The one great rule of composition is to speak the truth.
—THOREAU

The Texas Observer

We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it.

A Independent-Liberal Weekly Newspaper

Vol. 51 | TEXAS, APRIL 1, 1960 | 10c per copy | No. 52

Creekmore Rath
905 Little Field Bldg
Austin 15 Tex 2-61

F.I.A., THE INSIDE

HOUSTON, AUSTIN

A 20-year-old University of Houston marketing and salesmanship major has told the Observer that he spent eleven months as a member of "Freedom in Action" in Houston to find out what the right-wing political group stands for.

A personally prepossessing young man, G. M. (Micky) Crawford was appointed F.I.A. director for his precinct—there were no elections in F.I.A. while he was a member, he said—but when he failed to produce results for F.I.A., enthusiasm for him cooled.

Several F.I.A. leaders told him he should run for office, but he was collecting literature and filling out his own conviction that F.I.A. is "a threat to America."

He told a cloak-and-dagger story of attending 25 to 50 F.I.A. meetings; of literature of a right-wing nature which is circulated at these meetings, but not in F.I.A.'s name; of his invitation to and frightened failure to attend, a meeting of an organization represented to him as an action group to be "organized like the communists" in cell groups; and of his feeling that some suspicion developed toward him after the Observer published extracts from a very conservative sermon mailed to him by Mrs. Cleo Liner, assistant to F.I.A. president Elwood Fouts ("A Minister on Death," Obs. Jan. 1 '60).

Member Quits And Talks

He said Mrs. Cleo Liner, assistant to F.I.A. President Elwood Fouts, gave him a Texas Manufacturers' Assn. handbook on politics at the F.I.A. office in Houston.

F.I.A. is working with a conservative Democratic Precinct Organization in Houston and "think they have enough to take over Houston. They're planning a big push this year," he said.

A map of Harris County in F.I.A. Director Bill Hollis's office, Crawford said, has the county's precincts distinguished in this way:

Liberal precincts are colored red;

Negro precincts are colored black;

"And F.I.A. precincts are marked with little American flags flying."

"I saw the precinct files—ran through some of the cards for them—and I'd say about a third of them, at least, had 'TMA' marked on the card," Crawford said. (T., M., and A. are the initials of the Texas Manufacturers' Assn.)

The cards are also marked F.I.A., conservative, or prospect, and are alphabetized by precincts, Crawford said. He could not estimate how many there were. His membership card bears the number 6162, but he believes the membership is smaller than 6,162.

Several times, Crawford said, he and a young liberal leader at the University of Houston, Jerry Mize, met at Sheldon Reservoir near Houston early in the morning and went out in the middle of the lake to fish and talk over what Crawford was learning and whether he should go on. He and Mize were not seen together in public.

Mize, a member of the liberal Harris County Democrats who was president of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Young Democratic Club at the University of Houston at the time Crawford joined F.I.A. last summer, accompanied Crawford to Austin to tell the Observer a story of which it had received intimations months ago. They brought a file of F.I.A. literature with them.

Crawford was a member of the liberal F.D.R. club which was challenged by the conservative Young Democrats from the University of Houston at the Young Democrats' state convention in San Antonio in 1959. F.I.A. people never knew about this, he said.

'To Find Out'

"I joined Freedom in Action," he said, "simply to find out what it was about—I didn't know

(Continued on Page 8)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

'No Elections' Is Confirmed

HOUSTON, AUSTIN

Mrs. Cleo Liner, assistant to President Elwood Fouts of Freedom in Action, confirmed to the Observer that G. M. (Micky) Crawford "is a member of Freedom in Action." She was not sure whether he had been a precinct director, although she thought he had not been, but he "has contacted a lot of people for us."

Advised by long distance that Crawford had visited the Observer and evidenced a decision to work no longer in F.I.A., Mrs. Liner asked, "Well, what did he say?" Told "quite a lot," including the statement that F.I.A. held no elections, she replied, "that's right."

"We do not elect the precinct directors or the county directors," Mrs. Liner, speaking very quickly, explained. "Freedom in Action was designed only for those people who believe in the principles of F. I. A., who want to get together and work to get a better choice of candidates in the parties. F.I.A. is not a political organization, but it teaches politics."

Judging from the F.I.A. booklet, the Observer said, the national executive committee of eight members was not elected by anyone, either.

"The provisional executive committee is a group of eight men who got together," Mrs. Liner agreed. "They serve as advisers of the organization, and also as protectors to see that the (F.I.A.) plan is not misused. However, the state director is selected by the people in that state."

Returning to the subject of Crawford, she said:

"Now Micky Crawford, I think he is a very fine young man, and I think he's got a lot of possibilities. Very often young people feel they would like to go into some other phase of politics, and I think that's good, I'm all for it. I certainly have a great respect for him, and I think he's got a lot of potential."

Crawford had told the Observer that he had not done much work for F.I.A. as precinct director, the Observer noted. "Well, he is in school, and a lot of times students will work three, six months, and then not work any more—that is a normal thing," Mrs. Liner said.

During a brief interruption in the telephone connection, Mrs. Liner had checked to see if Crawford was listed in F.I.A.'s records as a precinct director at present. "He is not a precinct director, but he is a member," she said. "I'm not sure he was not (a director). I do know there have been times when he has contacted a lot of people for us."

How many members does F.I.A. have now? Mrs. Liner was asked.

"The one thing that we do not give out is the number of members," she replied. "If it is a big number, then people will say there is no need to work. If it is a small number in some areas, they might say, oh well, there's no point in my working."

Mrs. Liner said F.I.A. has precinct directors in more than 200 of Harris County's 256 precincts. She noted reports that some precincts had had more than 50 percent increases in poll tax payments and said, "Of course, we know where we've been working, and that was areas where there were active (F.I.A.) groups. In Harris County in particular, thousands of people who have never been active before will go to their precinct conventions and vote in the primaries. Those are people that have been educated in F.I.A."

She said they would work "in their parties." They were not, were they, committed to party loyalty? the Observer asked.

"We emphasize that political parties are very important, and you have to have respect for people with a lot of experience, and so on," Mrs. Liner responded, "but we do not believe in party loyalty only when the welfare of the country is at stake."

The Observer had asked Mrs. Liner whether Bill Hollis, an F.I.A. leader in Houston, had taken over the work Cox used to do, and that Hollis is now assistant to the state director, who is Abner McCall, vice president of Baylor. McCall has remarked that he is not active in F.I.A. any more. Mrs. Liner said that his job is "more of a figurehead position, because he is very, very busy at Baylor University."

Asked about the precinct map of Harris County Crawford said he saw in Hollis's office with liberal precincts marked red, Negro-majority precincts black, and F.I.A. precincts with an American flag, Mrs. Liner said that there is a map with precincts with liberal county committeemen marked red and conservative committeemen blue (the colors "have no significance," she said) but that she knew of no such map as Crawford described, although he might have been referring to an earlier map in which red stripes were used for F.I.A. precincts. She said no map in F.I.A.'s office had ever distinguished Negro precincts from others.

Bold Sit-Ins In Marshall

LATE REPORT

More Marshall sit-ins and arrests are expected before the week-end. Negro student leaders said Thursday they would die if necessary to prevail in their efforts.

Disclosure that a Bishop College professor was a Communist until 1957 added further to mounting tension Thursday night.

MARSHALL

The boldest and potentially the most dangerous lunch-counter sit-ins so far in Texas have resulted, for the second time this week, in the arrest of Negro students at Marshall, one of the "capitals of the old South."

Negro students at Wiley and Bishop colleges in Marshall here began sit-ins Saturday. They tried again Monday and were arrested and taken to court and lectured. One of them, a student spokesman said, was pressed in the eye, shoved into a seat, and threatened by a police officer. Wednesday afternoon, after other sit-ins, they were taken into custody again and held on open charges.

Harrison County, of which Marshall is the county seat, was 51.7 percent Negro and 48.3 percent Anglo as of the 1950 census. Marshall is traditionally regarded as "one of the capitals of the Old South" and whites there can be expected to resist the sit-ins angrily.

That this was the case was manifest by mid-week.

Wiley College has about 400, and Bishop College about 250 students. Tuesday, March 22, a mass meeting was held on the Wiley campus, attended by students of both schools, at which the concensus was to stop patronizing the local neighborhood theater until segregation practices there were abolished and to try to receive service in lunch counters.

Protest signs were posted on the campus, and a statement by the students said they were repeatedly torn down. Dr. I. J. Lamothe of Marshall, an adult supporter of the sit-ins, said that one car carrying Negro students was stoned by white students Wednesday night, March 23, near the Wiley campus. Signs were also posted around Bishop College.

Last Saturday, March 26, at 10 a.m., ten male students dressed in suits or sports clothes entered the Woolworth's store and sat at the counter. Before they asked for service the lights at the counter were turned out and it was declared closed.

After 20 minutes the store manager, W. T. Hall, was quoted saying, "I think every peace officer in the county is here." After another ten minutes the students left, and police took their names. A news release of the "Wiley Bishop Colleges Students Movement" sent to the Observer by mail said two of the students were "partially tripped by a member of the Harrison County Sheriff's Dept. who blocked the aisle with his foot."

Threatened with Jail

"Another student was approached and ask who his leader was; he replied simply, 'God is our Leader'," the release said. "One of the Sheriff's deputies told a colored photographer on the scene to take all of the d--n pictures he wanted but to be sure that the deputy was not photographed."

When a second group of Negroes entered about 10:30 not knowing the counter was closed, the students' release said, all seats had been filled by police officers and other white persons. The new students waited; shortly the store was closed to all patrons.

The doors were patrolled by local police officers, the statement said, and only white persons were allowed inside; after about two hours all persons were admitted back inside, but the lunch counter

(Continued on Page 2)

OLIN TEAGUE:

Often Answers 'No'

WASHINGTON

Olin E. Teague, who came to Washington in 1946 as a highly decorated combat veteran, is engaged in his first skirmish at the polls.

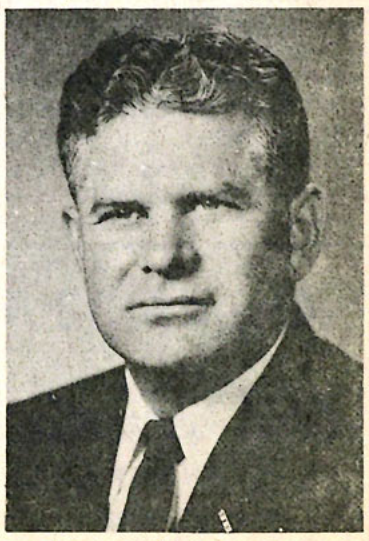
"I'm a political accident," he says, "elected on a veteran's record and with no opponent since then."

Teague's wartime career was unquestionably a brilliant one. World War II campaign maps and pictures hang on his office wall. Some of his staff members refer to him as "Colonel."

This spring Teague's battle heroism is far behind him, and it is his record as a Congressman upon which his reelection hopes depend. Teague appears quite confident. "I would like to run on my record, and if my opponent does the same thing, I will be very happy," he says.

State Sen. William Moore is running against Teague. Moore has voted liberal most of the time in the Senate. A skilled politician, he has been conducting a day-by-day campaign on a person-to-person basis. His main handicap is

(Continued on Page 2)



Rep. Olin Teague

Teague in His First Race

(Continued from Page 1)
his having taken legal fees from shaky insurance companies when a state senator.

Essentially, Teague's record is conservative. It is a record that has said "no" to federal civil rights legislation, at least a qualified "no" to federal aid to education, and "no" to most of the legislative hopes of organized labor. Foreign aid, too, has been added to his "nay" votes. His record has had a few liberal moments, mainly in the area of veterans' benefits.

Teague's Sixth Congressional District primarily is a rural East Texas region, but his awareness of labor in his district is apparent in his comments concerning the current contest. He says that leaders of organized labor put his opponent in the race, and that labor is coming out of neighboring counties to help Moore.

Teague does not consider himself to be anti-labor and claims that State AFL-CIO director Jerry Holleman "would vote for me if he voted in my district." Many laboring people, he says, have benefited from the veterans' programs he has sponsored.

Against $1.25 Minimum

With minor exceptions Teague has found himself on the opposite side of the fence from the AFL-CIO on labor legislation. In 1956 the Committee on Political Education (COPE) published a ten-year Congressional voting record on six labor issues. Four times COPE listed Teague as voting wrong. Heading the list was Teague's vote to override President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.

Analyzing the overall labor, general welfare and foreign aid records, COPE credited Teague with 12 wrong votes and seven right votes for the 1947-56 period. Two years ago COPE compiled another analysis for the 1957-'58 sessions, this time listing Teague as wrong ten times and right, three times.

Teague's latest opposition to labor's position came in the 1959 session when he voted for the tougher Landrum-Griffin reform bill. Organized labor had supported reform legislation, but had opposed Landrum - Griffin on grounds that it went far beyond reform and imposed unnecessary restrictions on legitimate unions.

Teague does not regard the bill as "union busting" and says it gives "the average laboring man the same rights in a union as the average citizen wants in American life." He said he would try to personally contact laboring people in his district "and tell them what is in the bill."

Before this session is out, Teague probably will have to record his vote on at least one other piece of important labor legislation—the minimum wage. He told the Observer reporters that he is opposed to raising the current $1 an hour minimum. "When it was raised last time, five or six little industries in my district had to close," he said.

Early in his Congressional career—1949—Teague participated in a successful move in the House to push through an amendment removing one million people from the federal minimum wage protection.

Teague's fourteen years in seniority have enabled him to move into two key committee positions in the House. For eight years he has been chairman of the veterans affairs committee, and in 1959 he got a seat on the choice science and astronautics committee.

The Bryan congressman probably is best known for his work on veterans' legislation. He estimates that he spends 80 percent of his time working on the veterans' program. He has sponsored such legislation as the Korean GI bill and the War Orphans Educational Assistance Act.

For Yarborough Bill

Teague hinted that there was a chance that another piece of veterans' legislation—the Yarborough Cold War GI bill—might get House approval this session. It passed the Senate last year. He said that currently there are not enough votes to get it out of the Veterans Affairs Committee, "but some changes are taking place."

"I am very friendly to the legislation, and I still have hopes it will pass this session," he said.

While he has supported the GI educational bills, Teague has shown less inclination to favor federal aid for education of the non-veteran public. In 1957 he helped defeat, 208 to 203, a bill which would have provided federal aid for school construction. A year later he voted to kill a bill for federal loans to college students (the National Defense Education Act). However, in 1956 he did vote for the Fogarty Amendment to increase funds for school construction in federally impacted areas.

For a number of years Teague has had his own education bill pending in the House education and labor committee. Instead of federal aid, Teague's legislation would provide that one percent of all federal income taxes collected in a state be left in the state for education. The bill presumably would give the richest states the most for education, and the poorest the least. It has never been reported out of the committee.

Teague takes a rather typical Southern view on civil rights, terming the issue "a political football." This year he opposed bringing civil rights legislation up for consideration on the floor of the House and stood with Southern colleagues in a vain effort to block the final version, which passed last week.

Teague said he doesn't think civil rights legislation is important "to the Democratic Party in the upcoming election."

"No person in my district is excluded from voting, and no one should be," he said. He opposes federally enforced integration, and said that there is no integration problem in his district.

"They're getting along fine," he commented. At the same time he feels that he and his Southern colleagues know best how the Negroes should be treated:

"Walk around the Capitol and ask the colored people here whom they prefer. They'll say they like the Southern congressmen better than the Northerners. We treat them like people."

Other Issues

In recent years Teague has sided with the growing bloc which opposes foreign aid. He terms his vote as a protest to what he calls the poor administration of the program:

"I supported federal aid for a number of years because I saw the destruction in Europe. I voted for it until these countries caught up. Since then I have voted against foreign aid because it has been poorly administered, and we have tried to buy friends where they couldn't be bought."

He said that he strongly favors the technical aid provisions of foreign aid and contended that he would vote for foreign aid if his vote meant passage or defeat.

Teague believes in this country maintaining a deterrent force that would make "political gangsters as they have in Russia know that we will give them the bad end of it." He said that he thinks the total defense appropriation is sufficient. He is opposed to any further reduction in conventional weapons.

He opposes Sec. Benson's farm programs but doesn't offer any specific remedies. He does, however, say he would favor plans like the Humphrey food-for-peace proposal. "There must be some way to continue to produce what we are able to produce and give it to needy countries," he said.

Teague, who studied agriculture at Texas A&M College, is a firm believer in soil and water conservation.

"Our resources should be improved for our children," he said. "Local funds should be used when there is sufficient local money, but some projects are so big that they can't get local money and federal funds need to be used."

Watershed projects dot Teague's eleven-county district. A report issued by the U. S. Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service at Temple last month listed 13 projects in the planning or construction stage.

Teague's record, while predominantly conservative, has its variations. His record on housing legislation probably is a good example. Despite many votes against public housing in previous years, he sided with its supporters on three important votes in the last two sessions of Congress.

Teague, commenting on his Washington career, said, "Actually, my philosophy is more liberal than my voting record."

He has chosen to run his record.

ANNE and JAKE LEWIS

Fath Report Coming

AUSTIN

Creekmore Fath's contribution to the Observer's discussion of Sen. Lyndon Johnson—an analysis of divided leadership in the Democratic Party, the national committee, advisory council, and party platforms on one side, and the Congressional leadership on the other—is delayed a week, since it is longer than expected, and its typing had not been finished.

NEGRO SIT-INS IN EAST TEXAS

(Continued from Page 1)
remained closed and attended by police.

Sheriff Earl Franklin told the press all the Negroes were from out-of-state. The student release said this was "grossly incorrect" and that "a large number of the students are Texans and a substantial number are local Marshall citizens." Press reports said a white was among the protesters; this was explained by the statement as a mistake about one of the students.

Saturday afternoon a group of ten different students entered Union Bus Terminal Cafe in Marshall and sat at the lunch counter. "All white patrons left, except for two men who remained," the student statement said. The store was closed, the students left, and were approached by police and sheriff's officers, called "nigger," "boy," "boot," and "you" by one or two of the officers, and "threatened with jail if they came to town again as a group," the students' statement said.

"A spokesman for the students states," the release continued, that "it is the hope of the students that this movement will stir the local Negro population out of their lethargy and awaken them to the realization that they have had their civil and human liberties almost completely and totally denied them for so long a period of time. Opinions from various students indicate that they intend to continue their protests."

'Bash His Head In'

Monday, they did.

At 10 a.m., three groups of college students sat at Woolworth's, a local Rexall drug store, and the bus cafe. The bus cafe was locked when they arrived. They were asked to leave the other two counters but refused and were arrested and taken to the police station where they were questioned and fingerprinted.

"What we're trying to do is to talk some sense into them," Police Chief C. M. Ezell was quoted. "We had them in the courtroom here for a heart-to-heart talk." D. A. Charles Allen said, "If there are additional sit--ins, charges will be filed."

A student statement from the protesters—this time signed by seventeen names, all male names—said:

"While in the custody of the police the students were told that this movement was going to get someone hurt, and that even if the movement was successful the relationship between the races would not be any better. They were also advised not to return and if they did it (was) indicated that the students understood that this movement might end in a violent manner."

The statement also said that one of the students, "who seemed to be listening unattentively, was handled roughly by one of the police officers," who "took the student to another room where he sat the student down by pushing his finger against the student's eye. He then grabbed the collar of the young student and proceeded to shake and slap him. He also told the student that he was letting the NAACP swell his head, and if he returned to town he (the officer) would bash his head in."

After being fingerprinted the students were released in groups of two or three.

The city commission issued a statement saying they recognize the right to demonstrate, but demonstrations which "will incite public disorder" are unlawful. "Under this country's free enterprise system and under our laws a merchant has the legal right to select the patrons he serves," the statement said.

The release from the students continued: "Information indicates that the students intend to continue their demonstration. The student who was mishandled by the officer says this action will be reported to the FBI and Justice Department."

Marshall officials said they notified the Texas Dept. of Public Safety and the FBI three weeks ago that representatives of an outside agency were seeking integration action through the two schools.

The students' Monday release was signed by 17 names, led off by Walter J. Sapp and Albert F. Campbell. Sapp told the Observer that an FBI officer in Shreveport was to be advised Wednesday of the alleged mishandling of the student at police headquarters Monday.

Wednesday afternoon the students resumed their sit-ins and were taken to the police station and held. A lawyer, Romeo Williams, was representing them.

Dinner Planned; New Controversy

AUSTIN

Byron Skelton, Democratic national committeeman, responded to a letter from Mrs. R. D. Randolph asking him his plans by announcing that he expects to put on a Democratic fund-raising dinner in the late fall to raise the balance of the 1958 and all of the 1959 Texas quota to the Democratic Party, and perhaps some of the 1960 quota.

Meanwhile, a new fight broke out. Speaker Sam Rayburn said in Dallas, in a Times-Herald interview, "I couldn't imagine the national convention doing a ridiculous thing" like barring Southern delegations which did not pledge to support the Democratic nominees.

Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler told a press conference in Detroit he believes that loyal Democrats in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and South Carolina should prepare competing delegations if regular delegations will not pledge to support the nominees. He said those states have adopted rules which pave the way for them to bolt the party if they find the civil rights plank unacceptable.

"I would hope that loyal Democrats will organize a delegation in the event the regular delegation is challenged by the credentials committee," Butler said.

This bore on Lyndon Johnson's candidacy in two ways; by posing the possibility that Southern delegations favorable to him could be booted out of the national convention; by suggesting to his foes among Texas Democrats that if the Texas Johnson delegation will not pledge to support the nominees, a competing delegation might win recognition at Los Angeles.

Over $133 Million Insurance In Force

Oil Industries Life
INSURANCE COMPANY
P. O. Box 8098 Houston, Texas
HAROLD E. RILEY
Vice-President and Director of Agencies

"BOW" WILLIAMS
Automobile and General Insurance
Budget Payment Plan
Strong Stock Companies
GReenwood 2-0545
624 LAMAR, AUSTIN
Let's Abolish the Poll Tax!

Daniel Said Confident; 'Business Party' Seen

✔ **Men behind the candidates** are now fairly well settled for the five more weeks before the May 7 primary vote. Gov. Daniel has not only Jake Pickle, but also Jon Ford, formerly of the San Antonio Express, who is doing writing and research on industrial, water, and fiscal matters. Lt. Gov. Ramsey has been rejoined by Leonard Mohrmann, his old press agent who is on leave from the liquor interests. Don Yarborough is backstopped by Lyman Jones.

Political Intelligence

✔ Friends of the Governor affirm that he is **not at all alarmed** about the Shivers endorsement of Jack Cox—that if it cost him votes in some quarters, it confirmed as many for him. He is determined not to comment on the subject.

✔ "Texas Businessman" says of the Shivers endorsement of Cox, "the old pros of Texas conservatism are finally riddling each other . . . Out of that fight will emerge—as intended—**Texas's first business party**. . . .From here on in, business will be fighting tooth and toenail for **general sales tax.** Quite probably, enactment of such is now due in two, three years."

✔ Corpus Christi Caller surprised by calling **the general sales tax** "the least objectionable" way to raise needed state revenue. The West and the South Texas Chambers of Commerce have endorsed the tax. The East Texas Chamber polled members and received returns of 667 for a general sales tax and 556 against it. The Texas Retail Grocers' Assn., hard set in opposition, warned that if "the money interests" take 10 or 12 more seats in the House, a general sales tax can be passed.

✔ Asked about the reports that if Judge Calvert is elected to Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court, leaving his present seat on that court vacant, Gov. Daniel will appoint **Sec'y of State Zollie Steakley** to the post, Steakley told the Observer, "All I know is what I read in the newspapers." . . . H. M. Baggarly, editor of the Tulia Herald, criticizes Steakley's possible appointment on grounds that he has not practiced much law and has had no judicial experience, vis-a-vis Daniel's criticism of U.S. Supreme Court justices on the same basis.

✔ Speaker Waggoner **Carr's supporters** are distributing sheets saying, "Labor Endorses Will Wilson," and reproducing relevant newspaper articles.

✔ **Rep. Bob Wheeler,** the Tilden liberal, is managing Dudley Dougherty's campaign for Congress. Dougherty, who is a conservative, has promised "equal consideration to all citizens, regardless of their point of view." . . . Dr. John Westburg, opposing Cong. Joe Kilgore, has switched campaign style to an "I am your candidate, folks," approach.

✔ **A bi-racial committee** of 49 whites and ten Negroes has been formed in Dallas on behalf of Rev. H. Rhett James, a Negro candidate for the school board. A letter for the committee, circulated by Laura Brannin, secretary-treasurer, says James will "give representation to an important segment of our citizenry."

✔ A court has ordered **the two R. L. (Bob) Stricklands** identified as legislator and businessman, respectively, on the Bexar County ballot. . . . Sen. Henry Gonzalez, in his re-election campaign, has been taking tall two-column ads in the Sunday San Antonio Light.

✔ The executive committee of the Young Democrats of Texas meeting in Houston **invited Sen. William Proxmire,** Wis. to speak to the Young Democrats' state convention April 23 in Houston, and Proxmire tentatively accepted. Jesse Price, Y. D.'s state vice-president and a Johnson supporter, called a meeting of the state executive committee in Amarillo Sunday. Press reports indicated only five persons showed up, though other members were in the hotel and did not attend. State President Bill Kilgarlin, Houston, contending a quorum of seven members was not present, walked out. The four left, including Price, contended the earlier invitation to Proxmire was illegal, said they held twenty proxies, and voted to **invite Sam Rayburn** to keynote the Houston convention. What next is anybody's guess—even Proxmire's or Rayburn's.

✔ The Bexar County **Medical Society** is urging its members to write congressmen to oppose "any Forand-type bills" for medical benefits to persons receiving social security.

✔ E. B. Germany, president, has announced that "the management of Lone Star Steel Company vigorously opposes" the sale of **alcoholic beverages "in the plant area."** A wet-dry election is coming up there. Rep. Wright Patman, in his newsletter, agrees with Germany and asks, "would a campaign for national prohibition be helpful?"

★ ★

Shivers in ACA; FIA Tie-In Told

✔ Ed Gossett, Dallas, is one of the 14 national trustees, and Allan Shivers is the "national advisory council Texas member," of **Americans for Constitutional Action,** whose political complexion is indicated by the fact that national chairman Ben Moreel, in a funds solicitation letter dated March 4, commended "the unflagging efforts of stalwart patriots in Congress like Styles Bridges, Harry Byrd, Barry Goldwater, and Bruce Alger." Moreel's letter listed E. J. Mosher as chairman of the "Houston program support committee," with the other Houston members being Wyatt Hedrick, Howard Tellepsen, Col. William B. Bates, Hugh Q. Buck, W. S. Bellows, Sr., David C. Bintliff, and Lamar Fleming, Jr. E. B. Germany is one of the Dallas sponsors. Moreel included a Dallas News editorial on ACA in which the newspaper bluntly stated, "Money contributions are needed to strengthen ACA's sinews of war."

✔ For the first time, a tie-in has been reported between **Freedom in Action,** the right-wing political action group, and **Texas Bureau of Economic Understanding,** the Dallas group which has co-sponsored the controversial "Americanism education" programs in Texas public schools. Abilene Reporter-News, reporting a "Freedoms Foundation" award to Howard Payne College, said the Brownwood college conducted a Mid-Texas "Democrary-in-Action" program "prompted by Freedom in Action, Inc., and the Texas Bureau for Economic Understanding."

Houston Faces Integration

● Federal Judge Ben. C. Connally told Houston school board attorney Joe Reynolds that if the board does not give him a plan including some integration next September and the board's full program for carrying out district-wide integration, "the court would be required to order district-wide desegregation" for September, Reynolds told the board. Under this clear warning that Houston, like Dallas, must integrate to some extent in September to comply with the standards of the federal judges with jurisdiction, the Houston school board scheduled a closed conference April 11 to make their plans.

● Negroes were served in the Houston city hall cafe, but only, the manager explained, to avoid embarassing the Argentine ambassador who was at city hall at the time. A canteen truck which had been vending food and drinks to whites at city hall was forbidden to return.

● Four Negroes who had a cup of coffee at Tasita Drive Inn in Houston were billed $2.50 each. Coffee there is five cents for whites. "The Negroes got abusive and refused to pay, so I called the law," the drive-in manager said. The Negroes were jailed and charged with disturbing the peace.

● Houston Mayor Lewis Cutrer announced he will appoint a biracial committee to study segregation problems in Houston, "except school integration, which already is being handled in the courts."

● The Texas Research League reported that child welfare protective service cost $1 million a year in Texas, 57 percent of it local money, 29 percent federal, and only six percent state. Child welfare units are available in only 28 counties.

The Week in Texas

● Brown & Root Inc. of Houston shipped $700,000 worth of equipment for the construction of a dam on the Guadalupe River in Colombia, S.A.

● **Trial of Hugh Sparks, white insurance man, on a charge of murder in running down his 15-year-old Negro girl babysitter early last New Year's morning (Obs. Feb. 12) has been scheduled in San Augustine district court July 23, the district clerk told the Observer.**

● A mandamus suit filed by Dallas Perkins and others to force Taylor County judge to canvass and announce the favorable vote for incorporation of "Impact" near Abilene (Obs. Feb. 19) has been set April 18.

● The Student Assembly at the University of Texas: (1) favored removal of the loyalty oath from the Defense Education Act; (2) recommended the addition of the University of Houston to the state university system; (3) approved Sen. Ralph Yarborough's "Cold War GI Bill of Rights"; (4) opposed further college tuition increases.

● The federal government announced it will not oppose a motion to drop an indictment for embezzling $260 entered against Robert R. Mullen, Alice businessman. Mullen's motion said the indictment was not meritorious and was insufficient to warrant a trial. Mullen said the charge was a matter of attorney's fees paid to him five years ago.

● In San Antonio, more than 300 students in Bexar County's East Central High School walked out of classrooms at noon Monday to protest their elders' rejection, the Saturday before, of a $750,000 bond issue, without which the school faces loss of state accreditation.

Amarillo Studies a Judge

AMARILLO

Roy Joe Stevens, the 37-year-old county judge of Randall County until he resigned Saturday, had his public and his private lives "bared," as the headline writers say, while his wife and five children took it as best they could.

House investigators, looking into the situation at the request of the county attorney, heard this testimony about Stevens:

A 19 or 20-year old girl said she was photographed nude in Stevens's Amarillo office; a 21-year-old girl seeking Stevens's services as a lawyer in a divorce said she was intimate with him; a detective captain said two juvenile girls were intimate with a gambler, Lester Davis, and Stevens's law partner in Stevens's office, and drank liquor with Stevens and two employees there, but D. A. Wayne Bagley would not accept the detective's complaints of statutory rape in the matter.

An Amarillo AFB airman testified that Stevens used Farris's apartment as a trysting place with women, and that he would leave $1.50 or $2 for the use of the apartment each time.

A man under indictment for murder of his wife, William Gerald Miller, said Stevens threatened to have him killed "for a fee" if he talked to investigators and said Stevens once told him to arrange for a woman to compromise a liquor control board agent and for another woman to compromise the district attorney. Miller said Stevens discussed extorting money from men who were named in Miller's hearsay testimony as interested in young girls who were also named, although only by surnames. And the accused wife-killer also said Stevens had him get in touch with a man who promised $50 for every girl he could "turn over" into prostitution, which offer he said he took advantage of.

Charges that Stevens got confiscated liquor from liquor agents did not materialize firmly. Stevens said he got no liquor from state agents, except possibly at Christmas. He entered general denials to the charges against him. Resigning, he said he was admitting nothing.

This testimony, leading as it did to press reports of "wild sex parties" in Stevens's office, overshadowed somewhat the accusations of an ex-prostitute gambler's wife that the gambler, Davis, paid off deputy sheriffs for the protection of his dice, poker, and blackjack games. Under pressure from the county commissioners, the sheriff suspended three deputies who were implicated in this woman's testimony, which, the House investigators said, was verified by lie detector test.

Atty. Gen. Will Wilson said the scandals are for Amarillo people to handle as they wish. Rep. H. J. Blanchard, Lubbock, chairman of the House investigations committee, announced to the press he will be glad to talk to persons who want to give the committee tips on the situation in Tarrant County.

Ralph, Lyndon Split on Rights

WASHINGTON

Sen. Yarborough split away from Sen. Johnson for the first time on the civil rights legislation. Yarborough voted with a majority of the Senate Democrats in opposing a motion to table the Clark-Javits amendment which would have combined plans for voting referees and federal enrollment officers appointed by the President to guarantee voting rights. Johnson voted with a majority of Republicans and the Southern Democrats to kill the amendment, Johnson's side prevailing, 51-43.

As the House finally passed its civil rights bill, four Texans voted aye—Kilday, Kilgore, Thornberry, and Wright—and the rest voted no. Earlier the entire Texas House delegation had voted in favor of recommitting the bill to committee.

Don Yarborough Attacks

AUSTIN

While the Governor's race fell quiet, Don Yarborough leveled rough charges against Lt. Gov. Ben Ramsey and the two main contenders for attorney general stopped just short of assault and battery.

The Houston attorney charged: Ramsey had a "speak no evil, hear no evil, see no evil attitude toward corruption in public office," "was a silent partner in the Shivers administration which spawned the insurance and veterans' land scandals," and "has disqualified himself from public trust."

Allan Shivers, Jack Cox, and Ramsey are "the three musketeers of the general sales tax conspiracy" to pass "an unfair and unjust—even immoral—tax" which, he said in Corpus Christi, would fall heaviest on "citizens like the old folks on their small pensions, and the working, salaried people, who have a hard enough time finding money for groceries for their children."

Yarborough also aimed shafts at Ramsey's influence over Texas Senate procedures as its presiding officer. Yarborough said he has "20-20 vision" and would not be apt to overlook senators, friends or foes, seeking recognition; furthermore, he said, he would "use a calendar in the Senate, as the state constitution provides," rather than requiring two-thirds vote to take a bill up, as Ramsey does.

In Houston, the liberal Harris County Democrats endorsed Yarborough (as well as seven incumbent House members from Houston and county Democratic chairman Woodrow Seales, opposed by Dr. Ira Kohler.)

Speaker Waggoner Carr counter-attacked Will Wilson's charge that loan sharks are getting up a "huge slush fund" to back Carr. Carr charged Wilson has made "a deal for the loan sharks' support and money," asked why 700 sharks still operate and why Wilson "plays favorites among the loan sharks," and said if there's a slush fund, it's going to Wilson. Wilson condemned "irresponsible charges and name-calling."

Carr in Dallas slammed Wilson's court record reference to his dilemma in a bank charter case as a member of the State Banking Cmsn. because he had personal friends on both sides, which Carr said raised the issue of public ethics for members of public boards.

Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American art.—JEFFERSON

Calmly and in Dignity

MARSHALL
2:30 A.M., March 31

There are ninety-two extra policemen in Marshall tonight—four Texas Rangers, about 35 Highway Patrolmen, and the rest visiting officers from nearby towns. Eight of them are billeted on the roof of this old Hotel Marshall. They are stopping everyone. What they are really afraid of, and are deployed to prevent, is violence from whites, but hate is interracial, too, and all are watched and questioned; the cab drivers say there are fewer cars on the streets than any night in a long time; it is as though the city were in siege. With the news that firemen had turned their hoses against peacefully demonstrating students as they left the courthouse, the city suddenly became the place for reporters, photographers, and movie cameramen to be—another Nashville; perhaps, were worst to come to worst, Little Rock of the sit-ins. Everything downtown closes about 9 o'clock, and toward 12:30 this morning five of us drove to the only place open, the all-night cafe at the railroad terminal, and had coffee and ham and eggs. Being white, we were served. We took that for granted, just as we took for granted that somewhat clinical manner of the trade as we cautiously traded a few of our notes. But not one of us felt clinical: each of us felt a need to hold back on feelings. The Shreveport Journal headlined that South Africa is in a state of emergency, and Negroes marched earlier in the day on the capitol at Baton Rouge, while we were custodians of the facts of Marshall, "the banner for the ayems." Back downtown, another reporter and I checked the police station, all was quiet, and we were glad the state police are here, for they set a standard for the locals, who reflect the circumstances of their daily lives.

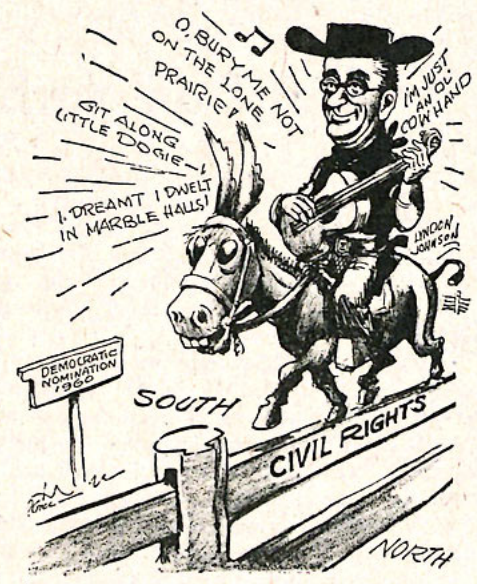
What has really happened here, and in East Texas, it is too early to say, both in the sense that the facts still lie in notepads and in details not traced, and in the sense that East Texas, too, has now been introduced to the new Fact of Southern Life: the Negro in His Own Name, for all that he will ultimately mean.

It could not last, the silence in East Texas. Negro students at Wiley and Bishop colleges planned their sit-ins last week, drew breath and sat down at Woolworth's at exactly 10 o'clock Saturday morning, the same day were threatened with imprisonment and abused with contempt, sat in again Monday and were arrested and warned, and finally, Wednesday noon and afternoon, sat in again, were arrested and mugged and fingerprinted by the social system they refuse, and reconciled themselves—about 50 of them—to criminal prosecution for unlawful assembly.

Then, in the courtroom, one of them began reading from the Bible. Out loud. Then another, and another. An officer told them to shut up, "No more reading in the courtroom"; and they began singing. They sang Glory Halleluyah. They sang the Star Spangled Banner, and the officers of the court did not rise. Then they heard, around the courthouse, the voices of their fellow students—500 to 700 of them, it is agreed—and singing, too; and in the courtroom they rose and sang with those outside. Some bungling officer tried to arrest some of those outside, and they came into the courthouse willingly, and filled the balconies. They sang together while the officers paced about and shut the courtroom doors, hoping, perhaps, the world would not hear. They sang, Let Every Voice Sing. They sang, My Country, 'Tis of Thee. And as they sang, and the white officials talked reasonableness to them, and tried to persuade those who were not accused to go on home, and learned that none of them would go home unless all of them went home, and promised them they could leave safely; as these things happened, did passive resistance, the spirit of Martin Luther King and Gandhi before him and Thoreau before him and Christ before him and Socrates before him, come into the lives of East Texas Negroes where it has not been before? Across an ocean, 15,000 Negroes marched on Johannesburg, and they locked the gates against them; to the South in Baton Rouge, officers watched silently while they marched; and here in Marshall, just a few hours ago, they turned the firehoses on the young and soaked them all as they walked away, calmly and in dignity, singing together.

R.D.

There's a Long, Long Trail A-Windin'



MANKATO FREE PRESS
Mankato, Minn.

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

7

Published by Texas Observer Co., Ltd.
Entered as second-class matter, April 26, 1937, at the Post Office at Austin, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

APRIL 1, 1960

Ronnie Dugger
Editor and General Manager
Sarah Payne, Office Manager

We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it. We are dedicated to the whole truth, to human values above all interests, to the rights of man as the foundation of democracy; we will take orders from none but our own conscience, and never will we overlook or misrepresent the truth to serve the interests of the powerful or cater to the ignoble in the human spirit.

Published once a week from Austin, Texas. Delivered postage prepaid $4 per annum. Advertising rates available on request. Extra copies 10c each. Quantity prices available on orders.

EDITORIAL and BUSINESS OFFICE: 504 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. Phone GReenwood 7-0746.

HOUSTON OFFICE: 1010 Dennis, Mrs. R. D. Randolph.

The PIPE-Piper of Houston



Bartlett Appears Exclusively in the Texas Observer

PANICKY GOOFS

AUSTIN

Obviously it does not sit well with country people to realize that some lobbyist named Weatherred, writing from "Adolphus Towers, Dallas," or some other lobbyist named Burris, writing from "P.O. Box 1194, Houston 1, Texas," are collecting business money to be spent telling them who to send to the legislature.

The worst goof in Ed Burris's letter was the fact that he sent it. The next worst goof was the statement that he wanted it returned, "since I am fearful of having it circulated too extensively." Business has been pouring money into rural legislative races all over the country for years, but this is the first time in modern Texas history their agents have let the public find out about it. Although on a smaller scale, labor doubtless does the same thing, but hasn't been caught.

Business money is also pouring into some of the big-city races like ocean water into a stoved-in ship. We have received a reliable report from a lobbyist who should know that Weatherred and Burris have appropriated $12,500 against each of the Houston incumbents in the House except Criss Cole. Despite heavy business spending in San Antonio, the Franklin Spears group has an excellent chance of prevailing.

Evidently Weatherred has no hope of defeating Sen. Henry Gonzalez in San Antonio; or maybe he's just waiting, hoping for a runoff. The Austin talk is that Sen. Bill Fly, Victoria's gift to the Eastern corporations, was running well behind challenger Bill Patman of Ganado, and Zeke Zbranek of Liberty was seriously challenging Sen. Neville Colson of Navasota, though he had not yet overtaken her. This may explain why Weatherred, in his plea for money, footnoted plaintively:

"We need to work on Senators Fly and Colson's races first, so please send these in at the earliest possible time, even though you may delay slightly on some of the Representatives' races."

WEATHERRED'S GOOF—apart from the fact that he wrote down and mailed out what he is doing—was his assertion, in his March 7 letter to business persons, that his group has engaged "field help" for the rural races.

He warned that liberals are within four Senate and six House seats of legislative control. "This has prompted us to engage field help to go into grass roots areas for the purpose of gathering together leaders from all business segments for a coordinated campaign on behalf of selected candidates in a number of key races. . . . You will note that we have eliminated all large cities, because effective organizational work is being carried on within them outside of this effort."

In his "personal and confidential," don't-tell-anybody memorandum, Burris said the $65,000 raised would be spent in rural campaigns because "rural campaigns are less expensive" and big-city areas are "to a substantial degree already organized."

There is a liklihood that Weatherred and Burris are both fronting for the same fund-raising program, but this was not established as true or false.

Weatherred singled out seven House incumbents for defeat—Reps. Neil Caldwell, Alvin; Lloyd Guffey, El Campo; Tony Korioth, Sherman; A. J. Bishop, Winters; Herman Yezak, Bremond; Tony Fenoglio, Nocona; and Max Carriker, Roby. In so doing, he stirred up about 70 members of the House against him, and if what we hear is true, he can expect demands for legislative inquiry into what interests he represents at the address he lists simply as "Adolphus Towers."

Weatherred also specified, as his choices in House races, twelve incumbents. As Stuart Long observed this week, eight of these voted for all three general sales tax proposals last session. Rural candidates who can expect to be offered big-city business money—or already have it—are Reps. Ben Jarvis, Tyler; Byron Tunnell, Tyler; William Winston, Lufkin; John Huebner, Sr., Bay City; R. H. Cory, Victoria; Vernon Stewart and Jack Connell, Jr., Wichita Falls; Leon Thurman, Anson; Will Ehrle, Childress; Bob Bowers, Brownfield; Wesley Roberts, Lamesa; and Richard Slack, Pecos.

THIS WEEK'S AFL-CIO report says that "corporation spokesmen like Brown, Busby, and Burris, aided by Weatherred and Germany," are pushing the panic button: they are about to lose their control of the legislature.

But they may have panicked the wrong push and blown up their own conning-tower.

R.D.

WILL THE SOUTH LEAD OR BE LED?

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed the reins of government in the revolt of the thirties, he pointed to the South as the great underdeveloped area of the American nation. He declared that this area must be given full attention to bring its standards up to the rest of the country.

Today the South is not looked upon with such benevolent paternalism. Dixie in 1960 is the number one problem child, the juvenile delinquent of American society. And most national therapists call for harsher medicine than the natives desire.

The South, an area Walter Prescott Webb calls a potential "new frontier," still seriously blurs the national image. Its flaunting of egalitarian standards of suffrage has brought demands for action from the Civil Rights Commission and now the full chorus of the Congress. Its low wage pull on northern industries has heralded an era of tight-fisted industrial land-grabbing. Its "enclosure movement" in the rural areas is sending Negro share-croppers to the North "to give the Yankees a taste of our problem" and white laborers to the cities to form the industrial army for the further expansion of manufacture in towns and villages basically unprepared for it. Its single-minded politics has brought the Democratic Party to the point of no return: either Dixie gets on or gets out in the summer of 1960.

And what is the South doing about all this?

Southern congressional leadership is evidently deeply confused. They feel caught between going along with the advances that "Westerner" Lyndon Johnson proposes to keep his presidential hopes alive and rebelling frontally to hold together the traces of the Great Southern Blockade that William S. White calls the "South's unending revenge upon the North for Gettysburg."

Is the problem simply one of power juggling in the United States Senate? If the South can do no better than build its program around the negativism of parliamentary tactics—and is utterly stranded when its only convenient power-spokesman becomes a "Westerner"—leadership in Dixie has reached a new low.

Can the Southern leader take a position between the extreme racism which fans the flames of emotional white supremacy in his home district and the stance of those who choose to deny their Southern lineage? Must the "Southerner" by definition be either a traditionalist or a traitor?

TEXANS have found it increasingly convenient to deny their association with the other Confederate states, and in the process perhaps some of the best chances for liberal leadership in the South have been lost.

Can a Texan overlook the evidences of Dixieism that pervade the state? What of East Texas with its boasts of "the blackest land and the whitest people," its neatly divided feudal communities that leave the American Negro always on the "other side of the tracks" from justice and opportunity, its entrenched traditionalism and love of the status quo? Isn't East Texas as "Southern" in the traditional sense as Louisiana or Mississippi or Georgia?

There are islands of influence—Norfolk, Charlotte, Charleston, Atlanta, Miami, Birmingham, Nashville, New Orleans, even Little Rock and many other communities in the South—where the keynote is the awareness of something deeper than clinging to the past and all-out white supremacy. Is it not the job of Texas liberals to help rally the liberal tradition, to stimulate its vital centers throughout the South, to make the liberal position something more potent than traitorism or carpetbagging?

The need is for the liberal community to come out of hiding, for liberals in the South to find a common cause in the progressive development of the Southern frontier. Texas liberals, who are generally on safer ground and have more political elbow room than those surrounded with strangling prejudice and entrenched Dixie machine politics, could speak out for their contemporaries all across the South.

This is not a cry for pallid hearts who point to the "extremists on both sides"—ostensibly the NAACP and the Ku Klux Klan—and follow the middle rut of inaction. This is an appeal to Southerners to awaken to their own problems—to see the potentiality in using the full resources of all their people, to develop systems of education rather than using them as political tools, to develop resources and public works rather than depending on sweatshop wages to draw American commercialism to Dixie, to establish a "national" standard of public interest, and to lead the nation in dealing with the problems of pluralism in our communities.

THE SILENCE of most of the Southern press and the stagnation of ad hominem and machine politics have left pitiful vacuums. The injustices of voting discrimination, the wasteful system of segregated schools, and the double standard in Southern living thus continue without serious internal challenge.

If Southern leadership continues to be unreasonable—and men of reason remain passive—the decisions to encompass the South in the "national" system will be made from outside. Those who understand least the problems of the South will formulate its ground rules. And, paradoxically, those who will have fought hardest against Yankee intrusion will have precipitated it.

W. J. Cash, seeing this need for leadership, peals out in his monumental work *The Mind of the South*: "In the coming days, and probably soon, it (the South) is likely to have to prove its capacity for adjustment far beyond what has been true in the past. And in that time I shall hope, as its loyal son, that its virtues will tower over and conquer its faults and have the making of the Southern world to come."

Are Texans willing to help the new "Mind of the South" come out of hiding—or will they choose to "go West" and ignore their responsibilities? The answer must be forthcoming soon.

ROBB BURLAGE

About the Author



Burlage

AUSTIN

Robb Burlage, this week's guest columnist in the Observer, was editor of The Daily Texan at the University of Texas and is now engaged in graduate study in political science at Harvard University.

He reported for the Arkansas Gazette last summer and has written for the Nation magazine.

Mistrust of the Jury

(LAST INSTALLMENT)

MARSHALL

Last November, Mr. Justice Stable of England instructed a jury that if it did not make a verdict within ten minutes, it would be locked up for 21 hours. The resulting conviction of the defendant was, of course, set aside, but the incident gives a glimpse of the jaundiced gaze that the judiciary too often casts on trial by jury. In Texas, the judges seldom make a frontal attack on the time-honored system, but do so in the fashion of an earlier Senator Lodge who, when asked how he could sustain an attack on Wilson's plan for a League of Nations, replied: "Oh! I wouldn't think of opposing the plan in general; I plan to destroy it in detail." While this may not be the conscious plan of some of our appellate courts, it is well to consider their pronouncements which may lead to a blindfolding, if not a hamstringing of trial by jury.

In the forefront of judicial confusion rises the shapeless head of special issue submission. This is the present plan of asking a jury a number of questions in the belief that it will answer them without knowing the effect of the answers on the final outcome of the case. The theory is that a jury must be kept in the dark as to who should win or lose a lawsuit, and that from its answers on fact questions, the judge can properly apply the law. The jury is treated to the spectacle of two sets of lawyers moving heaven and earth for days on end to have the questions put to it answered in exactly opposite ways and is not supposed to know that if it answers all of the questions for lawyer "A" and against lawyer "B" its verdict will be for A's client. Nowhere else in government can such foolishness be found.

The blame for this needless confusion lies wholly with the appellate courts of Texas, or in the ultimate, with the Supreme Court of Texas. The special verdict, whereby a jury reached findings on particular parts of a case, instead of on general principles, has long been known to Texas practice when the "special issue" law was passed. The first act had as its purpose the abolition of some of the technicalities found in the general verdict practice and was in no way intended to limit trial by jury or suggest that in order to procure a just verdict, a jury must be blindfolded or deceived as to the results of its answers to a court's questions. The Supreme Court interpreted a game of blind man's buff into a practice that was originally designed to simplify, not confuse, the submission of cases to the jury.

The backers of legislation for the special issue verdict would spin in their graves if they could revisit Texas and see the monstrous injustice and plain damnfoolishness that has flourished in its name. The average juror, the doctrine runs, cannot be trusted to come up with a fair verdict, if he knows what he is about, and which party will win. Therefore, it is the solemn duty of the court so to disguise and confuse the questions submitted that the jury cannot know the effect of its answers. This puts a premium on fraud and deceit; for the unscrupulous juror who does know the effect of the answers may falsely assure those who may not that a question is unimportant, or may trade answers with other jurors so as to procure a verdict not conscientiously agreed to by those duped.

ONE IS A CITIZEN before he becomes a judge. The present postulates of judicial science in Texas are that a judge, or a concert of as many as nine judges, may with impunity know the results of a decision made, or specifically, who wins or loses by a judgment. But in any order beneath judges, with the exception of boards and bureaus, the citizen may not be trusted to know the results of his decision, and particularly must a juror be considered without the pale, and subject to a judicial concealment of the final outcome of his verdict.

It is not often that a court frankly and directly says that this fetish of concealment had its origin and has its continued obeisance in a judicial distrust of trial by jury, but a dissenting opinion of the Texas Supreme Court held exactly so in 1954. The thought merits a direct quote, thus:

"Law is mainly policy. For example, there is no great motive of logic or clarity behind our practice of special verdicts. The latter, if we are frank about it, is in large part a policy recognition of the natural weaknesses of twelve average laymen as a tribunal of justice."

Fortunately, the majority of the Court were unwilling to accept the premise stated in so many words, but one wonders if it has not insidiously crept into the thinking of at least one other member of the Court, Judge Calvert. I refer in the main to the philosophy once expressed by Mr. Bumble, and now a part of the judicial outlook of some, to quote:

"'Juries,' said Mr. Bumble, grasping his cane tightly, as was his wont when working into a passion: 'juries is ineddicated, vulgar, grovelling wretches.'

"'So they are,' said the undertaker.

"'They haven't no more philosophy nor political economy about 'em than that,' said the beadle, snapping his fingers contemptuously.

"'No more they have,' acquiesced the undertaker.

"'I despise 'em,' said the beadle, growing very red in the face."

TO COME TO POINT, in 1958, a railroad passenger named Van Zandt found his case before the Supreme Court for review. He claimed injuries, for which a jury had awarded $27,000, in reply to a question asking what amount of damages, if any, would compensate the plaintiff "for the injuries, if any, received by him." The jury were even instructed to "answer in dollars and cents or none, as the case may be."

There was a sharp controversy over whether Van Zandt had gotten any injuries, and to the average logician or grammarian, the form of the question put to the jury pointedly required the finding of damages, *only* if there had been injury, and instead did not require the jury to give money, even if it found injury to have been sustained.

When Judge Calvert wrote on the case, did he accept the view that the question of amount for injuries "if any" to be answered some "or none" gave the jury the gut question, and that by answering it the jury necessarily found Van Zandt had been hurt? He did not. He applied the Bumblesque conception of juries, and held that the jury should have been asked a separate question first, of whether or not Van Zandt had been hurt.

Now just what must a judge think of the jury system, who would suppose that a jury which found $27,000 for injuries would have answered "no injury" to a separate question, had it been submitted? Particularly when they had been required to answer the question asked by finding an amount or "None" for the injuries "if any." Only the beadle, the undertaker, and a Texas court would hold a jury in such low esteem.

The end result, whether intentional or not, is to fracture the questions to invite conflict. It is not to be assumed, even by Mr. Bumble, that the jury to which Van Zandt's case was tried would have answered a separate question that Van Zandt had not been injured, and then have found damages to the extent of $27,000 for injuries that did not exist. At least, this could not be assumed unless a court had asked the jury over 200 questions, as has been done, and it had become so confused that it did not know what it was doing.

But even in the ordeal of repetitious questions that a jury has to answer, no jury has ever done what Calvert J. assumed would have been done if the Van Zandt jury had been asked directly if he had been injured, and then asked another question as to how much: namely, found that Van Zandt was not injured, and then assessed damages in the amount of $27,000 for an injury that it had found did not exist. Really!

This tendency of Judge Calvert to mistrust a jury verdict is a growing trait; one not found in his opinions during his first years on the Court. It is one that should not be encouraged by moving him over to the Court's center seat at the coming election.

FRANKLIN JONES

THE CREDIT UNION MOVEMENT IN TEXAS

AUSTIN

Credit unions — groups of people who put their money into a common pot and lend it to each other at low interest rates—now have two thirds of a million Texas members. About 2,000 representatives of the 1,160 Texas credit unions met in Austin last weekend for a quiet housekeeping convention during which their leaders renewed the philosophy of cooperatives with equanimity enjoyed only within established movements.

One state leader admitted that Texas industrial and governmental workers are not as good prospects for organization as they once were and advocated the formation of more credit unions embracing entire rural communities.

"The credit union idea" is the idea of a credit cooperative. Explained Texas Credit Union League President R. C. Morgan of El Paso in his report in Austin Saturday, "The members of a credit union pool their savings and use them to make loans to each other for provident and productive purposes."

"It is a wonderfully practical, commonsense, down-to-earth idea, based upon the simple truth that man is dependent upon his fellowmen for his well-being," Morgan asserted.

Glenn Addington, public relations director for the state league, says of the credit union, "It's a group of people getting together to save their money in order to make low-cost loans to each other. We feel it's economic democracy—the idea of self-help."

Criticism of credit unions is not often heard nowadays, but American Mercury, an ultra-conservative U.S. magazine, last June carried an article signed "Politicus" which suggests the gist of the current opposition.

Reviewing the remarkable growth of the credit unions, the article said it is explained by "just one thing—tax exemption," exemption "from taxation of their profits." Credit unions, the article said, have "become huge, profit-making lending organizations competing heavily and unfairly with banks, building and loan associations, and other free enterprise institutions."

Entitled, "Avenue to Socialism," the article declared that the credit union movement "is a road toward ultimate Socialism. In many respects, the cooperative movement is more dangerous to free enterprise than the official Socialist political movement, for its actual purpose is unrecognized by the average man."

The National Tax Equality Assn., which Addington said is more than 50 percent bankers, also has opposed tax exemption not only for credit unions, but for all cooperatives.

The credit union pays no corporate income tax "because it has no income," Addington said. When a bank pays interest on savings, the payment is tax deductible as a cost of business, and credit union dividends on shares should be deductible by similar logic, he added.

Addington said that a bank's loans are inflationary since "in effect a bank creates money when it lends it," but a credit union is "completely non-inflationary" because it can lend only money saved by its members, "dollar for dollar."

Credit unions encourage saving and, by reducing interest charges, increase funds available for productive expenditures, Addington argued. "The business community, not the loan shark, gets more business," he said.

Each credit union is required to keep its funds in a bank. Addington reasoned that credit unions handle a lot of little savings accounts, some of which would be money-losers for banks, and gives banks larger, profitable commercial accounts.

While there are no credit unions among employees of Texas banks, Addington said there are 36 bank employees' credit unions in the country.

"We have no fight with the banker in the small loan field," Addington said. "A loan shark is something else again. Will Wilson has made it clear that on loans of less than $350, a small loan company has got to get about 20 percent—it can't survive with less than that. And many of them are getting from 100 to 500 percent."

Congressman Wright Patman of Texarkana, who addressed a banquet during the convention, told the Observer:

"The credit union is the most wonderful organization—it's next to the church. It's made up of dedicated people, helping the members. . . . If we had more credit unions we'd have fewer loan sharks, and people would have more money for the necessities of life."

The Interest Rate

Any group with a common bond in work, church, club, or neighborhood can form a credit union. "There should be at least 100 in the group," Addington stated.

By law, a credit union cannot charge more than one percent interest a month on the unpaid balance of a loan, which is 12 percent "simple interest"; there are no other charges. Patman said this rate "means 6.2 percent interest on a loan amortized over the period of a year. Most improvement loans, such as those made by FHA, are based upon a 5 percent discount rate, which means an interest rate of 9.7 percent."

Addington said many of the unions charge only three-fourths of one percent per month on the unpaid balance, and in Texas, about 15 percent of the unions have been paying "interest dividends" back to lenders which average about ten percent of the interest.

All the credit unions have insurance to guarantee that "the debt dies with the debtor," Addington said. Some provide disability insurance, or life insurance matching credit union savings up to $2,000.

Credit unions may be formed under state or federal laws. Only the treasurer may be paid among the officers; loan officers and clerical help are also paid. A union may do business only with members of its own group, which includes persons who have paid a 25-cent membership fee and bought at least one $5 share. The maximum return on the share is six percent a year; the average rate in Texas is between four and five percent, according to Addington, who said the shares "are savings, and are withdrawable shares." They do not increase in value, except that should a credit union liquidate, each shareholder receives his portion of the distributed assets.

Each credit union bears any defaults on its loans. Over the years the loss on bad loans in the credit union movement has been less than one-fifth of one percent, Addington said.

Credit unions can make real estate or auto loans, business loans, farmers' loans, or personal loans. Addington said that credit union loans are based less on the collateral than on the character of the borrower: Patman has called them "character loans."

Started in 1929

The first Texas credit union was formed in the summer of 1929, just before the market crash. In 1933-1934, Sen. Morris Sheppard and Rep. Wright Patman of Texas shoved through the Congress the credit union act of 1934. The first federal credit union under the law was the Morris Sheppard credit union in Patman's home town, Texarkana, Tex. Before the end of 1934, 36 people representing the 46 Texas credit unions existing by then met to organize the Texas Credit Union League.

Today Texas has become the third state among the 50 in number of credit unions. There are about 1,160 credit unions with about 685,000 members in Texas; 73 were formed last year, while only 24 were liquidated. Total assets of Texas credit unions at the beginning of the year were $302 million; loans to members outstanding totaled $238 million; Texas members' share deposits totaled $264 million.

In 1959, Patman and Sen. Lyndon Johnson were principal sponsors of a law making certain changes in the credit union law. Federal credit unions can borrow from each other within their localities; signature loans, formerly limited to $400, can now be granted for up to $1,000; loan terms are extended from three to five years. Patman, as chairman of a banking and currency subcommittee, presided over hearings on the legislation and led the fight for House passage. Johnson is credited with a major part in its Senate passage.

(In the United States there are between 19,000 and 20,000 credit unions with between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 members and assets totaling about $5 billion, Addington said.)

The Credit Union League provides field services for member unions. The delegates to the state convention last weekend attended 177 educational sessions on how to run a credit union. The league also provides help on books and bookkeeping and looks out for the legislative interests of the members.

As of the end of 1959, 999 credit unions—87 percent of the Texas total at that time—belonged to the League. Membership fees are based on a credit union's assets: the maximum fee is $1,000 a year, plus eight cents per year to the Credit Union National Assn. T.C.U.L.'s 1960 budget totals $235,000.

The Church Unions

The Dallas teachers' credit union is the largest in the state with 11,000 or 12,000 members and assets of more than $12 million. Credit unions are numerous among telephone company employees and federal government employees (especially postal workers) and government workers at city and state levels. Houston has about 200 credit unions and Dallas about 175.

"Some labor unions" have credit unions, Addington said, adding hastily, "We have no connection with unions at all. One thing management and organized labor usually agree on is the credit union."

Some credit unions have been organized among Catholic parishes in Texas. "In other states, there are more in Protestant denominations. But the Catholic Church has supported credit unions to upgrade the economic level of their members," Addington said.

In Balmorhea, Texas, he said, 80 Latin-American workers have formed a credit union which now has $5,000 or so in assets. The money is "on loan all the time." The union had only one delinquent loan outstanding at its first annual meeting, about which the members were much disturbed. The delinquent borrower was a Latin-American who had thought his loan was a gift to him from the Catholic Church. It also took a while for some of the members to realize that their investments in the credit union were not gifts to the church, Addington said.

The formation of "community credit unions" in small towns which do not have banks may be the next step in Texas. Such unions exist now in Hereford, Muleshoe and four or five other Texas cities. James Barry, state managing director of the credit union association, made an important admission—that "to some extent it seems time to agree with those who say the credit union movement is running out of opportunities to form new ones"—and continued:

"However, in the field of community based credit unions, or those based on church or fraternal or rural association, the credit union movement in Texas has advanced relatively little."

He said Atty. Gen. Will Wilson has emphasized that "the wide development of credit unions among the smaller cities of Texas would have beneficial effect on cutting down on the loan shark problem."

In the Hereford federal credit union, Addington said, some farmers' equipment loans have been made; "two or three businessmen in the town owe their existence to the credit unions." Citizens in some small towns have to drive 40 or 50 miles to reach banks, he said.

R.D.

Patman Optimistic On 'Truth in Credit'

AUSTIN

Congressman Wright Patman of Texarakana flew to Austin from Washington to address the Texas Credit Union League convention banquet. He accused Federal Reserve chairman William McChesney Martin of repairing behind "psychology" — predictions that changes Patman advocates would result in inflation because of public reaction—as an excuse for failing to effectuate reforms.

Patman said he does not expect substantial reforms in "our money and credit systems" during the current Congress except for Sen. Paul Douglas's legislation "to require all lenders to make full disclosure, to the customer, of the amount of interest, fees, and other finance charges which the customer is about to contract to pay."

THE STUMP

The Choice Rejected

Sir:

Re: The Rev. Richard Kelley's suggestion (Observer March 18) that liberals might support Orval Faubus rather than Bruce Bennett for Governor of Arkansas in this summer's Democratic primary.

Forced to choose between "a Nixon and a McCarthy," I would choose the dead man. Less mordantly, I would pick the man who poses less continuing threat to society. Without belaboring the analogy, I ask the Rev. Mr. Kelley to consider the political implications of re-electing the present governor, even over a more unsettled but less politically oiled bigot.

If Faubus wins a fourth term as Governor, he will be in a prime position to defeat William Fulbright, much-respected chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for the junior Senate seat in 1962. This is obviously where the "shrewd, even brilliant" Faubus is aiming. To set up such a possibility—such a calamitous possibility for the state and nation—leaves the proponent with a grave burden of proof. It would also leave Faubus open to hand-pick a baiter of Bennett's ilk or a machine man of his own lineage to carry on the gubernatorial chores.

The present Governor and his well-heeled political entourage have left Arkansas with no elbow room. From the bureaus he controls to the state police who are his personal Gestapo, Faubus, admittedly with some touches of Longian benevolence, has worked to the overall detriment of the state that ironically calls itself the "Land of Opportunity." His continued reign would only tighten the grip. In the words of Carl Sandburg: "If God be Faubus, who can be against us?"

I think that Arkansas liberals should concentrate their attention not on choosing between shades of darkness but in standing strongly against both the entrenched despotism which is Orval Faubus and the potential madness which is Bruce Bennett.

I suggest not the more vitriolic attorney general as a short-term lease on hell to get rid of a long-term lease on purgatory.

I would urge instead that a man of stature stand up against the present Govrneor and offer some decent liberal (or should I say "moderate"?) alternative.

Robb K. Burlage, Richards Hall 203, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Chiefly Postal Business
—Books Shown by Appointment

STIEFEL'S

Dealer in Rare, Out-of-Print Books

1312 10th St., Huntsville, Texas
Telephone 5-4449

Use our International Search Service for those hard to find books at no extra cost to you.

RELIABLE REAL ESTATE SERVICE

Arthur Hajecate

METROPOLITAN REALTY CO.

4340 Telephone Road

HOUSTON, TEXAS

AUSTIN

A good deal has been written about the mind of the South, most of it hogwash. If we want to understand what is going on in the South today, why there is such frantic resistance to any loosening the fetters that have been designed to keep the Negro in subjection, we must look through and beyond the specious facade that is the ostensible mind of the South, into a subterranean haunt of gibbering fears.

We must look not only into history, but into what might be called the psychiatry of history.

Charles Ramsdell

A charming lady from Mississippi, a friend, shocked me once and shattered a pleasant conversation by suddenly railing against some Negroes in the news who had attempted to register at a Southern college. What shocked me was not so much her words as the hysterial pitch of her voice, the spasm that contorted her features. A coolness resulted between us, but when an occasion brought us together my friend offered an apology.

"Where I was reared," she explained, "people were always whispering to one another, 'The blacks may rise,' they would say, 'What if the blacks should rise?' And there were so many of them, the Negroes. I had that fear instilled into me when I was just a little girl."

THE SOUTHERN NIGHTMARE has a basic, recurrent theme and it is this: The blacks will rise and massacre the whites. There was an actual massacre, on a small scale, in the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, and before that a massacre on a large scale in Haiti.

Ornamentation was added to the original theme until the standard Negro "plot" consisted of these elements: (1) The blacks will rise, (2) with the complicity of white men from the North; (3) they will murder all white Southerners, including the children and the less attractive women; (4) young, handsome women will be saved for a fate worse than death; not simply as playthings but as breeding stock; they will be forced to marry Negroes; (5) all property, of course, will be seized; (6) the rebellion will take place on a Christmas.

This last furbelow was the contribution of a best-selling fiction writer of the 1830's. Perhaps it is no longer a cardinal tenet of the Southern credo. But in the 1850's, when that superb reporter, Frederick Law Olmstead, journeyed through the South, one native of Alabama said his people had built shelters in the woods where they could hide out at Christmas time.

The whole complex appears in a letter to the governor of Mississippi in 1861, after the Civil War had started, in which a young Confederate with a family suggests that he could "best serve my country at home," as a plot had been discovered; several of the Negroes had already been hanged; a white man and two Negroes were in jail and "would soon pull hemp."

"The plans as developed are of the most diabolical order: The white males were all to be destroyed—such of the females as suited their fancy were to be preserved as WIVES, and they were to march up the river and meet **MR. 'LINKIM'**, bearing off as booty such things as they could carry."

In 1856, and again in 1860, Negro "plots" were discovered just before the national elections, resulting each time in a scare that catapulted Southern voters into Democratic (that is, pro-slavery) ranks; this was the origin of the Solid South.

The Gainesville Hangings

IN TEXAS, just before the election of 1860, a series of fires broke out, the most destructive at Dallas, the others also in the north. Poison, it was claimed, was found in the possession of Negroes, and a number were hanged, after "confessions" were extracted from them by the usual means. A vigilance committee in Fort Worth called a Methodist preacher, a white man, back from Arkansas to answer charges of being an abolitionist. He came, and they hanged him. Apparently his two sons had already been disposed of, for the same reason.

"ANOTHER PREACHER HUNG" was the jubilant headline in the Austin **State Gazette,** a paper run by John Marshall, who had come from Mississippi in 1854 to guide Texas into the fold of secession. And he did. The publicity he gave to the arson (and it was undeniably arson) in north Texas turned many stubborn unionists (including the great John Reagan) into militant Confederates.

Sam Houston, Governor then, claimed the fires were set by secessionists to inflame the people. There can be no proof at this date, but it is difficult to see how the destruction could have helped any other party.

John Marshall was the high priest of the Old South in Texas. He dominated the Democratic Party in the state from 1856 until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he enlisted as a private so that (as he declared) he could take active part in the conflict that he had labored so hard to bring on. A visit to his intimate friend, Jefferson Davis, however, made him a lieutenant colonel, and he was confined to a desk until the Battle of Seven Pines, in the early summer of 1862, when he led his first command and was killed in action.

Marshall's doctrine, which is reiterated endlessly in the State Gazette, was that all abolitionists should be hung (for that was before the day of the Yankee schoolmarm and her nice distinction), and all opponents of the divine institution, slavery, should be driven out of the country.

It seems tragic that he missed only a few months the full harvest of his teaching, the great Gainesville hangings, which took place in October of 1862.

THE GAINESVILLE HANGINGS were the consequence of a "plot." It was the old Negro plot all over again, without any Negroes.

There were very few Negroes in that part of the country, then the extreme northwest corner of the Texas frontier, bordering on the Indian Territory, but there were plenty of settlers from the non-slave states, and plenty of Unionists.

These Unionists, it appears, formed a secret organization which was opposed to enforcement of the conscription act passed by the Confederate congress and it may have carried on some kind of communication with federal forces in Kansas. According to one witness, the organization counted 1,700 men in four sparsely settled counties. It is hardly credible that a minority of this size could have been dedicated to the murder of all loyal Southerners in those parts and the looting of their property. And yet this same witness avers that "one or two" of the prisoners confessed such a plot. This was, of course, the standard Negro plot, minus the Negroes, and therefore minus the provision for forced marriages. The forty white men who were hanged had white wives already; most of them had several children.

The existence of the organization was discovered by a mail carrier who overheard a garrulous drunk in a bar. Spies were sent to pose as Union sympathizers; membership lists were obtained; on Oct 1, 1862 the suspects were arrested and brought into Gainesville, where people from many miles around and companies of militia intermingled in a howling mob.

"I have never witnessed such intense and unreasonable mob frenzy," writes Dr. Thomas Barrett, who served on the jury that went through the motions of giving the prisoners a trial. The jury adopted majority rule; eight men were tossed to the mob at once; they were taken in a wagon to a great elm on the edge of town and hanged. The jury adopted two-thirds rule and turned several men lose. The mob, infuriated, demanded the release to them of twenty men, or else the prisoners would all be murdered in the jail. They got fourteen. The excitement had died down by Oct. 16, and the jury had decided to let the remaining prisoners go free, when an eager militiaman, seeking to arrest additional suspects, was shot and killed in the brush. The colonel of militia, going to his rescue, was also killed. The mob now demanded additional victims and got them, bringing the number hanged to forty; two more were killed while trying to escape.

THERE are two interesting monuments in Gainesville today; one in the courthouse lawn, one in the cemetery.

The inscription on the first reads: "To the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors in Loving Tribute Erected . . . 1861-65 . . . God holds the scales of justice. He will measure praise and blame; and the South will stand the verdict and will stand it without shame.

"Oh, home of tears but let her hear
This blazoned to the end of time;
No nation rose so white and fair
None fell so pure of crime."

The inscription on the other stone reads:

"NATHANIEL M. CLARK
"Was murdered by a mob October 13, 1862.
"His last words to his companion:
"'Prepare yourself to live and die. I hope to meet you all in the future world. God bless you'."

AUSTIN

pf The river far below was glass stained orange in a strength fading blue to the dark tree shadows, arched around the bend like a woman's long soft leg, and the hot orange shield beyond the other hill was shattered in mosaic by the shadows wind slipped through. Stilled shape, soft color of the bending sun and the sleeping stream. From the valley a motorboat droned, and a fish broke into circles flowing outward, and the easily speeding boat unleaning curved the line between the lighted water and the dark bank bend, and passed beside the outflowing circles, which flowed upon the underflowing waves, and on cut on, and split in two the stream with form-destroying form, the orange diffused in the many directions of the light, and the sky's eyes closed, and only the feeling of the memory.

This was at Bull Creek cove Sunday twilight from a lookout on the bluff. R.D.

$4 a Year
Is the Price of
Liberty

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

504 W. 24th
Austin

LEGALS

CITATION BY PUBLICATION
THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO: John Haynes; the persons taking or holding the beneficial title, if any, in the hereinafter described land by virtue of deed from Ishmael Goode and wife, Willie May Goode, to J. Phillip Crawford, Trustee, of date January 26, 1960, recorded in Volume "2139", at Page 275, of the Travis County Deed Records, herein designated as unknown owners; the legal representatives of John Haynes, deceased; the legal representatives of the heirs of John Haynes, deceased;

You, and each of you, are hereby commanded to appear before the 126th Judicial District Court of Travis County, Texas, to be held at the Courthouse of said County, in the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, at or before 10:00 o'clock A. M. of the first Monday after the expiration of 42 days from the date of issuance hereof, that is to say, at or before 10:00 o'clock A. M. of Monday, the 25th day of April, 1960, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause No. 117,125, in which W. S. Gatewood is plaintiff and J. Phillip Crawford, individually, J. Phillip Crawford, Trustee, M. H. Flournoy, John Haynes, Ishmael Goode, Willie May Goode, Ollie L. Butler, a widow, the persons taking or holding the beneficial title, if any, in virtue of deed from Ishmael Goode and wife, Willie May Goode, to J. Phillip Crawford, Trustee, of date January 26, 1960, recorded in Volume "2139", at Page 275, of the Travis County Deed Records, the legal representatives of John Haynes, deceased; the heirs of John Haynes, deceased; the legal representatives of the heirs of John Haynes, deceased, are defendants, which said petition was filed in said Court on the 3rd day of March, 1960, and the nature of which suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer for judgment in favor of plaintiff and against all defendants for the full title to and possession of the 14.87 acres of land out of the J. C. Tannehill League Survey No. 29, in Travis County, Texas, which was conveyed by W. J. Tannehill to Bristo Jarrett by deed of date January 13, 1873, recorded in Volume "27", at Page 532, of the Deed Records of Travis County, Texas. Plaintiff alleges that he is the owner of the fee simple title to and that he is entitled to possession of all of said tract of land under the three, five, ten, and twenty-five years statutes of limitation; that defendants on or about February 1, 1960, unlawfully entered upon the above described tract of land and unlawfully dispossessed plaintiff of same and have continuously since said date unlawfully withheld from plaintiff the possession and use of said tract of land, to plaintiff's damage in the sum of $5,000.00. Plaintiff further alleges that each of said defendants is asserting some character of title or right or interest in said tract of land or to a part thereof, which title, right, or interest so asserted arises out of some recorded instrument or decree or is of a character, the exact nature of which is to plaintiff unknown; that such claims of defendants have cast a cloud upon plaintiff's title to said tract of land. Plaintiff prays for order of court removing any cloud cast upon plaintiff's title to any part of said tract of land, for a writ of possession, costs of suit, and relief, general and special.

All of which more fully appears from plaintiff's original petition on file in this office, and to which reference is here made.

WITNESS, O. T. Martin, Jr., Clerk of the District Courts of Travis County, Texas.

Issued and given under my hand and seal of said court at office in the City of Austin, Texas, this March 3rd, 1960.

O. T. MARTIN, JR.,
Clerk, District Courts,
Travis County Texas.
By A. E. JONES, Deputy.

NOTICE OF DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP AND CONTINUANCE AS CORPORATION

Notice is hereby given that the partnership lately existing between J. B. Goodwin and W. L. Whitis doing business under the firm name of "Northside Auto Parts" was dissolved as of January 1, 1960, and has qualified as a corporation without change of name. Said firm will continue to do business under the firm name of "NORTHSIDE AUTO PARTS, INC." at 5906 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, Texas, where all debts due to said partnership are to be paid and all debts due from the same will be discharged.

J. B. GOODWIN
W. L. WHITIS

CITATION BY PUBLICATION
THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO Charncy Brown, Defendant, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You are hereby commanded to appear before the 98th District Court of Travis County, Texas, to be held at the courthouse of said county in the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, at or before 10 o'clock A.M. of the first Monday after the expiration of 42 days from the date of issuance hereof; that is to say, at or before, 10 o'clock A. M. of Monday the 25th day of April, 1960, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 117,208, in which Mamie Lee Brown is Plaintiff and Charncy Brown is defendant, filed in said Court on the 10th day of March, 1960, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer for judgment in favor of plaintiff and against defendant for decree of divorce dissolving the bonds of matrimony heretofore and now existing between said parties; plaintiff alleges that defendant and plaintiff lived together from the time of their marriage on or about Feb. 27, 1942, until Feb. 17, 1951, at which time defendant left plaintiff; plaintiff alleges that plaintiff and defendant have not lived together as man and wife since Feb. 17, 1951; plaintiff further alleges that there were five children born as result of said marriage, namely, to-wit: Ruby Loise Brown, female, 15 years of age, Nathaniel Brown, male, age 14 yrs., Ella Mae Brown, female, age 12 Yrs., Linda Sue Brown, female, age 11 Yrs., and Sylvester Brown, male, age 10 yrs, and plaintiff prays for custody of said aforesaid mentioned children since plaintiff is employed and fully able to care and educate said children; Plaintiff further alleges that there was no community property in issue; plaintiff further prays for relief, general and special;

All of which more fully appears from Plaintiff's Original Petition on file in this office, and which reference is here made for all intents and purposes.

If this citation is not served within 90 days after date of its issuance, it shall be returned unserved.

WITNESS, O. T. MARTIN, JR., Clerk of the District Courts of Travis County, Texas.

Issued and given under my hand and the seal of said Court at office in the City of Austin, this the 10th day of March, 1960.

O. T. MARTIN, JR.
Clerk of the District Courts,
Travis County, Texas.
By A. E. JONES, Deputy.

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO IN CORPORATE FIRM

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Notice is hereby given that Paul Wright dba Paul Wright Electric Co., whose principal office and place of business is at 211 San Pedro Ave. in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas, intends to incorporate under the name of Paul Wright Electric Company, Inc., whose principal office and place of business will be at 211 San Pedro Ave. in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. This notice is given under the provisions of Article 1307, Vernon's Revised Statutes of Texas, and is dated this 15th day of March, 1960 A. D.

PAUL WRIGHT ELECTRIC CO.
By Paul Wright

CITATION BY PUBLICATION
THE STATE OF TEXAS

To all persons interested in the estate of Jessie Herbert Morris, a person of unsound mind, No. 18,248, County Court, Travis County, Texas. The Citizens National Bank of Waco, Texas, guardian in the above numbered and entitled estate, filed on the 17th day of March, 1960, its verified account for final settlement of said estate and requests that said estate be settled and closed, and said applicant be discharged from its trust.

Said application will be heard and acted on by said Court at 10 o'clock A.M. on the first Monday next after the expiration of ten days from date of publication of this citation, the same being the 18th day of April, 1960, at the County Courthouse in Austin, Texas.

All persons interested in said estate are hereby cited to appear before said Honorable Court at said above mentioned time and place by filing a written answer contesting such application should they desire to do so.

The officer executing this writ shall promptly serve the same according to requirements of law, and the mandates hereof, and make due return as the law directs.

Given under by hand and the seal of said court at office in Austin, Texas, this the 24th day of March, A.D. 1960.

EMILIE LIMBERG,
Clerk of the County Court,
Travis County, Texas,
By M. Ephraim, Deputy.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: Notice is hereby given that Hoke Probst, O. B. Cox and Burt Dean, a partnership composing the firm of Anson Implement Co. of Anson, Texas, intend to incorporate such firm under the name of Anson Implement Co., Inc.

Dated this the 21st day of March, 1960.

ANSON IMPLEMENT CO.
Hoke Probst
O. B. Cox
Burt Dean
General Partners.

CITATION BY PUBLICATION
THE STATE OF TEXAS

To Thomas Bailey, Defendant, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You are hereby commanded to appear before the 98th District Court of Travis County, Texas, to be held at the courthouse of said county in the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, at or before 10 o'clock A. M. of the first Monday after the expiration of 42 days from the date of issuance hereof; that is to say, at or before, 10 o'clock A. M. of Monday the 9th day of May, 1960, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 117,372, in which Lillian Bailey is Plaintiff and Thomas Bailey is defendant, filed in said Court on the 23rd day of March, 1960, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer for judgment in favor of plaintiff and against defendant for decree of divorce dissolving the bonds of matrimony heretofore and now existing between said parties; plaintiff alleges that she and defendant married on or about August 16, 1936, and continued to live together as husband and wife until on or about April 15, 1944, at which time time defendant deserted plaintiff; plaintiff alleges that defendant began a course of unkind, harsh and tyrannical conduct toward plaintiff, and that plaintiff did nothing to bring about the acts; plaintiff alleges that defendant was guilty of excesses, cruel treatment and outrages toward plaintiff of such a nature as to render their further living together as insupportable; plaintiff further alleges that no children were born of their married and no children were adopted, and that no community property was acquired as a result of their marriage; plaintiff further prays for relief, general and special;

All of which more fully appears from plaintiff's Original Petition on file in this office, and which reference is here made for all intents and purposes;

If this citation is not served within 90 days after date of its issuance, it shall be returned unserved.

WITNESS, O. T. MARTIN, JR., Clerk of the District Courts of Travis County, Texas.

Issued and given under my hand and the seal of said Court at office in the City of Austin, this the 23rd day of March, 1960.

O. T. MARTIN, JR.
Clerk of the District Courts,
Travis County, Texas.
By A. E. JONES, Deputy.

THE STATE OF TEXAS
TO ALL PERSONS AND PARTIES INTERESTED IN THE ESTATE OF JESSIE T. DYE, DECEASED.

You and each of you are hereby cited, required and commanded to appear before the County Court of Travis County, Texas, to be held in the County Courtroom in the Courthouse of said County in the City of Austin, in said County, such appearance to be at or before 10:00 a.m. of the First Monday next after expiration of ten (10) days from the date of service, exclusive of the day of such service, which day and date of service shall be the date of publication that this newspaper bears, and which day of appearance will be the 18th day of April, 1960, and contest, by filing written answer of contest, if they or any of them see proper so to do, a verified account, the nature of which is an account for final settlement of such estate, which has been filed by Jim Neil Dye, the executor of the Estate of Jessie T. Dye, deceased, and is now pending there, and a probate proceeding on the probate docket of said Court styled "Estate of Jessie T. Dye, deceased," the file number of which account and the docket number of which proceeding is 12,432, which account will at such 10:00 a.m. hour, on such day, and at such place be considered by such Court.

If this citation is not served within ninety (90) days after date of its issuance, it shall be returned unserved.

Witness, Emile Limberg, Clerk of the County Court of Travis County.

Given under my hand and seal of said Court, at office in the City of Austin, this 25th day of March, 1960.

EMILIE LIMBERG,
Clerk of the County Court of
Travis County, Tex.
By M. EPHRAIM, Deputy.

Defecting FIA'er Relates His Experiences

(Continued from Page 1)

whether I was a conservative or a liberal. Gee, after that first closed meeting, I was so shocked—I told Jerry Mize about it. Between us we decided I would stay on in and get literature and so forth. The idea didn't appeal to me so much, but I felt it should be done. I know I'm going to be vilified, but I'm serious, I honestly believe this is a threat to America."

During the time he was an F.I.A. member, Crawford said, he was also finance chairman of the F.D.R. Young Democrats' Club. An F.I.A. member at the school knew about this, but, he said, "They think that I'm trying to subvert the club and am five votes from converting it into a Lyndon Johnson club."

Recently, Crawford said, although he was not present, he was elected vice-president of the Jeffersonian Political Forum, a conservative student club at the University of Houston.

Fear of communists so grips some of the members, Crawford said, one lady jumped up twice in one meeting and said she was not going to join "because she was afraid communists would get their list of members."

"Some of them are so afraid, it just goes to their head. A lot of them are really good Americans and want to do the best thing for the country. I always got the impression that they were fighting against great odds—the Houston newspapers were infiltrated, especially the Post, but not the Chronicle," he said.

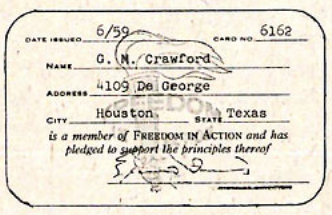
The attitudes he encountered among F.I.A. members toward Johnson for President, Crawford said, were distrust by some, regard toward him as the lesser of evils by others, and by one suspicious F.I.A.'er, the belief that the liberals were tricking the conservatives by criticizing Johnson so that he can be elected.

First Closed Meeting

Crawford went to an open F.I.A. meeting at the Bellaire community hall May 11, 1959. A two-hour tape was played on which a staff representative of the House Un-American Activities Committee held forth about the communist menace. After a recess, J. B. Head, a resident of the Bellaire precinct and an F.I.A. leader, according to Crawford, introduced him to Bill Hollis, Harris County director of F.I.A.

"He (Head) said I was kind of interested in joining. Hollis was chewing on a cookie and turned away and said, 'Oh, do you know him?' and walked away," Crawford recalled.

Then F.I.A.'s movie about socialists taking over precinct conventions in Texas (Obs. May 23, '58) was shown, and Crawford said, "That made me a little dubious." A discussion followed in which Crawford said he asked a few questions, such as how the organization got the word around on whom to vote for and how liberals were kept out of the organization, to which he said Hollis gave hazy replies.


DATE ISSUED 6/59 CARD NO. 6162
NAME G. M. Crawford
ADDRESS 4109 De George
CITY Houston STATE Texas
is a member of FREEDOM IN ACTION and has pledged to support the principles thereof

Crawford's FIA Card

On June 8, 1959, Crawford said, he attended his first closed F.I.A. precinct meeting at J. B. Head's home. About 12 persons attended, including Calvin Steinberger, the F.I.A. precinct chairman in Bellaire, he stated.

"We went into some of the articles (on F.I.A.) in the Observer," Crawford said. "Steinberger showed how you were dupes of the communists because of these beliefs."

He was given the F.I.A. members' handbook and began reading the members' pledge, but, he said, he gathered that several persons did not want him reading it, "so I signed without reading. They tore it (the members' pledge) out and gave me the booklet. I paid my $3 and I was a member then."

Crawford left his F.I.A. membership card with the Observer, saying that he wants it back "as a souvenir."

It reads:

"Date issued 6/59 ... Card No. 6162 ... Name G. M. Crawford ... Address 4109 De George ... City Houston ... State Texas ... is a member of Freedom in Action and has pledged to support the principles thereof."

A signature, "Elwood Fouts," appears at the bottom of the card. Fouts is the president of F.I.A.

On the back are the eight principles by which F.I.A. declares "The American Way of Life is Defined." These include, in the short general form on the card, "Maintenance of our Government as a Republic ..." individual freedom, states' rights, "unqualified protection of free enterprise," and opposition to centralized government.

F.I.A.'s fuller definition includes such statements as "Welfare Statism and Socialism are early stages ... which can lead to Russian Communism ..." and "No real American wants a dole" (Obs. Nov. 8 '57).

Appointed a Director

Crawford said he borrowed the $3 for his membership fee from an F.I.A. person present and that he attended all the F.I.A. dinners free. "They paid my way. They said that Judge Fouts is paying it all, but I can't believe it—they have lavish meetings and dinners," he said.

"I was kind of amazed at first. They were against everything," Crawford said. "They kept going into how conservative the old country founders would be today .... Everything they're against, they link with communists."

Crawford said many participants in F.I.A. meetings "do not actually believe when they come in ... but then they pretend to, conforming, you see. I still see a lot of skepticism behind the faces."

One day, Crawford said, he was called and asked if he would telephone some people in his precinct. He agreed, and he received through the mails a list of names, addresses, and numbers, along with the notation, "Precinct Director, Micky Crawford," and his address and number. The list was dated Aug. 20, 1959.

Crawford's precinct five is "a swing precinct," liberal right now, but recently conservative.

"They never had an election. Everybody's appointed. I was appointed," Crawford said. "They called me up one day and asked me to call, and sent me that list," (which he showed to the Observer.) "The next time I saw my card it had precinct director stamped on it."

'Strong Men'

At the F.I.A. leaders' conference last year (Obs. Oct. 9 '59), Crawford also recalled, an F.I.A. leader whom Crawford named "approached me. I'm paraphrasing what he said now. He said that they realized the communists had pretty well taken over, and the only thing we could do was organize like them, into cells. There was to be a meeting and seven hours of tapes. He said the man on the tapes would say that if you didn't believe as he did, he did not want you in. ... They want a million members before they come out in the open ... He said when FIA is strong enough, they were going to be the group that's ready to move.

"This is what scared me," Crawford said. "I thought about Storm Troops—because F.I.A. does have fascist tendencies in it."

The group selected for the meeting were supposed to meet at a specified filling station, in its "boat department," and proceed thence to a second, "undisclosed" meeting place to hear the seven hours of "teaching tapes."

"I didn't go. I was scared. I had visions of myself marching around with a tin helmet on," Crawford said.

A secretary in F.I.A.'s office, told him later, he said, that the message on the tapes was that America needed a strong man to appeal to the masses and that the man on the tape, named Robert Delch, was willing to be the man.

A pamphlet he said Steinberger gave him names a Robert Welch of Massachusetts as chairman of "the Committee Against Summit Entanglements" which therein solicits signatures on petitions against a summit conference and warns that "to negotiate is to surrender."

As a precinct director for F.I.A., Crawford did not succeed.

"When I didn't produce, because I just didn't have the heart to ask people, then they began to get leery of me," he said.

He decided to come to Austin and tell the story. R.D.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

FIA Officers Are Appointed

AUSTIN

When G. M. (Micky) Crawford was appointed a "Freedom in Action" precinct director in Houston, he was hoisted to the first rung of an F.I.A. appointment ladder which leads to the state directorship.

F.I.A.'s booklet, "An Answer to the Question: 'What Can I do?'," provides for appointed state, congressional district, county, and precinct directors. The group of national directors, who were selected, not elected, at the outset of F.I.A., appoint the state director, and the appointments of other directors then flow downward from the state director, the "Manual for Directors and Supervisors" provides on page 29 of the booklet.

Freedom in Action seeks to limit its membership to persons of whose conservatism it is certain. "There must be no doubt about loyalty to the principles and ideals of the Plan of Action (of F.I.A.) on the part of anyone who is permitted to become a member," the booklet provides—an injunction evidently neglected in Crawford's case.

The booklet says that "publicity" of procedures for becoming a member "would seem to be questionable." On page 42 members are told, "Unless authorized by your Freedom in Action Director, none of the plans and operations within the (local precinct) organization should be discussed or disclosed except among those who have signed the Pledge." If it is decided that some member or some local of F.I.A. does not "sincerely" believe in "the American way of life as defined," or is trying to subvert F.I.A., the person or local must return the booklet or booklets to F.I.A.

Crawford left with the Observer ten copies of the F.I.A. booklet, which he said he had received as a precinct director.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Rightist Literature Circulates

AUSTIN

Much right-wing literature attacking foreign aid, communism in churches, movies, and colleges, liberals, birth control, and labor unions circulated at Freedom in Action functions which G. M. (Micky) Crawford attended during his eleven months of membership, but it was not F.I.A. literature as such, he said, because it passed hand-to-hand.

Literature Crawford said he received during F.I.A. functions, and which he brought to Austin and left with the Observer:

A reading list compiled by Mrs. Willard Hedrick of Houston ("Steinberger gave this to me at a precinct meeting"). Included are books by Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, ex-communists who testified at many legislative hearings; Maj. Edgar C. Bundy (**Collectivism in the Churches**); Paul Harvey, the radio commentator; Gen. Alfred Wedemeyer; William Buckley (**God and Man at Yale**); and John T. Flynn (**The Lattimore Story**). Comments after the titles range from "Terrific" to "Must reading" to "A real shocker!"

"Definitions" and a target showing "Keys to Communist Mobilization to Achieve Control of the United States of America" (given Crawford by Steinberger, whose name is affixed to it). Communists are named in the inside rings of the target, and then, proceeding toward the outer circle, come fellow travelers, sympathizers, opportunists, liberals, and 'duped' conservatives. Liberals are defined as "dupes" who are "'used' to further Communist causes." "The Communists" in the U. S. "operate by infiltrating both parties through the 'liberals' and for 'liberal causes'" and "have seemed to concentrate more on the Democratic Party through the platform and activities of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and here in Texas through the platforms and activities of the Democratics" (sic) "of Texas (DOT)," the definitions by Steinberger say.

'Reds, Fellowtravelers'

"Internal Structure of the Communist Conspiracy — Cominform" (given Crawford by Steinberger). This mimeographed sheet has a hammer and sickle on it and a pyramid topped by "dictator" and bottomed by "clubs or cells." Crawford and Mize have written onto this sheet, they explained, analogies they saw between Communist and F.I.A. organization.

A pamphlet boosting petitions to congressmen "opposing the foreign aid program" (Crawford said Steinberger gave him this). Enclosed is a statement by "the Committee Against Summit Entanglements" agreeing that "to negotiate is to surrender" and asking that when petitions are signed they should be mailed to "Mr. Robert Welch, Chairman, Belmont 78, Massachusetts."

A small pamphlet, "Red Stars—No. 3 — The Reds Are Back in Hollywood!!!" ("This was given to me by Justin Bradburn, Sr., one of the members of F.I.A.") In this one, available, 100 for $2 from "Cinema Educational Guild, Inc.," "200 of the most rabid REDS and fellow-travelers" are allegedly identified—including Marlon Brando, Bette Davis, Kirk Douglas, Ava Gardner, Rita Hayworth, Katherine Hepburn, Chet Huntley, Burl Ives, Gypsy Rose Lee, Groucho Marx, Edward R. Murrow, Gregory Peck, Sidney Poitier, Frank Sinatra, Orson Welles, Ira Gershwin, John Huston, Elia Kazan, Arthur Miller; and many others.

"The Communist Conspiracy and Conservative Strategy," by R. P. Oliver, professor of classics at University of Illinois ("given to me by Mr. George Thomas at the leaders' conference"), in which it is argued that the intellectual basis of communism "may be found in the doctrine, not of Karl Marx, but of John Dewey" and that the Batista government in Cuba "was not, to be sure, a perfect government, but it was probably as good a government as one could reasonably expect to find in an island largely populated by mongrels."

Certain sermons delivered by Rev. T. Robert Ingram, rector, St. Thomas Episcopal Church ("the return address was Mrs. Cleo Liner with her home address, even though I saw the mimeograph machine with copies of the sermons lying in it already produced, in the F.I.A. office," Crawford said). In these sermons, delivered in 1959, Rev. Ingram argued, "We can have peace only at the price of continued surrender"; birth control is immoral; abolition of capital punishment is "Communism"; "the union master" has no right to lay claim "to a right to a voice in management"; and public schools "are properly called government schools, and not public schools," and attendance ought not be required since "compulsory school attendance is a daily insult ..."

T.M.A. Guidebook

"How to be Influential in Politics ... A Businessman's Educational Guidebook to Activity in the Party Conventions," Texas Manufacturers' Assn., P.O. Box 2512, Houston, Texas ("This was given to me at the office by Mrs. Liner"). In this booklet, with a foreword signed by Ed C. Burris, executive vice president of T.M.A., businessmen are urged to go into politics, detailed party convention procedures are outlined, and it is stated, "... seizing control of the convention systems (of party conventions) offers no grave difficulties to citizens who will first study their operations seriously and then map and follow through an energetic course of action."

"The Dan Smoot Report," several 1959 issues of the Dallas conservative newsletter ("This was given to me by Mrs. J. D. Head"). In these, former H. L. Hunt-Facts Forum Commentator Smoot argues that the National Council of Churches of Christ speaks for "left-wingers" who "advance the socialist revolution in this country" and that "Our Sunday Visitor," the largest Roman Catholic weekly in the world, in 1956 "started developing a tolerance toward communism-socialism."