structurally.

GREENE: But nothing happened with that, in other words.

BRADY: No, nothing happened with that. Then I think the second thing was I spoke to O'Donnell in June or something like that and O'Donnell sent me to the guy named Dungan. Now Dungan was a classmate of mine at St. Joe's prep [St. Joseph's Preparatory School]. He was a little boy when we were state champions in football but I don't remember Dungan or didn't know him either. But I think as a result of seeing Dungan or something like that and having him talk like that or speak like that. I didn't know what Dungan had done in the campaign; we had an awful big office. So he had told me that so I didn't pursue it after that letter because he had said that there wouldn't be much point in trying to look into that because you didn't have the experience. But I don't remember very much about it because I didn't get... I just, I think I may have gone down and spoke to somebody and then I was shuffled off to Dungan and then I don't recall anything after that.

GREENE: Does this in any way affect your feelings about them in terms of lack or gratitude or any sense or resentment?

BRADY: Oh, no, I think it's all a case of what I wanted to do and I never did know what I wanted to do. You know, I really was in a situation where...

GREENE: You were fishing around.

BRADY: Yeah. Because I really didn't know whether... This was '61 now. I ran for Congress in '62 anyway—bitter fight with Green. You know, so it really became a very, it was a background drop of what I was going to do.

GREENE: I think you said in that letter that your wife was very interested in going overseas...

BRADY: Right.

GREENE: ...and what was available, and then he said that deputy mission.

BRADY: Yeah. I'd forgotten. Because what I really wanted to do was just inquire in there. I really was always thinking about something grandiose, you know, something like, as I say, general counsel.... I think I said to Bobby, "I'll take the general counsel to the Federal Communications Commission," or some, you know, I'd see something and I'd say it or something like that, you know. But then...

GREENE: But only half-seriously?

BRADY: Well, no, I was quite serious. But I mean whether or not.... But obviously, it was a very big job and I didn't know how big it was or how serious you had to be when you wanted to get it. I learned later on but I never did know just...

GREENE: How would he respond to this sort of thing?

BRADY: I wrote the letter, I don't think he ever responded to the letter. I just think, in most instances they were already taken as I recall. Angie [Angela M. Novello] would say, "Well, Bill, that thing is already gone" or "somebody's got it or something like that. That's the way, the thing with that."

GREENE: It's like free passes to the neighborhood movie or something.

BRADY: Yeah.

GREENE: Then there's a, in the files is a series of letters or a single letter where you make a request that your law partner Tom White [Thomas White], would make an excellent first assistant U.S. attorney for the eastern district, and there's a handwritten note on it from Robert Kennedy saying that he'd like to do that if it can be done. Again, there's no evidence of what happened with that. We couldn't find in our files—and they're not necessarily 100 percent accurate—any evidence that he did get that position. Do you remember?

BRADY: No, he never did, no.

GREENE: Do you know why?

BRADY: Oh, I'm sure it was Green.

GREENE: Oh, that was it.

BRADY: The committee structurally...

GREENE: They just dump who they want and that's the end of it.

BRADY: I don't think so.

GREENE: Okay. Then there's a series of letters that were kind of interesting regarding the case of James Dillon. Remember that? He'd been dismissed from the IRS [Internal Revenue Service].

BRADY: Oh, yes. He got me over there. He was White's neighbor—my partner. Yeah, he worked in the campaign. Yeah, that's right. He had gone to everybody, I think, and I had written a letter for him as I recall.

GREENE: Right. Is that the kind of thing that you do just sort of pro forma to be a nice guy for somebody that's been nice to you or do you really expect some kind of action and when you don't get it, you just...

BRADY: Oh, no, that was just a case of where he had gone to everybody, that fellow Dillon. Dillon had been in the campaign with Kennedy and he was a committeeman but White had asked him to see if he couldn't do something for him. But that was much more of a political sort of letter that I didn't care much about, really, anyway. I mean, I'd like to help the older fellow.

The other things that we did for the county chairmen were more specific: trying to look for people to get them spots and trying to get them visits with people that they wanted to see and things like that. We had a lot of law people, especially recent law graduates who had worked hard in the campaign and done a lot of work. We tried to get them interviews and things like that. I don't know, there just seemed to be a lot of things that came about in those last months of 1960 but they never did become much more than letters. Some of the people did follow them up and they did pretty well. But you had to do it yourself really. That's one thing you learn, you've got to do it yourself, basically.

GREENE: Yeah. Most of that does not show up in your correspondence at all. I don't know if those letters went astray or were filed elsewhere.

BRADY: Well, a lot of times they wouldn't have gone to even Bobby. They would have gone to different people all through Washington. For instance, I would write in a minute to, for instance, well, not only Walter Sheridan, for instance, but anybody else that I knew in the administration: Kenny O'Donnell, for instance, or I'd write to Larry O'Brien; I know I wrote to Larry O'Brien maybe half a dozen different times for people. And Dungan, for instance, I wrote one or two people to him when I found out that he was doing something in the employment end of it. But things got glued

down there and then after the middle of '61 there was a pipeline, you know, structure pipeline; you weren't going to call up anybody then, you know.

GREENE: There's also a series of inquiries that you make on a guy named Portolissi, do you remember that? Portolissi brothers who want to.... He was your barber or something and he wants his brothers to...

BRADY: Oh, right, he asked me to write a letter.

GREENE: Yeah. Now, is that again something that you just do without any real.... So that if they turn you down, as they did in that case and the Dillon case, it's not a personal thing at all.

BRADY: Right. There's some stuff that you just get from being, you know, from having press about being...

GREENE: The association.

BRADY: Yeah, exactly, you're right.

GREENE: What about discussions with Robert Kennedy about your decision to try to run for Congress and problems that might create for him as far as the relationship with Green? What happened in there?

BRADY: Well, actually that was a result, really, of.... In '61, very frankly, my wife inherited some money and at the end of '61, I really resented Green as much for not getting people like White in as first assistant or something like that who worked so hard. And the other people that I'd written about, I resented Green, you know, really taking the position of, to heck with him.

GREENE: Why was that, by the way?

BRADY: Well, I think it was.... I mean, Green just really took the position that he wasn't going to have another person.... I really don't think you can blame Green that much, you know what I mean. I never did, really. Except, you know, at the end of the ballgame after a year of Green structurally being watchful of any of the independent Democratic people that he considered around me I think, I just decided, well, here's something I'm thinking of and it's business that I've been doing. So I decided at that time, December 1961—I filed I guess in January—to run for Congress against really, his chauffer, a guy named Jimmy Dig or Burn, an undertaker, you know, who just was a congressman in a district that straggled through Philadelphia. I didn't know, when I was running.... A couple of thoughts structurally: it was a new district. It was a brand new district, 70 percent new to him and it was in my area, just broken up. I thought maybe that with the Kennedy staff and with my contacts, et cetera, that I could present a situation and see what it was like and maybe upset him because he was somebody who didn't do anything

in a political sense, he was just handpicked by Bill Green and Jim Clark. And that was one of the... And I just thought, you know, I thought about it and thought about it and I just made a miscalculation really. The machine came out and really slaughtered me because they just, there was no one else running, see. It was the first time there was ever, ever an attempt at breaking the machine. Unfortunately, they had endorsed Dilworth for governor and so Dilworth couldn't help me because he was picked and Dilworth didn't want to see all that trouble.

The rest of the city just joined up; all the committeemen from all the other five congressional districts came in there to help Burn because Green wanted to make sure that this, you know, that I wasn't going to break through. It was really worthwhile. I mean we won our, you know, the independent northern district but we lost with thirty thousand to ten thousand. It was a bad loss. But it was something that I should have recognized—because I spent a good bit of money—I should have recognized, you know, structurally that it was something that... You know, having done it before for someone else, you know, I decided to see what I could do for myself. It was just, I hit the organization pretty much at its zenith in power and everything else and it just never...

GREENE: Had you talked to Robert Kennedy about it? Had you tried to get him to do anything for you on it?

BRADY: No.

GREENE: No. You just did it completely on your own.

BRADY: No. I didn't want to get them involved because that would have been a headache for them structurally.

GREENE: No.

BRADY: Yeah. And I thought, you know, I thought I had a stronger local position than I did, really. It wasn't very strong. That was a long time ago.

GREENE: Twelve years. You said on the phone that you spent a week with Robert Kennedy—I hope I'm not skipping. I'm going basically by what you gave me as the highlights—that you spent a week with him in Washington in September of '63. Do you remember that?

BRADY: Yeah, I went down to see him in '63, September.

GREENE: Was it just a social visit or...

BRADY: No, it was.... A friend of mine by the name of Higginbotham [A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.], who had become a federal trade commissioner—in Philadelphia he's a federal judge and was a black fellow—had become a judge after serving as a federal trade commissioner. He was nice enough to tell me that he

was going to be a judge. I knew he was going to be a judge because Dolan had called me and I'd said to Dolan that he's a great guy. Then I thought, well, how did he like it? I saw him and he said, "Gee, Bill, I think it's a great job, you do this, you do that, and all that sort of stuff." And so I thought to myself at that juncture, well, I'll be federal trade commissioner, see.

So I went down to Washington. I went to see Bobby and I said, well, that guy Higgenbotham is leaving the federal trade so why don't you send me over there, or something like that. And he said, well, I'm sorry, I promised that to a guy named Reilly [John R. Reilly] got it. And he said, "but why don't you, but Reilly's here, he's assistant deputy attorney general. Why don't you go over and see what you think about that?" So I went over and saw Reilly and the next day I saw Bobby again, I guess, and we discussed it and he said, "All right then, why don't you just take that?" And I said yeah, that sounds pretty good. So I went back to Reilly and I spent a few more days with him just talking to him in general.

Then I got ready to take the job. I went back to Philadelphia, I guess, for a month or something like that to wind up my affairs. And I went back again I guess October or November. And then of course Reilly wasn't through yet, he had to be confirmed by the Senate. So I had to wait another week and then I waited another week and I finally didn't start until after the assassination, the week after. So that was the period I was down there in '63.

GREENE: I though there was probably a tie-in even through there was some, you know, quite a time lapse between September and when you finally went in in...

BRADY: I went in in December.

GREENE: ...December.

BRADY: Right.

GREENE: Yeah. But that was really the reason you went down. Were you satisfied with that position?

BRADY: Well, when I got down there, yeah, I thought it was pretty exciting. I had no prior knowledge of what the operation was like. I didn't know Reilly, I just met him down there those two or three different times. Yeah, it was a really interesting operation. This Washington scene is very interesting, yeah. You know, I enjoyed it very much.

[BEGIN TAPE 5, SIDE 1]

GREENE: What do you remember about Robert Kennedy in the period right after the assassination? Did you see very much of him?

BRADY: I think I probably saw him more in that period I guess than any other period over our relationship. If he was home I'd be out there playing tennis with him every morning or two or three times a week. Dean I think at that time was working for Great Lakes Carbon so he was traveling more. I don't know where David was; David Hackett must have been around somewhere. But I'd be playing with him. I'd see him quite a bit really and discuss with him what I would think of the political scene and all that sort of stuff and the country's mood and all that sort of stuff.

GREENE: What do you remember about that whole period and his own emotional problems and how he gradually emerged from it?

BRADY: You know, I really think that he was terribly well contained. It had scarred him and it was really internal and it didn't affect his outward.... I never really knew what was going on totally in his mind and how he felt about the situation. He had a terribly tough, hard period in terms of getting on the track again, etc., I think—by that I mean where he was going to fit in.

You know, it's extraordinary when you look at it because I used to always be screaming at him in June and July of '64 about, "You've got to make up your mind about running for senator. What are you doing? You're on again, off again now." I was very impressed with all those bitter *New York Times* about his father and how he was a carpetbagger and things like that. But here he is going through all this period and doing exactly what he should have been doing: picking the right time, talking to the right people, making the decision exactly at the right time, you know, and Stratton [Samuel S. Stratton] and Otis—the other congressman—Otis...

GREENE: Pike [Otis G. Pike].

BRADY: Pike were really hoping and praying that they would get the spot, Stratton. He just picked the right time, he angled the thing the right way and really galvanized and remade the whole Democratic structure in New York State, you know, while getting over this tremendously frightening blow. He really grew up an awful lot I think. I think he grew up much more after '64 than prior. He had a lot more to think about, a lot more to.... He was overwhelmed by it but it's amazing that being overwhelmed he could still...

GREENE: Function.

BRADY: ...do what he did—yeah, function.

GREENE: Did you talk to him before the decision was made to go into New York, about the vice presidency and ambassador to Vietnam and some of the other things that he was interested in?

BRADY: In early February we were talking and I said to him at that time—and I know he was fishing—very strongly that I thought Johnson was there to

stay. I don't know whether he would have gone through the presidency in '64 really. I really felt that to a great extent the country just couldn't take a change from Johnson, you know, six months, nine months later or ten months later. I think structurally the vice presidency, you know, was something that I really think he always thought he could get early on in those months of '64. I don't think he ever had any doubts about that. I'm not sure of it, I just.... Because he was much more interested I think in the overall picture of the country and whether Johnson could carry it forward as president. I don't think his mind was completely clear on that. And I don't think his mind was completely clear on what the country wanted. I think it was a legitimate concern, I don't think the people knew it but I had a strong feeling and I expressed it to him that Johnson's taking a firm grasp and is there it's just a tough situation in terms of anything other than Johnson going on and carrying on. It isn't politics as usual where you maybe take him on in some primaries or something like that. He never expressed any desire.

GREENE: Well, was he seriously...

BRADY: No.

GREENE: ...thinking in terms of the presidency? I had heard that...

BRADY: No, he...

GREENE: ...always the vice president.

BRADY: I don't think he ever talked about the presidency at all but he sure talked about Johnson and the people and the mood of the country, etc., etc.

GREENE: What was his view about Johnson at that point?

BRADY: Oh, I think it was one of some concern. I don't know what their prior relationship had been, I just think that he felt he had a situation he had to watch. I just felt that, and just what was going to transpire, you know. You could tell that he really wasn't that certain of what was likely to happen. I just think that it was a period where everything was going through pretty much sorting out the whole structure of his new position. I think he was aware of the leadership role that he had been thrust into. I don't think there's any doubt about that. I don't know, it's just one of those things when you say did he ever think of the presidency, he just...

GREENE: No, I thought that was what you were implying.

BRADY: Well, I think that you've got to look at the country as a whole at that time. Whether or not Johnson was going to get them out of it was a pretty big question, I think, and whether or not Johnson should. I just don't know, I think it was one of those tough things.

GREENE: I'm trying to think. Maybe this would be a good time to talk a little bit about what you were doing in the Justice Department before he resigned. I know, the one thing that I've been able to find specifically is that you were either hiring U.S. attorneys in general or you were in charge of a special task force involved in hiring minority U.S. attorney, is that right?

BRADY: Yes.

GREENE: Okay. Do you want to explain really what's involved in your job and how that fit in with the rest of your responsibilities?

BRADY: Well, basically, the job was one in which the vacancies for assistant U.S. attorneys come through there, and the vacancies for U.S. attorneys. Now, the U.S. attorney has to be cleared by the two senators from the state. He's the chief federal prosecuting officer for the local district—eastern district of Pennsylvania. Usually comes to our office the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] request and we send it to the FBI, asking them to send us their forms and their results of their field examination of the candidates. The candidates are only tested generally when their names are sent to the Attorney General by the senators or by the leadership of that given area, you see. And then they'd come to us, we'd review it, we'd send it to the FBI, he'd come in and be.... Usually he wouldn't be interviewed by us. It all depended on how big the individual was to some degree, how certain or uncertain it was. But at any rate, usually we would get the FBI report and study it and report in it and send it back and clear it with the Attorney General saying this person seems fine, well equipped. We did that with every assistant U.S. attorney as well. The assistant U.S. attorneys were recommended and sent in to us by the U.S. attorneys themselves. They generally weren't politically as attached as the, the U.S. attorney was really, had to get a clearance from the local area that he came from in an overall sense: congressmen, senators, the governor, other leaders. So that aspect of it was fairly elaborate but that was U.S. attorney.

And then we would handle all the correspondence from all the different divisions of the Department of Justice: criminal division, civil division, antitrust, land division. They would say, we want the U.S. attorneys to do such and such. We'd type it up, get it up, send it out. We would have a yearly two-week U.S. attorneys' conference. We would have heads of the various departments of the Justice Department come and convene; the Attorney General would speak to them; deputy attorney general would speak to them; we would have gatherings for them; we'd have seminars for them. That would take a month, two months to plan, and last two weeks.

The budgets would be involved. We would be constantly going over budget with the administrative division so we'd go up to Capitol Hill before the committee. In '64, we were constantly going over the right scale, the right wage scale for the U.S. attorneys to have, things like that.

Then the big thing we spearheaded was the collection process. The collection of United States debts is through the U.S. attorney's office. For a while there we were very careless and then the GAO [Government Accountability Office], the government agency—or organization, I guess—came and got us and we put out a big drive to collect more money and

all that sort of stuff which we did. So it was a constant sort of administrative sort of job that had a lot of interest to it and brought you into contact with a lot of very good people and with problems that were fairly interesting as well.

GREENE: How did this whole push on minority hiring fit in? Was this a policy that Robert Kennedy had begun and that landed specifically in your lap?

BRADY: Yes. Well, it landed in my lap only to the extent that... We tried to get more assistant U.S. attorneys who were black and minority than ever before. We did our best. It was really a problem because we had to keep on top of them and they were hard to find to begin with and things like that. We had one in one of the districts that I thought was a great guy. The FBI was always a little difficult in dealing with this end of it. They, you know, trivia... A lot of times to them, minor problems become major problems and things like that. So we had a little problem there but by and large we got really good cooperation and we increased it, oh, I don't know, what didn't seem like very many; maybe from eighteen or twenty to about twenty-nine black assistant U.S. attorneys and things like that and other minorities—Puerto Rican or something. We kept on the back of the mind of the U.S. attorney that they're going to get pluses for the minority program. This was the Johnson year anyway. This was a carryover from what Bobby had started I think a year before.

GREENE: Yeah, he seemed to take a particular interest in that program, judging by the few things we've been able to find in the files.

BRADY: Right. He did usually, he would usually meet them, that's true. We were all conscious of trying to get that program going.

GREENE: What were your observations of him in this period—it wasn't very long, I guess, between the time you started and when he started the campaign. But could you get much of a feel for how the assassination affected him as attorney general and particularly what people in the department were saying about changes and his behavior and effectiveness as a result of that—and interest, to a large extent I guess. Was he able to sustain his interest in the work of the department after that?

BRADY: Yeah, I think the interest never waned and sort of dovetailed into his activities. Looking back... Going through it, it was extremely normal. Looking back, you never really get away from the bureaucratic sort of feel for the jugular, you know. I guess the change had taken place. Even though it really wasn't that obvious, it was there and structurally...

GREENE: You mean the antagonism like...

BRADY: Well, not so much the antagonism except, you know... [Interruption]

GREENE: Okay.

BRADY: Well, if I went down there to see him, you could see that the operation was one in which he was absolutely in command, everything was really done. I was down in '62 and I was down in '63 a couple of time and I went around the different places. I met John Nolan [John E. Nolan], John Seigenthaler, and those fellows. But things were done in a crisp, solid way. I don't think there was that much change beginning in December '63 and in the first eight months of '64. But looking back—and it's really retrospection, not what I felt at the time—I think in big organizations like that, they know that there's going to be a change and they lose their tone to some degree. The press was always talking about Bobby as the vice presidential candidate or senatorial candidate or what have you, et cetera, et cetera. I think from that standpoint it was a problem but there was so much impetus they had put into it that I don't think there was that much of a change. I mean, he had the same good people there and there was a system of attorney generals and et cetera and you know it was really moving.

GREENE: Yeah. I was thinking more of, some people have said that other people sort of had to pick up for him for a while, that he just couldn't quite get back into the swing of it and that his interest never was the same, but you don't seem to felt that.

BRADY: Well, yeah, I think.... Well, on the other hand, he knew his life had changed completely and his interest, it couldn't be the same. How could he go back being the same person under a new president, et cetera, and all that sort of thing, when you knew you weren't going to be there? But I think he carried it out in a very effective way. I think he really went through the motions and even though, and I think he functioned very well. I just think that, that he was terribly effective still and that for all, maybe for different reasons: maybe out of sympathy, maybe out of any other different reasons. But he was effective, you know, and so you had the same end result and he still had the authority and they really did look up to him, the whole department. So I don't think there was that much, you know, situation.

On the personal situations, I don't know. I know what he was doing or something like that. He was always compartmentalized in the sense that what he said to Katzenbach [Nicholas deB. Katzenbach] he didn't say to me, for instance, or what he said to John Douglas [John W. Douglas] he didn't say to me. With me it was really a very, I always thought it was just a closed thing. I would say anything I wanted to him and criticize him any way I wanted to and he never said anything back to me.

GREENE: Did he ever say anything to you to the effect that he felt once the power was gone that there were a lot of fairweather friends that went with it? Did he ever express that?

BRADY: No. The only thing he expressed to me in any regard was how so and so felt toward him, et cetera, and whether or not he was more of an X, Y, and Z, and he only did it once or twice. I think that was the only area. I don't think he felt that.

GREENE: Can you remember anything specifically about anyone that he felt...

BRADY: Well, see, a lot of the people that worked for him in different areas were closely related to the, what they call pols, you know. He always was a bit concerned about some of the guys that were close to him originally who ended up being closer to the pols. The thing that he'd say to me was, "Bill, what do you think of so and so"—I mean, people that you and I know. And I'd say.... And so it just happened in all the instances, I just figured that it may very well have been a dual loyalty on their part. I think it was a dual loyalty and I insisted to Bobby that they still held him in complete esteem and that he was silly to think, to feel any less of them.

I think in a period of loss you start to crumble and you start to worry about everybody and I think in those few instances he did that with me but I honestly think that he was quite satisfied with my answer and I was satisfied in my surety that what I said to him was accurate, and I think it was accurate. Because you go along in jobs, you do make various relationships and they may seem to be primary when in effect they're really not primary in a comparative sense.

GREENE: Right. Well, I'm getting a little nervous about the train. It's five after 4.

BRADY: Oh, what time is your train? Four?

GREENE: Four forty, didn't I say?

[END OF INTERVIEW #1]

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