

## Poll Tax Primer: The Behead Tax

The proposed constitutional amendment to repeal the poll tax passed by the Texas legislature to be voted upon November 9, together with the proposed amendment to the federal Constitution to do the same thing, together with the related state laws, have created a good deal of confusion in the midst of the campaigns for and against the amendments that have been launched. This legal mishmash can obscure the real issue, namely, Shall the right to vote be extended to the poor people?

**E**VEN TO THOSE OF US who have been fighting this battle for so long that the words "poll tax" elicit an automatic response, a review of the history and background of the tax as a prerequisite for voting may be useful.

Legally, a poll tax is a tax of a specific sum levied upon each person within the jurisdiction of the taxing power and within a certain class without reference to the person's property or lack of it. Its origins go back to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem to be enrolled for the poll tax because Caesar Augustus decreed "that all the world should be taxed" (Luke 2:1). After 1377 England used the poll tax extensively. It was abolished there in 1698, but not before the early American colonists had transplanted it to the New World. It was never as popular in the Southern colonies as in the Northern colonies. The poor classes disliked it because of its regressivity. Naturally, the Southern planters did not like paying such levies on their slaves. Still, it had not yet been made a qualification for voting so as to restrict the franchise.

There have been two poll tax eras in this country, divided in point of time by the Civil War. After the American Revolution, by which we became the first people in the history of Western civilization to throw off the shackles of imperialism, the poll tax was used to broaden suffrage. Many states

*The writer, former city councilman and state senator from San Antonio and that city's U.S. congressman now, addressed a rally for repeal of the poll tax last week in El Paso. He wrote this article on the subject for the Observer.*

permitted only property owners to vote, and the poll tax was imposed as a substitute for property qualifications. After the Civil War, the former Confederate states enacted the poll tax laws as part of a pro-

### Henry B. Gonzalez

gram of disfranchisement. Anyone who doubts this should be referred to the remarks of Carter Glass as he told the 1901 Virginia constitutional convention that "Negro enfranchisement was a crime to begin with." Senator Glass died in 1946 after having been a member of Congress for more than 40 years.



Gonzalez

Five states still retain the poll tax as a qualification to vote: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. Together with the other six former poll tax states in the South, this group has the worst voter percentage record in the country. The low percentage of persons who voted in 1960 in Alaska and Hawaii may be explained by the fact that the people there are not yet used to voting in presidential elections. Still, their percentage of

voters was higher than all five of the poll tax states. Texas chauvinists may glory in the fact that of the five, Texas is right on top: another first for Texas.

But the accompanying chart shows that the poll tax is not the sole cause of poor voter participation in the South. Georgia, South Carolina, and the other Southern states that have repealed their poll taxes are right down there with the rest of us. Three factors have been suggested to explain voter apathy and a tradition of non-voting in this region: restrictive registration procedures, the one-party system, and the white primary.

Of these three factors, one, the white primary, has been invalidated by the courts, and another, the one-party system, is breaking down and may no longer be relevant. Restrictive registration procedures are the most important obstacle to voter participation. They are a three-pronged obstacle, incorporating the poll tax, early registration, and discrimination.

Texas does not seem to be plagued by the type of racial discrimination practiced in other Southern states, whereby Negroes are not permitted to vote by force, coercion, and other forms of skulduggery. We are plagued by the poll tax and by early registration. Unfortunately, even if the poll tax is abolished in Texas, we will still be bothered by early registration. But, the abolition of the poll tax will be a giant stride toward the reform of our election laws.

**T**HE POLL TAX was not made a qualification for voting in Texas until our constitution was amended in 1902. Since that time there have been several attempts at abolition of the tax as a prerequisite for voting, most recently in 1949 when the voters rejected a constitutional amendment to accomplish this purpose by a margin of less than 40,000 votes in a referendum in which more than 200,000 participated. It will be recalled that in 1962, the people voted in favor of abolition in conjunction with the Democratic and Republican primary elections, setting the stage for the proposed constitutional amendment which was passed by the legis-

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Penn Jones, winner recently of the Elijah Lovejoy Award for courage in journalism, took his stand on Gov. John Connally in his weekly Midlothian Mirror:

"... it is time to make an assessment of the first year in office of Gov. Connally. He had fine advertisements in all the papers as a candidate. He had good radio and TV shows. His PR boys did their tasks well. In fact, Connally is a Robin Hood's Friar Tuck in reverse. He totes information and does chores for the rich villains in town, but the PR boys make him appear to be Robin Hood himself.

The PR boys continue to do a good job on Connally. He sat still while the legislature was hammering out the appropriations bill for 1963-'64 until the waning days of the session. Then he bestirred himself enough to complain that not enough money was provided in the higher education budget for brains. (His original request was not even as high as Price Daniel used to ask.) 'Brains over bricks' he cried as he vetoed the building of additional schools and hospitals. No one bothers to point out that Connally gave us neither brains nor bricks. But it was a fine slogan.

Newspapers, state banks, sulphur companies, and other corporations got tax reductions to the tune of over \$20 million per year. These little gifts were compensated for by removing clothing from the sales tax exemption list. Make it harder on the working man of Texas, but of course he doesn't have a lobbyist on his payroll, either.

The poll tax situation is one that rests largely with the governor. He promised to fight for a decent registration law, but

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again reneged. Actually the registration proposal as now written will result in fewer, not more voters in Texas. The 25-cent amendment by [Senator] J. P. Word of this district is onerous, but the most burdensome one is the removal of the agency clause. No longer, under this proposal, can an agent sell poll tax receipts in Midlothian. . . .

The proposed law to outlaw the flying of the U.N. flag on state, city, county, or school property was passed in the Senate with only a loud silence from John Connally.

On the issue of civil rights, Connally proves himself to be a flank fighter, when he fights at all. He will not support a party platform. He takes the office, the plaudits, but not the duties and obligations that accompany the prize. Connally will not support the Democratic administration which so greatly honored him. His position is now secure because of the Democrats, but his loyalty is only to his long time employers, the rich oil boys of Texas. For 20 years he was a Sid Richardson lawyer drawing up to \$80,000 per year.

We should not be disappointed. Texas has not had a governor for the people since Jimmy Allred was governor in 1935. It has been such a long dry spell that the people can hardly dream any more.

John Connally can honestly boast of only three accomplishments. He legalized the outrageous interest charges of the loan sharks of Texas which used to be made without legal sanction. He sent Texas Rangers to force a recall election in Crystal City after the Mexicans there decided to exercise their voting rights. And he has increased the automobile speed limits to 70 miles per hours."

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We find it interesting that two former Republican county chairmen in Dallas are supporting someone other than Senator Barry Goldwater for president. Maurice I. Carlson of Reliance Life Insurance Co. is supporting Nixon; Paul O'Rourke of O'Rourke Construction Co., Romney. Apparently these two men have thought over the Goldwater craze among Texas Republicans and have concluded that national, not fanatical right-wing perspective is called for.

We suggest to the Republicans who have felt doubts about Goldwater but have not wanted to buck the strong tide for him in official Texas Republicanism consider Walter Lippman's sage reflections on the subject in the Washington Post:

The core of Goldwater's philosophy, Lippman wrote, "is opposition to the federal government as a guarantor of personal liberty and as protector of the national welfare. To the senator the federal government is a kind of foreign power which must be reduced and distrusted. . . .

"Senator Goldwater would leave the racial problem to the individual states, the federal government to cease all intervention. He would repeal the progressive income tax, a measure so extreme that it would dismantle the national defense and destroy the credit of the United States. He would repeal the welfare measures as fast as he could, thus opening the country to vast misery and vast disorder. He would sell TVA. In foreign affairs he would cut loose from our allies and he would then challenge the Soviet Union aggressively.

"These . . . things . . . are a vast confusion and they are a recipe for panic. Senator Goldwater is a more serious threat to the Republican Party than he is to the Democratic. For the odds are heavy that President Kennedy would defeat him, especially after Senator Goldwater's radical reactionary views have been explained to the voters. But the Republican Party would be a shambles after a Goldwater nomination. The party of Lincoln would have become the rallying point of the racists. The party of Hamilton would have become the anti-federal party. The party of Theodore Roosevelt would have become the anti-progressive, sectional, and anti-national party."

Let Texas Republicans keep in mind the fact that with the possible exception of Strom Thurmond, John Tower is the exemplar of the radical right in the United States Senate—that he is even to the right of Barry Goldwater, if one takes at face value the Arizona senator's current back-trackings toward the American middle. To follow Tower into Goldwater's camp may result in much emotional satisfaction for Texas Republicans now, but by next November can mean nothing but alienation from the national realities.

The time has arrived for non-Goldwater Republicans to begin cultivating support for other candidates in the expected preferential straw vote next spring.

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lature last spring and which must now be approved by the people. If it is approved, it will take effect on December 1, 1963.

The legislature passed a new registration law contingent upon the approval of the constitutional amendment. Under the new law there would be a registration fee of 25 cents to be paid between October 1 to January 31, the period now used for paying poll taxes. Persons who pay their poll taxes this year would be able to use their receipts in lieu of registering under the new law. The county tax assessor-collector is designated the registrar of voters under the new law, and registration would be conducted very much as poll taxes are collected under the present law. In fact, if we approve the amendment we are merely substituting the \$1.75 tax for a 25-cent tax as a qualification for voting.

On August 29, 1962, Congress passed the proposed 23rd Amendment to the federal Constitution to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. It states:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

To date, 36 of the necessary 38 states have ratified this amendment. The chances are good that two more states will ratify it before the 1964 elections.

Now, if the Texas amendment is defeated but the federal amendment is ratified before the 1964 primary and general elections, Texas voters will be required to have a poll tax to vote for state and local officials in the primary elections and the general election; but voters will not have to pay a poll tax or any registration fee to vote for president and vice president and members of Congress in the primary or general elections. If the Texas amendment is approved, regardless of whether or not the federal amendment is ratified, Texas voters will not have to pay a poll tax to vote in any election; we will only have to have registered under the new law during the October 1, 1963-January 31, 1964, period.

**I**T CAN BE easily demonstrated that the levy of a poll tax is an antiquated mode of raising revenue, and that it is not an important source in Texas. It remains alone of all the early American economic barriers to a free franchise. It has been abandoned by seven states during the last 35 years: North Carolina in 1920, Pennsylvania in 1933, Louisiana in 1934, Florida in 1937, Georgia in 1945, and South Carolina and Tennessee in 1951.

The primary beneficiaries of the poll tax have been the state public schools. But according to the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, the amount of revenue produced in fiscal 1962 was less than 0.5 per cent of the total school reve-

*(The Observer will have an additional report on the poll tax matter in its Nov. 1st issue.—Ed.)*

nue and 0.2 per cent of the total state revenue. Also, the income produced by the tax varies greatly with the type of elections held each year. Under the new law, the 25-cent registration fee would be retained by the counties, so that their financial position is not altered by the proposed amendment.

Most importantly, the poll tax is an economic deterrent against voting to the

poorer classes. It discriminates against those persons of low economic status. It has discouraged the poor white man's vote just as it has minimized the Negro vote and the Mexican vote. The law dictionaries define poll tax as a capitation tax, that is, a head tax. It would be more accurate to call it a decapitation tax, because it has served to behead large bodies of voters, to snuff out their political lives.

# Texans Who Fought For the Income Tax

*Richard E. Hickman*

The income tax is an indecent alien idea that we are stuck with on the national level, but never, never will Texas descend into the pit by levying an income tax. That is sacred dogma. The sales tax, on the other hand, is an honorable, upright, native, fair and democratic tax which everyone pays alike. That, too, is becoming dogma. Ironically, this is almost a reversal of opinion in Texas within fifty years' time. Texans were in the forefront of those who demanded the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment.

The tariff had been the favored Republican tax. When the tariff resulted in a surplus, Republicans diligently searched for means to spend the money so there would be no justification for a reduction of the rates. This worked well enough, until the ever-increasing rates combined with recession to convert the surplus into a deficit. The panic of 1907 set the stage for a struggle over what kind of tax was to be levied to make up the deficit.

This was the situation when William Howard Taft called Congress into special session in 1909 to lower the tariff. He made no mention of an income tax, which his platform had advocated, because he had decided that should such a tax be enacted, and should the Supreme Court again declare the tax unconstitutional as it had done in 1895, popular reaction would menace the prestige of the court. The income tax might not have been proposed had congress granted Taft's request for a lower tariff. Instead, it obeyed the commodore of the Senate, Sen. Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, and the chairman of the ways and means committee, Cong. Sereno Payne of Maine, both ardent protectionists. Their bill would have raised the tariff schedules, not lowered them. The representatives of rural America reacted by

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pressing for an income tax.

In the House, several representatives, including Morris Sheppard, then congressman for the Texarkana district, wrote income tax bills, but to no avail. The speaker and his rules committee refused them a place on the calendar.

The Senate was a freer body, and protest could not be squelched. On April 15, 1909, Sen. Joseph Weldon Bailey of Texas announced that he would introduce an amendment to the tariff bill to levy an income tax of two per cent on all income over \$5,000 a year. Bailey declared that the Supreme Court had erred when it ruled the income tax unconstitutional and was confident that it would reverse itself if given the opportunity. Bailey also summarized the arguments of the proponents of an income tax in his speech that day:

"But knowing as we all do know that it is necessary for the government to raise a vast sum of money to support its administration, my judgment is that a large part of the money ought to be raised from the abundant incomes of prosperous people rather than from the backs and appetites of people who, when doing their best, do none too well. I believe, myself, that there never was, and that there never will be a juster or wiser tax devised than the income tax. I believe that it is the only tax ever yet devised by the statesmen of the world that rises and falls with a man's ability to pay it."

The senator's mail was heavy in support of his position. Back home, the newspapers were giving their approbation. "There is reason to believe . . . that the revenue problem will vex us until an income tax becomes a part of our fiscal system," said the Houston Post on April 15, 1909. "Senator Bailey is doing Texas vast credit before the country . . ." said the El Paso Times, as quoted in the Post April 28, 1909. These are but examples of a large chorus, although all did not sing in complete harmony. Some papers contrived to approve without commending the senator.

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**B**AILEY'S EFFORTS failed. For one reason, there was another proposal before the Senate, a graduated tax, which was supported by the progressive Republicans. Then, too, Taft's reluctance to support either bill cost the income tax votes. Finally, Sen. Aldrich, as adept at managing the Senate as ever was Lyndon Johnson, was just the man to take advantage of disunity.

Taft, however, retrieved the situation by persuading Aldrich, Payne, and Speaker Joe Cannon to accept a compromise consisting of modified tariff schedules, a corporation tax, and a resolution submitting to the states a constitutional amendment explicitly empowering Congress to levy an income tax. They accepted because they felt that the corporation tax would take some of the steam out of the income tax drive, and that the amendment would not be ratified, killing the income tax for all time.

The state's congressional representation all voted for the resolution with the exception of two who were not there. Of those voting, two others spoke in debate besides Bailey, both representatives. The two made it quite clear that they did not view the tax as dangerous to liberty or property.

Said an earlier Martin Dies who was representing the Beaumont district, "It is a damnable system which taxes want and exempts wealth; which takes toll from the clothes on a poor man's back and leaves untouched the rich man's bank. Mr. Speaker, I have advocated the income tax in season and out of season since I reached manhood's estate. . . . I proclaimed its fairness amid the jibes and jeers of men who taunted me with being a socialist and anarchist."

"Why an income tax has not been adopted long ago as a permanent feature of our system of national taxation cannot be satisfactorily explained unless it be admitted that wealth, instead of the people, has been in control of the government. I can conceive of no tax based upon sounder principle or which would operate with greater uniformity, equality, or justice than an income tax." So spoke William B. Smith of Colorado, Texas.

On July 5, 1909, Congress submitted the amendment. In its favorable report on the amendment, a committee of the Texas House of Representatives expressed views similar to those of Dies and Smith. On Aug. 15, 1910, the Texas legislature ratified the amendment with only two dissenting votes.

**A**T THE TIME most of the advanced nations levied income taxes, as did five of the states of the Union. And though the Supreme Court, in a controversial split decision, had declared the 1894 income tax unconstitutional, the Civil War income tax had been unanimously upheld. The tax had been used by the Confederacy, also, and by several states before the Civil War. There was also used in New England a

faculty tax which had the characteristics of an income tax.

The inspiration for these early income taxes had been not Karl Marx, but rather William Pitt the Younger, who had introduced the first modern income tax in 1799 in Great Britain. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain had perfected the tax administratively.

Even Pitt was not the originator of the tax. It had made its appearance in some form and for varying durations in the Roman Empire, in some of the Italian city-states in the early Middle Ages, and in Spain during the reign of Charles III. Most of these early taxes were fairly primitive in their concepts and failed because of poor administration.

## Pressures Are Gathering For the City Sales Tax

*Austin*

The business community's next major legislative offensive in Texas will probably be a drive for legislative permission to the cities for them to levy sales taxes.

Lately the whiffs of this have merged into a light blow; by 1965 they'll be a norther.

The first hints came from the Texas Research League, the private Austin research agency financed by businessmen. The league sought repeal of the state property tax last session of the legislature. This was thwarted. In the process it became clear that one cause of much hostility toward the property tax is the fact that business pays most of it.

A Texas Research League report divulges that local and state property taxes in Texas produce nearly five times as much revenue as the state sales tax and notes that since the homestead exemption was passed in 1933, the state property tax has been largely a tax on business.

Rep. Jack Woods, Waco, introduced legislation that would give the cities authority to levy sales taxes. It did not pass. It would have let cities add a city sales tax on top of the present two percent sales tax and lower property taxes accordingly, or finance new city activities out of the local sales tax.

Gov. Connally, addressing the American Municipal Congress in Houston in August, sounded the theme that local government needs to find the means to perform its functions for itself. "We will solve this problem in Texas," he said. He did not say what kinds of city taxes he supports or opposes.

Lately the Texas Municipal League, which bills itself as "An Association of Cities for Municipal Progress," has been an assiduous cultivator of public opinion on behalf of city sales taxes—though the

Thus, Texas, in ratifying the income tax, was doing nothing really new, radical, or alien. The Sixteenth Amendment merely signified that the American economy had become capitalist, that is, that its wealth was measured in money and not in land.

### SOURCES

*American Taxation*, by Sidney Ratner; *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, in the article, "Income Tax"; *Encyclopedia Britannica*; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, *The Eighteenth Century*; on Senator Joseph Bailey, *The Last Democrat*, by Sam Acheson; on congressional speeches and action, *Congressional Record*, first session, 61st congress, Pp. 1351, 1743, and appendix, p. 75; on legislative action, *Texas Senate Journal*, 31st legislature, third called session, p. 173, and *Texas House Journal*, same date, pp. 64-69. The newspaper references are given in the article itself.

message is couched in jaw-breakers.

Oct. 4, the municipal league's executive director, Steve Matthews, said in Uvalde that Texas cities rely "far more heavily on revenues from the property tax than has been found desirable or feasible for nearly all other states" and left an implication that cities should turn to what he called "non-property taxes per capita."

Subsequently he said, "The league feels the best way to approach a city sales tax is with a legislative act authorizing the cities to levy it."

The controversy found a local focus in Austin. Mayor Lester Palmer said a local sales tax might be a good idea. For the Travis County Democratic Women's Committee, Mrs. W. R. Dunkelberg protested against this to the council. Palmer said the council wouldn't act without "many public hearings."

The Texas Municipal League has just delivered to Texas newspapers a series of five canned articles on "local fiscal policy." In the fifth one, on the last page of it, in the last of five points, the kicker is delivered: Texas' five largest cities get nearly 90 percent of their local revenues through property taxes, compared to a national average of the 50 largest cities of 70 percent.

A cover letter for this package of five articles says the municipal league supplies "objective, factual information and references" on the subject. The last sentence of the last of the five articles reads:

"Students of municipal finance generally agree that Texas cities—like state government itself in recent years—will need broader tax bases if cities are to support themselves."

Needless to specify, the broader tax base the state government got for itself in recent years was the two percent sales tax.

# Goldwater in San Antonio

## San Antonio

Senator Goldwater wore a conservative grey business suit and carried himself easily, a courtly gentleman, with a manner even slightly benign, as he greeted five leading San Antonio Republicans and many more retired military officers at the San Antonio airport last weekend. During the half-day he was in the city he provided new glimpses of his very conservative views on a wide variety of subjects, including the income tax, civil rights, his hostility toward aid for socialist countries, and his disposition to support military juntas in Latin-America under some circumstances.

The context was appropriate. He was the guest of the Military Order of the World Wars, about 12,000 U.S. officers who have served in wartime. Most of them are now retired or in the reserves; they belong to 129 chapters in American cities, including four in Texas. (The San Antonio chapter has 160 members.)

The M.O.W.W. has had Douglas MacArthur as its active commander, and Former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower as honorary commanders, but President Kennedy either has not been invited, or has not accepted, a niche in this honored company. The M.O.W.W. invited Goldwater to their banquet to accept their national defense award.

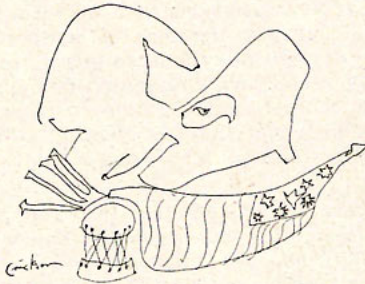
In their resolutions in national convention here, the retired and reserve officers conveyed a truculent impatience with the Kennedy Administration. They deplored a "trend to diminish military participation in essentially military matters." They urged "whatever measures, military or otherwise," that might be necessary to get Soviet troops out of Cuba. They criticized Kennedy for approving a "blueprint" for disarmament and a stronger UN prepared by the State Department and the U.S. disarmament agency.

When he introduced Goldwater, M.O.W.W.'s present national commander, German-born surgeon Hans von Luden, a Navy lieutenant in World War II, said we live "in the twilight of an undeclared war." Kennedy has said that the U.S. and Russia have a common interest in peace. Von Luden condemned "this utopian illusion" and said he presented Goldwater a gold medal in the spirit of the idea that the U.S. must have "the will to use" its military power.

During his speech to them, Goldwater told the M.O.W.W. members that "it's through organizations of men like this that we are going to find our salvation." In a general context of criticism of growing federal governmental powers, Goldwater

came to the defense of military men. As for those who say fear military men, they're taking over, "I say fear the civilian—They're taking over," he said.

Reporters were dealt with a little brusquely at the airport by the officers in charge. Col. Charles A. Ellis, general chairman of the M.O.W.W. convention, broke off an impromptu press conference, saying "General Goldwater" would be available for more questions later. (Goldwater is a major general in the Air Force Reserve.) Perhaps because Goldwater was not making a brief speech at the airport, as local GOP leaders had hoped his hosts would let him do, a reception crowd that had been



predicted at between 3,000 to 5,000 turned out to be about one-tenth that. When the car carrying Goldwater from the airport was slowed down by his fans, with whom he was amiably shaking hands, Col. Ellis became irritated that they were clustering in front of the car and stood up in the front seat and shouted, "Get out of the way."

**F**RATES SEELIGSON, Bexar County G.O.P. chairman, Mrs. Ike Kampmann, G.O.P. national committeewoman from Texas, and three other Republicans spent 20 minutes alone with Goldwater along in the afternoon of his visit. Mrs. Kampmann said the senator did not discourage the efforts to draft him for the presidency and told them he was "still thinking about" running for the job.

"He said people are always asking him who'll be his running mate, and he said, 'Gosh, I haven't even decided that I'm gonna be runnin','" Mrs. Kampmann said.

The Dallas News had quoted the state GOP chairman and draft-Goldwater leader, Peter O'Donnell, that Goldwater would announce his candidacy in January. Goldwater rather vaguely disavowed this story to the press.

At the airport there were a few trouble signs for Goldwater. One of his fans there was Bard Logan, chairman of the Constitu-

tion (just re-named Conservative) Party, which favors repeal of the income tax and U.S. withdrawal from the U.N., and which polled about 20,000 votes for governor in 1962. Logan granted he is "not sure" where Goldwater stands on the income tax now, but does think he is a constitutionalist, and an honest man. "If we can just get somebody who's for our country," Logan said, "then we can go on from there."

Three matronly ladies at the airport, carrying along Goldwater for President stickers, saw a man starting a car that sported a "Repeal the Poll Tax" sticker. "Oh, good!" one of them said. "No, no," said a second; "we don't want *that!*" The first lady looked again and granted her mistake, saying, "I thought it said 'the income tax,'" Advancing on the driver, she warned him to revise his views, because Texas is "filling up with the wrong kind of people."

Goldwater himself renewed his support of poll tax repeal. On the income tax, he did not put such a distance between the backers mentioned and himself.

Asked if he had changed his views on the repeal of the income tax, he thought not. He said he did not like it, just like everyone else.

"I personally don't like this graduated feature," he said. "I think we'd have some difficulty removing it, but I think it can be changed."

He was pressed then, Is he personally in favor of repealing the graduated feature of the federal income tax? "I would be," he replied, stressing the personal pronoun, "but I am a rather realistic man. I don't think you're going to get that done. I would myself as a senator push for it in the hope that we could get a change."

Reporters questioned him, of course, on civil rights, and he repeated that he will vote against any bill with a public accommodations feature in it. He volunteered further that the federal government "must enforce" federal court orders, and that citizens in Alabama and Mississippi can effect changes they desire by court action.

But, he said, law will not solve discrimination, which is worldwide, and "is far worse in Africa between white and white than it's ever been here."

"I'd like to have us calm down in this whole field," he said, and try to solve the problem "without use of force, use of threat, the use of promotion of violence, the promotion of discord and harmony," and with the recognition "that not only the

Negro, but the whites in many instances have beefs."

**A**T THE AIRPORT Goldwater's gentlemanly manner quickly turned to anger when the question of the wheat sale to Russia was brought up. He deplored the U.S. getting Russia "out of a pickle" and said with an angry frown, "Let 'em fall apart." If they won't make concessions in Cuba or Berlin for the wheat, he said later to reporters, "tell them to go to hell!—we won't sell them the wheat." He saw no difference between selling wheat to Russia and to China, because "they're both our enemies."

In the text of his speech, he said the Bosch government in the Dominican Republic, which the Administration has supported as a democratic hope, had been "smashed altogether by military leaders who saw communism, not true progress, building behind the facade." Asked if he supports the military coup against that government, he replied: "I try to be very practical about these military juntas in South America. . . . I don't look on these military juntas as a great evil, as the White House views them. For example, I would a damn sight rather have Batista in Cuba than Castro."

Kennedy's foreign policy, Goldwater told the retired officers, is the most disastrous in U.S. history—"four fruitless years of floundering foreign policy." The Administration, he said, has split the NATO alliance, put the Congo back 50 years, subsidized tyranny in Ghana, and caused a creeping communist takeover in Laos, something "not much better" in Vietnam, complacency in India, and Pakistan's "dealing with the dragon."

"Cuba ticks like a time bomb, awaiting either the heroism of others or another moment of political expediency," he said.

Under the Alliance for Progress, he charged, "social progress has become the progress of socialism." Taking Bolivia as a Kennedy showcase country, he said its ideology is "very basic marxism" and that when it was "handpicked as the answer for Latin-America," it had nationalized 70% of the means of production, including the tin mines.

He rejected the idea of "peaceful coexistence with our enemies." The Observer man asked him what he might wish to say on the subject generally designated as "the horrors of nuclear war." The senator responded:

"An all-out nuclear war would be a horrible thing, but I don't think it's any more horrible than any modern war would be. A nuclear war would kill more people right away, while a conventional war would go on longer," and be just about as bad, he said. The prolonged bombing of Tokyo killed more people than the atomic bombs; "We forget that we have modern conventional weapons that are pretty powerful, too," he said.

"I think there's been a boogeyman in the minds of people, that anytime we get tough any place, there will be a nuclear war,"

Senator Goldwater said. "That hasn't been true, and we've been in a conflict since the end of World War II, and will be."

He closed his talk here with a pep talk for patriotism he delivered ad lib with considerable feeling.

We must, he said, revive "the feelings of patriotism. . . . It's a tear in the eye, it's a tug on the heart, it's a flag going by. We need it. We need it badly. We are a young country—yet many people are willing to

give up the ghost—say that we are now willing to live with the enemy that has sworn to bury us. Love of country is superseded only by love of God, and comes in front of love of family." Closing, he said we must be "dedicated to the idea that we would rather be free men than slave dogs."

The officers and their ladies, who had interrupted him 18 times with applause, then rose and gave him an intense ovation.

R.D.

## Americanism in the Schools

*Austin*  
Entering its eleventh year, the privately-financed drive to teach economic conservatism as Americanism in Texas public schools is reaching a zenith this year.

Texas Education Cmsr. J. W. Edgar went further in endorsing Americanism teaching in the public schools and the associated privately-financed organizations that spawn it in Texas than he ever has before during a meeting in Waco last month.

Speaking to the executive committee of one of the regional Americanism-in-the-schools groups, Edgar was reported by the Dallas News as saying that there is a statewide "bubbling ferment of localized action" for school systems to guarantee that every youth have a clear understanding of "the concept and heritage of American freedom," and that the demand is being met by regional school-based study projects.

Speaking to representatives of public schools in nine counties and of Baylor University, he said that the Hill Country Americanism project around Lampasas proved the value of the regional approach and "virtually mandated a positive approach to the teaching of Americanism." He praised the Heart O' Texas group's recent circulation of a questionnaire to determine "what every young American should know."

Reviewing the nature of the "regional project approach" to this subject, Edgar—the Dallas News reported—specified that it involves the support of the project by a philanthropic foundation or organization. A good example of one, he said, is the Texas Bureau for Economic Understanding of Dallas.

The program of the annual convention of the Texas Assn. of School Administrators and the Texas Assn. of School Boards in Austin late last month included, (among such topics as "Modern Mathematics," "The Dropout—What Can Be Done," and "Certification of School Administrators,") "Teaching Americanism vs. Communism." The panel participants were public school officials from Midland, Longview, Austin, and Dickinson.

About 350 school teachers from the public schools of ten counties attended the program of "The Cen-Tex Study of America's Heritage" in Lampasas Sept. 30. The speaker was C. L. Kay, vice president for public service of Lubbock Christian College, a private school. Kay, like many speakers in

this program, has been honored by the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, also a private organization.

Guests were served a free meal—steak, potatoes, beans, tossed salad, bread, drinks, and a good cobbler pie. The banquet was held in the high school in Lampasas. The next day a meeting was held for some 350 students from the public schools of the same counties, again complete with dinner and a lecture.

The printed program for the teachers' evening with Mr. Kay said that "the educators who participate in the Cen-Tex Study of America's Heritage . . . desire to wage deliberate, effective, ideological, classroom warfare against Communism at every grade level" and "To develop an American Heritage project in our schools so dynamic that it will cause the general public to intensify its action in perpetuating America's foundations of freedom."

The program stated that the Cen-Tex study was launched in the spring of 1953 as the Hill Country Project in Economic Understanding "under the sponsorship of the Texas Bureau for Economic Understanding and with the cooperation of the Texas Education Agency, Texas Christian University, Baylor University, Southern Methodist University, the University of Texas, Southwest Texas State Teachers' College, and Southwestern University."

Observer readers know from previous accounts that the Texas Bureau for Economic Understanding is financed by private business sources. The Texas Education Agency is the official state agency that supervises the state's involvement in public education in Texas. Some of the schools listed are public-supported colleges, of course.

In the past much of the money for these free banquets and conservatism-and-patriotism speeches has come from another private organization, the Texas Educational Assn. of Fort Worth. The T.B.E.U.-Texas Educational Assn. team-up is still in force; the Lampasas program says that the Cen-Tex Study was put on "with a generous grant of funds from the Texas Educational Assn. of Fort Worth."

The same eight "foundations of freedom" which have been pushed throughout these seminars in the public schools—including "the profit motive," "private ownership of property," and the one with the most ideological content, "government as protector, not provider"—are printed on the back of

the Lampasas program that says the state's official education agency and many state-supported colleges cooperate in it.

Oct. 1, a free meal was served to teachers from 22 public schools in 16 counties of the Trans-Pecos area at the Sul Ross State College main auditorium. Speaker was Dr. Eduard Taborsky, professor of government at the University of Texas. Dr. L. Harlan Ford, dean at Sul Ross, said in advance of this function that "it is considered imperative that every interested educator attend this session."

Then, on Oct. 3, in Abilene, a retired naval aviator, Leon B. Blair, addressed the West Texas Schools American Heritage Project dinner in the cafeteria of Abilene

Christian College. "Make no mistake," he said to the teachers. "The ultimate Soviet objective is political domination of the world and that hasn't changed. Be not deceived by reports of dissension in the communist camp."

R. H. Lawrence, director of the private T.B.E.U., introduced Blair. A. E. Wells, superintendent of Abilene's public schools, closed the program by leading a reported 400 teachers and administrators from ten counties in the national anthem.

Meanwhile, the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom of Howard Payne [Baptist] College is getting under way in Brownwood with the same kinds of purposes and an initial outlay for buildings of \$594,000.

## Political Intelligence

### \$5,000 to Barry

✓ Marvin Collins, state director for the Republicans, tells the Observer that while his party has no "secret weapon," several hundred Republicans met behind closed doors in Austin to work out a coherent program for getting Republican voters registered that can be described as combing residential areas with "lots of volunteer muscle." (Naturally this means combing the higher income areas most intensively, though Collins did not say this.)

Collins says, "We want as large a Republican primary as we can get," with primaries in all the counties (compared to 220 of the 254 in 1962), and with a turnout Collins thinks will increase (over 1962's 116,000 GOP voters) to at least 200,000, and possibly 400,000. "It's gonna be at least 200,000, I don't think there's any doubt of that," Collins says.

✓ —Had 84,000 more Texans voted Republican in May, 1964, John Connally might well have lost the Democratic nomination to Don Yarborough, who came within 26,000 votes of winning it.

✓ The Texas Republican Finance Cmte. has published a handsome "Texas government almanac and business guide for 1963" at \$3. It is full of political information broken down by counties that is useful to advocates of a two-party system.

✓ GOP dignitaries will be in Texas throughout the month. Sen. Dominick, R.-Colo., toured Houston, El Paso, and Harlingen the past week; national GOP chairman William E. Miller is to be in Fort Worth and Houston Oct. 27-28; and Sen. Hruska, R.-Neb., is in Dallas Oct. 18.

✓ Hundreds turned out for a Goldwater rally in Harris County, near Tomball, heard Jack Cox say Goldwater "is the man to lead us out of the wilderness," and learned that Houston fans of Goldwater have sent \$5000 to the national draft Goldwater headquarters.

✓ Peter O'Donnell of Dallas, state GOP chairman and draft Goldwater leader, says, "It's not what you'd call a bandwagon yet, but the idea is prevalent that he will be nominated and it's a good idea to get with it."

O'Donnell says Sen. John Tower is "a little more" than a liaison between Goldwater and the draft Goldwater movement, leaving one free to infer that Tower to some extent influences that movement as Goldwater's unofficially authorized spokesman.



Tower

### JFK in Texas

✓ The President's two-day Texas tour Nov. 21-22 will be a delicate affair, it's now clear. John F. Kennedy dropping in on Texas Democrats next month will be like a general dropping in on a crap game among his junior officers. They don't like to get caught breathin' and cussin' on the dice—and even if the general turns out to be okay, but bets with one player or another, he runs the risk he'll lose the battle in the morning.

Lyndon B. Johnson was in Texas week-end before last, and from Austin, where he happened to be at the time, there emanated an intriguing newspaper story that Kennedy would visit Texas, Johnson would attend him, and Ralph Yarborough would not. The very next day, in Washington, the senior senator issued a 21-word communique, "I have accepted an invitation from the White House to accompany President Kennedy on his trip to Texas in late November"—a fact that the President's aides confirmed, on inquiry, without elaboration.

When John Connally subsequently went to Washington, he let the President know he would be there, and would be glad to drop by. Kennedy's aides at first said it

had not been decided whether Connally's visit would be on the record or off (in the latter case, the visitor just slips in and out, without press trumpeting); but then it was decided it would be on.

For the Texas political crap game, the most important fact about what the governor said when he left the President after an hour was that the President's trip would not necessarily be political, and might be non-political. Connally was hoping that the President had not really decided to bet on Ralph Yarborough in the Texas Democratic primary. What happens next could depend on the President, or on the way the dice roll; but as it stands, the President has bet on Yarborough.

His first day in Washington, Connally breakfasted with the Texas delegation, lunched with Johnson, conferred with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall on oil imports and the Guadalupe Peak park area. He said he told the congressmen he did not want to call a special session on re-districting and would like the legislature to re-district in 1965, but that the facts of life would have to be faced then. He conferred with Agriculture Secy. Orville Freeman about Toledo Bend dam; he visited Defense Secy. McNamara and Deputy Secy. Gilpatric.

The President and he did not discuss the Texas Senate race, he told the Washington press. When the President said he had not heard much about civil rights troubles in Texas, he told him the state had been fortunate and had made advances, "because we worked at it at the city, state, and local levels." Civil rights, the governor told him, would not be a controlling factor in Texas next year (there will not be much to choose between the parties, he told reporters). He told the President that he, Kennedy, will win Texas again, but in a hard race; to reporters he said that Goldwater has "considerable strength" in Texas, but that Kennedy leads him "by substantial margins," and that Goldwater's image will be damaged when people start cutting at him in a campaign.

Back in Dallas, Connally said Kennedy asked him to submit a suggested schedule, and that he, the governor, would like it to be a non-political trip so the President could see and do things he couldn't otherwise, such as look at the economy and industrial potential of the state.

✓ Discussing the President's visit, Cong. Alger, Dallas, said "We should welcome him if he's prepared to answer questions and get away from pious platitudes." Cong. Wright, Fort Worth, said he's "extremely welcome" in Fort Worth; Cong.-at-large Pool said he disagrees with Kennedy on "much legislation," but Texas will give him "a courteous reception," as distinct from Johnson's raucous 1960 reception in Dallas.

### Divided or Not?

✓ All is well, says Eugene Locke, state Democratic chairman. "There is no major movement to [the Republicans] even though many conservative Democrats

are not backing the national ticket," Locke told the AP. "The ticket and the national leaders are not driving people out of the party. A lot of Texans have voted Republican for national candidates and Democratic for state and local candidates."

✓ It is clear that Locke is expecting many people who are going to vote against Kennedy to vote for Gov. Connally. Lorraine Barnes, Austin American reporter, noticed relevantly interesting details on reportorial visits to the state GOP and Democratic Party headquarters in Austin. The walls of the GOP command post are

covered with photographs of Goldwater; but at Democratic Hq., she observed:

"... on the walls are autographed photos of John and Nellie Connally, Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, and Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, affectionately inscribed to State Chairman Eugene Locke of Dallas, and a photo of Vice President Lyndon Johnson. John Kennedy's picture is in the workroom, a large room for mailing and mimeographing."

✓ Tom Griffin, head of the "Old Frontier Democrats," told the AP that Kennedy is "deserting the ideals of Texans" and

ought to be dumped from the ticket. Apparently Griffin, whose real target is Vice President Johnson, also bears at least a verbally strong grudge against Kennedy. Griffin was nominated for a U.S. post by Sen. Yarborough but was turned down by the administration.

## Dr. Davis Running

✓ George H. W. Bush, the dapper Houston oilman who has announced for the GOP nomination for the U.S. Senate, has two practical concerns these days. The prospect of Lloyd Bentsen's candidacy on the Democratic side has caused some people Bush hoped would give him contributions to decide to wait to see what Bentsen will do. And now a Dallas doctor, Dr. Milton V. Davis, has announced for the Republican nomination, too.

On the surface, it would seem to be a serious matter for one GOP candidate to come from Dallas, another from Houston, when these are the two strongholds of Republicanism in the state. Asked about this, the Dallas surgeon told the Observer that it's entirely false—simple, and just not so.

Davis says he's going to "run a race like nobody's ever seen." Will his campaign be well financed? "Well—we don't talk about that. It's going to be enough," he told the Observer. The theme will be a stop to deficit and "backdoor spending." He says Sen. Yarborough disagrees with what Texans believe in, as when he voted for the test ban treaty or medicare. "I really believe the people are ready to retire him," Dr. Davis says.

Davis has not run for office before, but he was state chairman of Doctors of Nixon-Lodge and of Doctors for Tower. Davis says he knows of no vote Tower has cast with which he disagrees.

## Wright Weaving

✓ Jim Wright's confidantes have spread the word in Texas that the Fort Worth congressman is again seriously considering taking the plunge against Sen. Yarborough. This induced Lloyd Bentsen, the Houston businessman who has left a trail of newspaper reports behind him around the state that he is a certain candidate, but who has not announced his candidacy, to drop in on Wright in Washington.

A little story thereupon appeared in the Dallas News quoting Wright as saying that Bentsen had told him he was seriously considering running against Yarborough and as commenting that "Apparently it's going to be a rough, mean race" and that there seemed to be some resentment in Texas over Yarborough's attitude toward Lyndon Johnson. And, the News further quoted Wright directly, "'A lot of people want more effective representation for Texas in the Senate. But I've tried to stay out of this.'"

The Observer asked Congressman Wright if this story, including the remark about effective representation, was accurate or "in what, if any, particulars it is inaccurate." Ducking, Wright replied:

# What Is An LBJ?

*Texarkana, Tex.*

Thomas R. Marshall, a gentleman from Indiana, was a man with retiring ways, at least from 1913 on. Although most people have long forgotten the fact, or never knew it, it was Marshall's lasting legacy to the American political dialogue that "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar." Marshall was vice president of the United States during Woodrow Wilson's two terms and had plenty of time to polish his quips.

There is a good chance that 1,000 out of 1,000 people would fail to remember the late Mr. Marshall. Vice presidents seem to be easily forgotten, except in Texas. In California they are sometimes even rather violently and efficiently rejected.

In Texas it is more difficult to overlook the subject of the song "All the Way With LBJ," what with news reports of goodwill visits to Iceland, Scandinavia, Middle Eastern camel drivers' oases, and other exotic spots such as Fort Worth and Austin; but away from his home state the vice president's is a name conjure with. Certainly the entertainers haven't forgotten him.

Vaughn Meador, the popular impersonator of the president and star of the best-selling record, "The First Family," participated in this exchange on a recent TV program:

Q: "Well, Mr. President, it has been reported that the vice presidency can be expected to become an unprecedentedly strong office. I suppose you've assigned a great many special powers and duties to Lyndon B. Johnson, haven't you?"

Meador: "Who?"

In the Army-spoofing comic strip, "Beetle Bailey," this dialogue occurred between Plato, the strip's intellectual GI, and Beetle, the goofing-up private:

Plato: "You don't hear much about the vice president any more. He's almost a forgotten man."

Beetle: "Who?"

Plato: "Lyndon Johnson."

Beetle: "WHO?"

Recently the CBS-TV program, "Candid Camera," devoted one of its sections to interviews aimed at answering the ques-

tion, "Who is Lyndon B. Johnson?" "Candid Camera" star Allan Funt, is a disclaimer at the outset, said most of the interviewed persons knew who LBJ is, but after the next few minutes this was hard to believe. As Funt said, "many were very vague." Here is how the session went.

Q: "Who is Lyndon B. Johnson?"

The replies:

One old lady (contorting her face as though in a \$64,000 isolation booth): "No . . . I just can't think who he is."

A younger lady: "Well . . . he's not president. Am I getting close?"

A man (expressionless as Gromyko, trying to walk away): "No, I don't know him. I'm from New Jersey." (He succeeds in walking away.)

A lady: "I think he has something to do with the president."

A man: "There's a lot of Johnsons around here. Does he live on a farm?"

A thirtyish lady: "What are they? What do they do?" ("No, it's a man," the questioner explained.) "Oh . . . Am I supposed to know him? Hm . . . Lyndon Johnson. Well, that's a very distinguished name!"

A busy man in a warehouse: "I don't know him. Why don't you look in the phone book? There used to be a phone book over there" (pointing to corner of warehouse).

One of the conversations went thusly:

Q: "Who is Lyndon B. Johnson?"

A: "Should I know him?"

Q: "He's a very famous person."

A: "Well, God bless him!"

You might think that the comedians would lay off, now that the vice president has endorsed the public accommodations proposal; but no. The night of Oct. 8, in a play within a play on the Red Skelton show, Ginger Rogers was supposed to be a phony Southern belle, and Red had been hired to be her Southern pappy. Miss Rogers laid down a sugary Southern accent, but now and again would get excited and lapse into a tough New York rasp. "Honey," Skelton told her, "you change from North to South faster than Lyndon Johnson." Then with a puzzled glance toward his writers off camera he said, "Lyndon Johnson?—who's that?"

JAMES PRESLEY

"Rather than my attempting to characterize what Lloyd [Bentsen] said regarding his plans and his reasons, I think it probably would be both more accurate and more appropriate for you to get a statement from him in this regard."

## Yarborough Itching

✓ Sen. Yarborough is "itching for this campaign." His confidence spreads out among his associates and co-workers. Walter Hall, chairman of the Texas Salute to Yarborough Cmte. for the appreciation dinner for him in Austin Saturday, says that preparations are being made for 6,200 guests. They include the postmaster general of the U.S., John Austin Gronouski, many judges and district attorneys, legislators, county chairmen, leaders of minorities, Democratic national committeeman Byron Skelton of Temple, Percy Foreman, the celebrated Houston lawyer, and millionaires listed by Roll Call, the Washington political paper, as including Hall, Dickinson; Mrs. R. D. Randolph, Houston; Ben Carpenter and Michaux Nash, Sr., Dallas; Sheridan Lewis, Sr., Corpus Christi; Jess McNeil, Bill Sinkin, and W. Bryan Jordan, San Antonio; and Julius Gordon, Beaumont. The many lists of steering committee members include names familiar to workers in past Yarborough campaigns, and some that are not so familiar.

## A Vote Is Cast

✓ Liberals sighed with relief, but not all of Sen. Yarborough's backers were pleased, when the senior senator voted for what he called a "compromise composite" civil rights bill as it passed the Senate commerce committee in Washington, 14-3. Yarborough told reporters he proposed just one amendment, to reduce penalties for violating the public accommodations section from six months in jail to 30 days; and that as a result, a 60-day penalty was settled upon. He let it be known that he voted against prohibiting labor unions from discriminating against Negroes—a provision which was put in the committee bill, anyway.

Dallas News Washington reporter John Mashek speculated that Yarborough could not have been enthusiastic about the measure, being an East Texan. Bob Hollingsworth, the Dallas Times-Herald's Washington man, quoted Yarborough saying that "My subjective feelings are not part of the legislative record," which Hollingsworth took as a hint that "he had some misgivings." The fact remained that he voted for the civil rights bill, including prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations, and said he will vote for it also on the Senate floor.

The bill, watered down somewhat in the committee, draws a line between accommodations variously affected by and affecting interstate commerce, on the one hand, and places of business in neighborhoods, not so related to interstate commerce, which are exempted. Court cases would be required to decide on the measure's applications.

The U.S. attorney general could bring suits on behalf of an individual aggrieved after a 30-day period for attempts to get compliance from the accused merchant.

The bill includes a fair employment practices commission, and is being received in the Congress as such a liberal measure, the question is who will get the blame or credit for watering it down, the Republicans or the Democrats.

Yarborough and Sen. Tower voted for the one-year extension of the U.S. civil rights commission, also; but on the House side, 13 of the 80 votes against this, the least controversial of all the civil rights measures, were cast by Texans—Alger, Beckworth, Burleson, Dowdy, Mahon, Patman, Poage, Pool, Purcell, Roberts, Rogers, League, and Thompson. Voting for the commission extension of the House side were Texans Brooks, Gonzalez, Kilgore, Thomas, Wright, and Young (the others not voting). Sen. Tower says he will join a Southern filibuster against the public accommodations proposal.

✓ Prior to these developments, a Dallas Negro group, the Democratic Progressive Voters League, said in a news release Yarborough was "in Texas, but far from Austin, last Aug. 28," the date of the civil rights march on the Capitol here, and said (impatient with his silence theretofore on public accommodations) he was "quite inept" not to have read the civil rights legislation as late as Aug. 28. A spokesman for Yarborough slammed the news release as "irresponsible and untruthful": Yarborough was in Washington at his desk all day Aug. 28, the spokesman noted.

✓ In the Valley, Reps. Maurice Pipkin, Brownsville; Bill Rapp, Raymondville; and Menton Murray, Harlingen, were photographed in discussion with Lloyd Bentsen at the scene of a party given by power company executive Lon C. Hill honoring Railroad Cmsrs. Jim Langdon and Ben Ramsey. . . . The Houston Chronicle, noting that a TV poll of 137 New Yorkers turned up only 44 who could identify Lyndon Johnson, asked 115 Houstonians to identify "Ralph Yarborough" and "John Tower," and only 25 knew who Yarborough was, and 18, Tower.

## Smith's Foe(s)

✓ With just one slighting remark about Lt. Gov. Preston Smith—that Texas is "entitled to something better"—Rep. Horace Houston, Dallas, a Republican, announced his candidacy for lieutenant governor. Houston of course is a conservative. He is going to stress, he said, the "utter futility" of conservative participation in Democratic primaries. "The Democratic Party is irrevocably captured by the far left, as demonstrated by President Kennedy's policies," he said. He favors a GOP presidential preferential vote.

He has borrowed a small plane from Dallas GOP legislative candidate Hughes Brown and will fly it around the state himself. He opposes poll tax repeal.

✓ Sen. Franklin Spears, San Antonio, has called Smith a "mediocre" official who has not provided much leadership.

Addressing the San Antonio junior bar, Spears declared his support for the public accommodations proposal, saying, "If a Negro woman's money is good enough to buy the merchandise, she's good enough to buy a drink at the lunch counter." Under questioning, he also approved of demonstrations as long as they don't block other people's free movement—"I sympathize with the sit-ins, and I would no more criticize the Negroes' methods of obtaining equal rights than criticize you in the conduct of a lawsuit," he told the attorneys.

San Antonio Express thought the endorsement would not endear Spears to East Texans, but was "a courageous act." The Express expressed fear that Spears may lose influence in the Senate because of his statements or candidacy, if he runs against Smith, but did not oppose his running.

✓ Sen. Don Kennard, Fort Worth, often discussed as a possible running-mate with his close friend Spears, is not planning a statewide race next year, but may make one in 1966.

✓ Smith has been making quiet speeches—one at Victoria, for example, urging more vocational education—and has been distributing a pamphlet listing bills passed by the 1963 legislature and describing it as "one of the most efficient in the history of the Lone Star State." Answering Spears, Smith said, "As far as I know, Franklin is a good boy and has a lot of ability." He said the people did not want a dictator; the Senate got most of its objectives accomplished, and he, Smith, had conducted the Senate by the calendar and the rule-book, "and I don't know of a senator who didn't get his day in court." As for leadership, Smith said, "the question arises whether you are talking about leadership for the pressure groups or leadership for the people."

✓ Byron Tunnell, speaker of the House, is home safe, says a leading Tyler Republican, Smith Cty. D.A. Bill Coats. Disregard reports he may not get renominated and re-elected, Coats said: "the Democrats respect him, and the Republicans respect him, and we are going to keep him in office." If Coats speaks for Tyler Republicans, the reports that there is a \$20,000 anti-Tunnell fund would seem to be of little consequence, even if true.

✓ Republican Bill Hays, Temple, who ran for lieutenant governor last year, is the hottest name in contention for the gubernatorial contest in 1964. Jack Cox, Houstonian who ran for the GOP against Connally in 1962, did not turn up at the recent GOP political seminar in Austin, but has been making pro-Goldwater speeches in Houston, and still could decide to announce either for governor or senator—the latter being the only office, he has said previously, he would run for next year.

✓ Don Yarborough said in Dallas he will run only for governor, if for anything, and will say about Dec. 1. He thought Goldwater's chances in Texas would depend on whom the Democrats nominated for governor. He called for full support of the Kennedy administration, commended the test ban treaty as "the greatest accomplishment" in recent years, and added, "We are on the threshold of achieving international peace." He thought issues in a race against Connally would include loan sharks, old age pensions, and money for education; perhaps civil rights, also. . . . Connally recently had about 40 or 50 supporter-friends to the mansion to talk politics,



*Don Yarborough*  
 and money for education; perhaps civil rights, also. . . . Connally recently had about 40 or 50 supporter-friends to the mansion to talk politics,

✓ There will be three places on the Texas Supreme Court open to next year's election—those that will be sought again by incumbent Justices Robt. Hamilton and Zollie Steakley, and the place of Justice Frank P. Culver, Jr., who announced his retirement as expected.

## Dobbs and Hunt

✓ Rep. Jack Ritter's chance to win the congressional seat in Central Texas improved when Jim Dobbs announced on the GOP side. Dobbs got 37% of the vote

10

*The Texas Observer*

against Homer Thornberry in 1962; a good showing. Yet Dobbs has been working in Washington for H. L. Hunt's radio-TV propaganda program, "Life Line," as an announcer since May 1, and this stands to hurt him with some voters—as evidenced by his declaration, in announcing, that he hadn't discussed his running with Hunt, and would not accept any contributions from the way-out Dallas billionaire. The nub of the reasoning by which Ritter's chances can be thought to be improved lies in this: that Republicans can be expected to unite behind Dobbs (all GOP county chairmen of the ten counties endorsed him; Travis County GOP chief Marion Findlay is his manager; GOP Cong. Ed Foreman, Odessa, endorsed him before he announced), thus effectively preventing Jake Pickle, the Tory-Democrat candidate, from getting any of the Republican votes that usually go Democrat in state elections. (In the special election Nov. 9, the voters are not separated into party primaries.) It is unlikely both Pickle and Dobbs can get into a runoff. If Ritter has to run against Pickle, he's no worse off than he would have been without Dobbs in the race; but if Ritter gets to run it off against Dobbs, the H. L. Hunt albatross cannot be expected to escape Ritter's oratorical attentions.

The candidacy of National Indignation Convention leader Frank McGehee of Dallas for the Central Texas seat (based on the legalistic proposition that any Texan can run for congress from any district, and on the political proposition that both

parties have gone socialist) may take more votes from Dobbs than from Pickle, but probably not many from either of them. Yet formally speaking it makes for a three-way split of the conservative vote, while Ritter may scoop up most everything on the liberal side.

For instance, McGehee is against one-worldism and co-existence. Pickle backs a proposal against deficit spending except in emergencies, and says "Congress should take steps to establish a policy of fiscal responsibility on the part of the federal government," though his ads say "He's a Democrat." Dobbs says a tax cut should be linked with control of high federal spending. Ritter came out for poll tax abolition and got an assist from the AFL-CIO when it renewed legal maneuvering in its lawsuit alleging Texas Employment Commissioners, including Pickle before he resigned, contrived to foster anti-union amendments to the Texas jobless compensation statute.

Gov. Connally showed an unfriendliness toward Ritter by rather sharply turning back Ritter's offer to resign if the election was set Nov. 9 (which it was anyway after Ritter resigned unconditionally). In the background here is Connally's attendance at a barbecue at Claude Voyles' ranch recently with Pickle in conspicuous attendance. Ritter alleges that the Austin American-Statesman turned down a paid political ad calling attention to this meeting.

✓ If the conservative vote seems split up in the congressional race, the Democratic vote of its various hues is utterly fragmented in the two Dallas legislative races and the one legislative race to fill Ritter's vacated Austin seat Nov. 9. The difference lies in the fact that the high man wins in the legislative races. Although three Republicans are among the large field in Austin, one, W. P. Hord, has the GOP's blessing, and a fair shot at the no-runoff seat. In Dallas, the GOP has socked all its strength in just two candidates for the two seats, while Democratic candidates have multiplied daily like so many Schmoos, but without satisfying any of their or the Democrats' political needs—although they are a great tonic for the Republicans' sense of humor.

Elect **CLYDE BUTTER**  
 To the Texas House of Representatives

Clyde Butter served as an elected official of the Texas House of Representatives for the past seven years. In his post as reader for the House it was his duty to read all the bills and resolutions aloud to the members while in session. It was also his responsibility to tabulate all the votes and keep records of all votes taken on the floor of the House. Until he resigned to begin this campaign Clyde Butter served as reader for the House in four regular sessions and eight special sessions of the Texas Legislature under three different speakers of the House. He was re-elected each time by the members of the House themselves. Clyde Butter already knows the procedure and parliamentary rules of the House and already has a good working relationship with the members of the House. He can begin effectively working for Travis County . . . and for Texas . . . immediately upon his election.

**Clyde Butter has the experience to do  
 a good job for Travis County . . . and for Texas**

(Pd. Pol. Adv.)

## The Baker Case

✓ "Lyndon's Boy" Bobby Baker having resigned as secretary to the U.S. Senate Democratic majority under fire, one can be sure Republicans will go all-out to try to find connections between Baker's business interests and leading Democratic politicians. When he was majority leader, Lyndon Johnson elevated Baker to his post as the Senate's political traffic officer.

Baker is co-defendant (with a man under indictment for income tax fraud) in a civil suit alleging Baker used his political influence to get vending machine contracts at military installations for a company he had a money interest in. A Justice Dept. spokesman said an F.B.I. probe of Baker's financial interests is limited now but "apt to get quite widespread in the future." Senate

GOP leader Everett Dirksen and the Senate bloodhound, Sen. Williams, R-Del., indicate the case is not closed.

A Chicago Sun-Times story brought out that an insurance agent in an agency in which Baker is an official sold (in the agent's individual capacity, the agent insisted) Vice President Johnson a life insurance policy about six years ago, perhaps at Baker's suggestion. This, of course, amounts to little or nothing but a clue to one direction of journalistic interest in the case.

✓ Cong. Bureson and Poage, Texas, provided two of the five no votes as the U.S. House passed a military pay raise bill, 332-5. . . . Sen. Tower condemns the U.S. permitting the sale of surplus wheat to Russia as "a gift certificate worth many millions of American dollars." . . . Sen. Yarborough's Cold War GI Bill may have hit an overturning snag: the Kennedy administration is reported opposed to it. . . . Yarborough will join in dedicating the new U.S. forest recreation area in the Big Thicket, in Sam Houston national forest, Nov. 1. Yarborough has announced he is for Cong. Joe Pool's proposal for a national park near Guadalupe Peak.

✓ Federal crackdowns on oil monopolies may be in the making. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy wired TIPRO at its convention renewing concern over concentrations of oil-gas ownership. Outgoing TIPRO president Johnny Mitchell, Houston, warned against too much harmony with "monopoly-minded major company friends," and while declaring that it will be best if needed industry changes are made by the industry itself, also said, "We don't really have to stay on our knees in the presence of purchasing companies, pencil pushers, with no heart or statesmanship in them."

## PASO Persists

✓ PASO's influence seems to keep growing. The fact that Brownsville will have its first Mexican-American mayor in 110 years is being attributed, although indirectly, to the city fathers' fears of a Crystal City-type PASO coup there. Roy Padilla, the San Antonio councilman considering running against PASO chairman Albert Pena for county commissioner, decided he'd better not. Then two other Latin-Americans, Felix Trevino, a printer, and Raymond Sanchez, announced against Pena.

Charges of rank discrimination in Crystal City gained believers when the Cornejo administration let it out that city records had been segregated as between "Mexicans" and "Americans." Dave Shapiro, administrative assistant to George Ozuna, the city manager, (not to the mayor, as previously stated here,) is distributing photocopies of December, 1962, records of the Crystal City water department, showing water meter readings under headings, "AMERICANS" (in caps) and "Mexicans" (in cap and lower case).

Looking over achievements in the city under the Cornejo administration, the Wall Street Journal's reporter, Vernon I. Grif-

fin, concluded, "it's hard to find fault with their actions so far." The opposition got another bad turn when their maverick councilman, Mario Hernandez, was arrested for carrying a pistol. He said the police chief was pressured into arresting him, but admitted he was carrying the weapon, and Cty. Atty. Curtis Jackson, a leader of the opposition which Hernandez had joined after being elected on the PASO-teamsters' ticket, announced Hernandez' trial date will be set Oct. 28.

## In the Press

✓ Texas is now accepted as a key state in the 1964 election. Time Magazine says so, and other national publications have been turning their baleful countenances toward the state.

✓ The Texas press: the Times-Herald Washington bureau had a story presenting Senate aspirant Lloyd Bentsen as a moderate enjoying the favor of the vice president. . . . The Houston Chronicle has been cruelly criticizing Goldwater, indicating it'll have no truck with his candidacy next year. . . . H. M. Baggarly in the Tulsa Herald quotes an Austin writer (not in the Observer, he says!) that Connally "has decided to rid himself of any tinge of Democrat support," in which if-so, Baggarly says, he's through with J.B.C. . . . Gen. Edwin Walker filed libel suits in the millions against various news media, including the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, in connection with coverage of his presence during Oxford riots last year.

✓ In an editorial, the Austin American condemned "far-reaching federal meddling" that approached "incredible stupidity" in federal prohibition of the televising of the U.T.-Oklahoma football game. A U.T. law prof noted that it was not the federal government, but the private National Collegiate Athletic Assn., that issued the prohibition. The editorial's title was "Ludicrous."

✓ Strong stuff from the Kountze News, in Archer Fullingim's column: he skipped a local coffee for Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, he said, because "It's the anti-Kennedy and anti-Negro jokes. I'm sick and tired of them, and I knew if I went down there to hear Preston Smith, some Republican masquerading as a Democrat would spring a couple of anti-Kennedy jokes. . . ." Besides, Fullingim said, Smith "looked out strictly for the corporate structure of Texas . . . and at the same time upping the taxes of us poor white trash, negroes, and Mexicans."

## Affairs of State

✓ A lot is at stake in the new Parks and Wildlife Cmsn. decision on application of four shell-dredging companies for permission to dredge any and all reefs in the Galveston and Trinity bays. The dredge companies say they've run out of shell to dredge, and users of the shell testified to the commission that they need it. Fishermen and conservationists said this would spoil the fishing (fish are found in much higher numbers around reefs than in open

water) and eliminate the only natural oyster grounds in the area. They said there's only enough shell for seven more years' dredging, anyway. The commission was told the oysters taken from the reefs in question aren't sanitary; but the state health department was not called in to testify on this question. Sen. Babe Schwartz, Galveston, called for a hearing at which the public could be heard from. Rep. Bob Eckhardt, Houston, is counsel for many of the opponents of the dredging applications.

✓ Ten state senators (Hardeman, Moffett, Wood, Hazlewood, Crump, Hall, Calhoun, Creighton, Owen, and Blanchard) have now intervened in the pending legislative redistricting suit in Houston against redistricting on a population basis. They argue that productive geographical areas are also entitled to representation. The Texas Farm Bureau's lobbyist, Charles Huff, gets down to another nub of the matter in the current house organ of the bureau. Probably the most serious effect of the suit, he wrote, "could be to end conservative state government."

✓ A suicide in Texas City has given rise to statewide attention to the question of police brutality. A man shot himself there in despondency concerning testimony he had given alleging two policemen had beaten his wife. Reps. Don Brown, Hitchcock, and Don Gladden, Fort Worth, telegraphed Speaker Tunnell, demanding an investigation of police brutality. There have also been recent allegations on this subject concerning Fort Worth officials, where two investigators have been suspended in connection with a prisoner with three broken ribs and other injuries.

✓ Robert Johnson, director of the Texas Legislative Council, tells the Observer that the council is running five studies now—on the code of ethics, the use of state-owned aircraft, pay for local officials, services for the blind, and recodifying all the laws. . . . The House general investigating committee has also ordered the council to draft legislation to prevent home financing firms from making loans for more than the cost to cover full financing, a practice prohibited by lending regulations which has been fairly widespread in West Texas.

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## Goldwater In 1864

Do you want a bumper sticker that announces this slogan for our national salvation? Give them to your friends—the movement may sweep the state in time for the end of the Civil War. The Observer is not patenting the slogan, (it being somebody else's Freudian slip,) but we are selling the bumper stickers if we get orders totaling as many as 1,000 of them at these prices:

4—\$ 1.00  
10—\$ 2.00  
100—\$10.00  
500—\$40.00  
1,000—\$80.00

Write Box Y (for Yesterday), the Texas Observer, 504 West 24th St., Austin, Tex. (Adv.)

## Three Sequels:

# Look Away, Look Away, Look Away, Dixieland

Marshall, Texas

In the nineteenth century, the young man who mentioned the word "consumption" in polite society became a social outcast. The cloak of gentility was so fully thrown about the body politic that sordid truths were disguised if not suppressed. Coming to grips with reality was reserved for a later day, and not until tuberculosis was sought out and put to rout by science was its existence recognized by the finer folk.

Looking about us at racism throughout the land, a similar approach may be found in some areas. Many communities seem to think that if some ugly practices are ignored, they will disappear, and that if the unrest of racial minorities be sufficiently hidden and unreported, it will go away, or spend itself without being noticed. A gray wall of silence seems to be the Maginot line for those who will not see the present freed from the past.

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The Texas Observer

Franklin Jones

The refrain of Dixie has become the approach of some of our journalists who surely know the truth, but in some illusory sense of self-justification—to avoid trouble—fail or refuse to report it. A group of white teenagers ride through the colored section of town throwing rocks at houses. Pretend it did not happen, "Look away, look away, look away, Dixieland."

Young people sit in the white section of the movie house, just under the colored balcony. Objects are thrown up at colored targets by them, and cushions are thrown down on the whites in return. After much more of this, a midnight show ends and a small racial fracas breaks out, and mills toward the courthouse some two blocks away before it is broken up by the police. Say nothing, we can't admit there is friction, "Look away, look away, look away, Dixieland!"

The Negro leaders find unanimous backing from a large audience in demanding more than the bi-racial committee and school board have been willing to give. They resolve to boycott a local fair. During the entire fair week, no Negro attends on a paid admission, or at best a mere trickle takes the place of the flood of attendance of former years. Ignore the meeting, and report that attendance at the fair was off due to a rainy day, when the sprinkle scarcely settled the dust. The fair may not be able to make another opening, but sweep it all under the rug, "Look away, look away, look away, Dixieland!"

If concessions are made to Negroes, and some of their complaints met, hide the progress from public knowledge, lest the men of good will be debased by being called "nigger lovers." Up the racists, down the revolt of 1963; fog the air, bring out the blinders, "Look away, look away, look away, Dixieland!"

This turning of the gaze, this denial of reality, at one and the same time deceives the searcher after truth and gives a field day to the hate mongers, who are ever ready to supply ugly rumors to fill the vacuum that should be filled with hard facts.

"They" say Martin Luther King came to Birmingham directly from a communist meeting. "They" say that the communists bombed the 16th Street Church to discredit the segregationists and weaken America by bringing about integration. The same "they" say that the Negroes planted all of the earlier bombs in Birmingham to gain sympathy for their movement.

When, oh when, will journalists in the heated environs of changing racial relations and conceptions find the fortitude to face facts and report news? When will they realize that the local suppression of news of racial frictions often results in unsuppressible national news of bombings, race murders, tear gas, police dogs, and fire hoses? When will "Look away, look away" become the reportorial "Look at this, look at this"?

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"... the students and the professors, the politicians and the lobbyists, dine or drink beer in rather unfamiliar proximity." Willie Morris in Harper's.

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# A Letter to Marshall

(Readers will recall that Jack Cargill, Jr., graduate history student at the University of Texas and member of a family that has lived in East Texas 120 years, wrote, for our East Texas issue, an article on a residential wall between the races in Marshall, and that the issue also contained the first two chapters of his honors thesis on the economic and social decline of East Texas. Cargill has sent a letter to the editor of the Marshall News-Messenger that is self-explanatory, and which we print here. The Marshall editor was reported, at our press time, to be planning to run a shortened version.—Ed.)

## OPEN LETTER TO THE CRITICS AND FRIENDS OF JACK CARGILL, JR.:

I understand that my name has become a dirty word in Marshall; that I angered several people with a letter to this column on July 22, and that the whole town seems to be incensed with an article of mine in the September 6 issue of the Texas Observer. For this situation I am sorry. A leading local power has, I am told, been feverishly circulating reproductions of the issue; certain "friends" of mine and my family's have revealed their true natures by their recent actions; and many genuine friends have been far too silent.

That I expressed sorrow at the situation is not to be construed as an apology, for I have done nothing either illegal or immoral, merely something highly unpopular. Let it be noticed that my severest critics, who would piously proclaim their "Americanism," would give that name to: attacking freedom of expression, advocating disobedience to federal law, and organizing hate campaigns. The ones who would label me a "subversive" would themselves subvert every liberty, every decency, of the American way of life. They would not give such attention to another publication of mine in the same periodical (Texas Observer, June 28, 1963, p. 16) criticizing another writer for his soft line on the communists.

In short, though a lot of decent people have been swayed by their actions, the leaders of the smear campaign have no motive except to crush someone who seems to be critical of the present local situation while he is still too weak to fight back. I trust that in time I shall deserve their estimate of my potential.

Think, my friends—I have done nothing but advocate a policy of honesty, decency, and self-examination; many of you may disagree with me on the facts—but how would you like it if for that reason I decided, and had the power, to crush you? If our republic cannot tolerate constructive criticism, is it a republic or a despotism? If our city cannot, then what is it?

My life is my record, and anyone who knows me can attest to my honesty and fairness; I ask them now to do so, publicly. Among my dearest friends are many with

whom I disagree on the most vital of issues—but civilized men do not try to force others to their way of thinking.

There have been people hurt inadvertently by my descriptions of groups of which they are members—the school superintendent and certain members of the school board, the Marshall high school principal, some clergymen and teachers, some ordinary businessmen and citizens.

# More About a Waste

"Texas Squanders Non-English Resources" is the title of the October, 1963, Texas Foreign Language Association Bulletin, published by the University of Texas in cooperation with the Modern Language Association of America. In an article by the Bulletin's managing editor, Mildred Boyer, Jacques Wilson's challenge ["An Appalling Waste," Obs. Aug. 23 '63] on the subject of bilingual public education is taken up and amplified.

The Bulletin concludes:

"1) Non-English languages are not un-American.

"2) For the proper pedagogical, psychological, and social development of the Spanish-speaking child, Spanish as the initial medium of instruction, and continued study of Spanish as his mother tongue, is essential and right.

"3) Cultivation and conservation of the Spanish in our Spanish-speaking population is in the national interest."

Thirty-one counties in Texas reported an enrollment of 50% or more Spanish-surname pupils in 1957, said the writer. Texans who have a native control of Spanish are the state's largest single foreign language resource. They "are our best hope for communicating with the Spanish-speaking world outside our borders," it is stated.

The state's program to teach pre-school Spanish-speaking children English is reducing their retentions in the first grade, but is not yet solving their special problems for later grades. It "is concentrating on too limited a time-span and on only one-half of the question," the article says.

The developing program to set up a six-month curriculum for migrant children apparently, the article observes, "will be devoted to 'Americanism' by the exclusive use of English." The planners "fail to recognize . . . that when an initial educational foundation in his mother tongue is denied a

For these unintended wrongs I humbly apologize. But as for any insult given to hypocrites, or hatemongers, or turncoat "friends," or people who would stoutly refuse to face reality, I would only make a hypocrite of myself by expressing any regret for criticizing them.

It was Patrick Henry who said: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?" and Thomas Jefferson who wrote: "Let those flatter who fear: it is not an American art." To the degree of anti-Americanism in these sentiments, I plead guilty, and to no more.

JACK CARGILL, JR.

child, his success in operational skills such as reading and arithmetic is seriously prejudiced," the Bulletin declares.

"If the average performance in the regular public school of Texas is two failures in the first grade for the Spanish surname child," the writer says, "one can anticipate with horror the statistics to be recorded in the new program for migrant children, whose mobility and short school term must be added to the already existing obstacles confronting this group."

Discussing the procedure of requiring Spanish-speaking children to do all their learning, from grade one, in English, the article says:

"How wrong this procedure is can be understood if we imagine for a moment what it would be like if our English-speaking youngsters in the primary grades received all their instruction in Spanish. It would be the sheerest heresy for us to present reading and writing in Spanish in grade one. At this stage, to introduce reading and writing in English to the Spanish-speaking child is equally heretical. The order of learning is completely upset."

At the beginning, the writer says, "To English, his foreign language, he [the Spanish-speaking child] should be introduced audio-lingually, using materials exclusively designed for the native speaker of Spanish. . . . After a year or so . . . he should be taught reading and writing in English . . . again . . . with materials prepared specifically for him as a learner of a foreign language. . . ."

October 18, 1963

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# How to Go First Class

A Communication:

## VISIT TO JUAREZ

*The American Way of Death*, by Jessica Mitford, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1963, 333 pp., \$4.95.

This book is made of morbid curiosity, wit, admirable pedantry, and honest concern. May it have many readers. Initially you are told that the "cost of a funeral is the third largest expenditure, after a house and a car, in the life of an ordinary American family." The bulk of the book demonstrates, by examining the practices of the US funeral industry, how this preposterous fact has been made possible. The guided tour which Jessica Mitford, one of the writing Mitford girls, provides into the land of American funerals, its *mystique*, and its pseudo-scientific pretensions, would be unbelievable to most laymen, if her book were not so well done. It has all the documentary apparatus and veracity that we are used to from books on livelier subjects. All the details are there too. We are allowed to follow the average American corpse being "whisked off to a funeral parlor and in short order sprayed, sliced, pierced, pickled, trussed, trimmed, creamed, waxed, painted, rouged, and neatly dressed—trans-

formed from a common corpse into a Beautiful Memory Picture." The industry seems to think that by such procedures the good of the survivors is considered, and that they constitute "grief therapy," which ought to be expensive. The semantic imaginations of the industry are as fertile as those which we are used to from political history.

For those who want funeral details the book is now available. You may learn of cemetarians, vaultburgers, practical burial footwear, and P.O.

Miss Mitford's book provides a public service as well. Between the lines and in the several appendices the reader is told how (possibly) to avoid scandalous exploitation of himself when he is dead. There is a movement afoot in the United States for establishing, or re-establishing, sanity and economy in funeral practices, in the form of private memorial societies. These societies call for simplicity, dignity, and moderation. ("The promulgation of these outfits," says a spokesman of the friendly industry, "hints at Communism and its brother-in-arms, atheism," so Observer readers are now properly warned.) One appendix lists all such societies in the United States. Texas is not represented.

ANDERS SAUSTRUP

(See also "Memorialization" in Observations this issue.—Ed.)

Midland

We parked the car in El Paso just a few hundred yards from the international bridge. In a few moments we handed our two pennies each to the man at the entrance and began our short walk across the bridge into Juarez, Mexico. The children were with us and they were very excited. It was the first time they had ever been out of the United States. Halfway across we lifted them up so they could see over the concrete wall through the wire fence and look down on the Rio Grande. Three young boys stood below, one with a long pole with a large inverted cone attached. "Throw it, Mister! You see. I can catch it. Just a few pennies, Mister. I'll catch them." No one threw pennies.

Two blocks down the main street we stopped at a restaurant, a lovely place, decorated in the Mexican colors of red, green, and white. The food and the service were excellent; obviously this was a favorite spot for the American tourist. After dinner we walked leisurely through the streets, stopping to look at the wares of the shopkeepers anxious for us to buy something. The children were captivated and found it most difficult to resist asking for only 50 cents for a puppet on a string or just a dollar for a doll with a brilliant Mexican dress.

About nine in the evening, toward the end of the main shopping area, a tiny Mexican child approached us. "Candy?" she said. In her small hand she held a cardboard box half filled with wrapped penny candies. She was barefoot, and dirty, and hair fell over her shoulders in dark and stringy disorder. I knelt down on one knee to talk to her. "What is your name?" I asked. "Maria, Teresa. . . ." and the next two I did not understand. "Cuantos anos?" "Nueve," she answered. Nine! My five-year-old standing nearby was taller and heavier. I reached in my purse and handed her a nickel. She pushed the candy box toward me, and I said for her to keep the candy.

We continued on our way to the end of the shopping district, turned around, and started back toward El Paso. In a few minutes we again ran into Maria Teresa. She started to approach us, but recognized me and lowered her eyes and walked on by. I wanted to turn around and run after her and say "Come home with me. You will sleep in a warm bed, and wear shoes, and go to school and you won't have to sell candy." But I didn't. I continued on my way with my husband and my two children who wanted only 50 cents for a puppet, back across the border to El Paso. Someday, perhaps in ten years, Maria Teresa will be working in a brothel and an American tourist will see her there and think "How vulgar!" She is tiny and black-eyed and bare-foot and nueve.

Geri Elliott, Midland, Tex.

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The Texas Observer

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner)  
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POD Form 3526 Aug. 1963

## Observations

### The State Espies a Crusade

Five long years ago we informed our readers that the Baylor Literacy Center had determined that there were 800,000 adult illiterates in Texas ("functional illiterates"), and we called for a state program to educate them. Literacy programs ("LIFT" they're called) have been set up in many Texas cities on a volunteer-worker basis, but such programs are fingers in the dike: In Bexar County alone, there are 22,500 persons over 25 who have had no schooling at all. Why does it take bureaucracy so long to get around to such a problem? The Texas Education Agency has now discovered, from its own study, that there are 672,000 Texans 25 or older who had, as of 1960, finished less than five years' schooling. Last month, without comment, the State Board of Education approved a study of adult illiteracy in Texas. By 1970 we ought to get a program started, with luck.

### Boycotts and Thunderstorms

Franklin Jones, who wrote the lead article in the East Texas issue, has sent us a copy of a letter he's sent to Charles A. Fry, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. in Marshall, to wit:

"Dear Charlie:

"It has just come to my attention that

## MARTIN ELFANT

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you have been passing around thermofax copies of the Sept. 6 Texas Observer. There was no need for you or First Federal to go to the expense of thermofaxing the issue, we could have gotten copies from the Observer office, 504 W. 24th St., Austin, Texas, and may yet be able to do so at a cheaper rate than thermofaxes cost.

"I am delighted that you are circulating this paper. Keep up the good work . . ."

I would conjecture that Mr. Fry's response was muffled.

The East Texas issue elicited some favorable reactions. Readers may be more interested to hear what Dr. I. J. Lamothe, Jr., NAACP leader in Marshall, has to say about the progress of the Negroes' movement there. He writes:

"Our boycott of the Central East Texas Fair was better than 95% effective. On a night when usually from 10,000 to 15,000 people stay until 1:30 or 2 a.m., the place was closed at 10 p.m. because no one was there. A reliable source counted 21 Negroes present at the usual peak hour—9:30 p.m.

"The Marshall News Mess reported a poor attendance due to inclement weather—we had 0.03 inches of rain between 5 and 6 p.m."

On the other hand, Marybeth Vaughn of the Tyler Star (which reprinted my speech to the Tyler Lions in its entirety) wrote of the fair that "The weather has been beautiful . . . the crowds were tremendous."

October 18, 1963

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*"Their eyes are fixed on you, their hearts go out to you, and their hopes hang on your verdict."*

—Clarence Darrow

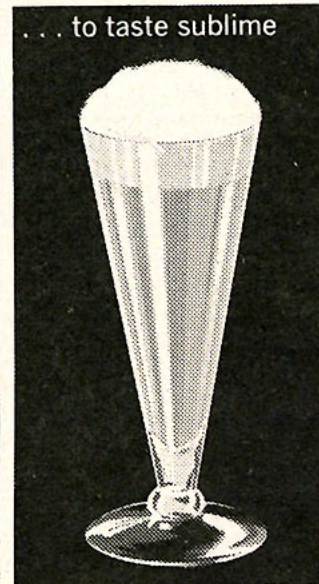
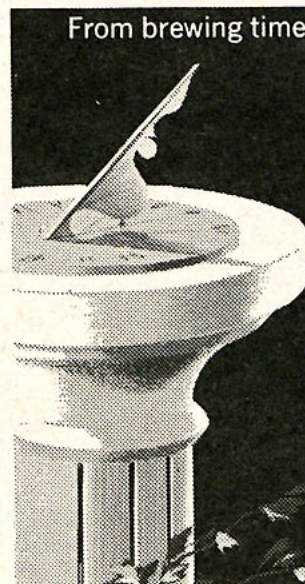
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## Memorialization

I have only hurrahs for Life Magazine, Jessica Mitford, and the others who have struck out against the unctuous exploiters of death sadness, the funeral directors. Nothing can be more noisome than playing on the disarrayed emotions of those who have just lost a loved one to persuade them, for reasons of conformity, dollar-sign respect of the dead, or embarrassment, to spend a huge sum on a burial. The corpse business is so well organized, you can't save any money by cremation in Texas, and the very idea of getting a corpse stashed away in a plain pine box has sunk out of sight as a possibility. In a review this issue, Anders Sastrup reviews one of the books now out on the corpse business, and notes that one way out seems to be memorial societies, cooperatives for the simple, decent, respectful, and inexpensive burial of the dead. I cannot think of a more appropriate application of the cooperative idea.

Now, however, comes to hand a five-column advertisement placed in the Amarillo daily for Sept. 23 by the Llano Cemetery and Mausoleum. A father is praying over the bowed head of his young son, saying, "My dear son, I am so sorry you are going to have to live under Communism. It seemed to come so quickly. I didn't think their lies could win." The text of the ad below this touching scene says—read it, yes, this is really what it says (the capital letters are theirs):

"No Nation has ever turned to Communism, Socialism, or Fascism until the leaders have first been able to destroy MEMORIALIZATION.

"The dignity of man, the freedom of life and the worship of God—these principles on which our nation was founded—throughout all ages and in all lands have never

been any greater than the MEMORIALIZATION shown in death.

"Many so-called 'memorial societies' are trying to destroy this MEMORIALIZATION.

"First, they would have you eliminate flowers—then the sacred burial rites—and finally, will it be the Church and the sermon?

"We Christians believe, as Christians always have believed, that separation is but temporary—and that those who precede us should be given the protection of love and dignity of MEMORIALIZATION.

"It is the Christian way—it is the American way.

"Llano Cemetery and Mausoleum

"The Panhandle cemetery since 1890"

This is an awful provocation, and I want to tell any of our readers who may want to form a cooperative burial society that I know of one man, 33 years of age, who will help organize it. I know him better and better as he gets older and older.

Yours memorializationally, R.D.

## Dialogue

### A Letter from Deep East Texas

From one who has lived in deep East Texas all his life, let me express thanks for a good reporting job in your East Texas issue [Sept. 6]. A mild criticism could be offered. More stress could have been made on the noticeable progress which has been made in this area. When you consider how far we have to go, however, this seems like nit picking. Just to show you what I mean let me recall an experience from my own childhood.

The Negro school at Joaquin in the 1920's was, I suppose, typical of the colored schools in this area. The building was a scruffy looking frame building that had long ago been given a one-coat white paint job. As I remember it, the effect was more of whitewash. Most of the window panes were gone—even some of the sashes. Out in the yard a hand pump furnished the school's water. It was not difficult to pump, as the school was located in a low area not far from the Sabine River and the water table was near the surface. After a rain the water came up to the surface around the base of the pump. The outdoor toilet was conveniently located a few yards away.

Each fall about six weeks after the white school opened, the Negro school would begin. On the day after the Negro children registered a small delegation of the larger students would come to the white school with two sacks to get their year's supply of books. These books were kept in a basement room near the boiler room. During rainy spells the water would rise a foot or so in this room and many of the books became water soaked. This didn't hurt them

much, as they were the cast off, worn out old books which the white children had discarded. Most of them had the backs torn off. Very few had all pages still intact.

For several years it was my job to sack up these books and give them to the Negro students to take back to their school. The books were not sorted, they were not selected according to the course being studied. Even if the books had been in perfect condition, it is doubtful if the required subject matter was covered. I remember once the Negro principal complained that he had not received the necessary number of mathematics texts. He was told that the children could double up and several use one text. He complained that while he had received more readers than he needed for the grammar grades, he had not received enough of one kind so that the students of each grade could be studying the same reader at the same time. He was told that this would be seen to. I do not know what the outcome was.

But this was not the only indignity the children were subjected to. The white students passing them in the hall or seeing them in the book storage room would make slighting remarks, laugh and giggle, and make improper remarks. I remember quite well once a small girl came with her tow sack. In the bottom of the sack was a large hole. I had no string to tie it with, so she took a red ribbon from her hair and gave it to me. I tied it the best I could and put a large book in the bottom to keep the smaller ones from falling out. As she walked out the door of the building the whole bottom of her sack tore loose and the books spilled upon the floor. As she bent over to pick up the ragged old books, all the white children and the teachers could see that she had on no underwear. The white students began laughing and jeering at her and calling attention to her predicament. The child was terrified with embarrassment. As quickly as she could she gathered the books into the sack. Holding the top and the bottom to keep them from spilling out again, she held the bag awkwardly against her stomach and tried to walk as fast as she could. She did her best to keep the others from seeing that she was sobbing and crying desperately.

I have felt like a cowardly fool since that day because I made no effort to help her.

Richard W. Wharton, Box 45, Joaquin, Texas.

### Halp!

Please rush me a subscription to the Texas Observer before I am sterilized and rendered insensible by the Dallas News! This is an emergency! Thank you.—Loy A. Williams, Perkins Hall, Room 208, S.M.U., Dallas, Tex.

We think your Oct. 4 issue was the best, humanistically speaking, of your many fine numbers. . . Mrs. Klipple's piece ["I thought of Birmingham"] was very beautiful.—Carl Brannin, 5614 Ridgedale, Dallas 6, Tex.

