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A Window to the South

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'AND THERE'S WALKER'

A Pandora's Box For Texas GOP

AUSTIN

The Birch Society issue has been described privately by some Texas Republicans as their "Pandora's Box." This week a Harris County GOP leader flipped it open.

Most political pros in the Texas GOP have long been edgy about their party's attracting the organized fanatical rightists, who were written off by the national party long ago. This week's blast, which came from Houston, was just the start of things they had hoped to avoid, or at least delay until this key election is over.

The Republican who stirred the issue is Peter Clogher, chairman of Harris County GOP Precinct 256. He urged, in a widely distributed letter, that every Republican candidate publicly repudiate the Birch Society. Claiming that Birchers are trying to dominate the Harris County Republican Party, Clogher said: "By exposing the Birchers now we can put a stop to this move. I think the majority of Republicans won't stand for it if they are aware of it."

Clogher proposed that every Republican precinct organization in Texas pass a resolution at their May 5 meetings calling on all GOP officers and candidates who are members of the Birch Society to "choose between them and resign immediately from one or the other."

In his suggested resolution, Clogher stated:

"Whereas: the Blue Book of the John Birch Society states 'The men who join . . . are doing so primarily because they believe in me (Robert Welch) and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway . . . Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out before they can build up any splintering following of their own inside the society'; and

"Whereas: this degree of loyalty by a political organization obviously transcends anything dreamed of by the Republican Party; and

IN NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE

Next week's *Observer*, scheduled to be published early, will feature several special articles on the state elections, including:

- Dallas Politics, 1962
- Tarrant County Political Analysis
- The "Free State of Bexar"
- Wrap-up on the Governor's Race
- Spotlight on the Congressional Campaigns
- The Republican Bid for Offices
- Battle for Control in the Texas Senate
- Key Races in the Texas House

Plus a superb collection of Russell Lee photographs on the record-breaking Negro track team at Texas Southern University.

"Whereas: reports have circulated that the Republican Party of Harris County is now, or might soon be, dominated by, or sympathetic to the John Birch Society;

"Therefore, be it resolved: the John Birch Society is incompatible with the Republican Party; and any officer or candidate of the Republican Party must choose between them . . . And, furthermore, the Republican Party does not seek and will not accept the endorsement or support of the John Birch Society, its allies, or front organizations."

There are parallels in other states. The situations in California, Michigan, and New York are considerably more disturbing to national GOP leaders.

In California Richard Nixon, in his bid for governor against Democrat Pat Brown, has outspokenly repudiated the Birchers, which has reportedly led to an upsurge of strength for his arch-conservative GOP opponent, Joseph Shell. Shell doesn't have the remotest chance of whipping Nixon for the nomination, but many of his backers have threatened to refuse to work for Nixon after the primary. The consequences for the state GOP could be disastrous.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York and George Romney of Michigan likewise are plagued with the problem of the GOP ultras. In New York a splinter Conservative Party, apparently having received its major push from William F. Buckley's *National Review*, hopes to challenge Rockefeller and Sen. Javits in the November elections.

Party leaders from Goldwater and chairman William E. Miller (Continued on Page 2)

Rauh Talk Reassures The News

WASHINGTON and TEXAS

A spokesman for the liberal Americans for Democratic Action accused the Kennedy administration this week of supporting an "anti-New Frontiersman" in the Texas governor's race and drew stiff rejoinders from the Dallas Morning News and John Connally.

ADA vice-chairman Joseph Rauh, in a Washington television interview, said that of the six Democratic candidates for governor, "five are violently anti-New Frontier. One is pro-New Frontier. That's a man named Don Yarborough."

"Now you would think," Rauh said, "that the administration would be supporting Don Yarborough. But, oh no, because of Vice President Johnson having a protege in the race—former Secretary of the Navy John Connally—the administration support today is going to the anti-New Frontiersman in Texas. Now this is a dreadful thing."

"What's happened in the race for governor in Texas," he said, "is the most important race for liberals in America today."

"John Connally has campaigned up and down saying he has nothing to do with the New Frontier. He's against federal aid to education. He's against medical care for the aged. He's said in so many words: 'I'm against the New Frontier. I'm for returning power to the states. I'm for cutting taxes.'"

If Yarborough were elected, the ADA official continued, "he would be a spokesman for liberalism at all the governor's meetings of the South. You could build a wholly (Continued on Page 2)

OFFICIAL IMPLICATED

Hot Testimony In Estes Probe

AROUND TEXAS

An Amarillo grand jury has been empaneled and is expected to delve into the strange financial empire of Pecos promoter Billie Sol Estes, possibly within the next two weeks.

Meanwhile, the Reeves County (Pecos) grand jury indicted Estes on eight counts, charging felony theft in allegedly bilking farmers in activities which included faked notes, bogus leases, faked chattel mortgages, and illegal conditional sales.

Explosive testimony came out of Atty. Gen. Will Wilson's last court of inquiry in Dallas, where witnesses testified that Estes had bought favors for agriculture undersecretary Dr. James T. Ralph at Neiman-Marcus Department Store, had admitted that his anhydrous ammonia tanks did not exist, and had frequently boasted about his contacts in high Washington places.

Dr. Ralph, who is in the process of being trained for an attache's position in the Philippines, appeared at the Dallas inquiry on his own initiative and denied that Estes had treated him to expensive clothes during a buying spree September of last year. Salesmen from Neiman-Marcus, following Ralph to the stand, said the agriculture official was fitted for suits and shoes which were charged to Estes.

The reported acceptance of gifts has already led to the resignation of Emery E. Jacobs and the firing of William E. Morris, both high Department of Agriculture officials. Wilson fired off a letter to Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman this week saying that Ralph should be fired and that

investigations into Estes' dealings should be continued at the national level.

Wilson declared his department has a clearcut antitrust suit against the 47-year-old financial wizard for allegedly undercutting fertilizer prices and driving competitors out of business. His evidence, Wilson said, will be presented to the Amarillo grand jury.

The Department of Agriculture continues to remain tight-lipped on the Estes case, saying that the Justice Department is presently probing deeper into his relationships with agriculture officials. Confused people in Washington and elsewhere have witnessed the curious melodrama of state-level inquiries conducted by an active candidate for state office producing all of the information in a case which deeply involves a federal agency.

'Got Such Controls'

Frank Cain of Dallas, attorney for Pacific Finance Company, one of the finance houses which picked up the alleged bogus mortgages on the ammonia tanks in the West Texas area (Obs., Apr. 21), had some interesting things to tell the Dallas inquiry Friday.

Cain testified that Estes once told him: "We got the agriculture program wrapped up in a ball . . . We got such controls on this that if they elected so-called conservatives, it would take eight years to get us out of control."

Estes further admitted to him, Cain said, that "deception" was used on the ammonia tanks, and that at one point Estes told him: "Well, there just aren't any tanks."

(Continued on Page 2)

Split Develops in the 'Community'

AUSTIN

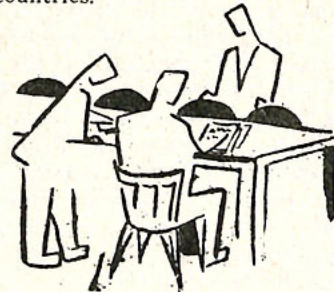
The Christian Faith and Life Community, "the Austin experiment," will be ten years old next month. It was the first residential training center of lay Christians established in connection with campus activities in this country.

Since then somewhere between 40 to 50 colleges and universities around the country have established centers patterned, to varying degrees, on the Austin center. Among these are Koinonia House at Pennsylvania State; the Residential Seminar in Christianity at Brown University, the first Ivy League school to follow suit; the Community of Faith and Learning at Emory University; and the Christian Life and Faith Community at Wisconsin.

Rev. Art Brandenburg, who founded the Community of Lay Scholars at Duke, has moved on to Yale where he is now founding a similar project for graduate students, and Rev. John Russell, ex-chaplain at Yale, is now establishing the same kind of center at MIT.

Since the Community's founding, more than 1,000 students have

gone through its program. The study programs now going are training more than 500 laymen, 70 pastors, and 100 University of Texas students. The CFLC's tenures a year "Letter To Laymen" is sent out to 8,000 laymen in 43 countries.



New Vocabulary

The influence of the CFLC has obviously been enormous. The object of the experiment is to breathe new life into Christianity by reshaping it into 20th Century symbols and more or less discarding anything that cannot have intimate significance in daily life. The result has been a new—and some people think eccentric—vocabulary. The Community has discarded almost completely the old Christian ethical code of absolutes and replaced this with

ad hoc kind of decision-making. God may be called "the void," or "the abyss," or "the way the cookie crumbles."

As for Jesus of Nazareth, he is written about at one point in CFLC literature: "It was into this particular Jewish yearning, around the beginning of the first century, that one Jesus intruded. It might have been in an abstract sense, Herman of Hebronville or Jones of Smithville. But it was not. It was this fellow Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee . . ." Elsewhere they say that Jesus of Nazareth in the conventional and orthodox sense does not matter; the symbol of the Christ-Event does. The virgin birth is held to be, like the American flag, just a symbol.

Surprisingly in a state that has been called the buckle on the Bible Belt, this "Christianity"—which is to traditional religion what a modern English version of Shakespeare might be to the traditional production—has not only survived but has in every way but financial thrived, and in unofficial connection with the University of Texas.

Testifying to the national in-

fluence of this center is the fact that for the third time the national Campus Ministers Symposium, pulling ministers from as far away as North Carolina and Michigan and Pennsylvania, was recently held here.

But just as a decade of success built to this climax, the leaders of the CFLC proved "that fellow from Nazareth" might still have something to teach them—for they engaged in what is apparently the first and is most certainly the most devastating quarrel to hit the Community.

Seven members of the CFLC Collegium, including Rev. Joe Mathews, director of the Collegium, quit in a body. More accurately, Mathews was fired by Rev. Jack Lewis, the Community's founder, and the others quit in protest. It happened on the eve of the Campus Ministers Symposium, and was announced publicly last week.

Lewis and Mathews

The official announcement was that "there was a breakdown in internal communications." Actually there was a power struggle

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ADA Spokesman Looks to Texas

(Continued From Page 1)
new drive for liberalism in the South on Don Yarborough as the governor for Texas."

Connally, on a campaign tour through the Valley, responded in answer to a reporter's question: "The people of Texas do not need Joseph Rauh to tell them how to vote, nor analyze my position for them."

Yarborough issued a statement saying that Rauh's position that Connally "has repudiated the Kennedy administration is in complete agreement with the statements of the Wall Street Journal and the Dallas Morning News."

Connally, Yarborough said, "has repudiated the Kennedy program completely and has been rewarded by the support of the Dallas Morning News, whose publisher insulted the President only four months ago."

'Made in Heaven'

National attention continues to center on what has been interpreted in many national newspapers as the conservative nature of Connally's gubernatorial bid. Doris Fleeson, liberal syndicated

columnist, discussed this week "the conservative trend of his campaigning and his business support," said he has "shifted his political ground far to the rear of the New Frontier," and added: "Latest right-wing recruit to Mr. Connally is the Dallas News, an articulate publication whose marriage to General Walker, it seemed here, was surely made in heaven."

The Morning News was swift to respond. Noting Rauh's statement and Miss Fleeson's column, a lead editorial Wednesday commented:

"The Dallas News is not married to any political candidate. It has endorsed Mr. Connally as the Democratic nominee because it feels that the State of Texas badly needs one with his proved qualities of leadership."

"He is a moderate conservative. Much of the welfare-state program he opposes. We take him for his word: 'Basically I am a conservative in philosophy. I am dedicated to the free-enterprise system. I am tied to nobody.'"

Reassurance

The closing paragraph confirmed: "The fact that the ADA, the Washington liberal columnists, and the Ralph Yarborough liberals of Texas are all fighting Connally raises the News' opinion of him."

News Item of the Week

This startling two-line story appeared on page four of the Austin American last week:

"The Jordanian section of the city of Jerusalem has no railroad connections."

MARTIN ELFANT

Sun Life of Canada

Houston, Texas

CA 4-0686

New Jury To Study Dealings

(Continued From Page 1)

When Estes first learned that the FBI was investigating his activities, Cain said, he told him (Cain): "I'll stop that. I'll get Lyndon Johnson on the phone."

Wilson commented that this must not have been the case, since the FBI arrested Estes two days later.

Cain said Estes once had him listen in on a phone call to a Washington man whom Estes identified at the time as Cong. Jamie Whitten. "That is the man," Cain quoted Estes as having said. "He is the man who really gets the budget through: the cotton allotment budget, the general agriculture budget."

Whitten, the Mississippian (Obs. April 14) who is chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee on agriculture, commented this week: "I never heard of such a thing."

Rep. H. Carl Andersen, Republican from Minnesota, who says Estes bought stock in a family mine but never collected the shares, has told reporters that Estes once dined at Vice President Johnson's Washington home. Charles Boatner, Johnson's press aide, denies it, saying Johnson met Estes only once, at a large reception the Vice President gave for Texans after the inauguration.

'Political Hacks'

The Estes-owned Pecos Daily News, Jack Steele of Scripps-Howard in Washington reported, devoted a full-page of Estes' activities in Washington during the inauguration festivities. It described a dinner given by Estes for 60 people at a Washington hotel. Among the guests listed were Sen. Ralph Yarborough, Whitten, Cong. Slick Rutherford, Morris, and Cliff Carter, a Johnson assistant.

The Pecos Daily News continues to defend Estes. In a front page news story last week, the paper described Wilson's investigators as "peons" and "political hacks".

Panel Asks Responsibility

WASHINGTON

Senator Ralph Yarborough's subcommittee on freedom of information has recommended radio and television stations editorialize more but be required to give equivalent time to the other side every time they endorse a candidate or take a position on a controversial issue.

In a report to the Senate, the subcommittee of which attorney Creekmore Fath of Austin is counsel, also takes a tough jab at "so-called newscasters" who endorse candidates. Fulton Lewis, Jr., is singled out for endorsing Nixon in 1960, and it is observed that newscasters "who abuse the public franchise in such a manner should probably be barred from use of the medium."

The report emphasizes the little-known fact that communications licensees are free to support candidates for political office (if they give equal time to the opposition) and to discuss controversial issues (if they give fair hearing to the other side or sides). It is suggested these privileges are little used because it's so much trouble to accommodate the other side.

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Harris Republican Asks Birch Purge

(Continued From Page 1)

to General Eisenhower have attempted to dissuade the GOP right-wingers from tactics which might cause a suicidal breach in the party.

'No Great Threat'

In Houston, Thad Hutcheson, former state Republican chairman and GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1957, told the Observer: "I do not feel there is as great a threat of Birch Society domination, here or elsewhere, as Mr. Clogher seems to. The history of groupism is much more a part of the Democratic party than Republican."

"I would oppose any group trying to take over either party," Hutcheson continued. "I have long been committed to work through the party organizations . . . I don't agree with the Birch Society on many points, just as I disagree with the ADA. But I think it would be a big mistake for Republicans to make this a major issue—either to fight for, or against. Anyhow, the other party has just as much of a Birch Society problem as we might have."

Hutcheson's statement, though somewhat less cautious, was typical of the stated reactions of other party leaders—a free translation might read: "We have our eyes on Birchers inside the GOP and we are not going to let them take charge. But we need their votes, so let's not make them angry. We don't have too much to worry about, anyhow, because the most fanatical Birchers—the hard core from the old Constitution Party—are backing Edwin Walker."

In Austin, James Leonard, executive director of the Texas GOP, told the Observer: "The biggest John Bircher I know is in the Democratic Party . . . I have no objection to membership in the Birch Society. I have many friends who are Birchers and have been asked to join myself. I have refused to join, however, because I feel I can express my conservatism better through the Republican Party."

"I know that quite a few members of the Birch Society are working in the Republican Party—and working darned hard. They never have tried to impose their views on the party, as far as I know."

'Many Fine People'

Jack Cox of Breckenridge, front-running GOP gubernatorial candidate, was in Houston when the details of Clogher's proposal hit the newspapers. He said he doubted that any outside group was capable of "taking over" the Texas GOP.

"I am much more worried about the effect of the far left than of the far right on either party," Cox told newsmen. "I am not too familiar with the John Birch Society. I have not read the Blue Book and have not attended a meeting. But I do know many fine people who belong to the Birch Society."

Truitt V. Lively, GOP aspirant for the state Senate seat, Harris County, said he had no intention of resigning from either organization.

"I do not think we should abridge the rights of people we do not agree with," Lively said. "Nor do I think there is anything incompatible between the party and the society. I don't intend to resign from the Kiwanis Club, the Baptist Church, the Spring Branch Memorial Chamber of Commerce, the Republican Party, or the John Birch Society."

Johnnie Mock, who seeks Harris County Position 10 in the state House of Representatives, said he has never been a member of the Birch Society but that he "ad-horred" the idea that anyone should be screened out of the GOP. "There are too many people in America who set themselves up as deciders," he added. "I believe in the citizen's right to vote in and be a member of the party of his choice."

Birch Ticket?

Although Republican leaders disclaim reports of an intra-party struggle with Birchers, it is generally known that there is a "Birch Ticket" which the society's members are being asked to support in the GOP primaries. It includes Roy Whittenburg for governor, Bill Hayes for lieutenant governor, and Giles Miller for congressman-at-large. Birchers over the state are especially enthusiastic in their support of Miller, a publisher of weekly newspapers in Dallas and its suburbs.

Concern over at least one of the three is said to be the reason Texas' Republican Senator John Tower finally broke his silence and issued a statement this week endorsing Hayes' opponent, Kellis Dibrell of San Antonio.

If this concern actually did cause Tower's unexpected endorsement of Dibrell, it is slightly ironical. The senator's spectacular victory over Old Guard Democrat Bill Blakley last summer is credited with bringing most Birchers into the Texas Republican fold.

"Tower walked a tight-rope throughout that campaign on the Birch Society issue," a Republican told the Observer. "We breathed a big sigh of relief when the race ended without him having to either officially recognize or repudiate them." Since his election, Tower has denounced Robert Welch, founder of the society.

Two years ago many Birchers in Texas were working for the Constitution Party. A combination of disintegration of that organization—due largely to its lack of success—and a burst of national publicity about the Birch Society sent hordes of Constitution Party members (and other conservatives) into the ranks of Welch's controversial group. Prior to this publicity, quite a number of conservatives who are not generally considered fanatics had joined the Birch Society because of its anti-communist theme.

After the publicity and the subsequent acquisition of large numbers of known extremists, many of whom Republican leaders refer to as "sane conservatives" faced a dilemma. Some chose to quietly disassociate and others chose to remain in the organization, hoping to temper its tactics. Welch's firm hand—as exemplified by the loyal pledge prospective Birchers must sign—has prevented any noticeable tempering, however.

One active Texas Republican, who asked that his name be withheld, told the Observer: "The Birch Society mystifies me and scares me. The difference between Birchers and sane conservatives is in tactics."

As they ponder their intra-party problem with Birchers and anti-Birchers, Texas Republicans have one conspicuously comforting consolation—Gen. Walker's decision to run as a Democrat. This split the hard-core Bircher support, they believe, and will prevent any local or statewide coup de grace by bloc-voting Birchers in the Republican primaries. J.M.

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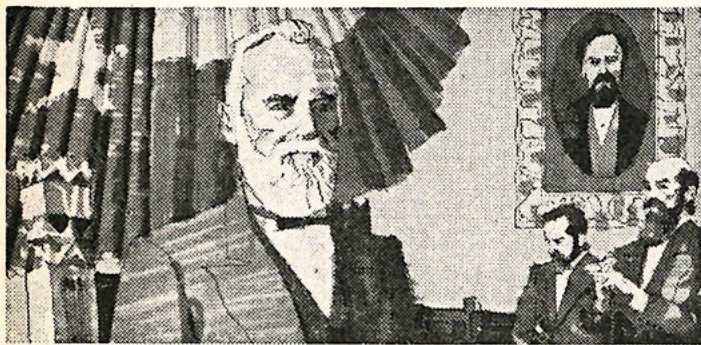
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Price, John Swap Blows

AROUND TEXAS

Just over a week remained until the May 5 primary. These were the major dialogues and exchanges in the closing days of Texas' gubernatorial race:

DANIEL

Gov. Price Daniel took a slap at Vice President Johnson and Connally this week. "I want to keep our state run by Texans here in Texas," he said. "I do not have any objections anywhere else which would prevent me from doing what is best in Texas." He said he would especially like "another crack at the loan shark lobbyists and law violators."

Stressing the need for experience, he said three of the state's top elective posts, lieutenant governor, speaker of the House, and attorney general, would be filled by new men.

In a state TV appearance, Daniel made the most vehement speech of his campaign, charging that some of the tactics used against him are "certainly below the dignity of a human being" running for governor. He attacked Wilson for questioning his property holdings (Obs., April 7, 14, 21) and Connally for saying he is responsible for the state's deficit. Texans, he said, can expect a million-dollar campaign against him because special interests know "if I am re-elected, I am going to continue to fight for a constitutional gas pipeline tax and that I'm going to fight to see that we have a stronger lobby control law."

He argued: "I have never had a conflict of interest between any personal ambition and my public service."

Daniel said he was especially concerned about a better juvenile parole program and about the state's high illiteracy rate: 15.7 percent.

Referring to Connally's charges on the deficit, the governor said "anyone who knows the truth" knows that the state went in the red because foreign oil imports led to reduced oil production and a decrease in tax revenue. He accused Connally of a million-dollar campaign being conducted "to ballyhoo into this office a new face which has not opened its mouth in favor of a stronger lobbyist control law."

Elsewhere, the governor warned that real damage could result if his opponents did not cease making statements that Texas is bankrupt. "You're not bankrupt when there's money coming in," he said. "I don't see why anyone would slam our state so hard to win votes." Texas is in better financial shape than most states, he said. Later he complained that never "in all the years I have been running for public office" have campaign tactics hit such a low level.

CONNALLY

Former Navy Secretary John Connally was running confidently in the closing days. "It's one of the traditions of politics that the man out in front comes under attack, particularly in the final days of the campaign," he said.

The battle between Daniel and Wilson over conflict-of-interests, Connally said, is disgusting and is hurting the state. "It is impossible," he said, "to justify the spectacle of human and economic waste, even under ideal conditions, much less at a time when our leaders seem most concerned with their own petty feuds and ambitions."

He continued to concentrate on the tax issue. Calling Daniel's administration the costliest in state history, he commented: "He says

he wants two more years on his record. His record is bad. In the five years he's been governor, more taxes have been levied in Texas than in the entire 54 years preceding."

Daniel's "political harvest," he said later in the week, "is not going to bear the fruit he thought it would." He was referring to an appropriation bill submitted late in the last special session, which he charged had been "loaded down" by the governor so the legislature could be blamed for failure to pass it.

"It's time for Texans to ask themselves this question: 'What is it that makes the present administration in Austin regard itself as indispensable?' The highest office in our state has been used to snipe at the people's representatives, intimidate business, disappoint labor, and whittle away at agriculture.

On the conflict-of-interest controversy, he said the "charges are so serious," the people deserve a thorough explanation from Daniel.

He said he admired the "courage" of the 57th legislature for passing the general sales tax. Many politicians, he said, ran on a platform opposing the sales tax, and they needed courage to go for a measure to meet the state's fiscal problems.

Asked by a newsman at a press conference about talk around the state about a Yarborough-Connally run-off, Connally said: "I would say it is possible."

In a Valley appearance, where he got the personal endorsement of Cong. Joe Kilgore, Connally asked: "Why do my opponents say it is ridiculous and impossible to reduce the cost of state government? I don't know whether I can save five percent or ten percent or 15 percent, but I can try."

WILSON

Atty. Gen. Will Wilson lined up a state television speech Friday, after this issue goes to press, to discuss the ramifications of the Billie Sol Estes case (see separate story), which he has been handling in a set of inquiries.

He attacked Connally again for conducting a "million-dollar" campaign shaped "by Washington influence peddlers." He added: "There are signs of unrest in Washington, because the people of Texas haven't swallowed the LBJ-Connally plan to merge Texas and Washington into a giant political machine of federal and state patronage." Hitting at what he called the "unholy alliance of federal power and Eastern oil interests," he blamed "excessive foreign oil imports which have severely restricted Texas oil production and put the squeeze on our economy."

Declaring himself unsatisfied with Daniel's answer to his charges on conflicts-of-interest in East Texas land acquisitions, Wilson further accused the governor of "claiming credit for other men's achievements" by "taking a bow for dams and other water projects started by Allan Shivers." Vice and corruption "ran wide open" in Galveston and other counties while Daniel was attorney general, he charged, "but he did nothing about it."

WALKER

Edwin Walker, meanwhile, told one of his audiences: "I am an extremist and proud of it." The former general got in some strong blows against both Daniel and Connally.

Daniel, he charged, "has been a party to the destruction of your jobs and property while growing rich as a land owner, obviously

through favors of special interests. "It's time to stop this immoral use of public office and power." He specifically assailed the Texas urban renewal law passed under the Daniel administration, saying that it places "the owners of property at the mercy of bureaucrats hungry for promotion, profit, and power."

Calling Connally Lyndon Johnson's "handpicked" candidate, Walker said the Vice President's organization "double-crossed every true conservative and even every ultra-liberal in Texas. They used them and then ruthlessly dropped every prominent political tool that no longer served their purpose in Texas.

"If you do not believe this," Walker said, "ask the soft and inept incumbent of the governor's office. Ask the present attorney general. Ask the ultra-liberals. Ask Sen. Yarborough, the always-vociferous liberal until the news broke on Billie Sol Estes."

He sharply criticized oilmen for "knuckling under" to political pressure exerted for Connally. "They're literally being shaken down for cash contributions, for work and for threats," he said. "This is being done by open threat—the threat to destroy them by taking away the depletion allowance if they don't support Connally. It's like buying protection by coddling Castro."

Walker also jumped the United Nations in a telegram to President Kennedy demanding that control of the National Guard be turned over to the state. Such a move, he said, "would deny you and the national administration any semblance of a claim of authority to take this last line of defense away from the people of Texas and give it to the United Nations."

FORMBY

Marshall Formby declared himself "the only conservative in the race," including Republicans. The state can and should operate on a cash basis, he said. "If, to be modern a person must operate on a deficit, and lose money, then I prefer to be old-fashioned." He does not believe, he said, that "conservative ideas need to conflict with aggressive or progressive methods."

He stressed the need for a constitutional amendment limiting the sales tax to two percent, "as a protective measure against wastefulness and excessive spending." Several states, he warned, have three and even four percent sales taxes, and if some gubernatorial candidates had their way, they would follow that example.

The former highway commissioner continued to attack Connally's connections with Johnson.

REPUBLICANS

Roy Whittenburg, the underdog for the GOP nomination, was still blasting Jack Cox at every opportunity. "Cox and his supporters," the Amarillo candidate said, "are now denying in a whispering campaign over the state that he said that 'Texans must vote in the Democratic primary to have a say in local government.' The AP quoted Cox on March 18, he said, and there is no record of a request for a retraction.

Whittenburg said a man need not be a "converted Democrat" to be a good Republican.

Cox, meanwhile, urged Texas to "knock out the New Frontier." His election, he said, would mean the repudiation of New Frontier measures which would destroy states' rights, local rights, and free enterprise. He called this "the most significant gubernatorial election ever held in Texas."

A Day With Don: He Praises JFK

AUSTIN

The youngest man in the governor's race made one of those whirlwind day-long tours Thursday, assuring several score Austin backers his campaign has begun to hit its peak in the closing days.

Don Yarborough, pitching his bid on a thoroughly liberal note, sounded sometimes like an old-style pulpit evangelist and always like a Kennedy New Frontiersman in a series of appearances before groups broadly representative of the coalition on which he pins his hopes: Negroes in East Austin, eggheads at the University campus, inquisitive liberals at receptions, and labor boosters at a \$5-a-plate COPE banquet. He closed the day with a television address at KTBC.

Negro leader Arthur DeWitty had arranged a luncheon for a hundred or so Yarborough workers at the Spanish Village. A flat tire detained the candidate an hour in Georgetown, and he finally arrived with a chattering flock of relieved campaign aides at his heels.

"We are going to lead the ticket May 5," he told the group, drawing a number of "amens". "We're going to win because I am the only man running who will come right out and say he is a Democrat. I'm the only man in the governor's race who is defending the President and who stands proudly by the program of the Democratic Party and President Kennedy."

He took a dig at John Connally. "The Shivercrats brought a man down here who supped with the Democratic administration, then turned his back on President Kennedy and all he stands for, he said. "Don't take my word for it. The Wall Street Journal and the ADA and the Dallas Morning News have all said the ex-secretary has repudiated the Kennedy program completely. So both conservatives and liberals agree on this one point at least.

"This is not my fight," he said, to applause. "It is yours too. I'm in it because the only excuse for living, outside of religion, is to serve your fellow man."

And in a typically abrupt change of pace: "An elephant just can't hide under a donkey skin. The Navy secretary is sure trying it, though. But some mighty big parts are exposed."

In the sprawling, old-fashioned home of Mrs. Julius Franki in South Austin, about 35 women and several men were waiting. Yarborough sat in a rocking chair and sipped tea. Later, under a big walnut tree on the lawn he told the ladies over their teacups that the Eastern oil companies are "smothering free enterprise" by cutting the pumping days down so low the independents have had to resort to selling shoes.

"Texas railroad commissioners are a bunch of sellout artists," he said. "There's not a man on the commission who is not bought and paid for by an Eastern company."

The elevator in the capitol building groaned to the second floor. The candidate offered his hand to a white-haired passenger. "I'm Don Yarborough. I'm running for governor and I'd appreciate your vote."

"You won't get my vote," the man snapped. "You're not gonna win."

"See you around the capitol after the election," Yarborough said.

"No you won't," the gentleman rebutted.

The routine of a capitol press conference, where the candidate reiterated some of his campaign themes, was disturbed only once. Dawson Duncan, political writer for the Dallas News, quizzed him about "those giant, big monopolies . . . You know, interstate?" Yarborough began a reply, but Duncan spun in his swivel chair to talk on the telephone. The candidate shrugged and grinned.

At the home of Mrs. John Barrow in the bluffs overlooking the city and the river, there was another political reception. She planted a motherly kiss on Yarborough's cheek and scolded him for being late.

"We've got to get rid of the poll tax," he told the guests. "I'm the only candidate who has said this in plain language . . . We are for abolition of the sales tax. If this tax is lowered to one percent and spread to cover everything as some advocate," he said, "it would only be a matter of time before it was raised to two percent, three percent. This is the history of the sales tax in every state that has it."

The money should be replaced, he said, by taxing the gas pipelines, increasing the tourist trade, and rejuvenating the state's industrial development board.

Teachers' Salaries

In a talk later at the University of Texas, he proposed that college professors' salaries be raised from the \$7,000 average a year to \$10,000. He said he opposed the plan suggested by Connally "of paying three or four \$25,000 and holding the others down."

Describing what he called his "assault on lethargy in Texas," Yarborough said he would "foster academic freedom and an academic climate" and would seek to upgrade education, particularly in the colleges.

"I am the only man in the race defending and fighting for the free enterprise system and the survival of the small businessman," he said. "These candidates calling themselves conservatives are puppets of the monopolies who are trying to stifle free enterprise."

He was introduced at the COPE dinner, one of several get-out-the-vote rallies held throughout the state, by Hank Brown, AFL-CIO president. In the television speech, he stressed Latin-American relations, and said he would work to create 100 scholarships a year for post-graduate study in Latin American schools.

Houston Negro Electrocuted

Adrian Johnson, 19-year-old Houston Negro, died in the electric chair last week pursuant to his conviction and sentence for participation in what a jury believed to be the attack of a 12-year-old white boy by seven Negro boys who abused him sexually and stuffed him into an icebox where he died.

Kneeling in the death chamber in prayer before he was strapped into the electric chair, (said the Associated Press report on his execution.) Johnson said, "I pray this is the last time something like this will happen." He had maintained that he was innocent. Another Negro boy who was convicted of participating in the same crime by a different jury was in his cell on Death Row a dozen or fifteen yards from the electric chair in the death room when his friend was executed.

SLATE ENDORSED

The State Offices

After thoughtfully considering the issues and personalities of this political year, the Observer this week recommends this slate for statewide offices in the Democratic primary:

Governor: *Don Yarborough*

Lieutenant Governor: *James Turman*

Attorney General: *Tom Reavley*

We believe very strongly that Reavley is the only candidate who has a chance of defeating that relentlessly ambitious West Texan Waggoner Carr, the arch-conservative, pro-sales-tax former speaker of the House. We are pleased with Reavley's repeated statements that the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision is the law of the land, not so pleased with the fact that he was Allan Shivers' Jasper County campaign manager against Ralph Yarborough in 1954. Some Austin liberals are voting for Travis County DA Les Procter, who has compiled a vigorous record of prosecution and maintained good relations with Negroes and Latins in the area. Procter, like both Reavley and Judge W. T. McDonald of the Court of Criminal Appeals, is a fair-minded man who would operate an excellent law office for the state.

Judge McDonald, once an active backer of Jimmie Allred, was a staunch Democrat during the years when many Texas officials were bolting to the GOP.

But Reavley, we feel, can give Carr a serious run for it in the run-off. We have been increasingly impressed by the tenor and stress of his campaign.

Commissioner of Agriculture: *John C. White*. He is a tested incumbent and is being challenged by J. Evetts Haley, whose florid views bear a

striking similarity to his sire's.

Railroad Commissioner (unexpired term): *Keith Wheatley*

Judge, Court of Criminal Appeals: *W. A. Morrison*. Judge Morrison, the incumbent, has been zealously respectful of the rights of the defendant.

Associate Justice of Supreme Court, Place No. 1: *Jesse Owens*, a respected lawyer in Wichita Falls and an old New Deal Democrat.

Commissioner of the General Land Office: The Observer regrets that incumbent Jerry Sadler, ardent segregationist who has persistently demagogued and distorted the real facts on the Padre Island issue, is the only candidate on the Democratic ballot. We recommend that voters scratch Sadler and write-in someone else.

The Republican Party, we feel, is performing a service to Texans by offering a candidate for land commissioner, Albert B. Fay of Houston. Though a firm conservative, Fay is a straightforward and honest man, a conservationist in the best Republican tradition of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. Fully realizing that Fay will campaign for a GOP president in 1964, we think his election would not only be a major boost for a developing two-party system in Texas, but would considerably enhance the chances of a Padre Island national seashore. During the previous administration Fay, as GOP national committeeman, helped obtain Interior Secretary Seaton's endorsement for Sen. Yarborough's Padre Island proposal, and he himself testified in its behalf at Senate hearings. We will not hesitate to recommend Republican Fay over Dixiecrat Sadler in the November general election.

A Case Vanishes

If there was a case that liberals should vote for Price Daniel in an effort to keep John Connally's vote down, that case has now vanished. If the polls are anywhere near the truth no one can possibly win the governorship without a run-off. Liberals should not want Daniel to have a large vote of confidence in the first go-round: he has not earned it, what with his shilly-shallying on the sales tax and his failure, persisted in to this day, to take a progressive stand on race.

Had there been some chance that Daniel would be elected without a run-off, there would have been a case, somewhat, for uniting behind him. But now the only such practical consideration is the possible advantage of having Daniel lead Connally into the run-off if they are to be the two men in a showdown. That miniscule

consideration should vanish when one considers the decent and refreshing candidacy of Don Yarborough.

It is very important that the largest vote possible be tabulated by the only candidate who is openly and proudly for President Kennedy and who has campaigned on the solid basis of moving Texas ahead in the categories of social service, with a candor and factual explicitness new in modern state politics. There is the additional possibility that the polls are wrong and Yarborough will be in the run-off, and that his recent tactics of attacking Connally as a slacker on Kennedy will gain him enough ground against the millionaire's candidate to give Don a run-off place.

Let us devoutly hope so. If worst comes to next to worst, well, there's old Price, chomping on his cold cigar.

Bus Driver Exposed

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS draped its editorial page with rhetorical camouflage this week after the New York Times revealed that News bossman Ted Dealey was the lone publisher conventioning there who believed President Kennedy lost popularity in the recent steel price shuffle.

Even Bill Knowland, the former Republican senator who owns a paper in California, said Kennedy's popularity is at a high point on the West Coast now.

After pondering over the Times' interviews for two days, the boys back in Dallas rallied on Thursday. The News' lead editorial on that day quoted an unnamed Dallas bus driver as saying, "Kennedy sure showed 'em who's boss." Then the News admitted

generously that "the passenger on the front seat nodded in agreement and these sentiments are in the majority nationally, a sampling of newspaper executives at the American Newspaper Publishers Association meeting in New York indicates."

With this exhibition of courtesy to the views of the nation's publishers gathered in New York City far, far out of the way, however, Dealey's boys severely lectured the misguided bus driver.

But they boosted his ego a bit before lecturing him, as any good elementary school teacher would do. "The bus driver is in the same seat with U.S. Steel," they wrote. "When government oversteps its authority, both are losers."



News Flashes

WASHINGTON (UPA) — Caroline Kennedy and Ted Dealey held a private luncheon in the White House this week to discuss J. Baines Jonnelly's chances in the Texas gubernatorial race, Washington sources close to Billie Sol Estes learned today.

Miss Kennedy's uncle, a Washington attorney, later told newsmen: "We are supporting this outstanding anti-New Frontier candidate in a concerted effort to keep Americans guessing."

Miss Kennedy's uncle, referring to a critical statement by spokesman for the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Traction, declared: "The New Frontier will never take root in Texas because the old one hasn't left yet."

Miss Kennedy, in an impromptu press conference, disclosed that she had given Mr. Dealey a tricycle and he had presented her with a white pony to seal their political pact. "He's really not such a boor as daddy says," she coyly added.

HOUSTON (AP\$) — Retired General Rostow Yarbolinsky von Walker told a cheering throng at a local mental home this week Ted Dealey's endorsement of L. Baines Jonnelly for governor of Texas is one more example of our devious no-win policy. "Alger Hiss wrote the UN Charter," von Walker charged, "and he also wrote that editorial." Only two reporters were injured, one of them not seriously.

SAN ANTONIO (AP\$)—Dr. Jaquin Perrito, key supporter of L.

Baines Jonnelly on San Antonio's sprawling West Side, told a cheering throng of rallying Latinos in the Pearl Brewery this week that Jonnelly's lack of a stand on the poll tax and his support by Shivercrats "endears me to him more than ever."

Perrito, prominent optometrist who is spearheading a powerful Jonnelly surge in the area's more impoverished and colorful precincts, declared: "Having to pay for a poll tax is one of the cherished American ideals. It shows how very valuable the right to vote is, and it shows it in simple dollars and cents. Our candidate knows the value of money. Our candidate knows the value of the vote. He will never consider, out of craven expedient politics, robbing you of your great birthright." He added, to cheers from the enthusiastic Latinos, who wore Jonnelly buttons, shirts, hats, hip-boots, and shoes: "Now go get another beer!"

Later in the rally, after a vigorous speech for Jonnelly by Bexar booster Euphrates Eeligson, Perrito said he is proud "to be associated in the same camp with men who learned valuable political lessons from Mr. Shivers. I for one am proud to be a part of our candidate's drive for unity." I believe in our great Latin heritage. I believe in conservatism because I believe only conservatism will conserve our heart-throbbing ethnic separateness. I believe in separateness through unity. I believe the West Side will go all-out for L. Baines Jonnelly. I believe," Perrito shouted with a sweeping flourish, "you all need another beer!"

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Fleeson's Analysis

We excerpt, for another national view, this article by syndicated columnist Doris Fleeson.—Ed.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Washington inevitably interprets Texas politics in terms of Vice-President Lyndon Johnson's political future. It's not easy in the light of dispatches from the state only three weeks before the gubernatorial primary. There is even evidence that it won't be easy for the Vice-President, either, no matter how it comes out.

What has happened is that the Vice-President's close associate John B. Connally Jr., President Kennedy's first Secretary of the Navy, has shifted his political ground far to the rear of the New Frontier in his effort to be governor.

This may be good for Texas, but there is some question that it is not good either for the New Frontier or for a political sponsor whose protegee seems so forgetful of past indulgence. It seems to have gone beyond the kind of cajoling and compromising that was to be expected in so faction-ridden a state party.



Latest right-wing recruit to Connally is the Dallas News, an articulate publication whose marriage to Gen. Edwin Walker, it seemed here, was surely made in heaven. The News endorsed Connally for being against so much of the New Frontier program, and it argues he shouldn't be disqualified as a personal friend of the President and Vice-President.

The Dallas News' publisher, Ted Dealey, long since attracted the President's attention by rising at a White House luncheon party and reading a prepared speech to him. Its theme was that the country needed a man on horseback, not a boy "riding Caroline's tricycle."

Much more liberal newspapers also support Connally. But the conservative trend of his campaigning and his business support have attracted wide attention.

It has also enabled Gov. Price Daniel, seeking a fourth term after six years in office, to pre-empt the vital center. Daniel saw his chance when Don Yarborough, an avowed liberal, began to move up in primary calculations on a New Frontier program.

The governor, no liberal favorite, took up center positions and asserted himself the friend, not of business or labor primarily, but of "the little man." He may not be able to make inroads on Yarborough's hard core in the first primary, but if, as seems likely, he meets Connally in the runoff, he expects the liberals to prefer him.

Last year Texas liberals preferred sitting on their hands to voting for an arch-conservative Democrat for Senator. The result is Texas Republican Sen. John Tower.

Today's liberals insist that Yarborough has a good chance. An established statewide poll reflects the more common opinion that a close contest between Daniel and Connally, and then a runoff between them, is in prospect.

The Vice-President's relations with Governor Daniel have been friendly, but not so close as with Connally, who managed many state races and his Presidential campaign for him. Connally, attractive and energetic, is running as "a new face." It has caused all the more comment that it may be "new" but apparently not New Frontier.

TWO CONSEQUENCES

Somber Future

AUSTIN

Things are somber enough for the future of the world this week. On Wednesday, our country resumed the massive unleashing, not of Chiang Kai Shek, but of something far more menacing to humanity, radioactive fallout, by a new series of atmospheric tests. A civil defense opinion survey conducted among 500 Austin families by University of Texas sociologists turned up the fact that "the majority of the persons interviewed said they expected the U.S. to be at war within three to five years." Kennedy goes down to Florida and reviews a simulated Marine beach landing like Nelson or Napoleon. All the talk of peace has yielded no substantial change of the collision course from either Russia or the United States. The middle nations' reasoned interjection of a proposal that the U.S. relax its insistence on international inspection, since atmospheric tests can be detected by national instruments, has been rejected by this country.

The world is in a hell of a shape and seems bent on descending to yet a lower level of the inferno. As Bertrand Russell says in his new book *Has Man a Future?* there seems to be a death wish at work in the world. The question is simply, can scientific man survive? Are the evils and foolishnesses of man so great, nothing can save him from wiping himself out now that he has the tools for that grisly experiment? Will it be, as Karl Jaspers suggests in *The Question of German Guilt*, "In the end, all against all"?

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS has a news analyst named J. M. Roberts. On April 18, the Austin American carried his news analysis. Some news. Some analysis. The United States, he said, has made it clear it would launch a nuclear war if it was in danger of being overrun by its enemies unless it did so. Even this dread new step toward war is not enough for the death wish Mr. Roberts clutches to his heaving breast. Listen to what the greatest of all the news services' news analyst wrote:

"... this business of standing around on principle can get you killed. "Under the so-called code of the Old West, before there was law, self-defense began the moment an enemy reached for his gun. You didn't have to wait for a shot to absolutely prove intention.

"There is now no law in international conflict. So-called surprise attack has become the rule. But few of them have been, really and truly, surprises.

"No principled nation can make a pre-emptive attack to avoid aggression merely on the basis of a feeling but there are ways of knowing."

The worst is coming to the worst. We who have been carefully reading the war literature for the last half year or so have detected the appearance therein, of arguments with a new,

menacing ring. Their point is that the first nation that launches a nuclear attack is almost sure to "win" the war, because the flattened nation could not decisively retaliate.

Two consequences are spun off from this apprehension: One, we must be ready to strike the first blow as soon as we believe the other side is getting ready to do it. Two, we should strike first whether the enemy is getting ready to do so or not. The arguments have now materialized like dark clouds to support the first of these contentions. How long will it be before the Kennedy Administration makes it official that if we believe the enemy is ready to attack us, we will attack them? For once that becomes official doctrine, the war lovers will advance to the next rooftop in the Old West town called civilization and brandishing their missiles cry out: "Attack!"

John Hersey has written a frightening book called *The War Lover*. It is the story of a bomber pilot and his co-pilot during the bomber raids on Germany. The narrator, the co-pilot, is a sensitive sort and scruples to kill so many people from the air. He resolves to keep on flying but to take no part in the mechanisms directly related to the killing—an absurdity, of course, but at least good-hearted. The pilot is a different sort. He is full of hate and braggadocio and pride and fear that he is not a man in bed. And he is not, he makes love to himself, says the agreeable co-pilot's girl. Because he loves, not women, but war. He loves to kill. When he goes in on his final run and drops those bombs he screams with orgasmic excitement; he is weak in his loins.

There are people like that all over the world in every nation and a lot of them make their ways into police and military forces. Haven't you ever had the feeling that some of those brass-laden boys feel like they can't fulfill their calls in life without a war? There is a big sign on one of the tanks at Bergstrom Air Force Base outside of Austin: "Peace," it declares, "Is Our Profession." That we hope is what most of them think. Oh, but the glory; oh, but the power of killing. Please dear Kennedy do not let the wrong men get into the planes or the control rooms where the buttons are.

Meanwhile, mothers and fathers, accept, accept, the secret consequences of our testing, and their testing, and our testing, and their testing, because we have not yet learned that there are evil, that is, there are destructive strengths in us all, and in some of us in every nation they get the better of us, cornered, unloved, we feel the rat rising in us until we tear at ourselves or worse at others, and this happened in Russia in the '30's and Germany and Japan in the '40's and what nation is immune in the '60's? As the mushrooms ascend to the polluted heavens we shall have to wait and see and each of us one way or another join the Peace Corps of the world. R.D.

Watching You

AUSTIN

After the miserable episode of the permanent muzzling of the Daily Texan, friends of the University of Texas administration have been thirsting for some manifestation to restore their confidence in the administration's steadfastness under pressure. As usual, it's a little thing, but it's something. The President's newsletter for April 16 notes:

"It has been agreed, after faculty discussion, that tape recorders are not to be used by students or visitors

in University classrooms or laboratories except upon specific permission of the instructor involved."

This, despite the national administration's and Bobby Kennedy's bill to legalize wiretapping on a broad scale and fundamentally violate the right of privacy without which personal life has no sanctity. There was a Herblock cartoon in Washington the other day: Bobby Kennedy's picture hanging on the wall, a man talking on a telephone, and the caption: "Little Brother is Watching You."

Observer Notebook

AUSTIN

PEOPLE IN CORPUS, the Caller-Times reports, are somewhat shocked by Land Commissioner Sadler's recent statements on Padre Island (see editorial). Councilman Jose R. DeLeon says his views are "screwy." Mayor Pro Tem Tom Swanter says Sadler's stand is "roundhouse" and "for political purposes." Mayor Ben F. McDonald comments: "He's misinformed on the issues and the facts. If he had gone to Washington, as many of us have, he would have found all matters thoroughly gone into."

Sadler charges, rather mysteriously, that Texas schoolchildren will be "shortchanged" under the bill and has urged the Texas delegation in the House to oppose it. The plain truth of the matter is, as proponents have stated time and again, Texas school children won't be "shortchanged" at all. Both the Senate and the House versions, as the Caller-Times again said this week, "specifically reserve to the state or to private owners the mineral rights in the water and on land . . . The permanent school fund will not be diminished in the slightest by transfer of jurisdiction."



A VIGNETTE from H. M. Baggarly of the Tulia Herald:

"Speaking of Don Yarborough's feeling for the old people, Mrs. W. F. Griffin, an old-time Tulia Democrat, 88-years-old and bedfast, is an example. She still maintains a lively interest in politics and she had made up her mind to support Yarborough for governor.

"When she heard that Yarborough was to be here, she had Mrs. Dovie Tirey, who cares for her, to call to see if it would be possible for Mrs. Tirey to come down and meet him. Mrs. Griffin's reasoning was that since she was physically unable to come down, the next best thing would be to have the report of Mrs. Tirey.

"Don got off the radio at 1:15 and was due at Dimmitt at 1:45. A number of people had gathered at the radio station to meet him, so he was somewhat rushed. Nevertheless, when we told him about Mrs. Griffin he insisted on meeting her.

"Mrs. Griffin probably won't be able to vote, much less help his campaign appreciably. But that didn't matter to Don. Because she liked him, he wanted to express his appreciation.

"How can you refuse to support a man like that?"

WINSTON BODIE, Houston Chronicle Austin staffer, telephoned Texas iconoclast Stanley Walker at his Lampasas County ranch this week for comment on the reaction to his recent Saturday Evening Post article titled: "What's Texas Got to Brag About?" Gov. Price Daniel called the Walker article a "hodge podge of the old hokum about Texas bragging too much, the state government being broke, Texas not having ski slopes, enough liquor or gambling and horse racing . . . and Texas taking a lot of federal aid."

Bodie read the governor's statement and the Baron of Black Sheep's Retreat retorted: "All I can say is Daniel is a hodge podge—a walking hodge podge."

Bodie's article continued: "As for Daniel's charge that the Post article was the sort of thing written to get more circulation, Walker—once city editor of the New York Herald Tribune—answered, 'Well, why not?'"

Then Walker told Bodie: "I'm fond of Texas. I just don't like the ballyhoo about it, the unnecessary superlatives. It makes me sick. As a matter of fact, with all the scandals we've had, I let the state off light."

An Austin Community's Unique Experiment

(Continued From Page 1)

between Lewis and Mathews. Lewis has the genius for soliciting money to keep the center going. The center, which has a budget of about \$200,000 a year, is perpetually on the economic ropes.

Mathews' role has been that of the spectacular lecturer, the chief attraction to the students, the brilliant and creative thinker. The walkout of Mathews and his followers will stagger the CFLC, but it will recover and go on, perhaps on a slightly more subdued note; but even on a more subdued note it will be counted very avant garde in religious circles.

Another explanation for the break—this one coming from the "ins"—is that "they wanted to go much faster in the program than we want to go."

Other remarks, by both sides, indicate that the pace referred to concerns doctrinal matters. Since the break, says one of the remaining ins, "the phone has rung off the wall, ministers calling us and saying now we'll send our students to you, now we will participate in your study programs."

But there are also rumblings from several UT professors who previously gave strong support to the CFLC, to the effect that if Mathews' firing signifies a return to orthodoxy and a lessening of free inquiry, they will no longer be interested in helping the Community.

CFLC founder Lewis was born and reared in San Angelo, center of the West Texas sheep country, where his father was a doctor and a pillar in the First Baptist Church. Lewis, who was chief yell-leader at the University of Texas in 1936-37, took a degree in zoology and chemistry in 1937. Up until the previous year he had planned to become a doctor. But 1936 had been an eventful year for him: he married, he changed from Baptist to Presbyterian (because he couldn't accept the closed communion of the Baptist church), and he changed his professional goal from medicine to the clergy.

Before he decided to enter the ministry, "Bigfoot" Lewis (as he was nicknamed; he wears a size 14 today) was by his own admission known as something of a gay blade.

He took a bachelor of divinity from the Austin Presbyterian Seminary in 1940, was associate pastor of a Lubbock church and minister to students at Texas Tech and pastor of a mission church in a nearby cotton patch, all at the same time. Then he went into the Navy as chaplain in 1942, serving in the Marine Corps, a senior Protestant chaplain in the Solomons for 20 months.

Half of the 4,000 Marines under his wing were Negroes. His work with the Negroes prompted him to stay on a year beyond his discharge date so that he could give the discharge lectures at Camp Wallace near Galveston, lecturing 72,000 sailors on their responsibilities as citizens. "I hit hard on the race issue," he said.

When he was discharged in 1946 he came to Austin to be minister.

'Giant Centrifuge'

"By 1950," he said, "the frustrations had set in. I wasn't able to do the depth job on the student because of his other interests. The average student felt the University was a giant centrifuge—anything that could be thrown out was; he felt he would wait till after college to deal with these important things that had been thrown to the rim. He didn't see the relevance of Christian faith

in daily life, in taking hold of life vigorously."

Lewis threw in the towel in April 1950, and went to Scotland with his wife Mary and four children—"back to the Valhalla of all Presbyterians to deepen our outlook."

It was on this trip abroad that he came across the idea of a residential student center where young men and women would, in addition to their college work, covenant to attend seminars in religious study and do a certain amount of religious study—not just Bible, but the modern theologians.

"After World War II," he said, "lay training centers began to emerge in Europe for the first time. After Hitler, people saw how irrelevant the church was to social, economic, and political conditions."

When Lewis got back in 1951, he told Houston Harte of his plans. Harte, co-owner of the Harte-Hanks newspaper chain in Texas—San Angelo, Marshall, Corpus Christi and, latest, San Antonio Express—told him, "Jack, if you are crazy enough to think you can get students interested, I'll chip in \$500." That was the beginning. Harte has been contributing ever since.

But the program with which he started was not a success. "We started out with the Bible, with a layer of theology, topped with ethics, but it just wasn't getting through—so we shifted gears in 1956."

The gear he shifted brought in Joe Mathews. With Mathews, the CFLC caught fire.

Mathews came from the chair of Christian Ethics at Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University. He was there four years. Before that he was assistant professor of philosophy and religion at Colgate University. His B.D. is from Drew Theological Seminary. He completed everything for his doctorate at Yale except the footnotes on his dissertation. He was an Army chaplain in the Pacific.

'Greatness of Mind'

Mathews stirs conflicting feelings. One young man who lives in the Community said of him: "What's he about? It's hard to sum it up. When you meet someone with greatness of mind, unless he is head of a national science foundation, it's hard to say what he is about." He added by way of complimenting Mathews, "Every kind of wild distorted neurosis is dumped in Mathews' lap by the students" in the Christian Faith and Life Community. "And we've had every kind go through there—lesbians, unwed mothers, every kind of neurosis."

This student, who has studied under Mathews two years, at one point responded: "Is God dead? Do you mean the God of the sweet by and by? Yes, and good riddance." But he argues that the CFLC is not outside the Christian tradition: "I think the Community is more like the early Church than other groups are today, because the early church didn't give a goddamn about life after death. Neither do we."

Critics of Mathews say this cursing is a mark of his "cult." They claim Mathews swears to "shock." He also has dramatic gestures, covers the blackboard with diagrams and quotes, wipes his face with a handkerchief as did Billy Sunday, and stutters. Some people have even accused him of cultivating the stutter because it is striking.

Once in a while a Mathews-style burial service is read. For example a couple in the CFLC lost

a baby. In the wording of the rites are found such phrases as "the givenness of death." And at one point the minister says, "I call upon us here to be present to the casket . . ."

Or take the treatise titled "The Christ of History," written by Mathews and called by Lewis "The most significant thing that has come out of the experiment."

Boiled down, it goes like this: Every man conducts his life in the great expectation that something will eventually happen to relieve him of the hardships of the present. This is the Everyman-Christ. But then along came "this fellow of Nazareth" who taught, and lived the teaching, that the only salvation is now, in really living now; the kingdom of heaven is at hand; except what you have in the way of a life now as the best you are likely to get.



This new "stance in life" is the Jesus-Christ (or the Christ-Event). "The Jesus-Christ fronts man with the awareness that there is no messiah and never will be one, and furthermore, that this very reality is the Messiah . . . Capitulation to the secret that there is no way out, becomes the very door and the way to being. This is the end of the road of self-understanding. There is nothing beyond it. There is no need. For one can now freely live in his negations, learn in his perpetual ignorance and walk in all his given creatureliness."

The CFLC doctrine discards traditional beliefs regarding virgin birth, resurrection, trinity, Christ, God, and the traditional Christian code of conduct. And yet, as one of the ministers put it, "We feel we are right in the middle of the tradition of the Christian church." They feel they have simply put the old meanings in 20th Century terminology. This is largely the handiwork of Mathews. It is one reason he is considered doctrinally old by the critics of the CFLC, who feel he has done just the reverse of what he claims to have done, namely that he has given new meaning to old terminology, creating utter confusion. As one young man, familiar with the CFLC but unsympathetic, expressed it: "They have taken the bottles with the old Christian labels, poured out the contents, put in different stuff, but left on the old labels."

No Eternal Truths

Rev. Joe Slicker, assistant director of the Collegium and one of those who resigned, said: "The 19th Century saw a substantial universe, and eternal truths in a rational system topped by a supreme being. This God is dead. We have no eternal truths."

"We point at life with both 20th Century language and with Christian symbols. If you drop the 20th Century language, what remains becomes superstition. If you drop the Christian symbols, you cut yourself off from the historical roots of the faith-standpoint in life."

He said, "The gospels are not talking about a guy named Jesus. They are talking about a drama about a guy named Jesus."

Rev. Robert Bryant, who is staying, gave this illustration of what they mean by "no Christian ethic." He said a couple of years ago they had a girl in the Center from Holland who was still bothered by guilt feelings arising from an event that occurred during the war. She and her little sisters were hungry. There was no food in the house. Her mother told her to go out and steal some food. She knew the Bible said not to steal, but she knew the Bible also said to obey your parents. So she stole. Bryant's position is that "conflicts in the code show the unreasonableness of it." He says the Christian has the freedom to use his critical intelligence to adjust his code from moment to moment.

How do the students in the experiment react to it? Some are resisters, but they seldom are offended by the modernism. The others seem to be thoroughly sold on the "new" Christianity, though they generally admit to having been anti-religion when they came to the University.

One boy said his Baptist roommate wasn't changed by the one semester he lived in the center (after which he moved out). "He did come to see that one should examine the absurdities of one's fundamental beliefs—and then reaffirm them."

One of the students characterized the teachings as aimed at "radical freedom." Most of the boys interviewed thought questions relating to their attitude toward traditional Christian symbols "irrelevant."

The modernism of the center apparently does not drive students away from religion. In the decade the center has been in existence, 150 students, or more than one-tenth the total, have gone into the ministry. (These are facetiously called "lost laymen.")

And the affection for the place abides with its alumni. Forty percent of the former students are now contributing \$10,000 a month to the center's operating expenses.

The "thrust" (one of the Community's favorite words) toward the contemporary makes this a very pragmatic venture. As Slicker said, they are out to reform the church into being "not a place to scratch your spiritual ulcer," but "a group of people who have banded together to carry out their mission and to support each other in their missions."

Not surprisingly, debate among students is likely to center very rarely on whether a person should be baptised, and very commonly on such problems as militarism, racism, and poverty, and the pressing social issues of the times.

Heroic Act

In 1954, the leaders of the CFLC decided to integrate. This was before integration on the campus was more than a faint, faint hope. It was an heroic act, for by so moving, they automatically closed many doors where they previously had obtained financial support. Many of these doors are still closed.

The first Negro girl admitted was Albertine (Tina) Bowie, a law student. Only one CFLC student withdrew when she entered, and she withdrew on the order for her father who was, interestingly enough, a Jew who had switched to the Catholic and later to the Episcopal Church. Miss Bowie was an Episcopalian too; so it was white Episcopalian objecting to the presence of black Episcopalian.

Four years later, the CFLC was still getting insulting phone calls. Today the average year will see five or six Negroes enrolled.

There are also students from many foreign countries.

Four years ago, the CFLC opened Laos House (a Greek word meaning People—laymen). This is the place where the program for in-training for parish laymen and parish clergymen has since been conducted, and where the visiting campus ministers recently met. Parish clergymen from all over Texas come here for 48-hour study periods, once a month for four months.

Lewis says the four most influential writers for his staff are Richard Niebuhr ("we feel he is much more profound than Reinhold"), Tillich, Bultmann, and Bonhoeffer.

Lewis calls the "church fathers" Kierkegaard, Luther, and Augustine.

How Does Man Live?

Slicker said: "We want to help accept the world, grasp the world, work with it as it is. An African doesn't have the right breakfast, he gets his rifle, and the world shakes. We can't afford withdrawal. But Western culture has lost its thrust. The whole mass of the people don't know how to get hold of themselves, much less the rest of the world. Our whole thrust is toward the guts of an individual—his practical life—whether he's going to the bathroom or working or in diplomacy. By individual I do not mean individualism or piety or withdrawal."

Rev. Bryant summed up one aspect of CFLC doctrine in this way:

"Man finds himself always set in the midst of a world of conflict. It is the affirmation of the conflict and the freedom to decide without appeal that is the essence of a man of faith. It is this style of life to which we point with the symbol Jesus Christ."

Bryant defines church not as "an island of peace," or "guardian of a body of truth," or "a force that is to bring some order and structure to the world," but rather as "a style of life relevant to our time. The new saint is the new moral man—the man who is perfectly lucid about his life, lucid about his limitations, who does not hide or pretend. He knows what he knows and he sees what he sees. And he is utterly sensitive. He is like the safe cracker who files down his fingertips until he is sensitive to every movement of the weights. He is the lover of life, who loves each moment like a Don Juan."

The new saint is, in short, the man who embraces reality without sinking his hopes in the expectation that something somehow sometime will happen to make things just right. "The lost life," says Bryant, "is Messiah-hunting."

The leaders of the Christian Faith and Life Community contend that a major feature of accepting reality is accepting the fact that for most people, the traditional meanings of the Christian images are almost impossible to believe.

The Rev. William Smith, formerly of the Episcopal diocese of California, and one of the remaining CFLC teachers, says on this point:

"We feel we are boringly orthodox. We do not want the creed changed. We simply want the creed, which was originally understood within a mythical framework, to be accepted within a relational conceptuality."

"We aren't saddled with myth today, except in quaint corners of the church. The man on the street does not conceptualize with myths, except, by effort, one hour a week." B.S.

PATRONIZE
OUR
ADVERTISER

Chronicle Polls

Frosh Examine Thoreau

An informed political source close to the Observer spent several days in Abilene and reports most insiders are saying "Daniel is not in good shape there at all." Many key Lyndon Johnson supporters there are working openly for Connally. The Billie Sol Estes case has been somewhat of a help to Wilson.

The first week of absentee voting in Harris County had 336 votes—287 in the Democratic primary, 40 in the GOP. If that ratio holds true for the May 5 election, some 17 votes in every 100 will be Republican.

Political Intelligence

The Houston Chronicle took another opinion survey in 65 of the state's most populous counties and concluded that "an April surge may have carried Connally to a slight lead over Daniel," although the governor's "heavy campaigning could offset the Connally position before May 5." The paper finds Yarborough third, Wilson fourth, and Formby and Walker in a toss-up for fifth and sixth. In the lieutenant governor's race the Chronicle believes Turman is running first, Baker second, Smith third, and Secrest and Martin close behind for fourth and fifth. Carr is ahead for attorney general in the survey, with Reavley second, McDonald third, James fourth, Proctor fifth, and Looney sixth.

Among the Border Counties, Waggoner Carr is apparently drawing solid support for attorney general. Carr, Connally, Crawford Martin, and Woodrow Bean were the candidates invited to the New Party's huge rally in Rio Grande City. In Webb County, the Old Party is split on governor, with the Kazens backing Connally and PASSO leaders going for Daniel. Connally has Duval County.

Dr. George I. Sanchez wrote a biting note to Dr. Hector Garcia, a PASSO leader who is working for Daniel, criticizing Daniel for neglecting Latinos, arguing that Latin support of Daniel is "going to set us back for years," and predicting that Yarborough will receive an "overwhelming majority" of the Latin vote.

Stuart Long believes certain "divisions" in Houston may hurt Bob Baker's chances of making the lieutenant-governor's runoff with Turman, and wonders "if Secrest's big bloc vote and Crawford Martin's Dallas News endorsement and obvious East Texas strength don't give them, along with Preston Smith, a better chance than Belden indicates." Belden says Baker is running second.

Sen. Wardlow Lane of Center, the veteran conservative leader, is reported to be in a tough race with a challenger for the Senate, lawyer Jack Strong of Longview.

Harris County Loyal Democrats hope to push through the precinct conventions on May 5 a resolution inviting President Kennedy to visit Houston. John E. Crosland, Loyalist floor leader on the County Democratic Executive Committee, proposed a similar resolution at a March meeting of the committee. Conservative forces supporting county chairman Joel Coolidge defeated the resolution then, 51-49. Coolidge, who is being opposed as chairman by liberal Bill Kilgarlin, said last week Kennedy should not be in-

cluded to Houston because he might harm the Democratic Party there.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has cited a Dallas firm for taking "corrective action" as a result of complaint investigations. Vice President Johnson praised the Dallas branch of Western Electric as one of nine "bellwethers in the national program for equal employment opportunity."

Interior Secretary Stuart Udall this week said chances for a Padre Island national seashore area "look very good right now." The House interior committee, he said, will begin final work on the bill, already passed by the Senate, in two weeks. "Padre Island has had its ups and downs," he said. "Now it's very much up."

Ministers in San Antonio, Red Berry's bailiwick, announced "unalterable opposition" to horse race betting in Texas on grounds it would not solve the state's economic problems, that it would encourage crime, and that gambling is a sin. . . . Anti-racing literature continues to flood the state. The referendum will appear on both GOP and Democratic ballots May 5.

A clear pattern has emerged in the Democratic congressional race in Dallas between Rev. Baxton Bryant and former Rep. Bill Jones. The winner faces Cong. Bruce Alger in the general election. Jones, a staunch conservative, is attacking Bryant for being "part of the small minority, but a loud one, which continually pushes for federal control." Bryant is stressing his "broad-based support from all Democratic factions." "Time after time in the past," he said this week, "Dallas County leaders in business, professional, and labor ranks have rallied together to put over a common-sense program for the advancement of Dallas County's interests. The unity marking my campaign represents a departure from many extremist campaigns of the past that have left harmful divisions and distrust." Jones charged Bryant with telling labor leaders he opposes the right-to-work law and now changing his stance in the closing weeks in favor of those laws. Bryant countered that Jones has worked for Alger against Democrats in the past. . . . The Dallas News endorsed Jones, making it clear,

In papers on Thoreau's essay on the duty to disobey laws which cross the grain of one's conscience ("On Civil Disobedience"), two classes of freshmen at the University of Texas fell every which way for, against, for except, or he would be right if Utopia were possible. They seemed more concerned about the evil man using civil disobedience to justify himself than one would expect freshmen to be.

The papers fell into the hands of this intrepid collector of such clues to the times.

Several of the students made the point that segregationists, in foiling integration by subterfuge and closing down schools, are now engaging in civil disobedience: what about that? The law must be obeyed, these ones believed. One argued that Thoreau would have seen forced integration as an offense against the liberty of the people.

MANY thought citizens should protest unjust laws but then yield to the majority or "the government." The theme recurred also that since each of us is dependent on society in various ways, he is, if not indebted, at least responsible to it. ("For instance, many people are involved with the process of the delivery of mail and nearly everyone receives this mail.")

"Today man's responsibility in society does not allow him to be a non-conformist," said one boy. "Society demands limitations." A freshman took a different tack on the same current: "Government, its laws, and social codes are very necessary because they tend to stabilize and unify society. Without such stabilization and unification we would live in continual chaos."

"A strong man with a weak conscience can destroy weak men if there is no law but man's conscience to control him," wrote a boy. "Men with no law but their consciences are more likely to turn to violence to solve their problems." Or, as another wrote, "Thoreau is having a day dream. If man were left to do as his con-

science bade him, we would find ourselves in a tumult." The essays by the students who agreed with Thoreau were somewhat dull (with an exception, anon). Who so would be a man would be a nonconformist, that sort of thing. Doubtless many of the students who took this line are more interesting than the conformists, but their essays were somewhat uniform. Perhaps they include the one in the current joke who goes home on a holiday and says, "Mother, why aren't you a nonconformist like everybody else?"

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More interesting are two papers by students who admired Thoreau but were perfectly aware they were not his sort. "I," wrote a boy, "would be considered among those who are discussed by Thoreau. I sympathize with the crises of the day, but fail to do anything in the way of solving problems. Because I feel I cannot help world situations in any way, I become indifferent." He concluded his essay, "If life is forced into conformity, it is not worth living."

Another student discussed the sit-in movement for integration with the same diffidence. "They not only voiced their opinions, but they put them into action," he wrote. "This, I think, Thoreau would admire. Personally, I am neither for nor against integration, but I have to admire the integrationists for putting their words into action."

"If I were a Negro," said another, "I would very likely be an active supporter of equal rights, but I am not a Negro. . . . To adhere strictly to one's principles is a difficult task to accomplish in the society of today. Very few places exist where a man may escape from society and its demands." (Or as another student said with a Freudian slip, "Even in present society there are people who cannot live by simple rules such as cheating.")

A girl who wrote on the subject at great length took the position that Thoreau's truculent individualism wouldn't work these days because on, say, the question of nuclear testing, it would divide the nation, "thus rendering it more vulnerable to foreign and to internal enemies."

ONE ELOQUENT young man made the assignment worthwhile for his teacher. The boy understood Thoreau and added

something Thoreau may not have understood:

"The state cannot force Thoreau to do anything against his conscience because civil law is not higher than his moral responsibility. . . . Thoreau further believes that a man's duty to both his state and his society requires him to make his opinions known. . . . In Thoreau's opinion association with an unjust government is a disgrace. He would rather be imprisoned by an unjust government than be in support of it. 'Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.'"

Today, however, wrote the boy, a man's private secession from the union "would brand him by the self-righteous defenders of 'the American way of life' as a communist instead of a just man. . . . Such an obvious communist action, disagreeing with the supreme moral authority, civil government, leaves the just man devoid of justice from the government that clearly needs him.

"Consider, for example, the situation created by Thoreau's probable stand against the House Un-American Activities Committee. . . . If he . . . refused to pay his taxes, his action in the eyes of 'America's protectors' would not be tax evasion but treason. . . .

YET WE MUST, however arbitrarily, believe in the truth: for surely we have nothing else in which to believe. A just man is necessarily idealistic. He may realize that always doing what he thinks right materially harms him, but he feels he must be true to something. That something is truth itself. Nevertheless, even if this concept were held by everyone, crime, racial discrimination, and war would hardly end. The situation is hopeless. We may speak out against political corruption. We may refuse to pay unjust tuition raises and be forced to leave school. We may eat only in integrated restaurants to avoid supporting segregation. Still, we can never become perfect. One man's moral judgment often contradicts another's, and we wonder if an absolute right or wrong exists. The only right about which a man can be sure is that of doing what he thinks right. Thoreau believes this to be his only obligation, and in the end we see this view not to be idealistic but realistic." R.D.

LEGALS

CITATION BY PUBLICATION THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO Stella R. Malloy Defendant, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You (and each of you) are hereby commanded to appear before the 126th 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 14th day of May, 1962, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 123,277, in which James P. Malloy is Plaintiff and Stella R. Malloy is defendant, filed in said Court on the 14th day of August, 1961, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer by Plaintiff and against Defendant for judgment of divorce. Plaintiff alleges that they were married on or about the 27th day of January, 1958, and continued to live together as husband and wife until on or about the 8th day of August, 1961, at which time defendant left the plaintiff, told him that she no longer loved him and that she would not return to live with him as his wife; that this conduct on the part of the defendant was of such a nature as to render their further living together as husband and wife insupportable and impossible.

Plaintiff further alleges that one child, a girl, Teresa Malloy, was born to the marriage, that defendant has custody and is the proper person to have custody of said minor child.

Plaintiff further prays for relief, general and special, in law and in equity to which he may be entitled.

All as more fully appears from Plaintiff's Original Petition on file in this office and to which reference is here made.

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 28th day of March, 1962.

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

CITATION BY PUBLICATION THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO Margaret Sneed Cairo, Defendant, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You (and each of you) are hereby commanded to appear before the 126th 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 21st day of May, 1962, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 125,993, in which Wardell Cairo is Plaintiff and Margaret Sneed Cairo is defendant, filed in said Court on the 4th day of April, 1962, 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 left Plaintiff with the intention of abandonment many years ago. On diverse occasions while Plaintiff was living with Defendant, Defendant was guilty of excesses, cruel treatment and outrages toward Plaintiff, of such a nature as to render their living together insupportable. Plaintiff has not seen Defendant for the past seven years.

There were no children born of this union and there was no property of any nature accumulated.

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 4th day of April, 1962.

O. T. MARTIN, JR., Clerk of the District Courts, Travis County, Texas. By JOHN DICKSON, Deputy

CITATION BY PUBLICATION THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO: Mrs. Mabel Rose Booth, Mrs. Lula Rose Robinson, Mr. Frank Rose, Mrs. Letha Rose Newsome, Mrs. Della Rose Cay and Mrs. Cora Belle Rose Booth; if living, whose places of residence are unknown of plaintiff, and if dead, the legal representatives of each of said named defendants, and the unknown heirs of each of said named defendants; the legal representatives of the unknown heirs of each of said named defendants; if the unknown heirs of said named defendants are dead; the unknown heirs of the unknown heirs of said named defendant are dead; whose places of residence are unknown to plaintiff; Defendants in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You (and each of you) are hereby commanded to appear before the 126th 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 21st day of May, 1962, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 123,705, in which John W. Flanagan is plaintiff and Annie Patterson and husband, Joe Patterson, and the hereinabove named defendants are defendants, filed in said Court on the 22nd day of September, 1961, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer for judgment in favor of Plaintiff and against defendants for title to and possession of the following described land and for writ of restitution:

Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6, Block No. 10 in Belle Vue Park Addition to the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, according to the map or plat of said addition on record in Book No. 1, Page 45 of the Plat Records of Travis County, Texas, to which reference is here made for all purposes.

Plaintiff alleges that on April 24, 1961, he was and still is owner of the above described property. That on the day and year last mentioned, the defendants unlawfully entered upon the dispossessed plaintiff of such premises, and withholds from him the possession thereof; to which possession he was and is legally entitled. Plaintiff prays for further relief, general and special, in law and in equity to which he may be entitled. All as more fully appears from the records of this office.

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 4th day of April, 1962.

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

CITATION BY PUBLICATION THE STATE OF TEXAS

TO Gene Gordon Patterson, Defendant, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:

You (and each of you) are hereby commanded to appear before the 126th 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 4th day of June, 1962, and answer the petition of plaintiff in Cause Number 126,127, in which Barbara Burke Patterson is Plaintiff and Gene Gordon Patterson is defendant, filed in said Court on the 16th day of April, 1962, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:

Being an action and prayer by the plaintiff and against the defendant for divorce on the grounds of excesses, cruel treatment and outrages toward plaintiff of such a nature as to render their further living together insupportable. Plaintiff alleges that there are no children the issue of this marriage and that no community property was acquired during this marriage.

Plaintiff prays for such other relief to which plaintiff may be entitled.

All as more fully appears from the records of this office.

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 16th day of April, 1962.

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

Gentlemanly Beer

AUSTIN

I covered the Emmett Till "wolf whistle" case from the day the 14-year-old Negro's body was found tied to a gin fan in the Tallahatchie River to the day one of the men accused of the murder stood on crutches in a federal surplus commodity relief line to get food for his family.

J. W. Milam, one of the half-brothers accused and acquitted of the Chicago boy's murder, was almost a caricature of the rural bully. At the time Till was murdered, Milam was managing a Delta cotton plantation. ("I've worked niggers all my life and I know 'em.") He was constructed much along the lines of a pre-war Tennessee football lineman—thickset and six feet, with fingers as gnarled and stumpy as half-smoked cigars. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the field during the Korean war for his effectiveness against the enemy.

ONE HOT DAY almost a year after the trial I drank beer with Milam most of an afternoon. We discussed an article written by William Bradford Huie which had appeared that week in Look Magazine. Huie, an Alabama novelist and free-lance magazine writer, described in gruesome detail his mysteriously appropriated version of what happened the night Till disappeared. According to the article, Milam himself killed Till after the youngster bragged that he had "been with white girls before" and "wouldn't repent."

It was rumored that Milam and his half-brother, Roy Bryant, had received \$10,000 for telling Huie what really happened.

I found Milam, after half a day's search, in his cousin's general store in Minter City, a small town in the delta near Sumner, the site of the murder trial.

"I don't really know whether I've got grounds for a damage suit or not," he told me, tucking the legs of his khaki trousers into the tops of his motorcycle boots. "The guy who wrote that story was careful not to say where he got his information and he didn't quote me directly. He just said what he thought happened."

TILL, who was visiting at his uncle's Tallahatchie county farm cabin, was said to have "wolf whistled" at Bryant's pretty wife, who wore shorts as she waited on customers in a store she and her husband operated in Money, Miss. The young visitor from Chicago was apparently showing off for his country cousins. They went into the store to buy bubble gum. Milam and Bryant admitted taking the boy from his uncle's cabin late that night "to teach him a lesson," but insisted they "gave him a good talking to and turned him loose." Three days later his body was found in the river.

"I'll say one thing for the Look article," Milam told me. "It was written from a Mississippi viewpoint. I've gotten letters from people all over the country . . . You know, complimenting me for what the article said I did."

He pulled fourteen letters from his hip pocket and said it was "today's batch." One letter, signed "A Fan," said the Look story "gave me a lift." It came from California.

"Just for the record," I asked, "what do you say about Detroit Congressman Charles C. Diggs saying you got paid for supplying the details for the article?"

"Boy! If I did I haven't seen any of the money," he laughed. "If I find out I can't sue them, I'd sure take some of that money I'm supposed to have gotten. That's just if I can't sue, you understand. I'll leave it up to my lawyers as to whether I can sue or not."

He said John Whitten, one of several attorneys who defended him in the murder trial, was looking into the possibility of a suit. But Whitten told me that any libel suit would have to be filed in a federal court in New York and would be handled by New York lawyers.

"You know, some movie companies have contacted me about making a movie about all this?" Milam said. "I won't say which ones. And I haven't signed nothing yet. I turned that over to my lawyers too."

MILAM'S four-year-old son ran into the store then and Milam said he had to take the boy to a dentist in Greenwood.

"Now don't you bite the dentist this time," he growled affectionately at the boy. Then he turned and explained, "Last time he bit the dentist's finger and the dentist told me he'd charge me extra if he did it again."

"So, don't you do that again, you hear," he told the boy.

"I will if he sticks his finger in my mouth," the boy said. Milam laughed.

The boy bent down and crammed his trousers into his boots, which were just like his daddy's.

WHETHER RUMORS that Milam was paid by Look were true or not, some of his neighbors in Tallahatchie County apparently believed them. The burley plantation manager left his job soon afterward. (Some said he was fired.) He worked at various jobs in the area until he broke his leg in a tractor accident. Soon after this a welfare agent told me he had applied for government surplus food in Greenville. He was out of a job and living, rent free, in a tenement house owned by a man I knew and played football with at Texas Tech.

I wrote a brief story about Milam's obvious financial troubles, and it angered my former college classmate. He asked me to meet him for lunch to discuss the story. When he walked into the restaurant, I saw that he had brought J. W. Milam with him. During our talk, I apparently convinced the plantation owner that there was nothing malicious in the story and he never brought suit as he had threatened.

Throughout the discussion, Milam—his leg in a snowwhite cast—remained silent. That was early in 1958. I haven't heard what has happened to him since. J.M.

THE STUMPER

Nauseating Brew

Sirs: How will you explain to your children and grandchildren when they behold in helpless despair, a military of promiscuous foreign soldiers policing our America under banners and orders of the United Nations? They will ask: "Why did you trade the glorious heritage of our once free and powerful nation for this mess of nauseating, ecumenical brew that we must now swallow?"

Fanatical one-worlders entrenched within our Capitol are far along with their ruthless designs for total disarmament and transfer of our national sovereignty to the superior jurisdiction of a World Court, World Bank, World Military and other Marxist monstrosities of a sovereign United Nations.

A quick end to this suicidal, traitorous political insanity which now pervades the "New Frontier", is imperative if our nation is to survive. In the person of General Edwin A. Walker, who has made himself available for the office of governor of Texas, we have a political savior and leader who will have the courage and strength to turn us back from the deceitful, dole-strewn path we are following that can lead only to national disaster and suicide. Let us gladly grant him this honor in order that Texas may spearhead the national drive for a return to political sanity and the preservation of our Constitutional Government and our national sovereignty.

William V. Hoyt, P.O. Box 19, Yoakum.

Tennis Star Replies

Sirs: It used to be, back in the good old days when R.D. was editor of the Observer, that I rather thought that I was your type of Republican. See the Observer, Dec. 25, 1959, and Nov. 10, 1961. In last week's Observer, however, I read that your type of Republican is not only conservative, but "grim, serious, and rather mean." I cheerfully admit that I am grim and serious, and I don't mind being called conservative since I have no idea what it means. I do deny being "rather mean" and am forced to conclude either that (1) I am not W.M.'s type of Republican or (2) that I have been defamed.

Charles Alan Wright, 2500 Red River, Austin.

Juxtaposition

Sirs: I just received the Texas Absurder telling about "Scholar's Rural Trials" and can't see myself personally anything in the Story to make you print it in print right alongside to the printing of General Walker's Speeches.

This just goes to show how much more on the ground is the feet of a soldier than an ivory tower scholar, and I for one support Prof. Sullivan for governor. Is he running?

Barnetta Spoulter, Pasadena, California.

Facts on Trading

WASHINGTON

Friends of the Kennedy administration's program for U.S. co-operation with the European common market are circulating facts showing the considerable dependence of the Texas state economy on exports. The argumentative implication is that the U.S. must make deals with foreign nations lowering trade barriers or lose such export trade.

According to an Export Origin Study on Texas produced this year by the U.S. Department of Commerce and circulated by the "Committee for a National Trade Policy," Texas ranks eighth in the nation in the value of manufactured exports. Of the state's 500,000 manufacturing workers, 150,000 work in establishments that produce these exports.

According to estimates by the Department of Agriculture and Labor, about 130,000 Texas farm workers, almost a third of the 442,000 farm workers in Texas, "may be attributed to the production of farm products that were exported in 1960-61." The Texas share of U.S. farm exports: about half a billion of the total \$49 billion.

One out of every six acres of American cropland harvested produce for export. From Texas in 1960-1961, exports of field crops totaled \$404 million, fruits and nuts \$3 million, vegetables \$4 million, and livestock and agricultural products \$35 million. Leading individual commodities among Texas' exported field crops were cotton, wheat, sorghum, rice, and corn. Generally speaking, Texas agricultural exports were equivalent to three times the competing imports.

ABOUT FOUR-TENTHS of Texas production of sulphur, salk, and talc, mineral products, were exported. About 1,500 workers are employed in mines that produce these things.

Total value of Texas exports in 1960 was estimated at \$837 million, with 242 establishments, each of which export \$25,000 or more reporting \$651 million of this. Exports represented about nine percent of these 242 establishments' total value of shipments.

Texas led all the states in the export of chemicals and allied products, and also in petroleum and coal products. This state was the fourth largest exporter, among the states, of food and kindred products, and the ninth largest exporter of non-electrical machinery.

The best customers for chemicals and allied exports (notably basic chemicals, fibers, plastics, and rubber) were Canada, Mexico, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Japan. Principal basic chemical exporting companies in Texas are American Cyanamid (Fort Worth), Koppers Inc. (Port Arthur), and Industrial Materials, Jefferson Chemical, and Natural Gas Odorizing (all in Houston). Goodrich-Gulf exports butadiene rubber and butadiene from Port Neches.

Only 25 business establishments reported \$148 million of the total \$177 million in exports of petroleum and coal products from Texas in 1960. Exports represented over five percent of these establishments' (and their 28,000 workers') total value of shipments.

Standard of Texas, Humble, Gulf, Shell, Mobil, and other oil firms export products mainly to the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Mexico.

BEST CUSTOMERS for U.S. food products of the kinds produced in Texas are the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, West Germany, U.K., Egypt, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Venezuela. International Milling Co. exports wheat flour, rye flour, feeds, and flour; Corn Products Co., Corpus Christi, exports bulk milo starches; Burrus Mills, in Fort Worth, San Antonio, Galveston, McKinney, and Dallas, exports wheat flour. Cottonseed oil is manufactured and exported by several Texas businesses.

In the primary metals field, Alcoa, at Point Clear and Rockdale; American Smelting and Refining, in Amarillo and Corpus Christi (aluminum, brass, bronze ingots, type metals, lead and tin pipe); American Zinc, Lead, and Smelting, in Dumas; Sheffield division of Armco Steel, Houston; Great Lakes Carbon Corp., in Port Arthur—these and other companies engage in exporting from Texas. Best customers were Italy, West Germany, France, U.K., Mexico, and Canada.

FIGURES of this kind, of course, emphasize the elements in the economy that might benefit from freer trade policy. Industries that are protected from cheaper imports by trade barriers might stand to lose; in many cases producers who export some of their products are interested in restricting imports that would compete with the portion of their production they market domestically.

A Sprightly Feud

AUSTIN

Attorney general candidates Tom Reavley and Tom James this week called on front-runner Waggoner Carr to satisfactorily answer James' charge that he tried to squelch a 1960 investigation of Gulf Coast vice or withdraw from the race.

James was in charge of the House committee which conducted a little Kefauver hearing on organized vice in Beaumont and Port Arthur. He claims that Carr, Lubbock attorney who was speaker of the House at the time of the investigation, tried to sidetrack the probe.

Carr has "categorically" denied it all on several occasions and James countered with a request that Carr submit to a lie detector test. Carr said he didn't see any reason to drop his campaign for such a test "since all members of the investigating committee and its general counsel say Mr. James is lying." He called James a "hatchetman."

Reavley jumped into the fracas

at this point, declaring from a campaign outpost in El Paso County that the charge made against Carr "is a tragic and serious one. The truth demands to be heard. If Carr cannot satisfy the people of Texas fully on this, he should immediately resign from the attorney general's race."

James agreed wholeheartedly, adding that Carr also owed him an apology for calling him a liar and owed his (James') family and campaign workers an apology too.

James, a young Dallas attorney, went on television in Austin Thursday night and showed letters and pictures which he said verified his charge against Carr. One newspaper picture showed Carr with Jefferson County officials he said were involved in the organized vice down there.

And Reavley continued to insist that everybody stop running until Carr "steps forward with proof the charge is false."

The other contestants in the race were ignoring the triangular hassle, in their press releases at least.

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