

The Texas Observer

MAY 29, 1964

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

LIME TOWN IN TEXAS

One or two miles around each lime
Plant I have seen the live oak trees
Are stunted if not snuffed out by
A coat of false perpetual snow.

Nearest the static rattling bomb
The fallout's thickest. People live
In clapboard houses caked with dust.
They may remember Mexico.

When the dusk Texas Eagle flies
At fifty-five or sixty through
The lime town, early diners see
Their fears of dentists laid out bare.

They see a set of mighty teeth
Ground into powder and then puffed
Upon the landscape by the cheeks
Of the inconstant shifting air.

PALACIOS, TEXAS

Palacios was once palatial.
In the 'twenties Texans went there to be tanned.
The Great Crash made a few of them less spatial.
Then mud came in and covered up much sand.
Shrimpmen and oystermen and businessmen
And elderly retiredmen fill the cottages
Whose weathered gingerwoodbread knew times when.
None are likely to mess birthrights up with pottages.
They know a pottage when they're in one, and
Hold it their deathright to patch homes surviving
Tourists like Carla. On its sparse-grassed land,
Flat, salted, townsmen thriftily are thriving.

NOVEMBER IN TEXAS

Russets, rusts, burnt umbers, and charred greens:
These are the leaves of November in Texas. No
Oranges, yellows, reds. Shadings and sheens;
No clarities, no fires. The brilliant glow

Is not the leaves', here, but the bright blue sky's,
A crisping presence like a gasp of air,
A cloth of gold, a benison, a prize.
The sky is the true verdure, here. I stare

Into its sun-starred foliatedness
Amazed, and see a purity unlike
Maples and oaks froth-whipped within a stress
Of gale summering crost field-seas, yet like

That New England scene as ease is like unease.
The charred leaves chirr and rasp in the blue breeze.

A DIFFERENCE IN RESTAURANTS

Not Cape Cod, but Centexas: nothing makes
The distinction clearer than to see the stiff
Customers stand and gape upon, as if,
As if the wriggling lobsters, the dead steaks.

—Thomas Whitbread

The Swamp of Democracy

The Observer's study of the campaign spending reports in Secretary of State Martin's custody raises more questions than it answers, but as a starter, it demonstrates what many sense and few draw breath deep enough to say: campaign contributions are the swamp of American democracy, menacing, malarial, with islands of snakes and bars of quicksand.

What we have to say on this subject now has no applicability to any candidate; we speak strictly in the abstract, neither meaning nor implying that we intend reference to any person.

A large contribution from a person with a special interest in legislation probably often buys him at least a more careful hearing than a non-contributor would get and probably in some cases buys him special treatment.

The gross expense of campaigning for major office is compromising the major organs of democracy, making them too much a function of big money, unresponsive to the wishes and welfare of ordinary citizens.

Large sums of money floating around for short-run purposes administered in hurly-burly campaigns create powerful temptations which ought not be associated with the most important and serious business of democracy, its elections.

It is fundamentally improper for public issues to be settled or even substantially affected by advertising campaigns selling candidates' names like brands of soap. The meaning of democratic life is debased and the content of political debate is distorted into symbols calculated to stir base emotions or easy responses.

Texas law specifically fails to provide an air-tight method of getting complete reports of contributions. It should be reformed in at least these ways:

1. Candidates should be required to report all contributions, loans, and payments, period; the "prior to the election" limitation is not only a loop-hole, it's an open end through which anything a candidate wants to hide can be slid.

2. Attributing huge contributions to "trustees" and "committees" and "dinners" should be stopped. Actual contributors should be named in every case, excepting only contributions of, say, \$10 or less taken up in cash at rallies and accounted for as total sums.

3. The law should require that co-signers of notes be identified in the reports.

4. Each report should be required to give cumulative totals of all previous reports that year by the candidate.

But these are mere palliatives. There is a more fundamental solution, not likely to become law in Texas soon, but the only real and adequate solution to the cancerous development of million-dollar campaigns in American political life.

Campaign expenses must be *limited*; any

given candidate's access to the mass media must be *limited*, no matter how much time he can buy; and the costs of major prescribed events in party primaries and general elections must be borne by the general revenue, not by the candidates.

The practical problems of this line of reform are tremendous—but they must be tackled, or democracy will be corrupted. We must innovate, citizens, or the mass media techniques of hucksters will turn elections into sideshows and the American

It would be unwise to permit the fact that the FBI's intervention in the Texas Senate election helped the causes of justice and liberalism to blur our vision on the seriousness of the FBI intervention, itself.

Viewed in the abstract, here is what happened: The FBI conducted an investigation in a controversy central to a U.S. Senate nomination and on the day before the voting released a telling piece of evidence that devastated the candidate who had based his campaign on a wild, fantastic charge.

Persons devoted to fair play sighed with relief because what had been happening had been so unfair to Sen. Ralph Yarborough, a good and honest man. But let us not lose sight of the fact that we do not want a secret police that has almost no accountability to popular institutions butting

society into a cheap and tinny thing. Let us demand that the television stations give equal time for debates among all bona fide candidates at every level—local, state, national. This is our country, these are our airways the stations use by our government's permission, and this is our politics: this is our democracy.

Without organic reform in this crucial area much more will go wrong than has and much more will be lost than we've lost already. We are a long way from the days when a man could win high American office by merit and intelligence. We must act soon or there will be no turning back. □

No Thanks

into the people's elections. Despotism advances along shrewdly chosen routes. The first time, the FBI upheld the right and the true; but what next?

No thanks. Tend to your business, Mr. Hoover, and leave the people to their own. □

For Baker

Without enthusiasm, from the necessity to choose between him and the Republican Joe Pool of Dallas, we endorse Bob Baker of Houston for congressman-at-large. Baker has endorsed the Johnson program, which Pool opposes. The Observer believes this is basis enough among liberal people for a decision for Baker in the runoff. □

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

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The Observer publishes articles, essays, and creative work of the shorter forms having to do in various ways with this area. The pay depends; at present it is token. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by return postage. Unsigned articles are the editor's.

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MONEY IN TEXAS ELECTIONS

Austin

Money in elections is the great unknown of American politics, the anatomy surgeons have not yet X-rayed, the metabolism still so mysterious, there are no accepted specialists in it. Like radioactive tracers, contributions can be followed into elections for clues to what's really happening, what it's all about. As campaigns for major offices become more and more absurdly expensive, the sources of campaign funds become more and more serious for democratic life. But the law bearing on the subject is primitive, and like the old practice of drawing blood from the sick, may do more harm than good.

Texas law seems strict, but is not. Article 14 of the Texas Election Code is supposed to require that the people be provided, as a matter of public information, the facts on who gives how much to whom and what is spent for what in the contests for public office. But:

A candidate is required to report only what he is given and spends "prior to the election." If he wants to conceal a given contribution, he can delay paying some bills in that amount, list them as debts, defer "accepting" (or reporting) the contribution until after the election, and settle it all afterwards off the record. The public will never be the wiser.

If he faces a runoff, or has to go on to a general election, the law does require that he report everything he did not report in his preceding report. But theoretically, he could legally wait until after the last required report to "accept" contributions he thinks it might damage him to tell the people he got.

The law intends that the public be told who is paying a candidate's bills. Yet under the law, a candidate can borrow huge sums without revealing co-signers for the loan. It stands to reason that a bank is not likely to make a candidate a large loan unless he himself is wealthy or someone with money will back up the loan, but the people now have no way to find out who is endorsing a candidate's loan.

The law requires candidates to report "money or any other thing of value." None of the candidates in the two major races in Texas this spring reported anything but money except Sen. Ralph Yarborough, who reported borrowed office furniture.

The truth appears to be this: that almost everyone laughs and winks around about

the financing of democratic elections, as though it's just one of those things. Secretary of State Crawford Martin stung the candidates who turned in late reports on their campaign finances this spring as much to convey to the public the idea that the law is not being taken seriously as to rap the tardy candidates across the knuckles.

This certainly is not to assert that any or many candidates do not report all their contributions. Yet the talk about unreported contributions is so commonplace, a University of Houston government professor wrote in a book that came out last year that candidates for governor in Texas in 1962 probably had twice as much spent on their campaigns as was reported.

Two reports are required, one seven to ten days before election day and one not more than ten days after election day. Neither the law nor the state's forms specify whether the totals in the second report shall be cumulative or not. Much confusion therefore results. One wire service story this spring gave a partial report as the total in a major race. Neither can one be sure whether the debts a candidate lists in his first report have been paid in whole or part by the time of his second report.

The law apparently permits reporting sums contributed by one person through and in the name of someone else. George Bush, the GOP Senate candidate, made liberal use of "trustees" this spring, attributing many contributions to so and so, "trustee." Sen. Ralph Yarborough, Bush, and Jack Cox also attributed large sums to committees, so-and-so chairman. Whatever the circumstances that bring such committees into being and however they raise the money they then plunge into Texas politics, the public knows nothing about it except the name of the chairman—and in the case of Bush's committee, not even that.

There are practical problems the law does not seem adequate to handle. Don Yarborough raised a good part of his campaign money by asking for it at rallies. The money came in generally as cash, and naturally no names were attached. Yarborough turned it over to his local campaign people (as, for instance, in an Austin rally), but solved the practical impossibility for reporting all the givers by attributing sums to "rallies" and "meetings."

It would be useful to know in what pro-

portions candidates spent their money on different kinds of campaigning. Gov. John Connally's report provides such a breakdown this spring, but the law does not require it, and other candidates did not. One has to take hours in computations or make rough estimates to learn, for instance, how much money TV time has soaked up from a candidate's budget, and then one cannot be sure he has read vague entries correctly.

NEVERTHELESS, the present law and the reports from the candidates on file in Senator Martin's office in the Capitol do provide useful information; even startling information, depending on the extent of your innocence and naivete before learning it.

Rounding out figures that are given exactly in an accompanying table:

Gov. Connally reported \$220,000 in gifts to Don Yarborough's \$90,000; Don borrowed another \$80,000 from Continental Bank and Trust Co. in Houston, co-signer not specified. Sen. Ralph Yarborough reported \$103,000 in gifts, less than half Connally's total but more than twice the senator's own opponent's, Gordon McLendon's \$49,000.

McLendon's report showed that he spent six times as much as he received in contributions: \$311,000 spent to \$49,000 contributed. McLendon reported that he borrowed \$100,000 in three stages from Mercantile National Bank in Dallas; who backed up the loan, if anyone, was not volunteered.

George Bush, the leader in the Republican primary, reported spending and receiving more than Sen. Yarborough. Bush said he received \$140,000 and paid out \$164,000, the meanwhile borrowing \$20,000 from C. Fred Chambers of Houston. Jack Cox of Breckenridge received and spent roughly a fourth as much as Bush did.

The reports of Gov. Connally, Ralph and Don Yarborough, and Dr. Milton Davis seemed—as a subjective matter—to contain many more small contributors than the reports of the other candidates in these two major contests. There would be no point laboriously counting the contributors and computing average contributions, however, since large sums attributed to com-

mittee, meetings, and rallies could not be taken account of.

One can, however, count and tabulate the large gifts reported from single individuals (including individuals identified as trustees) and figure out what portion of a candidate's total contributions came from such large contributions. The Observer took \$500 as the dividing line between large and small contributions.

Connally got 139 such gifts for \$132,000, three-fifths of his total contributions. The contributions Connally got from individuals who gave \$500 or more at a whack exceeded Don Yarborough's total contributions by more than \$40,000. A total of 28 individuals gave Don Yarborough \$500 or more—a total of \$28,000, less than a third of his total.

Sen. Yarborough's report listed 40 contributions from individuals of \$500 or more

that totaled \$43,000, 42% of his total. McLendon's contributions, accounting for less than one-sixth of his payments reported, included 31 gifts of \$500 or more totaling \$23,000, 47% of the gifts he reported.

Among the Republican contenders for the Senate, Bush received two and a half times more than Cox from givers of \$500 or more. Bush received just about twice as much as Yarborough in these large sums.

Cox reported 26 contributions of \$500 or more, totaling \$30,000, for the highest percentage of total contributions in the Senate race, 71%. But Bush got \$79,000 from such contributions, 57% of his much larger total.

On the other hand, Bush's large contributions from individuals include many from people of the same name, often identified as "trustee." A trustee could be acting

for another person, other persons, or a group of some kind.

From an overall standpoint, just 362 contributions of \$500 or more from individuals accounted for 49% of all the money reported contributed to the two major elections in Texas this spring.

On the record, well over a million dollars was spent in attempts to obtain nominations to the governor's chair and the U.S. Senate seat in the first primary, alone. The payments reported are \$1,065,000; another \$211,600 was borrowed, and candidates' debts were at least another \$117,000.

Still ahead: the Bush-Cox runoff, the long, expensive contest between Sen. Yarborough and the Republican nominee, and whatever contest, if any, develops between Connally and the Republican nominee, Jack Crichton of Dallas.

Gifts and Spending Reported by the Candidates For Two Major Offices in the May 2, 1964, Texas Primaries

Candidate	Gifts Reported	Loans Reported	Payments Reported	Debts Rptd. On Last Rpt.*	GIFTS REPORTED FROM SINGLE INDIVIDUALS**			Gifts \$500 & Over Of All Gifts Rptd.
					No. of Gifts \$500-to-\$999	No. of Gifts \$1,000 & Over	Total of Gifts \$500 & Over	
FOR GOVERNOR								
John Connally	\$219,728.40	None	\$222,785.66	\$24,476.50	65	69	\$132,295.00	60.2%
Don Yarborough ...	89,594.81	\$80,000	135,896.11	918.26	13	15	27,708.74	31.6%
M. T. Banks	75.00	None	1,149.00	None	0	0	0	0
Mrs. J. M. Hackworthe	None	None	1,440.00	None	0	0	0	0
Jack Crichton	2,700.00	None	2,000.29	525.00	0	2	2,000.00	74.1
TOTALS	\$312,098.21	\$80,000	\$363,271.06	\$25,919.76	78	86	162,003.74	51.9%
FOR U.S. SENATE								
Ralph Yarborough	102,594.43	None	123,880.59	49,704.47	15	25	43,250.00	42.2
Gordon McLendon .	49,299.46	\$100,000	311,190.53	38,083.68	19	12	22,900.00	46.5
George Bush	139,792.50	20,000	164,365.89	None	64	32	79,328.00	56.8
Jack Cox	41,665.00	7,000	47,054.87	None	14	12	29,700.00	71.3
Robert Morris	19,177.10	None	20,971.24	2,920.10	2	2	3,150.00	16.4
Milton Davis	30,513.28	4,600	34,684.54	603.56	1	0	500.00	1.8
TOTALS	\$383,041.87	\$131,600	702,147.66	91,311.81	115	83	\$178,828.00	46.7%

*The reader is cautioned not to try to make arithmetical sense out of the debt figures. Debts are listed in both of most of the candidates' reports, but there is no way of telling how many, if any, of the debts included in a first report total have been paid off by the date of a final report. In this situation, this table adopts the strategem of listing only the debts specified in the final report. But in some cases this clearly is not the candidate's total debt. The law simply does not require that the information be clearly provided. Additionally, the reader is obliged to assume that a candidate's debt also includes the loans he reported.

**This half of the table therefore does not include, as gifts of \$500 or more, those that the candidates attributed to committees of various kinds; but it does include contributions of \$500 or more from individuals, even though they may have been identified as "trustee" without any further explanation of what the word should be taken to mean.

Now, To Get Down to Golden Tacks ...

THE FABLED MURCHISON CLAN of Dallas turned up in several campaigns. C. Murchison, Jr., and J. Murchison (that would be Clint and John) gave \$2,500 each to Connally. McLendon reported \$1,000 from C. W. Murchison. McLendon also used a Murchison plane, although this was not reflected in a recognizable way in McLendon's report. J. D. Murchison, Dallas, gave \$500 to Bush. J. W. Murchison, Athens, gave \$350 to James Langdon, winning candidate for the railroad commission.

The powerful Houston law firm that represents out-of-state capital in Texas, Vinson, Elkins, Weems, & Searls of Houston, made an unusual \$2,500 contribution to Connally in the name of the firm, itself. "D. Searls, Houston," gave Connally

another \$500. J. A. Elkins, Houston—presumably the Elkins of the firm—contributed \$1,000 to McLendon. Searls gave Langdon \$1,000.

Tom Sealy, Midland, co-chairman of the state-wide committee that lobbied through the general sales tax in Texas, contributed \$100 to Bush, the Republican, as well as \$500 to Connally and \$1,750 to Langdon.

Wealthy members of the Dallas power structure contributed heavily to Connally and McLendon. For instance, J. Erik Jonsson, the mayor of Dallas, and John Stemmons, Jonsson's successor as head of the Dallas Citizens Council, gave Connally \$500 each; "E. Germany, Dallas," gave \$350 to the governor, and "J. McKee, Dallas," \$450. Connally's contributors also included "J. Ling, Dallas, \$1,250," "T. Post, Dallas, \$1,000," "J. Aston, Dallas, \$1,000," and "C. Phinney, Dallas, \$1,000."

Nearly all of McLendon's larger contributions came from Dallas—14 of his 19 gifts of \$500 to \$999, and six of his twelve gifts of \$1,000 or more. E. B. Germany gave McLendon \$200; John Stemmons, \$100.

In Connally's lists of contributors one could find signs of his long-standing political association with Brown & Root, the Houston construction firm that formed an important part of the base on which Lyndon Johnson rose to political power. George Brown, Houston, gave Connally \$1,750; "H. Frensley, Houston," another \$1,750. Herbert Frensley of Houston is president of Brown & Root, which is now a subsidiary of another firm. "F. Oltorf, Marlin," gave Connally \$100; Frank Oltorf of that town is best known as a Washington representative of Brown and Root.

Houston provided Connally with other

large contributions. R. Cullen, \$2,500, R. Smith, \$1,000, J. Josey, \$2,000, and M. Halbouty, \$1,000, are examples. J. Mecom, presumably the Houston oil multimillionaire, John Mecom, gave Connally \$5,000. McLendon, however, drew a blank with Houston's big rich except for his solitary \$1,000 contribution from Elkins.

McLendon's large contributors included a number of out-of-staters: four \$1,000 contributors from sources in Los Angeles, one from Washington, D.C., and \$500 contributions from Virginia and Nebraska. McLendon also reported \$2,587.50 from "John Wayne Buffet, Dallas"—that is, as proceeds from a buffet at which the actor appeared for McLendon—and another \$3,510 as "Big D Rally."

SEN. YARBOROUGH'S contributors included the names of well-known national Democrats of means: banker Walter Hall of League City \$2,500 and his wife, Mrs. Helen Hall, \$2,500, oilman Roger Dally of Houston \$2,500, oilman J. R. Parten of Houston \$2,000, oilman Marlin Sandlin of Houston \$1,000, attorney Fagan Dickson of Austin \$1,500, attorney Reagan Legg of Midland \$1,000, attorney Percy Selden of Houston \$1,000.

Louis Romano of Houston gave Sen. Yarborough \$5,000. Edward Clark, the senior member of the Austin law firm that handles many big conservative clients and is regularly associated with conservative causes in the legislature, crossed over this year and made three separate \$1,000 contributions to Sen. Yarborough. Clark is a close and continuing friend of President Johnson, having visited with him, in Austin and the White House, several times since Johnson became President.

Sen. Yarborough's contributions included \$5,000 from "Texas COPE," that is, the Committee on Political Education of the Texas AFL-CIO, and \$2,000 from "Railway Labor's Political League, Washington, D.C." He was the only statewide candidate reporting major contributions from labor's political funds.

As McLendon pointed out in his closing broadcasts, Sen. Yarborough's contributions also included a total of \$25,000 from "Friends of Ralph Yarborough," one-fifth of this on Feb. 3 and four separate \$5,000 contributions on April 9. In the senator's final report, a footnote was added about this committee—that Walter G. Hall, Yarborough's finance manager, was chairman of it.

W. J. Worsham of Pecos, one of the two witnesses in the senator's broadcast answering McLendon's charge about Estes and \$50,000, gave \$500 to Sen. Yarborough's cause on April 29. Dist. Attorney Henry Wade of Dallas is listed as a \$50 contributor, and Mrs. Barefoot Sanders of Dallas, \$100.

Don Yarborough's report is notable for its evidence that the evangelical young challenger made effective use of money-raising on a drum-head at meetings and rallies. He reported raising sums varying from \$13.20 to \$1,500 at 47 meetings and rallies all over the state. Totted up, these

47 sums come to \$12,892.16. Examples: "Sherman meeting, \$216.55," "Trinity University Rally, \$35.00," and "Oil workers' district meeting, Houston, \$1,062."

In addition, Don Yarborough reported contributions of \$4,500 and \$7,600 from two Harris County dinners, but these fall in a different category from the 47 lump sum totals, most of which were probably raised in part by direct appeals from the candidate.

In two sums, J. R. Parten, the Houston oilman, gave Don Yarborough \$5,000. C. W. Mossler of Houston contributed \$3,000; Jim Phelps of Houston, \$1,850. At the other end of the scale of contributions, H. E. Perry of Honey grove gave 30 cents March 5 and another 20 cents March 17.

Bush's report certainly seems to be the most gilt-edged of the major candidates', even more so than Connally's. The first 31 contributors Bush named gave \$100 or more; the 32nd gave \$50. "R. H. Cullen," Houston, gave Bush \$1,000, and "Roy Cullen," Houston, another \$1,000 (an interesting circumstance in light of the fact that in 1951, the year before the Liberty Broadcasting System of which McLendon was president went into bankruptcy, the Cullen interests loaned the system \$600,000 and invested another \$400,000 in it).

Even Bush's minor contributors have a blue ribbon around their names: Hines H. Baker, Sr., Houston, the Humble Oil magnate in retirement, gave \$200; W. J. Goldston, Houston, \$200; Alvin M. Owsley, Jr., Houston, \$100.

The GOP heirarchy in Texas, known to favor Bush, nevertheless did not make open appearance in Bush's campaign reports, although Thad Hutcheson, Houston, former state GOP chairman, is listed for \$25. Bush made liberal use of the "committee" device. Committees variously identified as "Bush for Senator Committee, Tyler," and "Texans for George Bush" in Austin, Dallas, and Amarillo contributed a total of \$15,500.

Of passing interest in Bush's report is a \$500 contribution from "P. R. Bass, Fort Worth." Perry R. Bass of Fort Worth is one of the three independent executors of the Sid Richardson estate. Gov. Connally was designated another of the three executors, and papers of report in Fort Worth, when examined by the Observer recently, did not include any documents that Connally had withdrawn from that capacity.

Cox's heaviest contributions came mostly from West Texas oil country. His best-known supporter with a large contribution was Roy Whittenburg, the Amarillo newspaper publisher, who gave \$500. Jack Cox committees in Ector, McLennan, Taylor, Harris, Bexar, and Lubbock counties are listed as contributors of a total of \$7,000.

The GOP Senate candidate Robert Morris of Dallas had only three contributors of \$500 or more, except for a fourth one, "Robert Morris, Dallas, \$1,150." Most candidates figure they will have to contribute whatever expenditures their contributions don't cover, but Morris listed himself as a contributor in advance. He also reported a total of \$5,098 from com-

mittees for him in "West Texas," Houston, and Dallas.

Milton Davis' report was most unusual in one respect. While Cox is running presently as the poor man's Republican, in fact Davis listed only one \$500 contribution, and none larger; he reported a comparatively huge number of contributors, only one other of whom gave more than \$100. Many of Davis' contributions ran in the \$15-\$50 range and may have come from people in medicine. He reported paying \$105.96 to the Texas Medical Assn. for "addresses." (McLendon reported an even more interesting item along this line: \$100 paid to the Texas Medical Assn. for "addressing envelopes.")

James Langdon's reports were glaringly odd in one particular: the victorious candidate for railroad commissioner reported one-third of his total contributions in the name of committees. This included \$12,000 attributed to "Harris County Committee for Langdon," another \$22,000 to "Dallas County Committee," \$5,450 to a Fort Worth Committee, and \$630 to one in Austin. Even so, individual contributions to Langdon of more than \$500 totaled \$42,000, 34% of his gifts reported, \$124,151. Langdon said he paid out \$142,672.

This compared to his opponent, Jesse Owens, reporting gifts of \$23,431, loans of \$10,000 each from J. A. Hyland and S. C. Woods of Houston, and payments of \$26,800. Woods contributed \$8,500 to Owens, Muriel Woods of Houston \$5,000, and Hyland \$5,000.

The somewhat bizarre aspects of these two candidates' returns may be attributable to the oil industry's acute practical interest in the contest between them.

HOW WAS ALL THIS MONEY spent? One can't quite tell, exactly; and then there are variations, one to the next, too.

Gov. Connally's is the clearest report, because he breaks his spending down into categories. He spent \$165,000 for "newspaper and other advertising and publicity," but this is not broken down into any specifics. How much for newspapers, for TV, for signboards—one can only guess.

Don Yarborough simply reported specific payments made, one after another, so the casual reader is at sea trying to come up with some solid conclusions. The average total cost for a statewide half-hour evening TV hookup in Texas is \$10,000, give or take a thousand, so one can estimate that Don Yarborough's seven such hook-ups the closing days cost \$70,000. The TV time itself would cost substantially less than this; other costs would include production and associated newspaper advertising.

In the U.S. Senate race, one can put together the sums reported paid or payable to certain parties and conjecture this includes media costs, although not all of them, and not exclusively, either.

In McLendon's reports, one finds that Wyatt, Allen, & Ryan, Inc., Dallas, was paid or payable \$200,000 for "advertising."

Sen. Yarborough's reports showed about \$71,000 apparently paid or payable to Action Agency, a public relations firm that handled TV matters for the senator. George Bush of the GOP reported total payments to "Brown & Snyder, Advertising" of \$109,000. Jack Cox of the GOP reported \$34,000 paid to Drake Agency. But such figures can be taken only as very rough approximations of funds committed to advertising.

Lt. Gov. Preston Smith's reports showed a total of \$29,932 in gifts and \$25,204 in payments. On May 11, the date of Smith's final report, it shows, Smith made a campaign disbursement of \$3,600 to himself. The notation reads: "Preston Smith (expenses incurred while traveling since announcing which he paid personally—at rate of \$50 per day (72 days))".

THE OTHER REPORTS are of merely passing interest.

Cong.-at-Large Joe Pool reported that his contributions totaled \$16,013.50, of which \$500 came from Clint Murchison, Jr., Dallas, \$1,000 from Berl E. Godfrey, the finance man in Fort Worth, \$100 from Tom Sealy of Midland, and \$50 from Maurice Carlson, former Republican county chairman in Dallas. Pool spent only \$9,773.61.

His runoff opponent, Bob Baker of Houston, reported gifts of \$18,370 and spent more than twice that, \$39,591. Dan Sullivan of Andrews, who ran third, received only \$1,895.50 and borrowed another \$1,625. Bill Elkins of Greenville had no contributions; Bob Looney of Austin, \$500.

John Dowdy, congressman from Lufkin, plunged with payments of \$32,696.55, although his gifts totaled only \$19,094. "R. L. Dailey and others" gave Dowdy \$3,000. Dowdy's challenger, Benton Musslewhite of Lufkin, received \$19,495 (including \$3,000 from J. R. Parten of Houston) and spent \$25,508.88.

Both runoff finalists in the Valley congressional race reported loans: Rep. Kika de la Garza, \$20,000 from McAllen State Bank, and Rep. Lindsey Rodriguez, \$1,000 from Randolph AFB National Bank. Neither said if anyone co-signed them. However, the candidate who did not get in the runoff, Gene McCullough, volunteered the information that there were six endorsers of his note of \$2,100, starting off with his county Democratic chairman, Jack Skaggs of Harlingen. De la Garza reported gifts of just \$3,310 but spent \$15,202.46; Rodriguez had gifts of \$7,770, including \$500 from "UAW Dallas" and \$250 from COPE in Fort Worth, and spent \$8,232.65; and McCullough had gifts of \$5,607 and spent \$8,587.53.

Out in West Texas, the runoff leader for the Democratic Congressional spot, Richard White, spent twice as much as his fellow El Pasoan, Malcolm McGregor, who followed him into the runoff. White reported contributions of \$10,302.48, loans (Amarillo Bank of Commerce, El Paso National Bank, and Midland National Bank)

of \$35,000, and expenditures of \$47,599.03. McGregor had gifts of \$22,871, including two loans from State National Bank of El Paso which he turned into his campaign, and expenditures of \$23,007.98.

Cong. Omar Bureson, Anson, had gifts of \$15,659.50, payments of \$16,935.66. His challenger, Max Carriker, Roby, had gifts of \$8,233, payments of \$8,097.41.

For a novelty one may turn to the report

from Rep. Ronald Bridges, who ran a losing race against Sen. Bruce Reagan in Corpus Christi. Bridges reported some gifts of value other than money: 25 dozen buns, 24 pounds of weiners, eight pounds of potato chips, 25 dozen donuts, and 12 bags of cornchips. Reagan reported gifts of \$22,600; Bridges, of \$8,255.50. Bridges' free grub did not quite make up the difference.

R.D.

Contributions of \$500 Or More in Two Races

Austin

The Observer presents here its tabulation of contributions from individuals of \$500 or more to the candidates in the contested primaries for U.S. senator and governor in Texas this spring. The contributions are gathered in three categories, \$500 exactly, \$501 to \$999, and \$1,000 or more. Contributions from the same person, or apparently from the same person, are totaled within these categories, but the same contributors will sometimes be found under different categories because they gave sums that fell in different categories. Gov. Connally's report lists first initials of contributors, in the main, but the other reports give complete names, in the main; we have followed the reports themselves. Only contributions of \$500 or more are here recorded; thus, someone may have given more to a candidate than here appears, if he gave additional sums of less than \$500. The law requires that candidates report "money or any other thing of value" received as campaign contributions, but none of the Senate or gubernatorial candidates reported anything except money, except Sen. Yarborough as already mentioned. We have not repeated the sign before the sums specified in this report; those sums designate numbers of dollars given.

To John Connally

\$1,000 or more: H. Butt, Corpus Christi, 2,500; A. Glassel, Houston, 1,000; N. Stark, Orange, 1,000; T. Rodan, Odessa, 1,000; F. Waters, Houston, 1,000; G. McGaha, Wichita Falls, 1,000; F. Wood, Wichita Falls, 1,000; N. Landrum, Dallas, 1,000; H. Coffield, Rockdale, 1,000; J. Mecom, Houston, 5,000; L. Meyer, Houston, 1,000; C. Phinney, Dallas, 1,000; P. Rutherford, Houston, 1,000; J. Crooker, Houston, 1,000; W. Weeks, Tyler, 1,000; L. Arnold, Houston, 2,500; C. Prothro, Wichita Falls, 1,000; R. Smith, Houston, 1,000; J. Josey, Houston, 2,000; C. Marsh, Midland, 1,000; R. Cauble, Crockett, 2,500; G. Warren, Corpus Christi, 1,000; J. Bogus, Harlingen, 1,000; A. Temple, Diboll, 1,000; F. Wheeler, Houston, 1,000; A. Petsch, Fredericksburg, 1,000; J. O'Boyle, Dallas, 1,000; H. Robinson, Houston, 1,000; A. Morgan, Corpus Christi, 1,000; Vinson, Elkins, Weems & Searls, Houston, 2,500;

M. Halbouty, Houston, 1,000; B. Long, Austin, 1,000; H. Stark, Orange, 1,000; M. Heath, Austin, 1,250; J. Perry, Houston, 2,500; C. Murchison, Jr., Dallas, 2,500; J. Murchison, Dallas, 2,500; R. Smith, Dallas, 1,000; L. Meadows, Dallas, 1,000; J. Ling, Dallas, 1,250; G. Johnson, Dallas, 1,250; C. Seay, Dallas, 1,500; J. Bond, Dallas, 1,000; W. Hawn, Dallas, 1,000; W. Cain, Dallas, 3,000; T. Post, Dallas, 1,000; E. McDermott, Dallas, 1,000; J. Aston, Dallas, 1,000; L. Dupree, Dallas, 1,000; George Brown, Houston, 1,750; R. Cullen, Houston, 2,500; R. Bond, Dallas, 1,000; V. Newhouse, McAllen, 3,000; D. W. Forbes, Dallas, 1,000; F. Tannery, Dallas, 1,000; R. Strauss, Dallas, 2,000; F. Appleman, Fort Worth, 1,500; H. Frenley, Houston, 1,750; R. Holliday, Houston, 1,000; H. Masterson, Houston, 1,000; C. Robertson, Houston, 2,500; D. Marshall, Houston, 2,500; W. Bellows, Jr., Houston, 1,000; G. Mann, Dallas, 1,000; W. Heath, Austin, 1,250; W. Davis, Austin, 1,250; F. Albritton, Jr., Bryan, 1,000; C. Ingles, San Antonio, 1,250; R. Brooks, Austin, 1,500.

\$501-\$999: G. Hawn, Corpus Christi, 900; B. Hawn, Corpus Christi, 900; J. Hawn, Corpus Christi, 950; R. Foree, Dallas, 525; E. Winterman, Eagle Lake, 520.

\$500: R. House, San Antonio; H. Mills, Burkburnett; H. Atherton, San Antonio; J. Crooker, Houston; D. Bruton, Jr., Dallas; J. Haggard Jr., Dallas; E. Heyser Jr., Dallas; Angus Wynne, Jr., Dallas; J. Jonsen, Dallas; B. Fields, Dallas; R. Cousins, Dallas; J. Stemmons, Dallas; W. Landress, Dallas; E. Rigg, Dallas; M. Killian, San Antonio; H. Shands, Jr., Lufkin; A. Underwood, Lubbock; R. Martin, Lubbock; D. Arnold, Houston; D. Searls, Houston; R. Thompson, Houston; G. Butler, Houston; J. Oshman, Houston; W. Smith, Houston; H. Webb, Houston; T. Smith, Houston; J. Gurley, Houston; C. Gibbons, Midland; J. Smith, Amarillo; R. Brown, Midland; B. Godfrey, Fort Worth; J. W. Gorman, San Antonio; Ewing Halsell, San Antonio; C. Canter, Houston; P. Lake, Tyler; E. Schur, Odessa; E. Green, Pampa; P. Howell, San Antonio; D. Dillingham, Abilene; J. Key, Odessa; G. Woodfin, Houston; A. Allison, Levelland; J. Burns, Austin; H. Smith, Sulphur Springs; G. Kimbell, Wichita Falls; W. Goldston, Houston;

R. Briscoe, Alvin; A. Farfel, Houston; W. Yeager, Midland; B. Welder, Corpus Christi; J. Waller, Crockett; W. Blakemore, Midland; J. Rhodes, Odessa; V. Brill, San Antonio; B. Cowser, Center; P. Davis, Midland; G. Clark, Corpus Christi; T. Sealy, Midland; R. Johnston, Houston; H. Beaton, Fort Worth.

To Don Yarborough

\$1,000 or more: C. Mossler, Houston, 3,000 (two sums); Carl M. Beren, Jr., Dallas, 1,000; R. Gilbert, Houston, 1,020; Jim Phelps, Houston, 1,000; Henry Hute, Houston, 1,200; Allen Gollatt, Houston, 1,469.29; Louis Lowenstein, Houston, 1,000; J. R. Parten, Houston, 5,000 (two sums); A. B. Hamil, Houston, 1,000; Tom Bones, Corpus Christi, 1,200; John H. Phelan III, Houston, 1,000; Jerry Tabor, Houston, 1,500; Henry Swenyl, Houston, 1,000.

\$501-\$999: L. A. Muecke, Houston, 718.75; Sam Calyayinne, Houston, 525; Jim Phelps, Houston, 850; Arthur L. Mixon, Graham, 625.60; Henry Hultz, Seabrook, 600.

\$500: Mrs. R. Randolph, Houston; Joseph Cotton, Houston; L. Muecke, Houston; Bill McIntyre, Navasota; Dale Yarborough, Houston; F. O. Masten, Sudan; Don Shepherd, Houston; Rex Braun, Houston.

To M. T. Banks

No contributions \$500 or more.

To Mrs. J. M. Hackworthe

No contributions.

To Ralph Yarborough

\$1,000 or more: James T. Smith, Amarillo, 1,000; Reagan Legg, Midland, 1,000; J. R. Parten, Houston, 2,000 (1,000 twice); Marlin E. Sandlin, Houston, 1,000; Mrs. Joe C. Yarborough, El Paso, 1,000; Julius M. Gordon, Beaumont, 1,000; R. E. Smith, Houston, 2,000 (1,000 twice); Fagan Dickson, Austin, 1,000; Walter G. Hall and Mrs. Helen L. Hall, League City, 2,500, each; Ralph Bell, Dickinson, 1,000; John F. Maher, Houston, 1,000; Louis Romano, Houston, 5,000; A. B. Hamil, Houston, 1,000; Cyril J. Smith, Houston, 1,500; O. G. Wellborn, Houston, 2,500; Ed Clark, Austin, 3,000 (1,000 three times); Gerald C. Mann, Dallas, 1,000; E. A. Gabriel, Houston, 1,000; Roberta P. Dickson, Austin, 1,000; Roger Daily, Houston, 2,500.

An \$85,000 Typo

From the Corpus Christi Caller May 21, quoting GOP Senate candidate Jack Cox: "Cox said that Bush spent almost three times as much money as the other three candidates combined in the first primary. 'I think Republicans will prove that the Senate seat is not for sale now or in November,' he said.

"... Cox said ... that he expects only about \$85,000 Republicans will vote in the runoff, and the difference will be in which candidate can get most of his supporters to the polls."

\$501-999: Percy Selden, Houston, 750.

\$500: L. L. Crane, Port Neches, trustee; Morris B. Zale, Dallas; Fagan Dickson, Austin; J. Howard Marshall II, Houston; Royce E. Wisenbaker; McHenry Tichenor, Harlingen; Milton T. Smith, Austin; Tom McKnight, Odessa; E. H. Suhr, Houston; H. J. Yarborough, Dallas; Louis J. Hexter, Dallas; W. J. Worsham, Pecos; F. M. O'Connor, Houston; C. C. Wyche, Irving.

To Gordon McLendon

\$1,000 or more: Edgar J. Wicker, Dallas, 1,000; Paul W. Trusdale, Los Angeles, Cal., 1,000; Stephen Rooth, Dallas, 1,000; Seymour Afanbel, Los Angeles, Cal., 1,000; Mrs. Patricia D. Beck, Dallas, 2,000; C. W. Murchison, Dallas, 1,000; Wofford Cain, Dallas, 1,000; Roy B., R. F., and J. B. Wrather, Los Angeles, Cal., 1,000 (total); B. G. Byars, Tyler, 1,000; Robert J. Bradley, Dallas, 1,000; J. A. Elkins, Houston, 1,000; Roy B. Loftin, Los Angeles, 1,000.

\$501-999: Eugene McDermott, Dallas, 900.

\$500: J. W. and J. F. Blackburn, Alexandria, Va. (500 total); Don W. Burdeu, Omaha, Neb.; Marcus Cohn, Washington, D.C. (500 twice); Berl E. Godfrey and J. H. Bond, Dallas (500 total); Tom Lively, Dallas; Esell S. Heyser, Jr., Dallas; J. D. Wrather, Jr., Dallas; James E. Kemp, Dallas; George Parker, Jr., San Antonio; H. J. Griffith, Dallas; John Abdnor, Dallas; William Moss, Dallas; John D. Hill, Dallas; Virginia Self, Dallas; Travis T. Wallace, Dallas; Frank A. Schultz, Dallas; George C. Anson, Dallas.

To George Bush

\$1,000 or more: Wm. P. Clements, Jr., Dallas, 7,200 (six separate sums from Wm. P., W., and W.P. Clements, Jr., Dallas); Frank P. Zoch, Corpus Christi, 6,080 (five separate sums from Frank P., F., and F.P. Koch, Corpus Christi); Jonathan J. Bush, New York, trustee, 4,000; Jonathan J. Bush, New York, 2,000 (additional); P. Turnbull, Corpus Christi, 5,570 (five separate sums, with Turnbull identified as "trustee" for one of these, 1,270); Paul Zoch, Corpus Christi, 1,270; F. Turnbull, Corpus Christi, 1,100; R. H. Cullen, Houston, 1,000; Roy Cullen, Houston, 1,000; T. N. Law, Houston, 2,500; L. R. French, Jr., Odessa, 1,000; B. C. Garnett, Corpus Christi, 1,000; M. H. Baxter, Midland, 1,000; Tom Fowler, Midland, 1,000; Sid Lindley, Midland, 1,000; Bruce Scrofford, Dallas, 1,000; M. Allday, Midland, 1,000; C. Fred Chambers, Houston, 1,000; J. Zepa, Tyler, 1,500.

\$501-\$999: Bill Gill, Dallas, trustee, 10,850 (15 separate sums of either 550 or 810 each); P. Turnbull, Corpus Christi, trustee, 4,400 (eight separate sums from P. and P. R. Turnbull); Frank Zoch, Corpus Christi, trustee, 3,680 (four separate sums from Frank and F. Zoch, Corpus Christi); F. Turnbull, Corpus Christi, trustee, 1,100 (two sums); P. Zoch, trustee, Corpus Christi, 920; W. E. Armentrout, Dallas, 579; W. H. Archer, Dallas, 579.

\$500: Mrs. C. C. O'Leary, Houston; M. R. Underwood, Houston; Max E. Banks, Amarillo; S. C. Moore, Midland; Richard B. Dorn, Corpus Christi; F. J. Malloy, Orange; R. Mosbacher, Houston; C. Fred Chambers, Houston; T. J. Falgout, Sr., Galveston; A. O. Morgan, Corpus Christi; H. L. Brown, Jr., Midland; John Terrill, Midland; J. R. Frankel, Houston; M. R. Underwood, Houston; Isaac Arnold, Houston; C. R. Gallagher, Jr., Lubbock; Earl Rodman, Jr., Lubbock; M. F. Lawless, Odessa; Gordon G. Wilbur, Dallas; E. L. Cox, Dallas; L. L. Mitchell, Dallas; J. D. Murchison, Dallas; C. F. Cullinan, Jr., Houston; J. F. Riddell, Jr., Houston; Wright Cowden, Midland; Gordon S. Know, Midland; E. Wilson Germany, Dallas; B. Scrofford, Dallas; P. R. Bass, Fort Worth; E. W. Brown, Jr., Orange; Dixon H. Cain, Houston; Benjamin Eshleman, Corpus Christi.

To Jack Cox

\$1,000 or more: Henry Stollenwerck, Dallas, 1,500; J. Grimm, Abilene, 4,500 (in two sums); C. D. Forde, Dallas, 1,200; L. Clark, Breckenridge, 1,000; P. W. Pitzer, Jr., Breckenridge, 2,000; N. Hunt, Dallas, 2,500; A. Hill, Dallas, 2,500; Russell Pryor, Houston, 1,000; L. Sands, Dallas, 2,500; L. W. Breck, El Paso, 1,000; Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Stone, San Angelo, 3,000.

\$501-\$999: None.

\$500: Ray Smith, Abilene; Roy Whitteburg, Amarillo, 1,000 (two sums); Henry Stollenwerck, Dallas, 1,000 (two sums); J. Grimm, Abilene; Ralph A. Johnston, Houston; Doug Forde, Dallas; Ed Templeton, Abilene; Bert Mann, San Angelo; Russell Pryor, Houston; Tom Medders, Jr., Wichita Falls; Bill Pitzer, Breckenridge; Tom Duke, Amarillo.

To Robert Morris

\$1,000 or more: Roberta H. Pew, Dallas, 1,000; Robert Morris, Dallas (the candidate himself), 1,150.

\$501-\$999: None.

\$500: Fred J. Agnich, Dallas; Tom Lineberry, Midland.

To Milton Davis

\$1,000 or more: None.

\$501-\$999: None.

\$500: Isadore Maritzsky, Longview.

May 29, 1964

7

SPLIT RAIL INN

217 South Lamar

Where Union

Men Meet

A Letter From Florida

Tallahassee, Fla.

Texas liberals can take hope from the major miracle which occurred recently in its neighbor state (disregarding water), Florida, assuming that what happened here can happen there.

And it can. Texas politics and Texas political problems are not unique. Not uniquely bad, at any rate.

There's no severance tax on Florida's natural resources. (We don't have oil, but we have lumber, phosphate, and other minerals.) There is no corporate income tax. The sales tax has been in effect for years. "It's the only fair way to make visitors to the state who use our roads and other facilities pay their share." Yes, it was the pitch for the sales tax here, too.

Florida, like Texas, is ruled by an obvious money clique. If anything, it is even more obvious here than there. The shell dredgers may seem like heartless scoundrels to Texas liberals. What would you do if you were faced with companies so powerful they get the legislature to establish certain rivers, their entire lengths, as "industrial streams" and allow the companies to pollute them at will? Twenty miles south of here is the Fenholloway River. It is an "industrial stream." You can smell it long before you see it. Waste from a chemical plant far upstream has turned the water black all the way to the Gulf. The banks are black. The vegetation for yards of the banks is black. Ten miles out into the Gulf, and an equal distance north and south along the coast, the water is black, a putrid delta of commercialized indifference.

In one man, Ed Ball, who runs the DuPont Estate (which Texas' Wright Patman is now doing an heroic job of trying to cut down to size), is invested as much state power as, for Texas, resides in those notable construction and oil men who shall be nameless here. Texas labor has its problems, but Ed Ball has run his Florida East Coast Railroad for a year and a half with scabs—throwing 2,000 union men out of work—in defiance of state and federal order to put the regular workers back on the job. President Johnson has sent down 50 FBI men to keep the locked-out F.E.C. employees from becoming unruly, but because of Ball's influence through Senator Smathers on Johnson, the President has done nothing to enforce the federal labor relations orders.

In Florida, the intra-legislative power group comparable to the Tunnell white-tie team is the "Pork Chop Gang," a rural bloc that holds and has for years held the legislature in a death grip of special interests.

The more you look at the two states, the harder it is to realize that a gulf separates them. On only one major point is Florida

Bob Sherrill

politically different from Texas: there is no eloquent group of liberals here. There are liberals, of course, but they have no unity, they have no spokesmen, they have no fellowship of *anger*. This may be because Florida labor is so weak as to be moribund. Texas labor may be fickle; purists like Dugger may sometimes have to go around and gently goose it; but at least it is *there* and alive, and it sounds off, and puts out money for the fight. Florida labor is all but dead, and so, possibly because of that, is the Florida liberal "movement."

WITH THAT ONE EXCEPTION, then, the two states are much alike, but especially in these ways:

1. Liberals have an awful time getting elected or nearly elected to office. Not since Claude Pepper was slandered out of the Senate in 1950 (Smathers got him nicknamed "Red" Pepper) has a liberal held, or come close to holding, a major statewide office.

2. The racial minorities are difficult to count on. I don't know what happened along this line in 1964, but I remember very well that in 1962 if the Latinos of San Antonio and the Negroes of Houston had backed the man who was for them, Don Yarborough would have been Texas' governor that year.

The Negroes of Florida have been just as fluid at the polls: where they weren't scared away entirely, they were generally scared into voting the "right" way—many times with their employer watching them mark the so-called absentee ballot — or bought off.

A Negro in Florida does not have as easy a time getting his say at the polls as does a Texas Negro. There are counties in Florida such as Liberty (sic), heavily populated with colored people, where no Negro votes. A couple of Negroes went so far as to register, but, as the supervisor of registration explained it, "some mean boys went down and beat them up and they came to us and asked to have their names removed."

There is, nevertheless, a considerable Negro registration, and it is getting larger. Ten years ago in Quincy, a town of 10,000 population about 25 miles west of the state capital, there were only a couple of Negro nannies registered, and their names were on the rolls under orders, so the town would "look fair." Then the colored folks of Quincy started getting bolder, a little bit. This spring they even, despite a couple of jailings and a lot of frowning, participated in a voter registration drive. Results: 1,300 Negroes can vote in Quincy now,

more than at any time since the Reconstruction.

The whites of north Florida have watched this spotty increase in registration with more distaste than alarm. After all, the Negroes have never stuck together and given their votes to a pro-Negro candidate.

Which brings us to the miracle—

THIS YEAR THEY DID!

This spring, a significant number of Negroes in north Florida cast their votes intelligently. In this case, this means that they voted for Robert King High, the only one of the six Democratic candidates who said right out that he favors the civil rights bill now pending before Congress and that he would do everything in his power to implement the spirit as well as the law in Florida.

And you know what that Negro vote did? It put High in the run-off. I'm telling you, the experts were flabbergasted. High was supposed to run last. The gamblers in Miami Beach were betting 17 to 1 against his making the run-off. He had no money (only \$98,000 as compared to an average of \$450,000 reported by each of his five opponents). As mayor of Miami, he is geographically off base. No candidate from the Miami area has made a run-off in modern times. And he is a liberal of the most startlingly reform variety, in a state that was surely going for Goldwater until Kennedy's death swung it back to a less florid-faced conservatism.

At this writing, the run-off is about ten days away. High, of course, is once again the underdog. Nobody expects him to win. The big money, the red necks, the Ku Kluxers, the honest conservatives, most local political machines, and all but a couple of major newspapers are against him. But then, nobody expected him to be in the run-off either.

IT IS A CLASSIC show-down fight, not only for the politicians but for the ideologies: High, mayor of Miami, largest city in the state, against Haydon Burns, mayor of Jacksonville, second largest city which lies a short moonshine run from Georgia. High the liberal and personal friend of the late John Kennedy; Burns the bare-knucks conservative. High, with an unblemished political record; Burns, who as police commissioner as well as mayor has been apologizing for 15 years for running one of the most notorious police departments in the state and possibly in the South.

But especially: High, who plays touch football with Negro paperboys, who has made Miami a haven for homeless Cubans despite normal community reluctance to take in "strangers," and who proclaims the brotherhood of man as loudly in the dank racial strongholds of north Florida

as he does on the sophisticated sidewalks of Palm Beach; versus Burns, who has literally triggered some of the recent race riots in Jacksonville by his attitude.

That's why High probably won't win. He's too good for the state, as the state now is. The first day of the run-off campaign, Burns declared \$16,000 in contributions. High declared \$330. His is no groundswell. Big money does not love a man any more in Florida than it does in Texas when he says, for example, that the state should buy its insurance on a bid basis rather than on a buddy basis.

In the last few days, however, it seems the people of Florida have done some soul

searching, and that old-fashioned phrase actually applies. The odds for High have not much improved, but now and then you actually hear old-line north Floridians (we're only twenty miles from the Georgia line, where I write this) say, "I'd just as soon have an honest liberal as—" (you finish the phrase). That, for these parts, is quite a concession. High has even got the support of one minor North Florida politician who ran for governor once and carried six counties on a strict segregationist ticket, but who now says, "I'm tired of voting against men just because they're nigger lovers."

When the choice is a sharp one, when

the difference between two candidates is such that the voter's conscience is actually brought into play, the state has been benefited even if the best man loses. The High and Burns offset is doing for Florida what the Yarborough and Shivers confrontation once did for Texas.

The Negroes of North Florida get the credit. Neither the NAACP nor CORE nor any other organization had much to do with it. They were almost leaderless. They simply followed their conscience, and by doing so created a situation in which Florida politics has once again become a debate of the conscience, for the white man too. □

The Texas Republicans' Senate Runoff

Austin

The talk and speeches will have less to do with who wins the Republican runoff for the U.S. Senate nomination than work will. Women on telephones calling the Republicans who voted Republican May 2 are the heart of both George Bush's and Jack Cox's campaigns now. Conservatives who voted Democratic May 2 cannot switch over and vote Republican June 6 without risking a fine of \$100 to \$500.

Nevertheless, the two runoff candidates continue to try to make points in words. Both are Goldwater Republicans, so neither can make any hay there, one way or another.

Cox took a deep plunge in a statement May 13. "Reports filed by my opponent with the Secretary of State," he said, "show that he spent a whopping \$176,274.00 in the first primary. This spending spree secured 60,000 votes for him. Simple arithmetic sets the price at about \$3.00 per vote. A projection of this figure to the estimated million or more votes it will take to beat Ralph Yarborough in the general election totals a staggering \$3,000,000.00—or more—an amount unheard of in Texas politics. . . . There have been previous attempts to buy office in Texas, though none nearly so brazen, and they have failed as his attempt will fail. Just as surely as Rockefeller's millions can't buy presidential nomination, George Bush with his millions can't buy a Senate seat."

With this theme Cox risked providing Sen. Yarborough with fodder for his campaign against Bush, if Bush is nominated. Reporters figured out that actually, Bush spent closer to \$2.60 a vote, while Cox spent \$1.20. Yet Cox felt he had to run against Eastern money. In Corpus Christi he said he didn't know if there's a Republican establishment, but he hadn't had any help from the East, he knew that much.

Cox's second major theme is that Bush can't win. He says that Gordon McLendon proved that a bright new face with lots of money is not enough to beat Yarborough. Again Cox picked up a Yarborough theme: that McLendon's vote, plus the total vote cast for all four GOP candidates for the

Senate, did not reach Yarborough's total. Obviously, Cox said, there are fewer Republicans in Texan than Republicans had hoped, and even though "We know that ours is the only party for those who love Freedom," still, "We must supplement our Republican vote with a massive number of other conservatives in November. I know where to find these people because I have been there before."

Cox has asserted that Bush is not "an unquestioned conservative" and claimed support from backers of Robert Morris and Milton Davis. On issues, Cox has emphasized his support of Goldwater, calls the war on poverty "solid socialism right down to the core," says U.S. membership in the U.N. "is not serving the interests of the United States," and upholds the "constitutional right to bear arms."

Bush has warmed his campaign on the Billie Sol Estes issue. Bush first turned this subject against Cox April 13 when he publicly noted that Cox received a \$325 contribution and the loan of an airplane and pilot from Estes in 1960, when Cox was running for governor against Price Daniel. "This will nullify this issue as far as Cox is concerned," Bush said then.

Cox, who is now providing Sen. Yarborough with quotations on the big spending issue, was outraged that Bush would turn on him in this way back in April. Bush knew all about that when he was Cox's campaign finance chairman in Houston in 1962, Cox said; and there was no irregularity in accepting the contribution before Estes was in trouble. Besides, Cox said, the Pecos Enterprise, which broke the Estes scandal, endorsed Cox and said, of Cox having been helped by Estes beforehand, "None but the most devious demagogue would attempt to attach any political significance to that situation."

"I am not casting any aspersions on Cox's character," Bush rejoined to criticism from Morris. "The issue here is that simply due to his unfortunate linking with Estes, Cox will be unable to bring Yarborough to task." This point had lingering force, as attested to when Cox recently said he will bring up the Estes matter against

Yarborough, depending on the FBI report on the Estes-Dallas News charge.

Bush rubbed his hands together briskly as McLendon more and more openly used the News story quoting Estes on the \$50,000 tale. April 22 Bush said, "The scandals of the summer of 1964 are going to make the Truman scandals pale by comparison." April 27, after McLendon's all-out broadcast on the \$50,000 matter, Bush told a breakfast group in El Paso, "McLendon is doing a wonderful lot of research for Republicans." April 29 Bush said, "There is no question about Yarborough's involvement with Estes. It is a matter of record. He denies that he got the \$50,000 but there are plenty of other connections, with Estes that he cannot deny."

Faced with the FBI's statement on one of McLendon's witnesses' repudiation of his own story, Bush's tone changed some. "It doesn't matter how much money, if any, that he got," he said after the primary. "I think the nation is tired of Billie Sol Estes and especially of having a U.S. senator involved with him." May 12, Bush announced he had called on the Justice Dept. to report on the \$50,000 matter and inquired what had happened to Ernest Keeton. "Is he missing in action? Or have his civil rights been violated?" Sam Kinch quoted Bush in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram. When Yarborough voted with Senate Democrats against extending the Baker investigation, Bush hopped him, saying, as he had said before, "I think the people of Texas and America are fed up with Billie Sol Estes and the Bobby Bakers."

Bush's campaign has made the most of this subject. Nevertheless, he has carried on a theme of his basic hostility to Yarborough's policies. Before the primary he called for a whopping majority for Goldwater. He calls Yarborough "this left-wing senator." He wants "a no-nonsense firm foreign policy" and U.S. military support for a Cuban government in exile. To "eliminate poverty" he proposes such a foreign policy, unfettered free enterprise, and "a return to morality in government." He

speaks of the "Yarborough-New Frontier line." He defends Dallas against Yarborough's remark that it's a "citadel of reaction," and, with Cox, he attacks Yarborough on the civil rights bill. Yarborough's recent vote for the jury trial amendment

comported with Bush's position on that aspect of the bill.

At this writing, Cox would need a big boost or two, and some luck, to win June 6. Bush's money may make a difference in the last weeks when there will be a premium on getting out one's own voters. □

the original statement. After Byers questioned Fonville and Midland Police Chief Harold Wallace, Wallace fired Fonville for injecting himself into politics and continuing to discuss the case on and off duty in and out of uniform, Wallace said. Fonville was quoted by Byers that he refused to give the FBI a sworn statement when he concluded the FBI was working for Yarborough. Byers reported he saw Estes and Lassiter together in El Paso after Keeton's working there had become known. The movements of Estes and Lassiter while they were in the area became a subject of dispute.

A spokesman for the U.S. Justice Dept. said the FBI became involved in the matter because of the federal law against contributions of more than \$5,000 from one source any one year. Herbert Miller of the Justice Dept. told reporters in Fort Worth the department will release a report on the episode before the November election, and that the FBI would have investigated, even without the request to do so from Sen. Yarborough. This, in gist, summarizes developments in this matter since the Observer's report last issue, "An Astonishing Month."

Political Intelligence

The Democratic Convention

✓ Gov. Connally's forces claim 1,873 votes at the state Democratic convention June 16, with 1,418 needed to control. Sen. Yarborough's forces claim national Democrats have 849 votes, Connally's forces 704, and Johnson-oriented delegations 385. Gov. Connally claims overriding control of the convention. Spokesmen for the Yarborough side say President Johnson can enforce unity on behalf of his candidacy and his program if he wishes because he has controlling influence with delegations more responsive to his wishes than to Connally's.

It is becoming clear that Connally's people are considering seating the conservative delegation from Bexar County, where liberal Democrats claim a clear majority. (Connally's spokesmen have conceded Harris County to liberals.) Frank Erwin, Connally's state chairman, told the San Antonio Express he is informed just 100 votes separate the sides in Bexar, and he doesn't like to see "friends kicked around." Yarborough representatives have been assuming that Harris and Bexar delegations loyal to the national Democrats will be seated, and some of them have said there may be a bolt to Atlantic City if both are not.

Chuck Caldwell, an aide to Yarborough, has been carefully checking over delegations and has concluded the convention is open, and anything can happen.

Mrs. Murray Chud, Dallas Democratic leader who participated in the walkout there, contends that her side had a majority of the Dallas votes on the issue they were walking out about—whether to go on with convention business without settlement of contested delegations.

Stories in Dallas dailies have broached the subject of replacing Texas Democratic National Committeeman Byron Skelton of Temple with Gen. Carl Phinney, Dallas friend of the President and lobbyist for bus interests, or National Committeewoman Mrs. H. H. Weinert of Seguin with Mrs. Troy Post, new state committeewoman from Dallas County.

Pool-Baker

✓ Cong.-at-large Joe Pool told the Houston Chronicle's Saul Friedman that he opposes medicare, all federal aid to education, public accommodations and fair em-

ployment sections of the civil rights bill, and the anti-poverty program. In a Dallas context, he said, "I am proud that I represent Texans who want a congressman-at-large who votes like an American." By implication, anyway, Bill Elkins of Greenville threw his support to Pool by telling Bob Baker he should give up to avoid the expense of a statewide runoff.

Baker, Pool's runoff opponent, has been hammering at him for posing as a Democrat and voting like a Republican; hitch-hiking on Johnson's bandwagon while emasculating his programs. Baker points out that in the Dan Smoot report for 1963, Pool rated farther to the political right than any other U.S. Democrat, with a percentage exceeded only by three other Republicans. Bob Looney of Austin threw his runoff support to Baker. Baker also announced his supporters include Sens. Cole, Bates, Harrington, Kazen, Kennard, and Schwartz and former Sens. Nokes, Willis, Secrest, and Fuller.

✓ One Senate nomination (Cook vs. Snelson) and 28 House nominations will also be settled by runoffs in the Democratic primary June 6, as well as the White-McGregor and the de la Garza-Rodriguez congressional runoffs.

Keeton-Fonville

✓ Reporters located Ernest Keeton in El Paso, where he has taken a job driving a cab. The Negro who said on statewide TV April 25 that he saw Billy Sol Estes give Ralph Yarborough \$50,000, but then recanted on that story to the FBI, told reporters in El Paso that he had told the FBI the truth. Keeton was also quoted that he had never seen McLendon before the April 25 broadcast. James Fonville, the second "witness" to the so-called transaction, had said Keeton and Keeton's mother had been threatened after Keeton repudiated his original charge. Keeton told the AP neither he nor his mother had been threatened; and his mother told the AP she had not been threatened. Reporter Bo Byers of the Houston Chronicle was told by Keeton that a Roy Lassiter of Raymondville talked to Keeton about Keeton's statement on TV against Yarborough. Byers also quoted Fonville that Fonville met with Lassiter and Keeton in Abilene. Byers quoted Keeton that Estes did not ask Keeton to make

Other Matters

✓ Mrs. H. H. Weinert told the State Democratic Executive Committee in Austin May 11 that keeping Johnson in the White House will cost \$15 million, and that she got this from "someone who should know." She had visited at the White House recently before this. . . . Texas will have 120 delegates, 97 alternates, and some observers at the national convention in Atlantic City, Frank Erwin, state chairman, announced. . . . Hank Brown, state labor president, has accepted appointment by Johnson on the 12-member national labor-management panel that advises the President and the U.S. Dept. of Labor. . . . Cong. Jake Pickle, Austin, has announced his support of the war on poverty bill.

✓ Gov. Connally may turn sharply right, the Observer has heard. In speeches since his renomination he has urged the zipping up of the state medical care program for the aged (a program used to refute medicare) by extending it further in November and has repeated his boast that Texas has "one of the lowest state and local per capita tax burdens in the nation, the lowest of any of the major industrial states." . . . State agency budget hearings are scheduled May 26-Sept. 11 in Austin.

✓ Peter O'Donnell, state GOP chairman, notes the GOP primary turnout was 23.7% higher than two years ago. Dallas had the greatest major-county increase, 37.5%. Midland-Odessa showed a 107% increase. . . . Liberal precinct analysts are puzzling why so many voters voted for Gordon McLendon and Don Yarborough; or for Ralph Yarborough and Joe Pool. It doesn't make sense, they say. . . . Ed Burris, the Texas Manufacturers' Assn., lob-

byist, asks in the T.M.A. house organ: Will the anti-poverty program reduce self-reliance and increase paternalism in government?

✓ The runoff between Bexar Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena and Felix Trevino is heated. San Antonio Express editorialized against Pena, and Pena and his friends rallied to the reply in the letters column of that paper. Maury Maverick, Jr., is backing Pena; Sturge Steinert is backing Trevino. Sen. Ralph Yarborough praised Pena to the skies in a wire made public. The outcome will have ramifications for PASO, the Democratic Coalition, and state politics for some time to come.

✓ State Rep. Bob Eckhardt filed an appeal from a Travis County court order holding the state does not have jurisdiction in the 300-foot oyster shell dredging dispute. . . . Rep. Ronald Bridges, Corpus Christi, says if he finds enough support, he'll run against Sen. Bruce Reagan again in 1966. . . . Billy Jo Hargis, the evangelical rightist, has had a crusade in Texas May 18-31st. . . . Stanley Marcus, president of Nieman-Marcus, has become a member of the Dallas American Civil Liberties Union chapter's new advisory committee.

Teague & Moore

✓ Cong. Olin Teague and Sen. Bill Moore worked together against their opponents and merged their victory party the night the returns came in, a key worker for their opponents contends.

Jack Zubik, Bryan, ran on a platform of loyalty to the Democratic Administration and twitted Teague for voting against the tax bill. With Negroes Zubik workers stressed Teague's opposition to the civil rights bill. Teague mailed out a card with Kennedy's picture and a Catholic prayer to Catholic voters, but did not run scared. Zubik carried one box; he lost all Negro boxes.

Rep. Joe Cannon, Mexia, assessing the temper of the district conservative, opposed medicare and public accommodations. Sen. Moore used a letter of endorsement from Cong. Henry Gonzalez (Gonzalez also endorsed Martin Elfant, a liberal Houston legislative candidate, by letter), and Moore carried Negro boxes. Opposed by state labor this election, Moore got plenty rough: He told the Bryan-College Station Jaycees, for instance, that union leadership in Texas is "rotten to the core," "power mad," and are "would-be Hoffas." Cannon was quoted that if labor was backing him, it was despite his support of right-to-work laws. The Texas Insurance Advisory Council hurt Cannon with insurance people, mailing out word he was ultra-liberal.

✓ A newly organized PASO club in Bryan ran a write-in candidate for a candidate for precinct chairman, Arthur Davila, and received 70 votes for him, which they regarded as a victory (though Davila was not elected). □

A Long Summer In Mississippi

Austin

"We urge you to come to Mississippi this summer," civil rights leaders in that state wrote hundreds of American professors last month. They are appealing for 800 workers they expect to need for this year's "Mississippi Summer Project" of the Council of Federated Organizations.

COFO was founded in Mississippi in the fall of 1963 by four civil rights organizations, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the NAACP. Last summer it conducted a mock campaign and election for a Negro gubernatorial candidate from Clarksville, Aaron Henry, for whom, COFO said, 80,000 "votes" were cast.

Henry was one of the signers of COFO's April letter to faculty members. The others were Bob Moses, the quiet, Harvard-educated leader of SNCC's Mississippi Project, and David Dennis, CORE field secretary.

The most dramatic objective of the civil rights movement's Mississippi program this summer is a delegation of Mississippians who are to journey to Atlantic City to challenge the regularly constituted Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention.

In preparation for this August climax, but also as part of Moses' patient, long-run plan to improve the education of Mississippi's Negro masses, COFO's 1964 pro-

gram varies a central emphasis on the attempt to register Negroes to vote with some novel innovations.

"Freedom Registrars" are to be established. Negroes (and whites as well, of course) will be permitted to "register" to vote without taking a literacy test or answering a white registrar's question about the Constitution of the State of Mississippi. "The Freedom Registration books will serve as a basis for challenging the official books and the validity of 'official' federal elections this fall," COFO says.

At the same time that they assert that only 28,000, or 6.6%, of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote, the civil rights militants in the most adamantly segregated of all the Southern states are doing what they can, under the circumstances, to campaign for their three candidates for Congress and one for the U.S. Senate in the Democratic primary.

"All four candidates are entered in the regular Democratic primary to be held June 2," COFO declares. They are Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a SNCC worker, 47 years old, from Sunflower County, whom COFO says was blackjacked in jail in Winona in 1963; James Houston, 74, a retired machinist from Vicksburg and a member of the NAACP for 20 years; Rev.

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Goldwater in 1864

Time grows short. The minus-a-hundred Zero Hour approaches. Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country. We admit it's a little difficult to decide what's best. If the Republicans nominate Goldwater, that's the end of the Republican Party—we hope. But there's just a chance that it's the end of the United States, instead, and there's even a chance that it's also the end of the human race. We do not like to toy with such possibilities. After sober reflections we have decided that we prefer the continued existence of the Republican Party to risking thermonuclear war with Goldwater. Now the question such issues present to all good Texans is, what can the individual do? Ah, that's the question, isn't it. Well, there isn't much a liberal person can do. Consider how little good our good-hearted advice did the Texas Republicans. We offered them Lodge in Saigon or Nixon in Richardson; they went for their Goldenwater, whom not even the Marines seem able to turn off. About all we can do is convey our sense of despair if they nominate Goldwater. How can we do this? By painting mustaches on Goldwater posters? Writing nutty letters to editors en-

dorsing Goldwater? Starting a Goldwater for Admiral of the Texas Navy boom? Insinuating, in the minds of influential friends in Washington, the possibility of installing Goldwater as General of Brazil? No—fond gags and wild schemes, begone! The Texas Observer happened on the only solution months ago—make like it's a joke. GOLDWATER IN 1864!—Paste on the stickers now and weep later. Here today, gone tomorrow. Brains like solid gold. A soup bone in every pot and two uniforms in every closet. Men in them, too. Don't talk now, Big Bug is listening. Goldwater the moderate: We need to revise the United Nations, like break all the windows in the UN building. Order your stickers now. The Zero Hour approaches. He who laughs last gets a laugh out of it, anyway.

4—\$ 1.00
10—\$ 2.00
40—\$ 5.00
100—\$10.00
500—\$40.00
1,000—\$80.00

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

John E. Cameron, 31, who was arrested in Hattiesburg last month for demonstrating; and Mrs. Victoria Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, the mother of three.

Mrs. Hamer is running against Rep. Jamie Whitton of the Second District; Houston, against Rep. Robert Bell Williams, of the Third District; Rev. Cameron, against Rep. Willie Colmer, of the Fifth District; and Mrs. Gray, against Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.).

Of course, COFO's candidates have not the slightest chance. Their campaigns are part of a continuing attempt to attract attention to the plight of Negroes in Mississippi. Their running also gives Negroes signed up on the "Freedom Registrars" someone to vote for.

LESS ATTENTION-GETTING but more fundamental as attempts to cope with Mississippi Negroes' legacies from slavery and segregation are these other elements in COFO's summer project, as planned but not yet as executed:

Freedom Schools. COFO hopes to establish daytime "Freedom Schools" where tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade pupils will study reading, math, grammar, political science, humanities, journalism, and creative writing five days a week in their home towns. "Wherever possible, studies will be related to problems in the students' own society," COFO says. Three resident schools are to be conducted for older youths, with emphasis on "political studies" and social action.

Community centers. Using SNCC's center in Greenwood as a model, COFO has programmed the establishment of civil rights centers in other Mississippi communities. The 30,000 books in the Greenwood center's library are to be distributed around to all the centers. COFO hopes to offer, through these centers, not only access to books, but also educational and cultural programs, instruction in pre-natal and infant care and general hygiene, reading and writing for adults, and vocational training. The Greenwood center has also served as a base for voter registration activities in Greenwood, and the new centers will serve the same function for civil rights workers where they are located.

Research. COFO's appeal to faculty members is designed to attract academic types into Mississippi for research in the social and political institutions of the state—and, COFO hopes, for the subsequent dissemination of information about these institutions to magazines and journals to which professors have access. Henry, Moses, and Dennis wrote in April that the subjects they would like to see investigated include the Mississippi educational

system, the black market for whiskey and its effects on politics, the state tax structure, ways federal programs could be brought to bear on Mississippi problems, the operation of the state welfare and social security systems, "income distribution," local health facilities, and the structure of the Democratic Party. Academic types might also be impressed into service as political advisers and speech writers.

White community project. About 30 Southern white students in the civil rights movement will begin "pilot projects" in white communities, attempting to organize poor whites against "bigotry, poverty, and intolerance," COFO says. "In addition," says one of COFO's mimeographed advisories cryptically, "a number of people will be asked to live in white communities to survey attitudes and record reactions to summer happenings."

Law students. The Mississippi movement has been handicapped, its leaders say, by a shortage of good lawyers. This summer COFO hopes to attract to the state a group of law students to work under the available lawyers in order to launch—in the overreaching language of civil rights militance—"a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state."

"The theater project." If the contest over Mississippi's delegation to Atlantic City is the most sensational aspect of the civil rights movement's plans this summer, "the theater project" is the most intriguing for students of Mississippi life. Sponsored by the Tougaloo College drama department, COFO says, will be a repertory theater in Jackson, the headquarters of "the movement" in Mississippi. "The actors will be Negro Mississippians; the play will dramatize the experience of the Negro in Mississippi and in America; the stage will be the churches, community centers, and fields of rural Mississippi."

IT IS DIFFICULT for someone who has not spent time in Mississippi to visualize the hostile contexts in which such bland sounding programs must be attempted there. This is so mainly because, generally speaking, reporters based in Mississippi do not write freely and critically and stay on their jobs, and reporters based outside Mississippi seldom spend much time there. The credibility of civil rights partisans' accounts of what happens to them is qualified by the nightmarish quality of some of the things they relate and the customary circumstance that there would hardly be witnesses who would be inclined to corroborate their stories.

COFO tried to cope with the difficulty by releasing a report, "Case Studies of Intimidation," identified as "a collection of personal statements concerning acts of intimidation in Mississippi between February and April, 1964." In these statements, persons—mostly civil rights workers—tell of arrests, harassment, firings, and beatings.

Archie C. Curtis, owner of Curtis Funeral Home in Natchez, says hooded men beat him and his helper and discussed whether to kill them; John Mathews, 34, of Greenwood, an SCLC worker, says officers broke

his ink pen in two and took his wallet and did not return it upon his release from custody; Willis Wright, 23, of Greenwood, says he tried to register to vote for the sixth time, whereupon a policeman got him fired from the cafe where he worked; George R. Davis, 23, of Greenwood, says he marched on the voter registration line in Greenwood and was fired, and his father was told "that I would not be able to get another job in Greenwood since my picture had been shown to the members of the Citizens' Council"; Mendy Samstein, a white SNCC worker, says he and a Negro SNCC worker were stopped by Ruleville police while working for Mrs. Hamer for Congress, a policeman shoved a cocked gun in the Negro's stomach repeatedly, and they were not permitted to call lawyers; Richard A. Jewett of New York, a white CORE worker, says a policeman whom he names hand-chopped his neck six times, hit him with his fists, and slammed his head against the wall in the Jackson police station while three other officers watched; and Eli Hochstedler, a white civil rights worker, says he was turned into a cell among jailbirds who had been told he had been trying to integrate the Jackson municipal auditorium, and that these other prisoners then beat him badly and made him lower his shorts and lashed him with a belt 16 or 18 times.

Many of these persons' statements are sworn to; all are signed, COFO's report represented.

According to reports from the South, the Mississippi legislature has passed, and Gov. Paul Johnson has signed, laws prohibiting picketing and the distribution of boycott literature, permitting cities to restrict the movements of groups and to set curfews, and increasing penalties for violating city ordinances.

The civil rights program in Mississippi this summer embodies a decision its leaders reached on a basic difficulty. They saw, in Alabama and Mississippi especially, that demonstrations to try to pressure local authorities into accepting changes were being countered successfully by mass and spot arrests and the leveling of varieties of charges against the demonstrators. By enlarging the number of workers in this summer's project, they hope to be better able to replace jailed workers in demonstrations, and they again hope to precipitate the kind of federal intervention many of their leaders believe will be necessary before Negroes will vote in large numbers in Mississippi—the intervention of troops.

"The summer project," says one of COFO's workers, Sandra Hayden of Victoria, Texas, "is the most comprehensive thing to be developed in the South, I think. In its inception it is really beautiful. We are hampered by lack of funds, of course. (I haven't been paid in six weeks.) But the program is worth it if it can come off and wake the country up to Mississippi."

In Jackson and Natchez and the little towns this summer, COFO's summer project may not be beautiful at all. Perhaps the country does not want to wake up to Mississippi. Or perhaps it does. R.D.

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Enselmo And the Triplets

Enselmo, my grandfather's Mexican ranchhand, was the strongest man I ever knew. He could carry a sack of oats on each shoulder from the front yard gate around to the cow lot and do it walking straight. He enjoyed doing things like that—carrying or pushing or pulling; he liked putting his strength to work. And he liked it best of all when he lifted cars out of ruts after a big rain. He would be milking or working around the lots when Gram—my grandmother—would send some of us grandchildren after him to go pull an uncle or neighbor out of the mud. We would follow him down to the long black mud flat below the house where everyone usually got stuck and we would watch him grab the back bumper and begin to strain himself with the lifting. We stood back under the live oak trees out of the mist and drizzle and chanted, Come onnnn, Enselmo . . . we're betting on you, Enselmo . . . come onnnn, Enselmo, and we would grunt and breathe heavily and get down low and pretend to strain along with him. And Enselmo would start shaking his head from side to side to show that if we didn't stop we were going to make him laugh and lose his hold. Then with the loose strap of his old aviator's cap flapping from side to side and the rain streaking down the smooth glistening black rubber into his face, he would set the back wheels down beside us on the grass and let out his big roar of pent-up laughter. For a long time he would stand there, shin-deep in mud, leaning back and laughing and showing his big yellow buck teeth, looking as if he wanted to laugh so hard and so long that he would have to sit down backwards in the mud, too weak to stand, and give us all a chance to laugh that much harder.



Enselmo was about thirty when the triplets were born; Angelita, his wife, was just eighteen. They had been married four years and although both of them were crazy to have children, for some reason Angelita never could get pregnant. That was the year I was twelve and was staying out at the ranch on weekends, and I remember that at night when they would sit with us on the front porch of the ranchhouse Enselmo would say to Gram, "Oh, Miss Maggie, I sure do wish I had me a little baby—oh, I sure do," and he would put his big arm around Angelita and pat her to let her know that she was not to blame—that he was just sad she could not give him any little ones.

Then, as it sometimes happens, there was a shift in chemistry, a breaking of the spell—however such things are ex-

A Story by Elroy Bode

plained—and Angelita became pregnant. She was very sick in the mornings, Gram said, and I know that whenever I saw her her eyes looked large and very black and tired. As the months passed and Angelita got bigger Enselmo would bring back little things from the pastures to cheer her up—a hummingbird's nest, shiny pieces of quartz, wild grapes. He was gentle with her, always opening gates and doors before her very carefully—even trying to walk a little more softly around in the house. But when he was out working around the ranch he was excited as a little boy. Sometimes I sat on the corral fence and listened to him talk to the cows as he milked them. "Hey, old cow," he would say, "don't you wish you going to have yourself a nice big boy, or maybe a pretty little *chamaca*?" When the cow would just go on eating in her feed box, paying him no mind, Enselmo would strip one of her teats extra hard and laugh—and after he was through milking he would kiss each cow lightly on the ear and then turn them loose into the lots with a terrific hand-smack on the rump.

The day the triplets were born Angelita's kinfolks came out from Kerrville and parked along the fenceline between the Mexican house and the cornfield. Gram and Grandpa wanted to take Angelita in to the hospital, but the old women smiled and said something to the effect that they were very familiar with babies. I don't remember when the first one came—I was out hunting squirrels in the front pasture—but about nine that night Grandpa came back from the Mexican house and told Gram and me that the dam had broken—Angelita and Enselmo were parents of triplets, all girls. The next morning when I went up to see they were laid out on a quilt, looking like three big shriveled acorns. Each had a thick wad of black hair—as though

they even had on little dark acorn caps.

I don't recall exactly what it was that went wrong with the triplets—some sort of infection or respiratory trouble, or maybe they were just too small—but within a week all three of them had died. When the first baby got sick Grandpa wanted to take them in to town, but the old women just kept on fussing over them and making some kind of herb tea and saying that the *nenitas* would be all right. After the first one died Grandpa got a doctor to come out but it was too late; the other two died the same afternoon. The doctor told us that the old women just sat huddled over their knees, shaking their heads and saying it was God's will.

The funeral was held in Kerrville the following afternoon at three o'clock. Maybe Enselmo and Angelita didn't belong to any church, or maybe they were actually Methodists—but instead of being held at the neat Catholic cemetery near the Mexican settlement the funeral took place at the small, run-down Protestant graveyard on the east side of town. It was Sunday, and when we got there a big crowd was already gathering. There was a row of Mexican men dressed in dark suits and they were standing beside their cars, holding cigarettes down by their sides and talking quietly. As Grandpa drove up they all turned to face us and the talking died away. I remember getting out of the car and noticing how still everything was—and how you could hear the short, almost polite sound of car doors being shut up and down the dusty country road.

The cemetery was full of weeds and yellow June flowers and dark places where the tombstones were hidden. We all walked through a gap cut in the wire fence and headed toward the middle of the field where a hole had been dug that morning. The Mexican women were dressed in black and seemed unusually small—strung out

May 29, 1964

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Hard-nosed Mortgage Loans,
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across the cemetery like little dolls of coal. The men had dropped their cigarettes and they walked along together. Some of them touched their hats every now and then to pull them down a little more the way they wanted them. We gathered around the hole and then turned sideways to watch the men who were bringing the small home-made coffin through the gap. When they got to the grave the men set the coffin down and then stepped back into the crowd. They carefully dusted their hands away from their suits and looked at the minister, waiting for him to begin.

Reverend Rodriguez talked first in Spanish, then in English, but I don't think I heard much of what he said. I kept watching Enseldo out of the corner of my eye. He stood there next to Angelita with the front half of each shoe disappearing into the caliche dirt and his body jerking as though he were standing on top of some kind of throbbing machinery. His eyes were squeezed shut and a row of big yellow front teeth was clamped down over his bottom lip. Every now and then little pouches of skin on each side of his mouth would puff in and out as air forced past them in explosions of crying.

The services ended and the casket was lowered and before I knew it we were making our way back to the cars outside the fence. I remember thinking as we walked along that the whole east side of town would have been quiet that afternoon if Enseldo had not been crying. He staggered along through the knee-deep weeds with Angelita gathered under his big right arm, and it was like a big shambling bear being led along by a child trainer. When they got to Grandpa's car Angelita opened the back door and helped Enseldo inside. They sat there together while Grandpa made his way around to the driver's seat. Enseldo had his arm in the window, holding on to the side strap, and you could see his big wrist sticking far out of Grandpa's old blue suit. When I got in the front seat he was starting to let low broken screams crawl around in his throat.

Grandpa asked Enseldo if he and Angelita wanted to stay in town a day or two

with some of Angelita's relatives. But Enseldo shook his head and said, "No, Mr. George, we go on home." So we started on the twenty mile drive through the heat—Gram, Grandpa, and I solemn and quiet in the front, Enseldo moaning to himself and his window in the back. Angelita just kept on being numb—almost wilted down inside herself, whimpering a little and twisting and re-twisting a white lace handkerchief around her thumb.

Since it was Sunday and there was no work to do except the chores later on, after we got back to the ranch Enseldo and Angelita went up to the Mexican house and I had coffee with Gram and Grandpa out on the breezeway. They sat in the green wicker chairs and began talking over everything again—going back to when Angelita was pregnant and how no one thought that a frail little person like her would ever have triplets, even though she did get so big; and how small and wrinkled the girls were when they were born—"just like little old possums," Gram said. And they talked about how pleased Enseldo had been all that spring, laughing and shaking his head in the happiness of Angelita having a baby. Then Grandpa told again—though it was the first time I had heard it—how he and Enseldo had been out in the pasture riding fences back in April and Enseldo had spotted two baby cottontails in some brush and got off his horse and put them inside his denim jacket and carried them back for Angelita. Gram said that Angelita had laughed and held them out for her to see and called them her babies.

And we were still talking along there on the breezeway—we hadn't even reached the midwives and funeral part yet—when we heard Angelita yelling as she came tearing through the back gate. Grandpa had got up—he was barefooted and was walking rather gingerly across the concrete floor toward the kitchen—and Gram was pushing herself up slowly from her chair when Angelita rounded the corner of the sleeping porch, waving her arms. She came inside the breezeway and fell on Gram as though she were a crying post and could hardly stop crying long enough to say that Enseldo had gone, had left the house and walked straight across the cornfield and disappeared into the west pasture.

I wanted to go with Grandpa but he told me to stay there with Gram and Angelita. He said he didn't think Enseldo would do anything "bad"—he paused a little before saying the word—but he ought to go take a look. He saddled up and rode off from the pens and stayed gone the rest of the afternoon. Angelita cried a while but gradually she settled into long after-crying hiccups. Gram made some strong iced tea and got her to lie down. Then Gram and I went out on the front porch, where we could

see the pastures better, and we waited. We listened to the cows beginning to low in the fields and watched the cardinals sail into the yard for their late afternoon dips in the bird bath, but there wasn't a sign of Enseldo.

When Grandpa came back to the house it was after dark. He said he had ridden all over the west and south pastures, calling Enseldo, but he didn't see a thing. Angelita broke down again and Gram got her to say she would spend the night down at the ranchhouse so she wouldn't be so lonely. We all had a little supper and after doing the dishes sat out on the porch a while. Nobody cared much about talking so pretty soon we came inside and went to bed.



We were eating breakfast the next morning when Angelita sort of yelled and then stopped herself with her hand at her mouth. We looked out the front door and saw Enseldo walking up the road from town. He was still a good ways off but we could tell he was carrying something on his shoulder—some kind of box. I guess we all knew what it was the moment we saw it but no one said anything—we were pushing back chairs and heading for the porch.

Enseldo carried the coffin as if it were just a short two-by-four—both shoulders were perfectly straight and level. When he reached the yard gate he bent his knees a little and opened the latch with his free hand and after carefully shutting it behind him came on up the front walk. He looked first at Angelita, then let his eyes slide on past Gram and me until he was facing Grandpa. "I heard you, Mr. George," he said, "and I saw you, but I was scared you stop me. I was scared Angelita try to stop me too." And after getting a little better hold on the coffin he went around the corner of the porch. We heard the back gate slam and the cows bawl as he walked up past the lots toward his house.

We watched him off and on throughout the morning. He picked out a clump of live oaks down the fence line from the Mexican house and there he dug the grave. He covered it with wild flowers and then chipped out a small tombstone from a smooth caliche rock and engraved three crosses on it and placed it solidly in the ground. When he was finished he knelt down and cried a final time and then he went on back to the lots in his sweat-circled blue suit to help Grandpa with the chores. □

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A message for the special attention of liberal groups or union locals:

Subscriptions to the Observer can be bought by groups at a cost of \$4 a year, provided ten or more subscriptions are entered at one time. If you belong to a group that might be interested in this, perhaps you will want to take the matter up with the others.

(Adv.)

Observations

A Word for Democracy

Everybody in Texas politics who condones the degradation of democracy that is now commonplace in Democratic conventions ought to be ashamed and conscience-stricken. I don't care if you're a liberal or a conservative. I don't care if it's the liberals who are refusing to let the conservatives be heard, or vice versa. Nothing can be more dispiriting to someone trying to take an interest in public affairs than to go to one of these pre-fabricated conventions where all the motions are worked out in advance and nobody speaks or makes a move without the permission of the chair. The Travis County "Democratic" convention was a lousy case in point. The Connally majority rammed through this rule: That the key committees would have five members and that nobody could make a motion to amend a resolution or a report without approval by three members of a relevant committee. In plain words, you had to have a majority report from a stacked convention committee before you could do anything in the open convention—anything at all. This was sick, cheap, sneaky, smelly, and low-down. It couldn't have been done for any purpose but to prevent members of the majority from hearing appeals to their reason, since the minority were already counted in the opposition. In San Antonio and Harris counties, liberal people can be proud (and relieved) to know, the conservative minorities were allowed full freedom to demonstrate for their candidates, to debate, make motions, and so on; they were permitted to participate in the game that belonged to them as much as to the majority of the moment. From what we understand of Bill Clark's Dallas convention, that urbane and high-born young man simply refused to recognize the authorized spokesman for about half of the entire convention in front of him. When is this tawdry, childish defamation of fair play going to stop? At Houston June 16, we hope. How odd and wonderful it would be to see Texas Democrats treating each other with fairness and respect!

MARTIN ELFANT

Sun Life of Canada

1001 Century Building

Houston, Texas

CA 4-0686

On Personal Privilege

Now for a few paragraphs I rise on personal privilege.

Over the years Rep. Malcolm McGregor of El Paso has proved his mettle as a principled fighter for the public interest. In days when "hard-working" is a cliché that usually means feverishly selfish, Malcolm has been hard-working in the way quite different from this: for he is really devoted to the general welfare. He has a conception of the public good both broad and deep; he is the decent, well-informed sort of man Texans deserve to have leading them. If Malcolm McGregor wins in West Texas, as I earnestly hope he does, he will represent Texas with his own blend of distinction: seriousness, intelligence, literateness, and wit.

Albert Pena, county commissioner of precinct one in San Antonio, is more completely a political man than Malcolm McGregor, but reminds me of Malcolm in grave dedication to his ideals and in steady intelligence. Pena is a quiet man personally. Politically, he understands that he occupies a position at the top of a political pyramid in San Antonio, and it seems to me he has played out this part with reasonableness. He has also accepted a vital role, beyond the borders of Bexar County, in activating and educating Latin-Americans in public affairs and in joining with liberals and labor of whatever color and kind in the tiring and often unpopular but necessary work of holding forth for better public ideals in Texas. I think Cmsr. Pena is a fine man and if I was voting in the city I grew up in June 16 I'd vote for him.

In a related connection I'd like to compliment Hidalgo County PASO, Leo J. Leo of La Joya, and Dr. Ramiro Casso of McAllen for their impressive results in their local elections. They have demonstrated that when the leaders of an oppressed racial group are militant, dedicated, and intelligent men, they can infuse into their followers a powerful sense of commitment and common purpose.

J. W. "TOMMY" TUCKER

Appraisal of Real Estate

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I thought this personal privilege gimmick was a pretty good one, but I guess you have your doubts, what with all this fancy lingo I'm using. Only I mean it.

Other Observations

♦ I see where they're proposing to rename Texas Tech College "Texas Tech University." The thought is, status is more important than logic, even for a university. Boosters of the college don't know anybody smart enough to notice the difficulty of having a technical university, and who cares about those egghead birds, anyway? The important thing is to keep out those radicals like the socialist the college (—no, the university) president barred from speaking on the campus the other week. Whatever having a technical university means, it doesn't mean having *that* kind of place.

♦ I wish to join a new organization, TSFILDTOACN, the Society for Instructing Long Distance Telephone Operators in Area Code Numbers. The Travis County Citizen announces that you can get in by agreeing to ask the long distance operator, quick, if she knows the area code of the place you're calling and to insist she tell you before she has time to ask you for it. I have had a lot of trouble with this. I tell operator after operator, slowly and deliberately, "No, I don't have it; I do not use area code numbers," only to have her tell me what it is, without fail. One of them explained to me, "Well, I have to give it to you anyway; that's our orders." Someday AT&T is going to get what's coming to it.

♦ If you haven't seen "Capital Punishment Quarterly," the anti-death penalty periodical of the Texas Society to Abolish Capital Punishment, I commend it to you. PO Box 8134, Austin. I rejoiced the other day when our daily periodical in Austin admitted there *was* something wrong somewhere, what with one jury giving Carolyn

May 29, 1964

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Thank God for
DEMOCRATS

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Lima death and another jury giving her five years on the same facts.

◆ Observer readers may want to know that I've done a piece in the Progressive (May) on Lyndon Johnson, "Before We Shall Cheer." I also have a chapter called "Confessions of a White Liberal" in a new book, *Black, White, and Gray*, that Sheed

and Ward brought out this month. In adapted forms, the piece was in *Commentary*, the Jewish magazine, in April, and will be in *The Sign*, a national Catholic monthly, in June. I have thus pulled off the first interreligious confession in the history of heresy.

R.D.

two-party system for Texas seems to have receded below the horizon.

We liberals and National Democrats in Texas are really quixotic, aren't we?

Lee Matt Smith, Jr., Box 238, Alpine, Texas.

To Ponder The Question

Dr. Frantz' article, "The Texan Myth and Tradition" (Obs. May 1), is very much to the point of the statement J. Frank Dobie made many years ago, "Texas doesn't need as much praise as appraisal." Dr. Frantz' critical appraisal will serve us well, and I hope that his comments will be heard loud and clear. His article has provoked me to ponder the question: Have we talked about being Texans for so long that we have forgotten what it means to act in the true integrity of Texas tradition? This article is a fine *positive* reminder of our true heritage.

Mrs. John L. Wood, Clark Air Force Base, Philippines.

A Compliment

I have been receiving the Observer since last February, and I should like to compliment your publication on its consistent excellence. Seldom have I been disappointed with one of the articles and never with an entire issue.—William H. Fuller, Route 2, Paris, Texas.

On Don Yarborough's Debt

Sitting here looking at our poll tax lists, precinct returns, and numerous pins sticking out of our precinct map for Corpus Christi and Nueces County makes me feel that we, the liberals of Texas, should begin now. The defeat that we suffered on May 2nd was not the place to stop working and fighting, but rather the time to begin anew, with fresh vigor and renewed determination. . . .

The question, what can we do, is a simple one to answer. Let's look at Don Yarborough. Don is without a doubt the most intelligent, articulate, and attractive candidate who has been in Texas politics for many a moon. Don Yarborough is a winner, I would like to repeat that, regardless of May 2nd, Don Yarborough is a winner, a natural winner; even his enemies have a deep respect for his fire, his drive, and his ability to challenge any odds or fight any fight for the people and state that he loves so dearly.

In short the only thing that we must all do now is put our money where our ideals are—put up or shut up, liberals. We, the friends of Don Yarborough, should stand by him now. There are thousands of us, and we can and we will, if we practice what we preach, help the man who assumed staggering debts because he believes in us. . . . We can each of us sit down and prove that we really believe in ourselves by eating beans for a week or whatever it takes to send ten or fifteen dollars to the man who will someday bring that "New Day" to Texas that each of us believes in.

Tom Bones, Nueces County chairman, Democratic Coalition; 4301 Harry St., Corpus Christi, Tex.

Dialogue

Thank You, Governor Connally

John Connally, an educated man himself, has made great advancements in the field of education. Although some people have asserted that there is no proof of accomplishments by the Connally administration in higher education, I can testify myself to such an accomplishment. Why? Because during the Connally administration, I will have received my own higher education. I will always be indebted to Gov. Connally, and, for myself, this is a major achievement during his tenure in office.—Jim Clark, 109 S. Sycamore, Carthage, Tex.

Texas Moving to the Right

The primary indicated that Texas is moving Right—away from a two-party reality, away from a party attuned to the national Democratic Party, and a little farther away from getting the state government to begin acknowledging the existence of mere people.

Consider the gubernatorial contest, wherein an incumbent who had failed almost completely to deliver on his original

program received nearly 70% of the vote. Significantly, the challenger, who billed himself and conducted his campaign as a "people's candidate," got only 28%, whereas two years ago, the same man got 49%. Why? Why such an *overwhelming* margin this time? Was it the wound? Probably not, because the wound was six months ago, and Connally has recovered.

Consider the U.S. Congressional races. Dowdy beat Musslewhite—decisively, this time. Sullivan didn't even get into the run-off against Pool, and Pool outdrew the runner-up by better than two-to-one, getting 47% of the total. Burleson beat Carriker by better than two-to-one. McGregor made it into a run-off against White, but White drew a six-to-five win and has attracted very substantial backing by Money. (White has spent more than twice as much as McGregor.) . . . *Bona fide* Democrats in Texas have suffered a series of defeats so stunning that we can barely give thanks for not losing Ralph. That a man like McLendon could get as much as 43% of the vote when running against a man like Ralph is just downright scary.

The only explanation I can think of for all these election results is that the electorate is now decidedly more conservative than it was two years ago. I wonder why. A friend suggested tension due to the civil rights crisis, or even a mute reaction to it. . . .

With the loss of Carriker and McGregor, the state legislature doubtless will be even more "harmonious" than 1963's. An amendment to permit a city sales tax, perhaps? . . . According to press reports, the tories have this year's state conventions sewed up in spite of liberal gains at the county level (gains caused by conservatives having voted Republican in November, 1962). Thus we can expect a backward-looking, un-Democratic state platform for at least four more years.

Furthermore, to the extent that the conservative element in the state Democratic Party has been strengthened, the prospects of a growing, healthy Republican embryo are diminished. The rate of tory transfer to the Republican Party will be slowed by satisfaction with a tory-controlled Texas Democratic Party, by indulgence of a Texan as President, and by what appears to be a gentle disillusionment with Barry. A