INTERVIEW WITH

D. Walter Swan

by

Maclyn P. Burg and Thomas F. Soapes Oral Historians

on

May 18, 1976

for

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

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This interview is being conducted with Mr. D. Walter Swan in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library on May 18, 1976. Conducting the interview are Dr. Thomas Soapes and Dr. Maclyn Burg of the Eisenhower Library staff. Present for the interview are Mr. Swan, Dr. Burg and Dr. Soapes.

DR. SOAPES: First of all Mr. Swan would you tell us where and when you were born and where you had your formal education?

MR. SWAN: I was born in Homestead, Pennsylvania, Pebruary 8, 1907. My formal education was at Lakewood High School, Lakewood, Ohio and Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Ohio. Later I attended a War Industry Training course at Harvard Business School at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

DR. SOAPES: What was your major field of study at the undergraduate level? Was it business?

MR. SWAN: Business administration.

DR. SOAPES: And upon completing your formal schooling then where did you go?

MR. SWAN: I commenced my business career in Cleveland starting with Stout Airlines in 1928.

DR. SOAPES: In what capacity?

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SWAN: Administrative work and sales.

BURG: What did Stout Airlines later become? Didn't that merge or was there a series of mergers?

SWAN: Stout was taken over by National Air Transport, NAT, and that was merged into Boeing and Varney to become United Airlines.

BURG: So when you joined, I assume then the Ford tri-motor was your aircraft.

SWAN: That was the era I was in, that's right, Ford tri-motors. I started as I said in 1928; we flew from Detroit to Cleveland and then deplaned and transferred for the flight from Detroit to Chicago. That, incidentally, was the only air service at that time between Cleveland and Chicago.

BURG: I was going to ask, what drew you to a very new, fledgling industry?

SWAN: Because there was a job there; that was it. [Laughter]

BURG: You had no special feeling for air transportation?

SWAN: No, none whatsoever. No, that's right.

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BURG: But there was a job there.

SWAN: That's right.

BURG: May I ask, was there a point within the first couple of years or so of your work there where you developed strong feelings about this new industry?

SWAN: Very much so. And I still live with it although I've been out of it, retired now. But I was in it some thirty years. You can't be in any pioneer industry and not have a real strong feeling for it.

BURG: At the time you joined it, was the general feeling, insofar as you could detect it, one of "this'll never last," "this is a pretty impermanent, chancy--"

SWAN: Very much so. Particularly our competitors didn't think we'd ever make it.

BURG: What would be the major competitor for you --

SWAN: Of course the railroads. And of course, there were some who had a very far-sighted viewpoint on it, which encouraged us

to give our passengers to them when weather cancelled. General Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad was very farseeing on that. He was one of the backers of TAT which later became TWA. And [Charles A.] Lindbergh, of course, chartered TAT's course across the country. It was fly part of the way and then train at night, and that was the way the first transcontinental airline got under way.

BURG: I see. So the passenger flew in the daylight hours and then was just automatically, effortlessly transferred to a train--

SWAN: That's right.

BURG: -- and travelled by night.

SWAN: And of course we used that technique in the Eisenhower campaign of 1952.

BURG: Oh ho. I'm sorry for the diversion, Tom, but--

SOAPES: It's still good information to have. What was your route up the ladder in this business?

SWAN: Well from sales--we called it the traffic department then, it's now called marketing, I then went into the executive offices in Chicago with United Airlines as assistant to the president.

SOAPES: That was what year?

SWAN: That was in 1940 and I stayed there until I left United in 1957.

SOAPES: In that same capacity?

SWAN: That's right.

SOAPES: At any time during this did you participate in politics?

SWAN: Yes, during the latter part. I wouldn't say participate in politics per se--more as a service to that branch of activity. Mr. W.A. Patterson who was then president and now retired from United, was politically minded and a very staunch supporter of General Eisenhower. And it was in that area that I became acquainted.

SOAPES: About how early do you recollect him being interested in Eisenhower as a political figure?

SWAN: I would go back to '48. He was very close to the Cowles of Cowles Publishing, Mike and John--Mike was on the board of United, and of course they knew General Eisenhower because of their activities in the media. It goes back to probably '48.

BURG: May I ask Mr. Swan, what was your activity during World War II?

SWAN: World War II, I was out of the president's office and United had many contracts, defense contracts, and another man, who was my immediate superior, was in charge of the public affairs department as we called it, we serviced our contracts with the military in Washington. And that was primary—we had an overseas route to the Pacific and training bases—that type of activity during the war.

BURG: Were these passenger contracts, that is hauling military personnel?

SWAN: Most were training personnel, flying personnel, training mechanics and hauling cargo and, of course, then the one across the Pacific was some passengers and cargo.

BURG: In short, at the time I suppose a lot of the training work you were doing would be on the DC-3 aircraft.

SWAN: That's all we had then. It later became known as the C-47.

BURG: Right. The work horse aircraft of the airlines at that period of time for military contracts.

SWAN: That's right. We actually didn't have the DC-4 for World War II. If you may remember that the first version was sold to the Japanese, the first version by Douglass of the DC-4; it never flew in this country until after World War II.

BURG: I see. I hadn't realized that. Well I wanted to find out what kind of activity you'd been involved in there; there was always the possibility that had some influence on the kind of

work you did during the campaign.

SWAN: No, not necessarily so. We did a lot of everything.

BURG: Yes, I'll bet you did.

SWAN: Yes.

SOAPES: Did this type of activity give you much contact with people in Washington in the Defense Department?

SWAN: Yes, in all branches of government because we were dealing with the CAA [Civil Aeronautics Authority] it was then called, CAA now FAA [Federal Aviation Administration], and the Civil Aeronautics Board and other departments related to the war effort. Yes, we had contact in all areas.

SOAPES: Was this your first contact with national officials --

SWAN: No, as a matter of fact I was manager of the Washington office before I went into Chicago. For three years I was manager of the Washington office for United, and that was my really first contact in the Washington picture.

BURG: And that was before the war?

SWAN: Before the war, that's right -- 1937 to 1940.

BURG: You were then, I suppose, operating out of National Airport?

SWAN: No, it was called Washington-Hoover Airport. National came along during President [Franklin D.] Roosevelt's term.

He's the one that christened it; I was there the day he christened the Washington National Airport. Washington-Hoover was closed, finally, and it became a part of the Park Service in Washington; it's now gone. Military Road used to cut right through it. We used to have a gate there with a light on like a R.R. crossing which went down when the airplanes took off--just like a railroad crossing!

SOAPES: So in this period you're working in private industry you do have contact with Washington officials, both the civil service types as well as political types.

SWAN: That's right, that's correct.

SOAPES: Going back to what we were talking about with Mr.

Patterson and his early interest in Eisenhower in '48--he was
a Republican? He was interested in Eisenhower as a Republican?

SWAN: Yes.

SOAPES: And there was some consideration on his part as Eisenhower as a Republican candidate in '48?

SWAN: Very much so, yes. May I correct myself there. No, not '48. I wouldn't say that, except that he was interested in the man. I wouldn't say that he, to my knowledge, didn't actually try to put any kind of a campaign on to get him interested in '48. But he could keep reading it and as '52 approached, he was rarin' to go.

SOAPES: I see. Of course in '48 many of the Democrats, especially the ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] were interested in Eisenhower and did make some sort of public fuss over it. I think some Republicans did too, and I was wondering if he was in any way involved in those operations.

SWAN: Not to my knowledge, no.

SOAPES: As '52 came closer then, what type of activity were you associated with or did you observe in relation to the Eisenhower campaign?

SWAN: Well I kept posted mainly through the press and conversation with contacts in Washington as to what would develop.

As you know it came pretty fast when General Eisenhower decided to go. He came back and took off his uniform and went up to the Pentagon and resigned and he was off, and that was in June of '52. By the middle of June he brought his family by train to Detroit and from there we took him, he and his family and the party, on United into Denver, and that was the beginning of his Denver operation preparatory to the convention in Chicago.

SOAPES: Let me back up just a bit.

SWAN: Certainly.

SOAPES: You mentioned that you did have some contacts with some people in Washington concerning Eisenhower. Could you tell us who those people were and what was the nature of your contact with them?

SWAN: Well it would only be in sounding out opinion and in

discussions with them as we called on them on other matters relating to our air transport business. Senators or congressmen primarily would be the ones you talked to and discuss the future.

BURG: These were casual things over the telephone where a friend of yours, a senator or congressmen that you knew, might say, "Watch the Eisenhower move."

SWAN: That's right. That's the way it would go, yes. I mean it was no campaign on our part to do that. It would just be a feeling-out technique trying to see the picture.

BURG: On the trip from Detroit to Denver, did you have personal contact with the general and his family on that occasion?

SWAN: Other than to meet him, that's about the extent of my visit with him at that time.

BURG: So that was your first introduction to him.

SWAN: First meeting, that's right. Mrs. Eisenhower and John, his son, and Barbara, John's wife, and the three children were there then too. David was a pretty small little guy at the time. This is twenty-four years later we're talking.

BURG: What kind of an impression did he make on you on that first meeting?

SWAN: I was awed!

BURG: Were you?

SWAN: I was awed! He was more than I had expected and I think this was so true all the way through. People just idolized him for the way he handled himself, never demanding. I think this bears out in other bits of history how he led without demanding; that's the way he did it.

BURG: So that was the strong first impression that you had.

SWAN: Very much so. I stayed then in Denver at the Brown Palace where he made his office. He stayed at the Doud home with Mrs. Eisenhower on Lafayette Street in Denver (Mrs. Doud was Mrs. Eisenhower's mother). And we all stayed at the Brown and remained there through August. We worked out of Denver to many points in the West. We didn't go East until convention time in Chicago which was August.

BURG: I hadn't realized that you had gone on that flight, had gone out to Denver. We'd better ask Mr. Swan how he came to be

picked for this particular job. I think we'd be most interested in knowing how that came about.

SWAN: Well actually I was out there as a service representative for the president's office from United Airlines. We had an office there; United, of course, has a big base in Denver. So I was merely there to see that they got an airplane when they needed it, and, of course, it was on a charter basis, nothing was for free. So that's how it started that I did such work. And then, as result of that, after the convention, they picked a director of rail who was from the New York Central Railroad and they picked me as director of air transportation from United. Too, we made travel arrangements for important people and delegates coming to Denver to see the General.

BURG: So the Republican National Committee --

SWAN: Yes, that's right.

BURG: --in effect.

SWAN: We were the transportation people, that's right.

BURG: Could I ask you, at the time when you first go off to Denver and this is on a charter arrangement, was United also connected with the Stevenson campaign, providing a similar charter arrangement for Mr. Stevenson.

SWAN: Yes. United chartered to any candidate, a service to any candidate, and Adlai Stevenson was the candidate.

BURG: Was another man then selected in the United organization to handle any of the Stevenson needs?

SWAN: Yes, Kess Willard, a very able man and one whose philosophy incidentally ran along with Adlai Stevenson. I checked him out on what we were doing in order to give good service so he had the same pattern that we were using. You must remember in those days it was DC-6s and Constellations. And when we had 150 passengers, we ran in three sections.

BURG: 150 passengers!

SWAN: General Eisenhower and his staff would vary, but could number as many as twenty on a trip. There'd be speech writers, communication people, didn't have Secret Service in those days, he had two policemen from Denver--one was an ex-policeman--and that's about the amount of protection we had. When we went into towns they would call ahead the local police. There

wasn't a great deal of security problems then. We never had an incident that stirred anybody in that area as it has today, as you know, it's Secret Service for all of them now. But getting back to the three sections, those were prop engines and when we got all engines, four engines to each airplane, started it was quite a feat. Today with the jets you very seldom stand on the runway and not have an engine failure. So to get three airplanes off the ground one-two-three going to the same place was nerve racking to say the least.

BURG: I would not have thought that. I really would not have thought that. So out of those twelve engines there was a fairly strong possibility that one or more would not start.

SWAN: And they would have to stay on the ground and this would slow up our schedule or we may went on and have them catch up.

This did happen on one or two occasions.

SOAPES: Who was in these other two sections?

SWAN: Well actually the three sections didn't really materialize until after the convention. We generally handled the requirements on one section, for sixty passengers, prior to convention time.

BURG: Prior to the convention.

SWAN: Prior to convention. And then after that, after he became the candidate and the ground swell was beginning to appear, you could see more demand. We had generally 150 passengers in the party. And the amount of baggage and equipment, television equipment and camera equipment, was tremendous. Of course we had men specialized in that service to handle that on and off the aircraft.

SOAPES: Most of these other two sections would have been press.

SWAN: Right, right. And sometimes would be--if staff got big, we'd take some of the staff with the press sections. I think it would be interesting to note--this was the first presidential campaign that air was used at all, in 1952. And it started out, really, as an experiment. I was willing to go along on that basis. And they put together an eighteen car train, special campaign train, put together by the New York Central, specially painted, dignified, nothing flamboyant about it. But the seating arrangement was the outstanding thing and the diners, we had three diners, and we had one car that would take ninety seated, and in those cars they would pick up the local politicians

at one station and drop them off at the next. And so the general would come in from his car and visit with those people. Of course there was the rear car with a platform and a PA system. This was the pattern that was used. But then when the campaign got stepped up we used the train primarily for sleeping. In other words, we would fly in the daytime and then would have the train deadhead ahead and then we'd get on at night. We all had our own compartments. And then the next morning we'd have the planes ready and away we'd go again. And this was the, as I say, the first time that air was used as extensively in a campaign. Of course today it's widely used; it's all they use except the other day I read where President [Gerald R.] Ford used a train in Michigan to whistle stop, the same pattern that we used. But this is good because there's a lot of people still on railroads and they're interested in their transportation and it's a good thing to do. Too, it performed a service for President Ford, I'm sure, going up through Northern Michigan.

BURG: Mr. Swan, was it a case, in 1952, that ground control techniques were perhaps primitive enough that you hesitated to fly at night during the campaign?

SWAN: No, that wasn't so much the question. The question was weather conditions. And I would say, well, I'm sure they have improved in twenty-four years, but they were afraid of weather conditions holding them up, and yet today you'll still see some of the planes grounded by fog. We rode out a hurricane over Kansas going into Kansas City, Kansas. We were on top of it for a good forty-five minutes to an hour with General Eisenhower and ended up with a very heavy rain storm at the airport. When the pilot landed he lost his depth perception because the airport was practically flooded; he couldn't really read it too well and he bounced some fifty to a hundred feet in the air and all General Eisenhower said, "Well, he's just jumping puddles."

BURG: Oh, for heaven's sake.

SWAN: And it was so severe that the second landing or the third landing, that it knocked out the radio equipment. We were grounded the next day at Kansas City, Kansas for, until late in the next afternoon we got new radio equipment to replace it and then we went on back to Denver. That was really the only incident we ever had where we had to sit on top of a storm and wait it out.

BURG: His reaction seems to have been a very calm one to the whole incident?

SWAN: He had no concern whatsoever as he loved airplanes, he loved air travel, and I think he was impatient with ground transportation, this I know.

BURG: And of course he was himself a pilot.

SWAN: Yes, yes he was.

BURG: So even that fifty foot balloon back up in the air didn't--

SWAN: Didn't bother him a bit.

BURG: Probably nothing worse than he'd committed himself in the Philippines. I'd never heard that story; that's really good.

SWAN: After business hours, several staff members would come to my suite in the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver to re-hash the days affairs and plan for the next days work. We had a few cocktails then to dinner before working some more that evening. As it became more the custom, more staff members dropped in and soon

we had a close knit group. One evening, it was suggested we name the group, "The Friendly Sons and Daughters of the Friends of Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Pierce"...immediately I asked, "Who is Franklin Pierce?" It was suggested I research at the library and report back. I did so the following meeting. I learned for the first time, Franklin Pierce was the 14th president of the United States, a Democrat and president from 1853 to 1857. He departed Washington after a most unfortunate administration and returned to his home in New Hampshire. He was often taunted by the young people as he took his dailywalk to the town square and to his law office.

Soon after my report, I learned there were many others who like me did not know who Franklin Pierce was and wouldn't admit it!

Soon thereafter, we then headed east on a DC-6 in one section and as we anticipated Lou Kelly's birthday we had as a group purchased a handsome gold wrist watch suitably engraved "From the Friendly Sons and Daughters of the Friends of Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Pierce" to be presented aboard the plane after dinner-a birthday cake--then the watch. When the time came for

the watch presentation, I was elected to ask General Eisenhower to the galley where the PA mike was located. I did so and explained it was Lou Kelly's birthday and that we had a watch for him and would be present it to Lou. He agreed, put on his reading glasses and exclaimed, "Who is Franklin Pierce" which he immediately picked up on the backside engraved on it with the date enroute on the campaign plane.

Needless to say, I did not make the same suggestion made to me by my co-workers but gave him a bit of the information I learned in researching Franklin Pierce. He then called Lou to the galley and gave him the watch.

I have tried this story out on many friends and not one knows who is Franklin Pierce...the forgotten president of the United States.

We had another interesting incident. We were going out of Washington in two sections, headed for New York. Let's go back and say that after the convention, we moved from Denver to New York, and headquartered at the Commodore Hotel in New York—that was our base then where we started out from and came back to. We were going out of Washington one afternoon with two sections, and he was busy talking to some of the staff members when he looked at his watch and thought it was about

time to land. He asked why he wasn't landing. Jim [James C.]
Hagerty was press secretary, said, "General, the press were
delayed filing the story, so we've been circling Washington
for the last forty-five minutes waiting for them."

BURG: And what was his reaction?

SWAN: His reaction was very violent, because he thought he was ready to set down, and of course he then was told why and he understood it. But at the first reaction was, "Why are we doing this?" But it was Jim Hagerty's decision to wait because the press wanted, and rightfully so, wanted to see him off and see him on the ground, that was the general policy we followed.

BURG: Now at the point where the convention picks him as the party's nominee, were you contacted then—would it have been by Mr. Patterson—and asked if you would be willing to go on in your capacity? You had been sort of United Airlines liaison to a candidate or a potential candidate. Now he's been picked as the party's candidate; were you consulted at that point as to whether you wished to remain or was it through the party itself that you were approached?

SWAN: Well actually it was through Lou Kelly, the director of

transportation. He was on leave from American Express. I might add it was a very competitive position that other airlines wanted too. I was asked to join. And I was delighted, and of course by that time I was much more in awe of the general than ever and wanted to go on, and he asked if I would go on as director of air. Of course, I asked Mr. Patterson for his permission. I then went on the campaign from August through November.

BURG: Who would have been the biggest competition for that position as director of air transportation? I assume that TWA, of course, might have had a chance; they have routes all over the country. Would there have been other airlines as well?

SWAN: American, and well, that was it—American and TWA. Both were transcontinentals and both of them very much interested in handling the general. And it brought recognition to the air—line probably more so than it does today because air transportation is so commonplace today that probably some could care less today whether they carry them or not. It's quite a rescheduling problem of equipment and personnel and training personnel properly and special personnel and all that, and then you've got to do many little extra details to make it run on schedule.

BURG: May I ask if Mr. Kelly had known you previously?

SWAN: No, I had never met Lou until making plans for the Detroit-Denver trip.

BURG: So it would seem as though somebody made a recommendation that your name was presented.

SWAN: Yes, someone, but I never knew. My success was based on how Lou Kelly and I got along together and the performance we turned in from June through August. That was the criteria, I would say.

BURG: I see. So that was your first real contact with him.

SWAN: That's right.

BURG: Could I ask this question--comes to mind at this point-once the campaign is underway, you are then with the campaign
train. You're pretty much with the general on almost all the
travels, even non-air--

SWAN: Oh, yes.

BURG: --so that you can be consulted at any time about future arrangements, whether those arrangements might be an hour, two hours from now or tomorrow morning, whatever it might be, you must be on the scene with the campaign every step of the way.

SWAN: That's true. Very true. I had a compartment on the train and the minute we switched from air I was on the train. They would call for maybe a change the next day in schedule and I would work it, and then the next stop I would phone operations for a change and an okay. And I might say that I really felt very sorry for the railroad man because when they asked for a change on the railroad it was unbelievable the amount of work he had to go through to make a change because their rails are set, whereas in the air all we had to do was really change the time and get approval on the flying time and the equipment. It was comparatively easy to the rail man's work.

BURG: I can see where you have intense traffic over many of the systems that would be used with other passenger runs and freight runs, they've got to somehow squeeze that campaign train into the routine. SWAN: That's true; that's very true.

BURG: May I ask, did you then move with the campaign onto the aircraft? You made the flights with them?

SWAN: Oh, yes. Very much so.

BURG: Were you in that first section with the candidate?

SWAN: Not always, not always with the staff. I would sometimes prefer to stay back with the third section to make sure everyone got off the ground. We had communications between aircraft, just like CBs on the highway—we had aircraft communication, and I'd prefer sometimes—because if things broke down at the last minute and one stayed on the ground, I'd want to be there directing rather than sitting up in front having lunch. No, I would generally stay in the last section. But when we flew in one section, why then of course we'd all be in the same airplane.

BURG: The aircraft were not in any way modified? They were standard passenger aircraft, DC-4s or DC-6s?

SWAN: DC-6s.

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BURG: Sixes and constellations.

SWAN: Yes. We did modify, to some degree. General Eisenhower always wanted a hassock to put his feet up on and yet there was no sign of any problem with his legs or his feet but this was just a habit, so we always carried a hassock with us. And today I have that hassock in my home--properly labeled. I think very much of it. But we carried that all around for him. No we had no beds or bunks for him; he didn't want any special attention.

SOAPES: No private compartments?

SWAN: No, no private compartment -- he was up in front and it was a wide open to all aboard.

BURG: And his wife, I would expect, was generally not with him on these flights.

SWAN: That's true, not generally, but she would go along where needed. On one particular occasion I recall where we finished up in Dallas, and flew non-stop into New York. And she and her mother, Mrs. Doud, and Major General Howard McC Snyder, his personal physician, accompanied them to New York on this

eighteen car train, just the three of them. And if you go back into some of your clips, the train hit a truck and the chef was badly thrown in the kitchen area and was injured to the extent they had to take him to the hospital. As I recall he had cracked ribs, nothing more, but it delayed the train. But they went back on that eighteen car train all the way to New York by themselves.

BURG: Just them.

SWAN: Just them.

BURG: In that lengthy train.

SWAN: As the campaign progressed we used more and more aircraft. They had more confidence that we could fly weather-for example we did all of Pennsylvania in the closing weeks
by air where they first thought they'd do it by rail because
of fall weather over the Allegheny mountains at that time of the
year.

BURG: Were your aircraft radar equipped at that time?

SWAN: No. No, radar hadn't come along at that period.

[Interruption]

BURG: The reason I asked about Mrs. Eisenhower and flying,
we know that she often had problems because of inner ear
difficulty. She had problems on air flights. If the flight
was at all bumpy it was very upsetting to her. I wondered if
you had noticed any of that during the campaign.

SWAN: Well we were aware of that. In fact we were told of it; we couldn't fly any different for her, but we were aware of it and I recall an incident even on the train. The last train portion was between New York and Boston where he appeared at the Boston Garden as his finale before election day in '52. Mrs. Swan travelled with me as did some of the other wives (not always but off and on and this being the last trip, why, she was there), and Homer Gruenther who was General [Alfred] Gruenther's brother was on the campaign with us. Homer came back and asked Mrs. Swan and Mrs. Fred A. Seaton to come with him. They had no idea where they were being taken, and finally he walked them through the Grand Central train sheds to the last car. The General was already asleep but Mrs. Eisenhower did not want to be alone going through the enclosure out of the Grand Central Station which as you may know runs underground to the north. And so they went back and visited with her until

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they were out of that situation.

BURG: That tunnel effect.

SWAN: It give one the impression she might have had a little claustrophobia mixed in with that inner ear problem.

BURG: Now I would also like to ask you, get on the record, were the crews specially chosen or was this merely a case of you needed an aircraft out of a certain city at a certain time, tomorrow let's say, and you had certain available United crews. They simply picked crews or did you have the same crews?

SWAN: Well, knowing Mr. Patterson's strong feeling for General Eisenhower, we could get any crew we wanted and so we generally asked for a flight manager who had not only flying ability but managerial ability. Too, they were very helpful in setting up schedules, so I could pick a flight manager, not always, but at times, and they were delighted to go and of course—they were top-drawer captains.

BURG: So these men would be senior captains.

SWAN: Oh, very true, yes.

BURG: And moving up in the organization with a certain amount of administrative work that they did as well as their flying.

SWAN: That's right. And the same held true with the stewardesses. They, of course, were enthusiastic, and they got so
that they were known by all the press and others who stayed on
the trip constantly. And so if they did a good job, we would
ask for them again. So they became pretty steady too, most of
these stewardesses liked that sort of thing. And it was hard;
it was hard work.

BURG: So we're not talking then, during the campaign period, we're not talking about literally hundreds of pilots and second officers and stewardesses, but a rather more limited group who usually were doing the flying and the cabin work.

SWAN: Very true.

BURG: Even though this might extend all the way across the country as the campaign did.

SWAN: One they flew with General Eisenhower they would say, "Well if you've got another trip coming up, I'd be glad to take it." I mean they wanted to come back and do it again, and delighted to do it. The same feeling prevailed that we

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all had.

BURG: They drew their standard pay --

SWAN: Oh, yes.

BURG: -- for the hours flown, or work hours.

SWAN: That's right. Same as if they were flying a schedule.

SOAPES: You mentioned that this was very demanding work for them. In what ways might it be different or more demanding than on just a regular commercial flight?

SWAN: Well in those days the stewardesses were able to really spend more time with the passengers than they are today because of the size of the aircraft and after they served the food, they could visit and personalize the service much more than if you had a 747 which I haven't seen yet used, but it's possible it might happen in the future. But there on a 747 they are so busy that they don't have time to hardly speak to some of the passengers. And of course they got to know the media and a lot of them received feature stories out of it as they were highly touted as reliable. Too, they were often in the front row cheering at our political meetings.

BURG: You mean they would attend the political meetings, too?

SWAN: Oh, yes. Oh, if they could get away they'd be there, too.

BURG: Was the food service standard for United at that particular period in time? Was the campaign aircraft serving the same meals that was offered "on line."

SWAN: Yes, we'd take the meal of the day. Except we got to know-I can't tell you what exactly foods that General Eisenhower preferred-he was generally not hard to please, but once in a while we would do something for him that we knew he liked. And, oh, like you say, on pretty good authority, that'd he'd like a mountain trout for example and that could be done then. It could be cooked in the kitchens and held in heating elements-

BURG: Would the lead section receive the first class food and the other two sections--

SWAN: No, everybody was treated alike.

BURG: And was it first class in all three, or was it coach fare?

SWAN: No, it was, we didn't have coach configurations then.

Everybody was first class, of course.

BURG: I see. So all three aircraft were eating the same meal.

SWAN: Including souvenirs. We used to give mementoes with trips, some are in the museum here, I noticed, particularly lighters as we gave those to the press and staff.

BURG: Now may I ask you if, as is the fashion today, if liquor was carried on board--

SWAN: Yes, it was.

BURG: --and served in all three aircraft.

SWAN: Gratis -- it was served gratis then. And not overdone because these men had stories to write; after each stop they would write, and so sometimes they wouldn't even have time to eat they were so busy with their stories.

BURG: And what they had to do, the press then, in flight would have to use the fold down tables, put their typewriters on those--

SWAN: Either that or on their lap, little portables, put them on their lap.

SOAPES: To look more at what you yourself were doing, we've discussed that you were involved in laying on crew, I assume getting aircraft on line to take people where they needed to go. What other duties did you have? What other things were you concerned with?

SWAN: Well that was primarily it. After you get through all that, you had a big sigh of relief when all the airplanes got off the ground and that was it.

SOAPES: Did you have a staff of people working for you or were you pretty much a one-man operation?

SWAN: No, I had a staff, a team. I had one man particularly excellent, Tom Dawson from Denver passenger service, he was my right arm in passenger service. He would work ahead with the passenger service stations in getting the proper people to work with him on arrival or if it was off-line, the other carrier might have the same structure and he would get, for example, loading steps and certain other services, even operational services.

BURG: I don't recall what United's routing happened to be at that time, but then we might picture you coming with the United aircraft and crew into, let us say, Atlanta where perhaps you

would have no facilities and there perhaps Delta would provide passenger ladders and other services for you.

SWAN: True.

BURG: Now was that on a contract basis with United?

SWAN: No, that at that time was a courtesy. We would extend it too—steps—and of course each carrier had contracts on fuel with different oil companies and generally the same kind of gasoline, so we would buy from one company at one place and one from the other, and we just signed a slip and it would be sent back to headquarters.

BURG: Is it your recollection that these off-line arrangements worked each time, that these courtesies were extended to you each time?

SWAN: We had no problem whatsoever. No, it was very great to receive superb service from everybody. I don't recall any flap at all at any time of the campaign, it just worked so smooth it was unbelievable. And I think you've got to give some credit to General Eisenhower because they were much

interested in the man in many, many cases. Of course we know there were other sides of it, too, but say a courtesy to him. His record, you know, was well known to everybody, and so they were honoring the man, too.

You asked me what did I do sometimes besides fly in the aircraft. I would sometimes ride in the motorcade with the press and try to sense the situation—the press was always ahead of him, their cameras and newsreel and TV. You could feel and see the enthusiasm build—up, started just like a wave—coming up three or four blocks before he ever arrived on the scene, and then when he got there it just broke into bedlam. The press knew then, early in the campaign, it was all over for the other candidate.

BURG: And commented on that fact in your presence?

SWAN: Oh, yes, and anyone could see it. Oh once in a while you get a sign that was derogatory, but you have to expect that in a campaign.

BURG: Now you relied heavily on Mr. Dawson. He sounds as though he was a strong assistant.

SWAN: Very much so.

BURG: Was there anyone else on whom you relied heavily?

SWAN: No, except I had great back-up support from Mr.

Patterson and that, in itself, was enough to know that whatever we needed, why we could get in the way of equipment or service.

BURG: May I raise this point with you. You've said that
the '52 campaign is probably the first occasion where air
transportation is used extensively and obviously effectively,
and Mr. Kelly and you are stepping into this blind. You're
experienced people and you're an experienced man in the airlines industry and United is an experienced carrier, but you're
putting together something that really hadn't been done before.
How long did it take you to get on top of it, and was there any
problem getting on top of this new way of handling a political
campaign?

SWAN: Well I suppose we were too enthused to really have any fears. We just felt we're going to do it. I would argue with the Eisenhower staff that they had too much train schedule on a particular trip and they'd say, "Now just slow down." Finally

they got to depend upon us for weather information, because we were looking at weather all the time, our pilots and our crews, and this was very important to their meeting ahead. We never cancelled any stop from August through November.

BURG: On the air --

SWAN: On account of rain, or fog, or any storms.

BURG: On the air flights?

SWAN: On the air, yes. It is a matter of record, we went to 232 towns and cities in 45 states, some 51,376 miles total.

Our air mileage, 30,505 was "used" mileage, as I call it, and their mileage, 20,871, a great part "deadheading." During the day, as I told you, we deadheaded the train in the daytime.

That long trip from Dallas back to New York was "dead" mileage, so to speak. What I mean, we didn't have the candidate nor did we have the press on board. So offhand I would say rail, while it travelled twenty thousand, they paid for twenty thousand, I estimate only ten thousand miles were used. That's the way it finally turned out.

BURG: Now that train was running, in effect, empty.

SWAN: In the daytime, oh yes, in the daytime it would be running empty, getting ready to take us on at night. But it worked out quite well, but of course today they go right into motels or hotels.

BURG: I've forgotten the name of the rail manager.

SWAN: Clarence Lafond.

BURG: Lafond. Is that L-a-f-o-n-d?

SWAN: L-a-f-o-n-d. And he's retired from the New York Central, lives in Dearborn, Michigan yet. I still see and hear from him. We had quite a team and we still exchange notes.

BURG: I just realized that Mr. Lafond and you would have to cooperate very closely, since you're leaving him and he's picking you up a little bit later on in the day at another place.

SWAN: Right. It was super cooperation we had with the rail people. I hope I haven't sounded as downgrading the railroads because they were an important part of the campaign at that time. And this again is history—on the last leg of the rail, we came

out of Boston after the Boston Garden appearance of General Eisenhower for New York City to our quarters back at the Commodore, and we still had the full compliment of the train, eighteen cars, we never did take it apart because it was put together in such a way you couldn't knock off nine cars if you only needed nine you had to take the whole eighteen. So we had plenty of room. And all of us had our wives that last trip down to New York. Someone on the staff came and said. "Get Fred Waring -- we want some music out of Boston." So we got Fred Waring, as he was at the Boston Garden that night. He was very much a supporter of General Eisenhower. So he brought on board about ten musicians and put them in the, what we called the VIP lounge car, it was nothing but individual seats...club effect -- not the kind row after row. We were packed in there -- there was one bar, and we all had a few drinks -- well, we were pretty emotional that night, our last night together. General Eisenhower and Mrs. Eisenhower came in and he had on his Eisenhower jacket, and he told a little story, cute little story which happened to him overseas, and then they were toasted by the group--it was mostly staff and some media-and then Fred Waring got up and said, "Don't anybody leave until the General leaves. He's going to leave now." He then sang
the Lord's Prayer. There wasn't a dry eye in the whole place.
This has been written up in many magazines. It was quite
touching. As they disappeared, the Lord's Prayer song ended.

BURG: Do you recollect the story that he told you when he came into the room?

SWAN: Yes. He said it was a very rainy day before D-Day. As it had rained he needed his boots shined and wore a rain jacket, more like a poncho. The black boy, of course, wanting to do right, he didn't quite know who he was but he knew he was an officer and he was shining away, and finally General Eisenhower threw back his poncho because it was getting warm and his five stars appeared. And the black boy said, "Holy Smokes--the milky way!"

BURG: Some kind of exclamation.

SWAN: Yes, exclamation that when he saw these five stars he was aghast at those five stars on General Eisenhower's shoulders.

BURG: The Eisenhower jacket, was it equipped with the ribbons and--

SWAN: No, no, not that night.

BURG: Just wearing it plain.

SWAN: Just plain, no stars. Of course he--

BURG: Matching pants?

SWAN: No, I think it was more of a--no matching pants but more of a slack type. Yes, he was dressed relaxed, and of course it was a very handsome jacket, as you know, it was copied widely at that time.

BURG: But this was absolutely plain, no insignia or marks on it whatsoever.

SWAN: Plain, nothing on it, that's right.

BURG: That's interesting. Wonder why he chose to do that.

SOAPES: Okay, well it's some good stories that we're glad to have on the record. I was wondering, you were with the train constantly both the train and the plane.

SWAN: That is right.

SOAPES: You were in a position to observe the staff, observe the campaign operation. I was interested in terms of leader-ship, who appeared to be to you the leader in that campaign? Who seemed to be running the operation?

SWAN: Well of course he picked Sherman Adams as his chief of staff and a very, very able man and I have a great deal of respect for the man. We still communicate with Christmas cards and little notes on them back and forth—this is twenty—four years later. But he's a very fine gentleman. And then I would say, and you remember Fred Seaton who later became secretary of interior was coming up at that time, and I'd say Fred Seaton was the number two. Jerry [Wilton B.] Persons was a general, Jerry Persons was aboard, and Gabe [Gabriel] Hauge who is now chairman of the board of Manufacturers Hannover [Trust], he was aboard. We had a tremendous group of dedicated people, and when you get that kind of men you have no problem, no conflicts that I could see.

BURG: Was Arthur Summerfield on board a good bit of the time?

SWAN: No, he wasn't on board. His office as national chairman was in Washington. He came aboard a couple of trips but not for long as he had the work to do in Washington.

SOAPES: With whom did you deal personally most often?

SWAN: I dealt with Lou Kelly and Lou, as I said earlier, took all the flak and we did all the work. And he got some flak once in a while. I recall one day that Lou was gone, and this was after convention, someone decided that General Eisenhower ought to go to Los Angeles from Denver, this was before he moved on to New York. General Eisenhower called me into his office and he said, "I'm told I ought to be in Los Angeles for this convention in the Coliseum." And he said, "I think it's too big (the Coliseum) and we shouldn't be there." But he said, "I'm going to do it anyway for them. I think it's going to cost too much money, that's another reason we shouldn't do it." He said, "But how can we do it inexpensively?"

And I said, "Well let me find out what time the meeting is and perhaps we can work it on a regular scheduled flight from Denver to Los Angeles," which is what we did. We blocked out all the requirements needed, wasn't a big crowd, it was partial

staff and partial press, and we went over and back for a fraction of the cost of a charter. The point of the story is that he was cost-conscious. You would think because he was in the military all of his life that he would have no idea of the value of the dollar, but he certainly did and that demonstrated it to me. We were not extravagant in the sense that you see today in some of these millions of dollars that are being used in the campaign. Of course I am aware of the inflated dollar, but the point is that he was cost conscious of what we were doing.

BURG: We know that Sherm Adams had a fierce bark. Were you ever on the receiving end of that or did you let Mr. Kelly get all of those?

SWAN: No, no I never got any from Sherman Adams bark, maybe Kelly did, but, no, we had a great relationship.

BURG: Did you happen to meet Ed [Edward] Tait in the course of your work?

SWAN: Yes, Ed was one of the advance men.

BURG: Yes.

SWAN: That's right. Ed was one of our advance men. We had a John Quinn from Nebraska, who was one of Fred Seaton's close friends, both of them now gone.

BURG: May I ask, as you look back those twenty-four years to that particular time, does any particular problem now stand out in your mind as perhaps the most hair-raising thing you had to cope with in trying to mastermind all of this air transportation?

SWAN: No, not really. I can tell you it was tense days meeting schedules sometimes and I got tagged "Fat Schedule Swan," that was Fred Seaton that did that. They couldn't figure out how we were so successful in meeting our schedule. And one thing about a candidate, you don't rush him away from the scene. You want to make all appear relaxed and gracious and still get the show on the road for the next stop. So we built in some hidden time which the staff didn't know about and then we could make it up or have that much time to play with.

BURG: How did you do it, Mr. Swan?

SWAN: For example, you schedule say a hundred miles in an hour instead of forty-five minutes—just off the top of my head—something like that, you see, and then you had fifteen minutes to play with. That trip, I told you, out of Dallas to New York, we lost time all day, and finally we were about an hour and a half late leaving Dallas and we pulled into New York right on the button. They couldn't believe it. But we had built in some time there for the Dallas—N.Y. leg you see, to make it on time, plus favorable winds.

BURG: May we take it that you knew this and Mr. Kelly knew this, but nobody else knew it.

SWAN: At first, yes; we finally told them and had a lot of fun over it. But that's the only way we could make schedules with some extra time or you're in trouble. You don't want to keep people waiting and this was, trying to be punctual and courteous and bring credit to the candidate and to your own service.

BURG: Yes. But by and large it worked.

SWAN: It did. It sure did.

BURG: So of all the potential headaches of that period of time, perhaps scheduling would be the toughest thing you had to cope with, the possibility of aircraft unserviceability might be second?

SWAN: That's true, that's true.

BURG: How about abrasive personalities on that train? Were there any?

SWAN: No, no.

BURG: Even under the stress of campaigning, which was tough.

SWAN: No, you see on the train, you had so many different carriers involved. As you know a train would go so far, like a hundred miles, and then the other carrier would take over. As I recall we didn't even have the same porters. I think some of the head porters stayed on with us, but there was times when we didn't use that train so they had nothing to do. It sat in the railroad yards then, I know of several weeks when we didn't use, and, as I told you, we progressively got toward election day and used the air more.

BURG: So from August through November no incidents now stand out in your mind of anyone who was out of line or--

SWAN: This is what really sold air from then on, and, of course, in 1956 General Eisenhower was then President and he used his aircraft all the time except one little side trip, as I recall. He used the train up through the east coast as I remember.

BURG: Do you have further questions on the campaign period?

SOAPES: Yes. We've talked about how there weren't that many major headaches or that they were headaches that were manageable from your side, the logistics side of transportation. There were, of course, some political headaches and you were there to perhaps observe some of these. I'm thinking in terms of things like the Nixon fund incident and that sort of thing.

SWAN: Yes, I remember that day very well.

SOAPES: What can you recall to us about that in terms of tone and mood and what was said?

SWAN: Well, we were on the train that day making a lot of

little whistle stops and actually they didn't tell Kelly nor did they tell me what was going on until we got pretty well on the line down to St. Louis, as I recall. We were heading that way, and then we began to understand that something was wrong. Fred Seaton, even to keep it quiet from us, made arrangements through the advance man to charter a small plane somewhere to catch up to Dick Nixon. Dick Nixon was also using United and he caught up to him somewhere -- I couldn't even tell you where it is now -- but he caught up to him and expressed the view, I'm sure, of General Eisenhower and Sherman Adams. Then Fred came back on again at St. Louis. We then went east by air, and we then, as I recall, we went to Cleveland by train. We headed down to Columbus and into West Virginia and it was at Wheeling, going into Wheeling, that I was called back and told to cancel everything that I had anything to do with and to try to find where Nixon's plane was, being with United and Nixon being on United. And so I worked at nothing but trying to find out where the aircraft was. And that took about most of the afternoon because we didn't have their schedule. We never kept their schedule, now they may have kept ours. So at the Wheeling airport, I went out to the airport with our

operational and service passenger people and set up the reception out there for Nixon's arrival. They cancelled the parade and all the events in Wheeling and all the staff went out to the airport. On Nixon's arrival General Eisenhower went on board and talked to Nixon. This was after his speech which we all heard in Cleveland on television. And there was some question whether it did the job or not.

BURG: Among the group that you were with, watching.

SWAN: Yes, yes.

BURG: What group was that, Mr. Swan?

SWAN: Well our group that travelled with us, the press, the television people.

BURG: You were not with Mr. Eisenhower or Fred Seaton?

SWAN: No, I'm not talking about that. I'm talking about the media around, they were the ones to listen to.

BURG: Was it a general expression of opinion among the media people that you were with that perhaps that "Checkers" speech had not done the job?

SWAN: That's right. That was the general consensus that night that he hadn't cleared himself.

SOAPES: Did you convey this press opinion back to any of the campaign people?

SWAN: Oh, I might have. I mean we saw each other frequently back and forth at breakfast or might have a nightcap together, you know, and express your opinion.

BURG: And in Wheeling he went on board Mr. Nixon's plane?

SWAN: Yes, yes.

BURG: So you were not a witness to that --

SWAN: Yes, he was the only one to board there, but I can tell you he put his arms around the General and sobbed. And again down at the fairgrounds—then they took Nixon down to the fairgrounds where General Eisenhower finally appeared, and I know the late Senator [William] Knowland was there that night. I rode with the late Senator Karl Mundt down to the grounds. It was quite a touching evening all the way through. Nixon again broke down at the fairgrounds when he was introduced.

[Interruption]

SOAPES: We've covered an awful lot of the '52 campaign itself.

Are there any incidents or things that you recall that we haven't covered that you think might be of interest to historians?

SWAN: No, I think you've been most complete in asking questions. I can't think of any incidents that we should add at this time. If I do, I'll go back to it.

SOAPES: Then what happened to you then after the campaign?

Did you stay with the Eisenhower group at all after election

day?

SWAN: No I was all through after election day. Our last trip with General Eisenhower was after election day, we took him down to Augusta and he rested down there for ten days or two weeks, and we flew back and that was the end of our campaign work. Then I returned to United Airlines in the president's office.

BURG: Did you receive any letter or any verbal thanks from people in connection with your work during the campaign?

SWAN: Yes, I have a very cherished group of letters, especially from General Eisenhower on many occasions and I think I have enough, one for each of my grandchildren which are eight. And so I have them set aside for them if they're interested.

Mr. Patterson received an unusual letter from the President in '56 after election day as to my service with him.

BURG: Well that's very nice.

SOAPES: So you went back to United Airlines, did you continue any sort of contact with Eisenhower administration people that you had worked with in the campaign?

SWAN: Well only in the sense that I saw those who went into the administration. I had no desire to get into the government at that time, and I would see my friends in Washington in their respective places after, that was after the inauguration, of course. So that's how that relationship down there developed.

SOAPES: Then you did go into the Defense Department. Remember what date that was that you --?

SWAN: I went in March of 1953.

SOAPES: How did that appointment come about?

SWAN: Fred Seaton was anxious that I come down as his deputy assistant secretary for public affairs. He talked to Mr. Patterson and Mr. Patterson committed me on a leave on a year's basis: so I went in March of '53. I really didn't have much to say about going before Mr. Patterson's commitment.

BURG: Had you set the one year limitation yourself, sir?

SWAN: No, it was rather general understanding that I'd be there only a year. Actually I stayed, I think, thirteen months before I cleared up everything and went back to United.

SOAPES: What was the scope of your duties and responsibilities in this position?

SWAN: Well, in the main, public affairs in the media end of the Pentagon, and Fred Seaton was a master at that. As you know he was a publisher and Mr. Wilson, Charles E. Wilson, retired from General Motors, or maybe I should say resigned from General Motors to become secretary of Defense was our chief boss there. Fred and I worked with him on many of his problems having to do with public relations. I was with him when he

made the comparison of men and dogs statement in Detroit. That story was pretty widely publicized. I was with Mr. Wilson on several of his trips during the '54 campaign. He got out and spoke for General Eisenhower, or I should say President Eisenhower at that time.

BURG: During the congressional elections.

SWAN: Yes, yes, that year.

SOAPES: As you've noted, Secretary Wilson was highly quotable and not always favorably to his point of view. How did you handle those? Did you develop some special way of trying to work with him on those?

SWAN: Well he was very receptive to any ideas and thoughts. He had a speech writer, and we'd go over his speeches and make suggestions. He was very receptive to it. What he did say, "What is good for the country is good for General Motors and vise versa"—that's the way he said it. The press flip was, "What is good for General Motors is good for the country." And of course it worked that way in this last recession, we needed General Motors and Ford and all the automobile companies to get the economy going again.

BURG: When that was misread, as we all know now it was misread, was there anything much that you and Mr. Seaton could do to try and correct the impression?

SWAN: Not really. You deny it and then forget it. You don't keep hammering away and I think you see this in some of these political campaigns today when one candidate, whether he's one party or the other, he makes a statement and then tries to correct and correct it. It just gets shabbier and shabbier and threaded and threaded as you go along, and so we used to make the correction and then let it go.

BURG: What was Mr. Wilson's reaction when that was misinterpreted? How did he react to the way the press took it.

SWAN: Well I think he was hurt. I think he was really hurt because this happened in Detroit in a press conference and he really sincerely meant it. The dog story was that he admired dogs who went out and sought their own food rather than sit in their kennels and yelp for it. That was his analogy for the men in Detroit. They were down at that time for production changes, and he thought that that time the labor forces used to, as I understood it, move out of Detroit to somewhere else when

they were changing models, and then come back and get jobs in the motor companies. And this was what he was trying to convey, and it didn't quite come out that way as far as the press was concerned. I think I can tell this with all respect to President Eisenhower and Mr. Wilson. President Eisenhower was going into Detroit for a political speech during the '54 congressional campaign, and I happened to be sitting in Mr. Wilson's office at the time and he said, "Well you're going to go with me to Dayton, I'm going to speak there." But he said, "First let's go to Detroit and we'll go there and then we'll go on to Dayton." We had our own aircraft, Mr. Patterson's Convair "O'Connor." He said, "Would you set it up with the White House?"

So I went out of his office and called the White House, and this was after the dog story and the White House almost threw the phone at me from across the Potomac river. They said, "You tell Mr. Wilson that we think you ought to go straight to Dayton out of Washington."

I didn't feel that I was in the position to tell Mr. Wilson anything like that, Bob [Robert B.] Anderson was then deputy

secretary of defense, the number two man, and I went into his office and I told him the story. I said, "I think you are in more position to tell the secretary that we better go right to Dayton instead of going to Detroit."

I went back into Mr. Wilson's office and about five minutes later Bob Anderson came in and said, "Boss, they don't want you in Detroit; it's that simple."

"Okay," he said, "now let's get on with our work."

But when he and I had a cocktail before dinner in Dayton

I could sense he was really hurt. Not at the President, he

just felt that the people in Detroit let him down, which was
his hometown and he felt very bad that his hometown let him down.

BURG: Who was it that passed that word to you from the White House?

SWAN: Oh, one of the staff people that I would talk with normally. It could have been Tom [Thomas E.] Stephens or someone that I would have to talk to to schedule him into the picture. They were threatening with dogs, greyhound dogs parading around and all that sort of thing if Wilson came. There was a threat before

hand and it was the thing to do, no doubt about it. But I'm
not sure that he had caught up with all the adverse news in
his busy job down there. But he and President Eisenhower had
great respect for each other and he was a great servant, one
of the great men that came with President Eisenhower.

SOAPES: You mentioned your contacts with the White House. Was

Tom Stephens normally the person that you would--or did you have

much contact with the White House directly in your job? Did you

have to coordinate?

SWAN: No, not really. I didn't work with the White House other than something special.

BURG: So you did not attend those, I think they were Friday meetings.

SWAN: No. No. I didn't attend those.

BURG: Persumably Herschel Schooley or someone else would go.

SWAN: It was Fred Seaton who attended.

BURG: It's possible.

SWAN: Yes, Fred was the one that went to the White House on Friday meetings from the Defense Department, when he was assistant secretary of public affairs. Later he went on as the deputy assistant to the President at the White House, right from the Pentagon.

BURG: Now you finished out your thirteen months, do you recall any major problems that you had to work with during that, your tenure in defense?

SWAN: Well I arrived on the scene just when the McCarthy hearings were beginning to heat up and it was pretty bad. At the end of that hearing Bob [Robert] Stevens, secretary of the army, and I went to Europe together, as he was the main target as you may recall. He was a gracious person and still is, and because he was gracious, he was had by McCarthy. In other words, if he'd been nasty and tough why maybe that'd been the way to handle him, but it didn't work out that way.

SOAPES: I'm wondering about the approach of the administration to the McCarthy issue. It's an issue that historians are debating as to the way in which they handled McCarthy, if in

fact there was a strategy within the administration for handling McCarthy. From your perspective what were they trying to do vis a vis McCarthy? How were they trying to deal with that issue?

SWAN: Well it really began in the '52 campaign as I saw it developing. We went into Milwaukee for a meeting with General Eisenhower and it was that point there that friction was beginning. And they were seeing things that I didn't see, I'm sure, because--

SOAPES: You're talking about the people around Eisenhower.

SWAN: The staff, that's right. They were seeing things that I didn't see, and he was doing things that generally wasn't known. And so then it didn't break out into the open until '53-'54 when he started to really get rough.

SOAPES: You're talking about McCarthy getting rough.

SWAN: McCarthy, yes. Making charges without foundation.

SOAPES: You mentioned the '52 campaign, there was that famous incident which Eisenhower withdrew the reference to General [George C.] Marshall in the speech in--

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SWAN: I just remembered that was withdrawn, yes.

SOAPES: You weren't around to see or to hear any comments?

SWAN: No, I was not.

SOAPES: Then after the administration takes office--you're in the Defense Department--did you get the idea from other people in the administration, White House or wherever, about here's a way to handle McCarthy's charges, as he was making charges about both the defense and the state department and the White House and all. Was there a way, an articulated way of handling this problem or his charges?

SWAN: I would say no there wasn't a way. It got to the point where he was just beyond the realm of sound thinking or judgment. However, I thought if the Eisenhower staff had assigned one man at the beginning--one man to cover and service McCarthy, maybe it would have come out better.

BURG: So to your knowledge Mr. Wilson, Mr. Seaton were not instructed from the White House, from the President as a matter of fact, as to how to react, how to cope with McCarthy's charges?

SWAN: Oh, I would think yes, I would think that, I can't say this for certain, but I'm sure the liaison between the White House and the Pentagon was very close then. Wilson would listen to the White House, Sherman Adams and those other people. Fred Seaton had a good liaison there and I'm sure that there was a checks and balances back and forth on that subject. Before that hearing closed the general counsel for the Pentagon, [Wilbur] Brucker, who was a former governor of Michigan, was our general counsel. He and I went over to a closed session with McCarthy and the other senators of his Senate committee and there was probably twelve in the room. General Brucker tried to reason with him. He was very, very rough to both of us, although I had known him on a social basis for three or four years. So it was useless, and we walked out of the room and as we walked out we could see television cameras. They asked us to hold till they got set, just a minute or two. McCarthy wheels out of this committee room: he saw the cameras and he came over to us and he said, "Now Brucker, let's discuss this thing." He had enough judgment right at that point that the cameras were going to run and he wanted to be there when they were going. This is what happened. Brucker was seen there talking to

McCarthy. He tried to force the conversation but Brucker said,
"You had your chance to answer me before the committee and you
wouldn't so let's call it a day." He was then beyond the
realm of trying to reason with or help.

BURG: This was a closed session with--

SWAN: Senators and --

BURG: --other senators there. And you had not been able to accomplish anything in that session.

SWAN: Not a thing.

BURG: But Senator McCarthy was enough of an opportunist to spot those cameras and--

SWAN: As he came out, he was the first one out of the committee meeting and spotted cameras and lights and then stopped and came over and talked to us. I'm not sure that he even recognized who I was.

BURG: You aren't?

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SWAN: No.

BURG: Yet you had known him socially.

SWAN: Oh, socially and personally, yes.

BURG: Now his remarks to you in that closed session were threatening?

SWAN: Derogatory in every sense against the administration and against what we were trying to straighten out. I don't even recall the conversation now. This is twenty-three years later, but I can't recall, but it was on the subject of trying to tone him down and make some sound judgment on the subject.

BURG: May I ask, did he slip into profanity in the course of this?

SWAN: Yes, yes. He was very--

BURG: --attack on the two of you?

SWAN: -- profanity. That's right.

BURG: He did not call you by name.

SWAN: No. No. As I say, I don't think he remembered who I was.

SOAPES: Were his profane remarks directed at you personally as well as President Eisenhower or--

SWAN: No, just General Brucker.

SOAPES: -- just the administration?

SWAN: No, just General Brucker.

BURG: Was the jist of that attack that you were permitting communists in the Defense Department and trying to cover up?

SWAN: Yes, that was the general trend of his charges at that time, but of course he could never substantiate names or places.

SOAPES: He was no more specific in his conversations with you on that occasion than he had been in public.

SWAN: That's right, that's right, yes.

BURG: There were strategy, I suppose we could call them

strategy meetings, held at the Seaton home at which Joseph Welch was often present during the Army-McCarthy hearings. Did you ever sit in on any of those sessions?

SWAN: No. No, but I met Mr. Welch many times in Fred Seaton's office. He'd come in after the hearings to brief us on the day, but I never attended meetings at Fred's home.

BURG: What were Mr. Welch's private reactions after the hearings and in Mr. Seaton's office to Senator McCarthy and McCarthy's tactics? Can you tell us?

SWAN: Well I would sum it up in that his charge, Welch's final charge was most dramatic, if you remember, against McCarthy. And this was his personal feeling, he was building up after weeks of calm. He was a very calm, controlled, organized man, and it had to come. You could just see it every afternoon he'd come in. The charge was just beautifully done, in my opinion.

BURG: So, in short, the public Joseph Welch that we saw on television at that time was pretty much the private Joseph Welch that you were seeing in Mr. Seaton's office. SWAN: That's right. And his assistant, James St. Clair, was very instrumental in the closing days of President Nixon situation. Mr. St. Clair was the junior attorney, he carried the briefcases, so to speak, in those days. He was the one that stepped in when everybody left Nixon and wrapped up the Nixon affair in Watergate.

BURG: Well it's very interesting because that picture that I had of Mr. Welch was, by the time he was ready to sum up, it was that icy distain, that icy kind of contempt, very controlled contempt that he was showing and this is, I take it, what you saw building over the days and days of that hearing. He was coming to feel this way about Mr. McCarthy and his--

SWAN: That's right. He was coming to a breaking point there and he let it go on that final charge.

BURG: Tom?

SOAPES: Okay. Been some very interesting comments on McCarthy. There's one other big item from the Defense Department during the first year or year and a half of the Eisenhower administration was the innovation of the New Look defense policy. What ways were you involved with putting that out to the press, and

what were you trying to sell to the press on that program?

SWAN: Well, Mr. Wilson brought into the Defense Department the idea of quality and more for the dollar and this is what he was trying to accomplish. One could see his experience in General Motors, that he was trying to indoctrinate this in every phase. And our budget, our public affairs budget, was large and Pred Seaton and I worked and worked at cutting it back and back and back and finally we got some flak from the Hill on it. And Mr. Wilson and I went over to defend our cuts, it was a million dollar cut that we were fighting for. It was interesting that Mr. Wilson took the time out, which was perhaps the whole morning, to go over with us to save a million dollars. Today that doesn't sound like much, but it meant a lot in those days.

BURG: There was quite a bit of opposition from some of the high ranking officers to cutbacks in defense. It seems to me that Maxwell Taylor has written in a derogatory sense about this; it seems to me that Matthew Ridgway has also--

SOAPES: Yes, Ridgway was especially vocal.

SWAN: Well you can understand if you've ever served in the Pentagon. This is their life--armament, hardware as they call it, and fire power and all that. And to lose, keep losing it or have it cut back, they just can't see it. And you're getting it today on the cutbacks, they think you're getting weak and weaker all the time. And this is natural and I can understand a military man's point of view, but there's an awful lot of duplication. That was the idea of the secretary, I mean his concept of the Pentagon was to pull it all together under one roof and then really order one airplane for all services. Well, this hasn't been accomplished yet. This is twenty-five years later.

SOAPES: So the New Look defense budget was one of an adequate defense for a cheaper price tag. Was that the big thing, saving money?

SWAN: Well not only saving money but getting more quality into it and tidying down the contracts. At that time there wasn't overruns as you're reading today. That was unheard of and today they just run into millions and millions. But I think it had a lot to do with, going back to President Eisenhower, my comment about his eight years in the White House was that to

some of these people who are "Doubting Thomases," and there's always bound to be some with our two-party system, that he kept the ship on an even keel. We had no real problems. We didn't have inflation, our employment was low, money was cheap, and everything was going along smoothly. And whereas being a former military man, he could have really laid it on, so to speak, in heavy armament and all this, but he kept everything on an even keel for eight years.

SOAPES: Was it part of your responsibility in the public affairs office to deal with questions from the press or the public about things like the New Look budget and try to defend it in the public forums?

SWAN: They would come to us for interpretations of a statement maybe from Mr. Wilson or some other assistant secretary.

If we couldn't interpret, we'd get an interpretation or a
meeting with them, with the other officer in the Pentagon.

BURG: Do you happen to recollect now, Mr. Swan, where the bulk of the flak was coming from the Hill with respect to this budget?

SWAN: Yes. It could be coming from the Hill and, again, going back to the military, it could be generated by the military, too. Because they had their contacts on the Hill and they appeared before committees. And although there again we had, I think, Fred Seaton was probably the first assistant secretary having been on the Hill as a senator, he tried to set up a better liaison between the Pentagon and the Hill, both with the congress and the senators. But you're bound to get some flak when you cut back a military base at Timbuctoo; that congressman or senator's going to be over to see you in a hurry. The military man gets a cut back on his budget; he doesn't like it; and he may have devious ways to try to hold that budget the same through his channels. It's difficult when you go down there for a year, because they know you're only going to be there for a year and they guit listening to you probably two or three months before you leave; so it's a difficult job for a civilian going in there. I think President Pord has this same problem recognizing that the civil service is the one that runs the country, so to speak. And we found this true. As I recall, Mr. Wilson had a little separate committee to follow out his directives, to make certain that

they were implemented even though he signed them.

SOAPES: It was the career civil servants in the super grades who were--

SWAN: Right. Who could sit on it, activate it or not, you see.

SOAPES: Did you find that to be perhaps the biggest source of resistance to change would be the senior civil servants as opposed to maybe the politicians?

SWAN: Sometimes you didn't even know. They just quietly ignored it, what you were trying to do, and, would outwait you.

BURG: Maybe we should ask at this point, Mr. Swan went back to United--

SWAN: Right.

BURG: --for a period of time. As long as two years, from '54 to '56 were you back with United?

SWAN: That's right.

BURG: And back in your old job as assistant to the President?

SWAN: Yes. Right, right.

BURG: Your duties, I would assume, are pretty much as they had been?

SWAN: Yes, pretty much so.

BURG: I wondered if the work at defense had altered your tasks when you went back with United Airlines.

SWAN: Yes, I would say that the duties changed; they're bound to change in a situation like that -- you're gone and they have work to carry on and they reassign and it changes when you come back, this is right.

BURG: During that period of approximately two years, '54 to '56, did you have any dealings with Elwood Quesada, Pete Ouesada?

SWAN: No, no I never dealt with the FAA top. That was generally done by the flight department. That was strictly technical and our technical people did that.

BURG: Then we could probably move to that '56 campaign.

[Interruption]

SOAPES: As you told us before we started recording, you did work in advance on the '56 campaign. How did you get back, involved in the political scene?

SWAN: Well I was asked by the White House, Sherman Adams and Tom Stephens, if I would be interested, to come in as one of two advance men. Actually we were supposed to work for the [Republican] National Committee, but we were directed from the White House. Bryce Harlow was really the one who I finally worked with closer than anybody else. So the two of us split up the load, and the amount of travel and the amount of activity was just about halved over the '52. My work was then to go into a town cold and start from scratch—have it all developed when President Eisenhower arrived. I had Secret Service to work with, the local police, local sheriff; the police protection of course was different then than it was in '52.

SOAPES: What was your general routine when you were into a town cold?

SWAN: Well you start off and you had the name of one person who was generally the head Republican man of the town, and he was probably the national committeeman or a representative.

And then you formed committees: one on the auditorium and arrangements and starting with the President's arrival; who would greet him and you have to work out lists of, proper lists, protocol-wise; and then the parade down through the town; how many bands would be here and the decorations and the press coverage and the reception and the event at the auditorium and proper seating of the VIP of that area and then his hotel and then his departure. And that'd take about ten days to do all that.

BURG: So really the two of you I assume had to leapfrog one another.

SWAN: Keep ahead, that's right. Sometimes we'd get a new assignment while we were still doing the city. For example, I did the Boston Garden almost to the day it took place and then it was called off because of the Middle East situation which the President called off. But we were geared to go but as I said we had to call it off. And that was the end of that

campaign.

BURG: That would have been the last stop on that campaign.

SWAN: That's right. I might inject here, though, before I was asked to become one of the advance men, I was appointed chief sergeant-at-arms at the Cow Palace in San Francisco where he was nominated for the second time. So that probably led into the advance work and being closely again associated with the staff, the White House staff, why they picked me. I had some 200 assistant sergeant-at-arms at the Cow Palace, and it was a very orderly convention if you remember. It wasn't hard to handle like some of them.

BURG: Who was the second man who did advance work?

SWAN: Henry Hoagland.

BURG: Now, starting out on that kind of work, that would be in a sense quite different from your experience in 1952. Did they provide you with sort of a worksheet of what had to be done, or did you consult with Ed Tait and get the word from him? How did you learn the job, did you learn by just doing?

SWAN: Well I'd never done any of that type of work before, but the White House actually told you what they needed and you just took it from there. I think we got better as we went along. No, it was interesting—I did Madison Square Garden, too. That was one of the interesting ones. I can't recall any incidents that were of any real exciting other than it was a very quiet campaign. I mean it was real cut and dried.

SOAPES: Were there any special arrangements you had to make at that time because of President Eisenhower's recent illnesses?

He'd had the heart attack; he--

SWAN: I don't recall that we, we did slow down a little bit.

I think we cut back. But, he didn't want to cut back. He was well again by that time. He was well.

BURG: Had there been the ileitis?

SOAPES: The ileitis was that summer.

SWAN: That's right, summer of '55.

SOAPES: No, that was the summer of '56 was the ileitis.

BURG: The summer of '56.

SOAPES: Yes, the ileitis came after the heart attack.

BURG: I think he'd had the operation.

SWAN: Oh, oh, I see. I don't remember that that

BURG: Well it probably would have stuck in your mind had it been a big issue for you to have to cope with in your advance work.

SWAN: No, I had nothing to do with that, change of any plans, no.

BURG: I would imagine you--

SWAN: It was a shock, I know that that he had to go through that.

SOAPES: So from your perspective then it was a very quiet campaign with--

SWAN: In the sense quiet, but again there was stress and strain because there was this tugging and pulling with politicians. I

recall in Madison Square Garden, being a big state we had only room for forty on the podium with President Eisenhower, including Mrs. Eisenhower. And then you always left a seat for him until he got up so that cut it back to thirty-nine, and one of the entertainers was Walter Winchell. And no way was Walter Winchell going to get off that podium until I called a Secret Service man and I said, "He doesn't belong there." So he got him off. He sat down right on the edge of it and he was going to sit there all through it, which would not have been in keeping with the dignity of the President's office where forty people would be sitting properly and one sitting there with his knees crossed looking like he was going to sing again or tell a story. But some little flaps like that came up that you'd have to take over and get some proper authority to get it -- Secret Service could do it easily without me getting into it.

BURG: So they moved him off the edge of the podium, too.

SWAN: Oh, yes. Oh, yes, he got off.

BURG: So you had no major problems, as you look back on '56.

No difficult personalities to cope with, beyond what--

SWAN: What is normal in the political situation, that's right.

There's always friction, as you know, for top position and

getting recognition. Coming into a town like that, they all

want to stand first in line to greet the President and be at

the right place with the President when pictures are snapped.

BURG: We might ask, Mr. Swan, who played Mr. Swan in 1956? Was it someone else from United again?

SWAN: No, you see it was the White House then.

BURG: Oh, so you're using the White House aircraft.

SWAN: The White House then took care of the President with his Columbine and their transportation office chartered from airlines necessary aircraft for the press.

BURG: I see.

SWAN: And he travelled in that. That was then charged off to the Republican National Committee. Then I advanced the President again after the convention, and just before the inauguration. I was called to the White House, by Bryce Harlow, and asked if I could take six weeks off from United again and set up the drougth trip for the President. He promised to go down

there during the campaigning and something came up that broke his schedule on that, so he couldn't make it to the Southwest. So with an agriculture man and a plane we spent six weeks setting that up for him and he made it just before inauguration, the second inauguration. And we covered all the drougth area. The agriculture department put on unusual displays of what had happened through that area because of the drougth. But the interesting part was he made a commitment and he went back and made it good, and it took the best part of a week to cover that trip after he got into it.

BURG: Did Mr. [Ezra Taft] Benson accompany him on that trip?

SWAN: Yes, Benson was on board and so was Fred Seaton, the secretary of interior. There was quite a group. We had not only the President's plane but one of the airlines, I think,

I'm not sure who it was now, covered the second with the press.

BURG: You were fairly close then to Mr. Benson for that trip, that period of time.

SWAN: Other than meeting him, that's about it. I was closer

to one of the top men in agriculture, he and I worked it out, worked out the whole trip and the displays and all that.

BURG & SOAPES: Who was that?

SWAN: I can't recall.

BURG: All right.

SWAN: Well I'm sure I've got the drougth trip and I'm sure his name's on it--I'll be able to.

SOAPES: One person that I know you did work with in the Defense Department very closely was Fred Seaton, and you knew him quite well. What were his priniciple traits and qualities that you recall of him?

SWAN: Well Fred I knew quite early from about 1947 on, and I'm a great admirer of him. And he was a hard worker and I'm sorry that he ever left Washington. I think he should have stayed on there, because he had so much to offer and I could see when he went back to Hastings [Nebraska] that he missed Washington. We were very close up to his demise.

BURG: Was there a particular reason that you know of for going back to Hastings, not staying on in Washington, DC?

SWAN: Well he had been gone almost ten years from his companies and he felt it was time—and rightly so because there was a lot of decisions to be made, and Fred made them all. And it was difficult for him and difficult for his papers and his radio station, his television station to do without a leader that long on the scene. So when he got back, he went to work on it.

BURG: Is it safe to say that he went back out of a sense of responsibility to his own business interests despite perhaps a contrary urge to stay on in Washington, DC?

SWAN: I'd say it was an inward urge of his. I talked to

Mrs. Seaton about it since then, and I think she concurs pretty

much that there was that inner feeling that Washington creates

in everybody. I still have a feeling for Washington, but I

wouldn't get involved again at this late stage of my life.

BURG: What do they call it, Potomac Fever?

SWAN: Potomac Fever, right. [Laughter] I can read better these things today—I can read between the lines what's going on better and I can understand some of these campaigns that are going on, what's happening, as a result of what I went through in '52 and '56.

SOAPES: I believe you said earlier also that you did go back into the post office department.

SWAN: Yes, that's after I left United in '57 I went with the post office department as deputy assistant postmaster general for domestic and international air as they titled it. I stayed there just about a year with Art Summerfield.

SOAPES: Did you work closely with Summerfield?

SWAN: Yes. Yes, very much.

SOAPES: Could I ask you then the same question I did about Fred Seaton, the major traits that you remember of Arthur Summerfield?

SWAN: Well here again he was a very dedicated man. I think

both men were politicians, and good, smart politicians which is what you have to be in order to get to where they did. And let me add, I don't consider I'm a politician in any sense of the word; I was assigned or received Mr. Patterson's approval while with United to do a service job. These other things were offshoots of my activities. But he was an astute politician and very gracious, and I really feel he had the post office department under control at that time.

SOAPES: In what ways did you see his astuteness in politics come out? Do you remember any particular incidents that really show it?

SWAN: Well I think I could better explain Fred Seaton's handling. He went deep into a subject, of any problem he'd get deep into it. The fly-by-night politician surfaces quick and he hits it on the surface and goes, but Fred would get into the depth of it, of a problem, and know every facet of it and work it out from all angles. I see it even today in some of these newcomers, they're not hitting it very thorough.

SOAPES: Arthur Summerfield worked the same way?

SWAN: Yes, he was a very astute and very thorough.

SOAPES: They were people who did their homework.

SWAN: Right, right.

BURG: You had the unique experience then of working under three cabinet members--

SWAN: Yes, yes.

BURG: --and working at a pretty high level under them. Of the three--Wilson, Summerfield, Seaton--is there one of the three to whom you were more drawn?

SWAN: Well I'd have to say Fred Seaton because of our personal acquaintance and our family ties. We were very close family-wise, too. Mrs. Swan and Mrs. Seaton were very close. And my relationship, acquaintanceship with Fred goes back to '47 as I mentioned; so it was a longer acquaintanceship right up to the very end. He'd come and visit in our home and we visited his home, and it was one of those friendships. Mr. Patterson joined me on a week-end with the Seatons at Hastings, Nebraska. Too, it was Seaton who was responsible for obtaining a degree for

Patterson--his first--at Hastings College.

BURG: How had you encountered him as early as 1947?

SWAN: Going back to United, Mr. Patterson became interested in Harold Stassen when he returned from the Navy through his acquaintanceship with Mike and John Cowles. He asked me if I would take him out in a DO3 on his quest for delegates to the '48 Convention. So I was off from November till June with Harold Stassen in a DC-3. And that was an experience that I could fall back on in selling the '52 campaign by air because of the good performance we had. There we only missed one stop which we made up later on. But it was very successful for him getting around to make the coverage that he did, and as you remember he went into the convention pretty well favored, but [Thomas E.] Dewey had the party support. Fred was involved, that was where I met Fred in '47; he was a Stassen man, as was Chief [Justice] Warren Burger.

SOAPES: Right, he was active in Minnesota.

SWAN: Yes, and Burger was manager of the Stassen campaign in Philadelphia. I wound up as head of the press and press room

and the hospitality room in Philadelphia under Burger so I wore a couple of hats there.

BURG: If you had to estimate the intellectual capacity or make a comparison of the intellectual capacity of these three cabinet members, who would you rank as highest in terms of intellect?

SWAN: Well I'm not trying to evade you but I think you're talking about three different types of minds. Here you had Mr. Wilson as, I'd say, a genius at a large manufacturing corporation—General Motors is undoubtedly the greatest corporation in the world. And then you had Fred Seaton who was a publisher and he had the public relations sense and the media aspects in his mind. I think that's a different kind of a mind than Mr. Wilson. And in the third, Art Summerfield's business experience was the largest Chevrolet dealer in the United States back in Michigan. I think he probably was longer, well maybe I'm wrong at this, but he was a long time at political affairs before Fred was. Fred, of course, started with your Kansas governor, ex-governor [Alf M.] Landon. He was a travelling secretary, as I remember

the record, for Landon in the '36 campaign. That goes a long ways back too, but I think Art Summerfield kept at it longer and more intensive than did Fred. I think Art Summerfield was making pretty much of a business out of it way back. What I'm trying to say is, I think you've got three different minds and I can't honestly say one was better than the other because it just was all different types.

SOAPES: Did you ever have an occasion to discuss the practical sides of politics with Summerfield?

SWAN: Well when you say practical--

SOAPES: The way in which he would operate in the day-to-day political realm such as he was--

SWAN: I've had a lot of discussions, but I think you just sort of take it for granted the way they operate is the way it's done. He was a master at it. He was a master.

BURG: Any special problems during that period of time that you were with Mr. Summerfield?

SWAN: No, no. It was just a tour, one-year tour again that

I decided to do and then I went back into private business.

BURG: You then went with Summerfield for the year there.

SWAN: Yes, in Washington. Then I moved from there to Boulder, Colorado.

BURG: What was the private business that you entered, if I may ask?

SWAN: It was with Colorado Credit Life Insurance Company
headquartered in Boulder. First, I opened a Washington office,
and then I went out to Boulder as executive vice-president. I
still am living out there. And then we had another reason for
going out to Boulder; we have a daughter and five grandchildren
in Boulder, we like it very much.

BURG: When did you retire from active business life?

SWAN: I would say about four years ago. I'm retired now.

We spend the winter at our winter home in Naples, Florida.

We're on our way back now to our home in Boulder. We'll stay in Boulder until after Thanksgiving, then go back to Florida again, so it's a nice combination.

BURG: It seems to me that you've been a most fortunate man in the career experiences you've had.

SWAN: Yes, I feel very grateful.

BURG: Well if you have no further questions for Mr. Swan, I think we can thank him very much for this delightful interview.

SWAN: Thank you, it's been interesting.