INTERVIEW I

DATE: December 27, 1971

INTERVIEWEE: DUDLEY T. DOUGHERTY

INTERVIEWER: JOE B. FRANTZ

PLACE: Mr. Dougherty's office in Beeville, Texas

Tape 1 of 1, Side 1

F: Mr. Dougherty, I suppose what we will do is start back at the time when you came in from the war with the idea of either winning the peace, or losing the peace, whatever one does when he comes home.

D: I had helped people close to me that I had met in Paris after the war was over, and they were devoting their lives to things such as the practice of international law or consular services--not just Paris but other places--to work to win the peace.

I came home and I had immediate responsibilities, although I entered the University of Texas for a little while. I had had a couple of years there before.

F: You had lost a brother in the war?

D: I lost a brother in the war. And the letter came to me--I had written him a long letter.

F: You were the sole son then?

D: It left me the sole son, two sisters, an aging father and mother. And very large responsibilities that I would take over shortly, I knew. So I entered again the University of Texas. It has been said that I wouldn't have lasted there anyway, and maybe that's so, maybe

it isn't so. We'll never know.

F: No one can prove anything on that, can they?

D: We'll never know. But when my brother-in-law was killed in a hunting accident, that made two deaths in my family--male members--within a couple of years of one another.

I came back to Beeville, Texas, to learn everything that my father could teach me about the business. So I went over every bit of ground of lands that we had bought. I went all over our oil leases, watched the drilling of various wells in Refugio County and elsewhere, went to Louisiana, went to West Texas. I devoted myself to learning at firsthand what I would have to learn.

I had my twenty-second birthday shortly after my Army discharge, and naturally I'm a young bachelor. And when you have all the trials and tribulations that young bachelors can, I am sure you can, if you have to, dig up various scrapes I've been in--all of that--if you care to do it.

F: That's not my concern. That's consigned to the past.

D: But I followed county politics at an intensive level. I wanted the replacement of the sheriff of Bee County. I thought he had a taste for blood, and quietly I ran candidates against him and encouraged opposition to him. That was about my only interest in politics except to wish that I did not have the immediate responsibility that I did, [so] that I could run in an election. There was Lloyd Bentsen who had returned from the war, got himself elected county judge at twenty-six, and then congressman. And I remember when that happened,

I thought then that I just wished to God that I were free to do that.

F: Did you begin to build up a fair acquaintance across the state with politicians?

D: Not too many, just those that I'd gone to school with. I knew Frank Oltorf, who was in the legislature at the state level. I went to the Democratic convention in 1948 in Philadelphia, drove there with a couple of cousins and watched the nomination of Harry Truman.

F: Were you still waiting up at three in the morning when he came in from that train on the siding to get the nomination?

D: I thought he was in an alley waiting to be notified.

F: He was right outside.

D: Then he came in and made the speech and said, "Now, Senator Barkley and I are going to win this election and make the Republicans like it." And I have been a Democrat, though fairly independent--a maverick Democrat--ever since, because I watched the Texas caucus, and I watched the bankruptcy of the Dixiecrat movement with old Senator Ed Joe Hill--was that his name?

F: Yes.

D: And this poor, tiring Governor [Beauford] Jester. And I had a proxy that I could use if I wanted to use it, and I did not use it because I didn't want to be in a caucus squabble that was already a foregone conclusion and endless. But I came out of the caucus and I met some lady I was introduced to in a hotel, a prominent club woman, and I said, "As far as I'm concerned, I'm for Truman." And she later told my cousin how much she admired someone who could come

out and say that, as unpopular as Truman was supposed to be.

I cast my first vote in 1946, and it was for Homer Rainey because I wanted a change, and then I decided that Rainey would probably have been bad for Texas--that Jester, who was a Harvard man but he never put it in the papers, was probably the better choice. But I wanted change. I wanted change then. Those were my opinions then.

F: I voted for Rainey myself in 1946 as much out of the conviction that you needed a protest vote as I did for any kind of affirmative belief.

D: I did it as a protest. I did it as a protest, but I was not a Raineyite. But I knew old Professor Frank Dobie very well. He had come up to our offices. My father did his legal work.

F: He came from down in here, didn't he?

D: His mother lived here, and he'd come to see his mother. My father handled his legal work for his ranch in Live Oak County. And it's interesting to know, maybe perhaps, that at a local level he was an extremely conservative man. He fought every road, every increase in taxes by the school district, what have you.

F: Did your father take more than just a citizen's interest in politics?

D: My father, who was fifty-three when I was born, told me that in 1896 when he cast his first vote that he saw no reason to vote for W. J. [William Jennings] Bryan because W. J. Bryan came to a convention, stormed it with an emotional speech, and he didn't think all of his magic formula of 16 to 1 silver to gold, so he cast his first

vote for the splinter Democrat, whose name I believe was Potter Palmer, or something like that. And then greatly because he lost and he saw he had been on a losing side and that he was a young, struggling attorney, he didn't take immediate interest in politics, whether Teddy Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson, and all of that. He remained a Democrat from then on though.

But in the 1920s when the Democratic Party in Bee County was taken over by the three Ks,--the Ku Klux Klan--they had the sheriffs, the judges; Catholic people weren't called up for jury service--he organized a local party called the Citizens Party. That was a little before my time. The Citizens Party took over control of Bee County, and they held control until about 1932. Then were elected in the November elections, the various judges, sheriffs, what have you. Then in 1932 or so, he let the Citizens Party drop, but that's how he fought the three Ks.

F: Your Uncle Dudley was fairly active in politics, wasn't he?

D: He ran for the legislature in 1916 and lost. Dudley Tarlton. He lived here for a while and then he moved to Corpus Christi. He was district attorney here, too; that's another thing.

F: Did you get active in the primary in 1948 between Stevenson and Johnson, or did you sit that out?

D: I did not. I asked my father how he was voting, and he said, "I'm voting for Coke Stevenson." I didn't ask him why.

F: Did you know either candidate personally at that time?

D: I met Lyndon Johnson in 1948, because Frank Oltorf called me and

asked me to come and meet him. His helicopter was landing in Beeville at the fairgrounds.

F: Did he lose his hat?

D: That I don't recall. But I came down. I asked my father, "You're for the other man. Do you want me to go down there and meet him or not?" He said, "Yes, of course, I know him. He used to come in my office many years ago with Dick Kleberg." So I went down and I introduced myself and told him I was Judge Dougherty's son. He said in a very loud voice, "Thank your father for his support."

F: Did he know he didn't have it?

D: He knew he didn't have it. I came back and I told my father the story, and he said, "Well, I wonder why he said that. He knows good and well that I'm for Stevenson." I remember his speech then: he talked about the Depression--ten cent oil, crops that couldn't be picked, that theme.

I had also met George Peddy, who had been, I believe, military governor of Rome, and he had some understanding and whose integrity was unquestionable. I heard my father talk about George. My mother voted for George Peddy the first time, and Uncle Dudley voted for George Peddy the first time. I heard my father talking about George Peddy's speeches and all of that, and he said, "He's the best man running, but he makes the worst speeches that I've ever heard." Maybe I made worse speeches, I don't know.

F: We won't run any analyses on that.

D: (Laughter) I was given the text of these speeches, and they read well, but it was, I suppose, the manner of delivery.

F: I know when Alf Landon used to get up, you must remember the newsreels, when Landon ran against Roosevelt.

D: I took an avid interest in that. I was only eleven or twelve, but I followed. I had two very new anti-New Deal aunts, and I had my father who was already beginning to get unhappy about the New Deal, but he was a friend of Garner's and Tom Connally--very close to Tom Connally. I remember he played solitaire during most of the election day. But Roosevelt, as he told me then, was already saying, "economic royalists," what have you, and he said, "That's because he's scared of Huey Long, Huey Long is 'Share the Wealth.' Roosevelt, they tell me, is a good poker player, knows politics. It's excellent politics, but it's damaging the country, and in the development of this Tom O'Connor field for a little while, not very long."

Harold Ickes had control of the oil industry, and we had our plans to develop a field. We sent them to Washington. They were for a period of over seven, eight, ten years, and he had his hundred wells or so that he could drill. That creates new jobs, a good field with a depression going on, and then they send back from Washington permission to drill four wells and the Charles Evans Hughes Supreme Court throws that out. So we have state allowables and state prorations.

I talked to one German once, a German capitalist, and he said: "State prorations are socialism" and all that. And he said, "Yes,

but we're happy with it." That was years later.

In early 1937, and I realize that the Hughes court threw out things they never should have thrown out, like AAA and anything coming up, but in 1937 when I was thirteen, my father broke then with Roosevelt and the New Deal, not over high taxes, but over increasing the court to fifteen from nine to pack it and get his own men on there. And I think [Hugo] Black, who possibly made a good justice--his record will have to be studied--he had his three K background, and my father had fought the three Ks. That was that, as far as he was concerned. There was no third term for him or anything else.

But I followed politics very avidly as a child. And I remember when I first heard of Lyndon Johnson in 1937, when the Democratic Party had split. It had split over Barkley Harrison 39 to 38, over who was for the court packing and who was against. Lyndon ran on Roosevelt 100 per cent, right or wrong, "Whatever he's for, I'm for. What he's against, I'm against." Roosevelt was highly popular. But I felt that was wrong then.

F: How did your Uncle Dudley become Johnson's lawyer in that 1948 contest? Had he done work for him previously?

D: All he knew of Lyndon Johnson was that he'd go to state conventions when one was in Corpus Christi, and Lyndon would put his arm around Clara Driscoll and put his arm around Dudley Tarlton and flatter them. But he became the attorney because he got called at four o'clock in the morning by Lyndon Johnson himself. He said, "There's a contest in

Alice that is developing. Will you go over there and take the case?" He had voted for George Peddy first and then for Johnson over Stevenson. When I asked him why he voted for Johnson over Stevenson, he said, "I like a fellow that speaks to you every day and just not some of the time. When Stevenson sees me and he approves of what I'm doing, he says, 'Good morning,' and when he doesn't, he doesn't." And that was the only reason he gave.

F: Do you think Johnson would have chosen him because he knew this area?

D: He chose him because he was the finest attorney in South Texas for that kind of work. He had a long record of won-lost cases [causes]. And because he was not entirely happy with my running against Johnson, he came in and told me, "Look, they called me at four in the morning," when I went in. He took his son and his daughter with him. The son drove him over to Alice. He had a heart condition.

F: He lived in Corpus then.

D: He lived in Corpus. He got there at nine. When he got there at nine, as he told me, "I saw a situation that was obviously fraudulent, just prima-facie"--I don't know Latin, whatever it's called--"and I didn't know what to say or what to do, so I talked for an hour or so, just filibustering. But then finally the idea came to me. And the idea was not to pinpoint this one box, but to break the entire election down and just see who won it and who lost it. And they were unwilling to do that." And he said, "At four in the afternoon, Abe

Fortas flew in and a whole bunch of other people, and they didn't know what in the devil to do about it because Coke Stevenson and Kellis Dibrell had already taken it to the federal court on the First Amendment." The right to vote, what have you. And he said, "I told them what to do. I told Abe Fortas to go to the friendliest Supreme Court justice you can find, and stop it right now. Then we will eventually know who won as the election is broken down, when we find out, whether the Senate determines it, or what have you."

I think the thing got to Davidson's court in Fort Worth.

F: Yes, Whitfield Davidson.

D: And my father, who was an excellent attorney, agreed with Whitfield Davidson. Whitfield Davidson said the election ought to be run over again, the primary. And while Uncle Dudley was talking to me, after I announced--

F: There seemed to be just evidence of bad or fraudulent voting on both sides, didn't it?

D: Well, the only evidence that did come out, out on the surface, was Box 13, though Coke Stevenson's second cousin did make a readjustment of thirty-seven votes--that was never gone into.

F: Where was Coke Stevenson's cousin?

D: I don't know where he was. But my father agreed with Davidson. Davidson said that the primary ought to be rerun. Well, when Uncle Dudley was talking to me in the terminology like Brezhnev, Kosygin, Dubcek--frank--and I told him that, he said, "Where is the precedent for rerunning a primary? There is none." When I

told him, I said, "Well, for the moment, let's talk about things that we can agree on," because I wasn't going to tell him that I would not use Box 13 as an issue. He came up--he was trying a case up here--and then walked into my office and said, "I think you're doing well, but your issues should be so-on, so-on, so-on. I heard your talkathon at Houston, and you only made one mistake, as far as I'm concerned. You said you were running for the vacancy, that the last senator was W. Lee O'Daniel and Johnson is truly senator." And I think I said only because of a Democratic instead of a Republican Congress. They confused it with the Chavez-Hurley, and that would have made two Democrats thrown out and that would have been too thin. So it never came up, and Johnson took his place.

F: Did you happen to go to the state convention that year, and you went to the national?

D: I went to the national. That was enough of conventions for me. But he got his certified, wasn't it, by one vote?

F: By one vote there, it was a squeaker all the way.

D: One changing vote. The man later committed suicide, I heard.

F: Did your uncle ever comment on the Mason case over at Alice?

D: No.

F: Or on the strangulation down in the state prison?

D: Smithwick?

F: Yes.

D: No.

F: So you know just about as much about that as I do, that is, just what you read in the papers.

D: I knew people that knew Mason. And I knew people who knew Smithwick.

F: What did they think of them?

D: My uncle, Francis Dougherty, said that he knew Smithwick well. And it's only the name Smithwick that is English; he was Latin American or Chicano or whatever it's called now.

F: Some Anglo got in there somewhere, long enough to give a name.

D: Yes. And that it was not within the philosophy of Smithwick to commit suicide. But he knew Smithwick well. Now he wrote Coke Stevenson and said he wanted to talk to him, and Coke Stevenson delayed going over. Then he was strangled in his cell. I thought I would do something about it, so I made one statement printed in the San Antonio Light, "$5,000 Reward for Information about the Death of Sam Smithwick." And one of the attorneys working for me, or election people, Kellis Dibrell, called me on the phone and said, "My God, you don't know what that's done! We've found Smithwick. He's in a South Presa Street asylum, has been shanghaied there."

So Colonel Sterling, who knew Smithwick too, and my wife went up there, and they saw the man and his name was Smithwick, but he was not Sam Smithwick.

F: Just curious all the way. What kind of fellow was Mason?

D: The story I got was that he was brought down there by Parr himself, then there was a quarrel and he turned against Parr.

F: Did you ever know Parr?

D: Oh, sure. I'd seen him at parties in Corpus Christi when I was a young bachelor, so-called, I'd go down with my sister. He was married to Ducky--Thelma Duckworth Parr. I'd seen him at the Dragon Grill.

F: Did he have as complete control of Duval County as he reputedly had?

D: Let's say that his organization controlled him as much as he controlled them. Their livings were dependent on Parr. Parr, if he'd wanted to, couldn't have cut his losses, taken his seven million dollars and moved to the Riviera and got out of it. He just could not do it. If you have your own district attorney, your own county judge, your own constables, school boards--

F: He was a prisoner of the place, in a sense.

D: As much as he was dictator and tyrant. He could be a tyrant.

F: Do you get the feeling from your long association with Texas politics in that period that Parr really didn't belong to any state-wide candidate, but just sort of picked and chose according to what he thought he could get? In other words, he'd have gone for Coke Stevenson if he'd thought Coke was--

D: I think he did when he ran for lieutenant governor. I think Coke took the votes.

F: So the question of whom he delivered for this time, "What have you done for me lately?" in a sense.

D: You've got to understand where you have a highly illiterate or ignorant--and I'm not trying to hurt people's feelings--but where

your voters are illiterate or they cannot speak, read, and write the English or Spanish languages, which is true to this day, you have to haul them like cattle to the polls, or it was done the last time I ran for office.

You go back to the beginning. That started with old Senator Archer Parr, who ran Duval County. Then he had a brother here, Dr. Parr, an old doctor with a beard.

F: Archer did.

D: Senator Archer Parr, not to be confused with the county judge who has the same name or is he still sheriff in Duval? A fraternity brother of mine. Old Senator Archer Parr ran things, and then he was a friend of the King-Klebergs. Feudalism persisted, and it persists to this day, not only feudalism but peonage. And it's nobody's fault, but it has got to be stopped.

Old Senator Parr stood up for his friends, the Klebergs, over a road through to the King Ranch. And Bob Kleberg was called and said, "You'll beat your friend Senator Parr if you tell him that he has to fight the road." But out of loyalty and the likes, Senator Parr was defeated.

And George Parr, for one reason or another, went to prison on an income tax rap. He spent about a year, and then he got out. And somebody, according to Sam Houston Johnson, who has had his ups and downs--and I'll quote him because I don't think he'd mind being quoted on this--when he talked to me confidentially, he'd say, "Don't say so. Somebody told George Parr that Dick Kleberg would

not help him win a pardon, but that wasn't so. Because I went, either with my brother or alone, with Dick Kleberg to Homer Cummings, the attorney general, and asked for it." But based on that information, George Parr took all of his votes, but his own personal vote, to [John] Lyle. Now, I'm not arguing that the change didn't have to be made there. Because young Kleberg had a draft deferment, and Lyle was on the Anzio Beachhead. That was the issue. But he lost Duval and the Parrs because of info given to George Parr that was inaccurate, according to Sam Houston, who I see from time to time.

F: While we're on Sam Houston, do you feel that Sam Houston played much of a role in his brother's success, or has he kind of been--

D: Yarborough, on the floor of the Senate, said that he was mainly responsible for his early success, and I'm inclined to agree with him.

F: My feelings in my meetings with Sam Houston, and there are not too many, have been that he's a pretty shrewd boy.

D: Got a good mind.

F: And I've wondered just how much he has been in there figuring, and how much Lyndon Johnson has listened to him.

D: Lyndon Johnson listened to him when I ran for the Senate, because all of Lyndon's advice was to come down here to Texas, or a great deal of Lyndon's advice was to come down here to Texas immediately and start campaigning. I'd been on television twenty-six hours in Houston. And Sam Houston told me--and again I don't think I'm

violating a confidence--"Lyndon said, 'Should I go down there, should I denounce him? He has called me every name under the sun, and they tell me I've got to do something!'" And he said, "I told him, 'no, Lyndon. If you go down there and start campaigning, you'll lose two hundred thousand votes. You're the majority leader'"--or was it minority?

F: He became majority leader after that election. He was minority leader.

D: "Then you're subject to the criticism of ignoring your work. You can say this is just a young man, a scion with illusions--that kind of thing."

Now I had my tapes of my Houston talkathon. It was all in my office. I never played them. But I had them, and they burned.

F: What a loss!

D: With every question asked.

F: That would have been invaluable.

D: Now I'm misquoted, and they took their own tapes and changed it around--put a psychiatrist on to listen to it; they did all kinds of things.

F: Did they take it down themselves?

D: But they changed it around. Mr. Salayo [?], who is now my ranch foreman, but who was sixteen years in the legislature, helped me. Just told me the other day, "Listen, Dudley, I was against exposing yourself on TV, but I heard every word of it, and I must say you did a beautiful job." I don't think I contradicted myself too many

times. I made some mistakes. I got too far out in favor of McCarthy, and I did do what every major candidate did that year, including Yarborough. Yarborough said, "I'm against the forcible co-mingling of races, et cetera." And they asked me if I'm for or against segregation, and I didn't say, "As a student of history, I know it will change." I said, "Yes, I'm for segregation. Segregation is in the nature of your--"

F: There wasn't a man running for office in 1954 who spoke out--

D: Except Doug Crouch. But I belabored the point. They started arguing with me, and maybe I got impatient. And then I finally said--Vin [?], who was in charge of it, this was experimental, took me aside for just a second--

F: Was that Bob Vin?

D: Bob Vin. And he had run Francis Cherry, who was elected governor of Arkansas, and he had elected Smathers senator. Then he failed to elect Lan [?] Smith over McCarthy. He said, "Listen, Dudley, you've gone too far out with your Negroes. You're doing a fine job, but with the Negroes, you're ruining all the hope." And so I modified it as tactfully as I could without contradicting myself.

And then with McCarthy, I didn't say that we should start lining people up against a wall and shooting them, something like that. But I did say that, "We have to be on our guard so Houston isn't hydrogen-bombed through security loyalty errors. We've been neglectful and he's alerting the country. And in alerting the country, he's doing a good job."

F: You didn't see Johnson from the time he came down here in 1948 and said that he appreciated your father's support until--

D: Saw him in 1953.

F: In 1953 when he came back.

D: Yes.

F: By that time then, you had run for the legislature.

D: And was a member of the legislature.

F: In 1952.

D: In 1952 I ran. A legislator was getting out, and a lot of people asked me. In fact, I've never run for an office that I wasn't asked to run for. Even against Johnson in 1953, I was in Cuero, Texas. There was an old man in a car that was a respected member of the community, Thornton Hamilton was his name--he's dead--and he said, "Dudley, why don't you consider running against Lyndon Johnson? The country needs leadership desperately." He didn't say I could win. But I had a letter or so, and I got a telephone call from my cousin Pat Tenant [?], and he said, "If you're running for Congress, Dudley--" Did you know Pat Tenant?

F: Yes, I knew Pat.

D: He's a second cousin of mine. He got on the telephone and said, "Dudley, if you'll run for Congress, and I think you should, I'll come over there and drink beer with different people and talk to them and work for you." I said, "I have a curious letter on my desk, asking me to run against Lyndon Johnson." He said, "Don't do that, for God's sake! You'll find out that some of the people

that may ask you to run against Lyndon Johnson are evenly secretly for Johnson themselves, and trying to find out how people stand."

I'm losing my trend of thought a little bit. Do you want to ask me another question?

F: Had you had any contact with Johnson by mail or phone prior to this September 1953 meeting?

D: One letter, asking for drought relief.

F: That was from you to him?

D: From me to him. And then the form letter back.

F: Putting it off on Eisenhower and not--

D: Yes. That was some clerk's brilliant idea.

F: You did this not as a private citizen, but as a state legislator from this district?

D: As a legislator.

F: What did your district involve at that time--just Bee County?

D: No. Bee, Karnes, Wilson. I got elected. I carried Bee and Karnes.

F: Did you think you were going to make a career out of politics at the time? Or did you realize that you were taking a long shot when you gave up running for re-election for the state Senate to try for the U.S. Senate?

D: My advice was state senator or Congress, then wait eight years until 1960 when Johnson would then either be presidential or vice presidential candidate, then run for the Senate. And that was my thinking for a long time.

Now just why I got into it, back in the legislature there was a

lobbyist and he'd come around every day, and I'd ask who he represented. I asked Spacek who I sat next to who did he represent. And he says, "Oh, the big boys." He was a little deaf and had a hearing aid. And his secretary said, "You know, he's my godfather." I said, "Isn't that curious!" And then he came right at the end of the session, and he said, "I've been asked to go to work for Hubert Hudson--you've heard of Hubert Hudson." Hubert Hudson was running for Congress, and I moved to the Rio Grande Valley and worked for him. "But watching the legislature, I think you're the most promising member, and I would like to go to work for you. Can you do it?" And I said, "Do you have references?" And he said, "Yes, Bob Harris," whom I knew--he was a cotton man--"and Judge Townes of Houston," whom I knew.

I said, "Well, I don't know, Joe, whether I can or can't or shouldn't." He says, "Where do you want to go?" I said, "Probably the Congress. The action is in Washington, it's not here." And he said, "Well, Johnny Lyle is a good friend of mine," and so on. I said, "I didn't say I was running for it or not running for it . . . just eventually. I'll try you experimentally." And I never did deduct him. I could have got a tax deduction and put him in as picking up oil and gas leases, and he could have picked up some oil and gas leases and been good at it. His name was Joe Garcia, finally committed suicide.

But he'd come around and around. The man's dead now, but sometimes he'd be annoying, be a nuisance, interrupt you when you were

doing things. Other times I was glad to talk to him. He'd tell me about each little vote, it was a Swedish vote, or a Mason, or anti-Mason vote, this, that, the other.

F: Is there a Catholic vote in this area?

D: Oh, sure. South Texas. Insofar as you can call a vote a vote. When I ran for the legislature, there was a Baptist minister. I'm still a Catholic, and I've been from the day I was born, and I will be to the day I die. Very few people know it, but I've been knighted--Knight of Malta--and that kind of thing, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. But I don't go around wearing it--

F: In your lapel.

D: But there was a Baptist minister when I ran for the legislature, and he went around to other Baptist ministers; he'd tell them, "I want you to vote for Dougherty." They'd say, "He's a Catholic." "But he's the better man for the job than Holstein [?]. I know him well." Then they'd say, "Well, he's promising. How far do you want a Catholic to attain office? He'll go further." This minister, who's still around, he runs an office, his answer was: "One of the finest young men I've ever known in my life, and I'm not a bit worried."

And he took me a little later to a Baptist picnic, and they made the talk--some of the hardest shells you ever heard of. But I grasped their mentality, I understand them now.

F: Another slice of Americana.

D: And I picked up--there's a Lutheran vote. This old man that I beat

for the legislature, Holstein, who was an old Ferguson precinct worker--thought he knew everything--wouldn't speak to me for two years after I beat him. But finally he came in my office and he said, "Listen, Dougherty, I know you know government because I read your reports back in Austin. And you not only get your Catholic vote in Karnes County, you get the Lutheran vote. I don't know how in the devil you get the Lutheran vote, but you do."

F: Did Senator Johnson as a rising young senator pay much attention to the Texas Legislature during that period you were there? Did he call people and suggest what they might do for him?

D: I went to Stockdale in 1953 to make a speech for their watermelon festival. It was a hot July day. So I decided the best thing I could do was not make a speech, and just say, "Stockdale's a wonderful town," and so-on and so-on. I spoke for about three minutes and sat down, and then I asked Garcia what was the effect of it. He said, "They were damned glad you did that because they didn't want to stand in the hot sun and hear a long speech."

But Johnson sent a telegram to me. He was very careful to send telegrams. But I think he had Jake Pickle or somebody like that tend to matters in the legislature.

F: Come around and make his wants known. Did he ever call you personally while you were in the legislature.

D: No.

F: Did you ever indicate to him that you might support him in 1954?

D: Only in that letter asking for drought relief.

F: Tell me about the September 1953 appearance he made here.

D: Excellent tightrope walking.

F: Was this something he set up, was he invited to come, or what?

D: He went all over the state. He went a terrific pace.

F: Just kind of keeping his fences mended.

D: Yes, because he knew there was the 1954 election, and he had the job in Washington, and clean packed Beeville, too [?].

F: Where did you meet? Was the meeting here in the courthouse?

D: In the courthouse.

F: Outside?

D: No. Inside the county judge's offices.

F: What was it--an invited group?

D: Just the word passed around town, "Lyndon Johnson is here and he will be glad to talk."

F: Did you have a full house?

D: Pretty full.

F: Were people pretty free with their questions?

D: Yes.

F: What kind of questions were they asking him?

D: Well, I told you about the question he was asked by the idealist or student [about] Senator McCarthy, "Don't you think he's harming our prestige abroad?" And his answer, "I have not been abroad, but I'll tell you, I have no use for Fifth Amendment communists," whatever amendment--loyalty questions. "And I think McCarthy is doing more good than harm."

F: Was there any reaction to this, or did people feel very strongly about McCarthy in 1954 here in Beeville?

D: Here in town?

F: Yes.

D: He was of great news value. He was perfect copy, and there was always a story that McCarthy had done this, said that, so they read about him as they would a celebrity.

F: Did you ask any questions?

D: I asked about the Bricker Amendment.

F: What did Johnson say to that?

D: That he was for something that later became the George Amendment. He went on a little bit, and then I asked again, "Are you sure they can't slip something through the Senate that's against the Constitution?" And he said, "Oh, no, careful screening."

F: So that the Bricker Amendment wasn't anything to fear as far as he was concerned.

D: The Bricker Amendment failed by one vote short of two-thirds. And like a friend of Joe Kennedy's asked Joe Kennedy why did Jack Kennedy vote his way. And he said, "Public opinion wouldn't stand for it." By that he meant public opinion and the Democratic Party, not Massachusetts. In Massachusetts they were probably two-to-one for it. But I think the vote was 60 to 31 in its favor, missing by one vote.

F: Sometime between September 1953 and February 1954 when you announced, you changed your mind about running. What induced you to change

your mind? Was it a combination of things?

D: You mean about not running for what office?

F: As late as September 1953, I presume you might have supported Johnson.

D: After the conversation, I felt that I could either stay very quiet or oppose him.

F: Did you try to get anyone else to run?

D: No.

F: Did you talk to people very widely about running, or did you keep it more or less within your immediate circle?

D: I didn't even talk.

F: Did you try to set up any kind of statewide organization for either financing or publicity?

D: No. With a million dollars and a year's preparation, I could have run extremely well, as proved by Tower six years later.

F: Did you have real hope of winning, or were you mainly trying to highlight the issues?

D: I thought he should be opposed. I went up to New York City and I went to the Harvard Club. There was a meeting--and I don't like labels--but a meeting of highly intelligent reactionaries, if you want to call them that, although one of them was R. R. Young, there's a book about him, R. R. Young, Wall Street Populist, but he would have been termed reactionary. And it was Mr. Bouvier, the father-in-law of Senator Kennedy, and it was Frank Knopt, who had a string of newspapers, and it was Burton K. Wheeler, whose name still meant something to me. And then some younger men, whose names I've forgotten.

And then two or three of them talked, and I didn't agree entirely with them. Then one of them asked me to talk, "You're a member of the legislature of Texas--what do you think?" Some of them didn't like Jews and all that thing that I didn't agree with them about. So I confined what I had to say to the folly of the Yalta-Potsdam agreements, where the Manchurian railroad, the Kurile Islands, the mass deportation of populations, the Baltic States, and so on. Then I sat down, and they all cheered, and Railroad Young came up to me and said, "Congratulations, young man, you make me proud to be a Texan." And then he later sent me a book with his name in it, "Don't bother to acknowledge. R. R. Young." When he took his life, I was very sad, because I thought there was much greatness in him.

F: He was an unusual man, particularly in railroading.

D: But in any field he chose.

F: Did the success of your meeting up there--

D: Made me feel that I could get financing from another group that was not too closely associated with Texan politics.

F: Was it much trouble setting up this talkathon?

D: No, they came to me. You see, it was big news. There was supposed to be no opponent to Johnson, and then they threw in a wealthy millionaire rancher running against Johnson and the battle of giants. It got to the Miami papers, it got to the Minnesota papers, it went world-wide over AP, INS, everywhere. So when Vin [?] came with his idea, I thought I'd try it. My first impulse was to be very,

very silent, and just wait, but George Morrill, one of my attorneys, said, "Dudley, you just can't sit here. You shouldn't have got in it, but since you're in it, let me set up a meeting."

So I went to Austin, and I met the usual Johnson enemies, and some of them were invited and didn't come, some of them were there. Hardy Hollers said he might come; Senator Clint Small was there. I had some relatives present.

F: Dan Moody?

D: Dan Moody, I talked to. I knew him anyway, and I flew from San Antonio to Dallas with him--he and I flew from San Antonio to Dallas. I talked to him for an hour, and he supported me. But I met that group.

F: Do you have any insight as to why Mildred Moody is so bitterly anti-Johnson?

D: Is Mildred the widow?

F: Yes. She went beyond Dan in her distaste for Johnson, still does.

D: I would have to know Mildred Moody. I knew Dan, and I know Dan, Jr., let me put it that way.

F: Did you know Nancy, incidentally?

D: I knew Hubert, and I think I've met Nancy.

F: Did you get any reaction at all out of the Johnson's camp when you announced? Were they caught by surprise?

D: Completely, and scared out of their wits, as Stuart Symington told me--I met him at Los Angeles, I went over there and had breakfast

with him in 1960, not at the convention but at a pre-convention big dinner where they had Symington and Jack Kennedy, Johnson, Pat Brown. And Symington told me, "I don't know you Dudley, but I know one thing. You had Lyndon worried sick." And as Sam Houston told me later, "We knew you had the money. We knew you had the ability. We were scared to death."

F: You knew the people around Johnson then pretty well.

D: Well, like Corridors to Power, C. P. Snow, and all that, I would be able to reach him. Now, there was a modus vivendi and axis between Allan Shivers and Lyndon Johnson, and when I got into it, I wasn't too aware of it. So there was a man who flew--and since he's a friend I won't name him--he flew down to Beeville in his plane, and he was closer to Shivers than he was to Johnson, but he knew both. He said, "Listen, Dudley, you'll spend three hundred thousand of your own money. You'll lose. I know my politics. I learned it from Ferguson. And in those days we took the Katy railroad and divided it. On the east side of the Katy railroad we actively campaigned; on the west we depended on a friend. That's not entirely true now, but you know little of East Texas where the big vote is. And you just can't do it." He said, "I'm a family friend. I have oil and gas interests in Refugio County; partly my living is where your living is. And if you don't want to stay behind the scenes, which I really think you ought to do--that's the way your father did things--if you want to get out actively in politics as an immediate state senatorship and in five years"--he said five years--"Allan and so on

are looking for young men. They think you have promise. Allan likes you and adores your wife." My wife had been his receptionist. She was a college girl with an English degree, and she got a job with Allan.

F: She went to the University?

D: Went to the University.

F: Who was she?

D: Her name was Calhoun. But she was a Bluebonnet Belle there and had her picture on the Cactus in 1948 or 1949, missed Phi Beta Kappa by a couple of points--bright girl.

To finish this, I still haven't finished the question, but I don't want to filibuster. To go on with this, he said, "Lyndon will come to my ranch and he will meet you. He regrets the brevity of his conversation with you at the courthouse. Now, you've organized this committee"--whatever it was, Americanism, I had taken the MacArthur side and said the truce, which didn't prove to be true, with North Korea wouldn't last and would spread to Indo-China, which was true. But he said, "With this committee you can gracefully get out, say you have to work for the committee. But Lyndon will come to my ranch; he'll fly in, and you talk to him." And he said, "I know my politics. You can get money, and I know you're not interested in money, and I wouldn't think much of you if you were. But you can get everything for this area that your area needs, and it needs a lot, I know. Take the state senatorship, and then the governorship is a very definite possibility."

I told that to somebody years later out of the Kennedy organization, and he said, "I call that a good offer." But I didn't do it because way down, way down, way down deep in my, I guess you'd call my--everybody's Anglo-Saxon WASP-Chicano, what have you, I guess you'd call me Anglo-Irish by descent, and anybody who is descended, no matter how corrupt they may seem to be or how wrong, right at the bottom there is a little bit of an idealist, and I could not do it. In addition to that, suppose I had been state senator and then gone on to the governorship, if you could get a Catholic governor elected and possibly you could. But suppose I had just told them [when] they wanted one thing, and I'd tell them, "No, you're wrong. We're going to do it my way." Then I'd be through.

F: Did you get the feeling that either Johnson or Shivers sent this man to you, or was he acting on his own?

D: Oh he had been sent. He had left Allan Shivers, and he had talked on the telephone to Lyndon.

F: Were there any other attempts to get you out of the race? I'm sure you, among other things, you upset the whole rhythm of the--

D: The whole plan, yes. There was more to the conversation than that. He started out, "You're hurting the oil industry. That's your living, the depletion allowance. And you're hurting Allan Shivers. Then you'll have no chance. You'll spend three hundred thousand dollars." I don't think I spent quite that much, but I spent a lot of money that I'll never see again. But I was thirty and I'm glad I did it.

F: Was much made of your youth by the opposition?

D: The answer was obvious. There was LaFollette. Who were the others? LaFollette was a success. Rush D. Holt of West Virginia, who was a failure, but he was thirty as a senator.

F: There were the founding fathers.

D: The founding fathers, Jefferson--who else.

F: Did they run a fairly clean campaign, or did they try to work you over pretty hard?

D: By rumor, and particularly in Dallas I'd pick up little anonymous typewritten [notes], always left in my box--that kind of thing. But all one can do is ignore that and go on.

F: It wasn't more than just kind of the ordinary--

D: It got a little out of the ordinary, there's no question, and it's done to everybody. There's no question that from time to time they either had an operator on the payroll or the telephones tapped and that sort of thing. But that's all right. I've long ago forgotten that.

F: Did you try very assiduously to raise money on the outside?

D: I went to Houston, and the first man I saw was Jesse Jones. Jesse Jones came down from the Lamar. He was very friendly, sat at his old desk, said, "I'm glad to see a young man try, we need it. But Lyndon has a good record, and I'm with Lyndon this year. But someday, son, you'll run for another office and you'll win." He was very courteous. I expected a hard, tight-fisted banker, but he was not. He was a gentleman. And I later sent my wife over there

to talk to him because she can be very charming, and I thought she might get him, but we couldn't.

And then I went to see Bob Smith. And Bob Smith changed the subject. He said, "We've got to do something about the problem of Duval County, and it has got to be done now. I know a great deal about Duval County. I lived there," or, "I worked there," or something. And then no reply.

Then I left Roy Cullen a note; he wasn't in. He wrote me back. "Senator Johnson has promised me that he will vote right, and I can't help you." I didn't make copies of the letter and send it all around the state, as Coke told me to do, because the old man was a generous old man, for all his faults. But I did show it to Roy Harrington, who was the head of AFL-CIO at the time. I said, "See, he tells you one thing and he tells Cullen another."

And let's see who else I saw. I interviewed a lot of people in Houston, and then I even went to see H. L. Hunt. And I've had no respect for him since that day, because I thought maybe the old man's trying to do something. But he said, "I'm sorry. I'm leaving for Europe. I take no interest in politics." That was his answer to me.

F: That doesn't quite square with his record, does it?

D: No.

F: Did you contact Stevenson, or did he volunteer his--

D: Coke Stevenson?

F: Yes.

D: No, I went over to see him. I went over to see him, told him about my experiences with Johnson. I told him that one uncle, Dudley Tarlton, had been with Johnson against him, but that I thought Johnson should be opposed, and why I was doing so. And he said, "Yes, young man, you can make an intelligent race, but let me tell you something. Get on something people can understand. They don't understand what you're talking about. Talk about Box 13. They understand Box 13. It's not vengenace on my part, but they will understand it."

F: Things like Bricker and McCarthy and so forth are too far off to the average voter.

D: Correct. Besides, Joe McCarthy and Lyndon had their own understanding. Joe McCarthy left to make his speech in San Jacinto, and he said, "Lyndon, tell me. Do you want me for or against you? Which will help you?" And they laughed. And when some of my enthusiastic following approached McCarthy, I wasn't there, but asked him to help me, and he said, "Johnson's done nothing to me. Why should I interfere?"

But it was only after my conversation with Dan Moody, and by this time I was running out of money. Now my mother kept large sums of money in the bank, but I was not going to her.

F: But you surely can eat it up in a hurry. You can eat up that kind of money in a hurry.

D: Well, I'd eaten up seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollars, fifty-seven thousand dollars on the talkathon. And then my family helped. My sister sent me five thousand dollars--both sisters. My mother

maybe another five thousand dollars. I told them this, because somebody had come to them and told them, "You can't contribute by the Hatch Act." I said that if it does apply to primaries, which has never been, you organize your committees and all that, but they didn't quite understand, and I wasn't going to argue with them too much. I told them the only federal intervention in primaries was this Nixon case, so Negroes could vote in Democratic primaries in 1944.

F: You've got the problem in this state of being a large one and a very populous one. It's not quite true, but there's a belief that you almost have to run for state office twice before you can get it the first time. Did you get the feeling at the conclusion of this senatorial campaign that you had had enough statewide advertising that if you wanted to come back in a future race you would stand up pretty well, that this in a sense was a form of paid advertising for [that]?

D: It was. But what it does to the candidate! I don't see how Yarborough stood it to go up and around the state time after time.

F: I don't see how he looks so young at his age on that sort of business. Did this pretty much work into a contest between you and Johnson, or did the other state contests you feel have any effect?

D: Everything got absorbed in Yarborough-Shivers. I had no East Texas poll watchers, but thanks to some friends, I was able to go through East Texas and even get a fairly good vote. But basically my candidacy, as I said earlier, was regional. But I carried Jim Wells County, including Box 13, which shows what people thought of what

went on there. But public memory is very short. I tried to get it in positive terms. I had it up in Dallas by the underpass in the interest of honest elections. But after my talk with Moody on the plane between San Antonio and Dallas, I decided that corruption was a better issue than Box 13, and I tried to make my issue corruption.

F: You're talking about national corruption now.

D: No. Johnson. KTBC advertising. Moody's speech that was printed in Look.

F: I don't remember that.

D: It was printed in Look. He said it quite openly. I don't know whether it belongs to the ages for me to quote or not; I sent out a press dispatch.

F: We can find it. Did Johnson ever answer any of these charges, or did he pretty well ignore you?

D: His next advice, as Sam told me, was ignore. But he came down, I think, for a couple of graduations and things like that.

F: But basically he would not take you on in a sort of confrontation?

D: He had contradictory advice, and finally he decided not to come down. I wanted him to come down. I wanted him to come down very much, and he very nearly came down.

F: Did the polls show--I don't recall--a sliding voting trend in your favor, or against you, or did they show anything, any change at all from the time you first became an opponent?

D: I was so active that I didn't look at polls. And when you get a poll,

you want to know where the poll was taken.

F: That was the next thing I wondered. Did you get the feeling that something like a Belden Poll--?

D: I think he had a Belden in Nacogdoches, and I had been to Nacogdoches, and I continued the talkathon in Nacogdoches on radio, not on television--they had no television. And I'd get these questions, "Why don't you fight?" In East Texas they like you to call the opponent every name under the sun.

F: They like Ralph Yarborough's style of waving your arms. (Laughter)

D: But I could only be myself.

F: Did you get the feeling that Johnson was getting national help, or was he pretty well running a quiet enough campaign that it didn't show?

D: Oh, he had the use of the frank. There were constant letters. They were like a C.O.D. telegram. You'd get a franked letter from a congressman or a senator.

F: That gives the incumbent an advantage, doesn't it?

D: There were constant letters. I cut him off the reports on the radio.

F: How?

D: I got called, and they said, "Johnson is saying this and that and the other." And I said, "When a man will tell, by Texas law,"--and I read the Texas Election Code, or some of it--"one other person that he's a candidate for re-election, he becomes a candidate. According to Drew Pearson, he told Fulbright in 1952 that he couldn't actively fully support or go all out for Adlai Stevenson in Texas

because he was afraid it would hurt his re-election chances in 1954. It was printed in the paper and he didn't deny it, so he is a candidate." So he quickly had to announce, and he got off the radios.

F: Did the Republicans, who didn't amount to much in those days in Texas except in presidential elections, show any great interest or try to assist you in this?

D: I had a letter from Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls that would have taken about an hour for me to reply to, promising--there was a large Republican vote in Democratic primaries. But I did not reply to it because I did not have the time to reply to it. I had to be here, there, and the other place.

Incidentally, the most prescient thing that I did was on Houston TV. I was asked a question, "What about American intervention to save the brave boys of Dien Bien Phu?" And I said, "Under no circumstances should we send an army into Indochina. The terrain is similar to Guadalcanal, which took six months to conquer, and was a thousand miles square. No land war in Asia." And they tried to argue, "This is isolationism. Aren't you interested?" And I said, "No." And then I finally took the offensive on it. I had it, I think, in the Houston Post. If you're further interested, I have a scrapbook in Austin that you can look at.

F: Where is it?

D: Tommy Gee. Do you know Tommy Gee?

F: I know the name.

D: He has it in his office. I'll call you later.

But I took the offensive. I said, "Is Senator Johnson in favor of colonial wars," which in my opinion is partly the Vietnam war.

F: You could virtually dig that out and run with it now, couldn't you?

D: Yes, it's there, it's in a scrapbook.

F: Right. Do I understand that the Houston Post pretty well cut you cold on this?

D: According to Vin. They had the big story. And then Oveta Culp Hobby, according to the story, and I respect her--I do respect her--she cut the story cold. It was done in all the Houston papers.

F: Any insight why, because after all, she was a Republican cabinet officer.

D: Oh, she has been for Roosevelt; she's on the winning side. Her idea, and I think she thinks it's good, was, "They're the outs. They're the ins." The only time she was out was under Kennedy. Henry Catto, who is a friend of mine, and Jessica, I think had free access to the Johnson White House. I saw them in Washington shortly before Nixon took over and Johnson was there, and they'd been to the White House. Now he's ambassador to El Salvador. I haven't read the book, but it's Corridors of Power, C. P. Snow--Ed Harte gave it to me. She was director of the WACS, she went to England with Mrs. Roosevelt.

F: Did you and Johnson cross paths at all during the campaign?

D: No.

F: After the campaign was over, did you hear anything out of him?

D: I sent him a telegram. And then I got an inquiry, "Where is the

telegram," because I released it to the press. So I wrote him a letter and said, "That's part of the frustrations of my recent campaign against you. The telegram didn't get to the proper place, but here it the telegram." And I said, "I don't carry grudges to the next day," or something like that. Then he asked me to come up to the Johnson City place.

F: Was this pretty shortly afterwards?

D: Yes, almost immediately afterwards. I started to do it, and then I decided I couldn't do it.

F: I've had people who were very close, particularly in local and regional areas, tell me that they seem to think Johnson pays more attention to his opponents than he does to his friends sometimes. Did that become your experience? Did Johnson try to get you back on his side?

D: In 1959 he came to my ranch at my invitation and brought Lady Bird, brought Congressman [John] Young.

F: Why was he invited?

D: Because he was in town, and what are you supposed to do! You're wrong either way; you're criticized.

F: He's still a U.S. senator. You were talking about going out to the ranch.

D: Yes, he came. And we drank Scotch and sodas. Lady Bird first tried to mix the Scotch and sodas, and he says, "That's not strong enough." And he sent Easterling Davis, who is my driver, back and he made it

like Johnson wanted it. But he had a bunch of people with him, and I only got to talk to him alone just a minute, and he did the talking when I was alone. He just put his arm around me and said, "You and I are going to be friends from now on, boy," or something like that.

F: Did he give you any insight as to his 1960 plans?

D: Oh, he was running for president then! That was obvious.

F: You mentioned earlier that you went to Los Angeles.

D: Yes.

F: Did you go in an official capacity, or did you just go to be there?

D: I went at the invitation of Jimmy Meredith, who was a Symington manager. He told me, "This is all going to be decided by Pennsylvania. If you want to help Stuart, fine."

F: Had you known Symington previously?

D: No. I knew Jimmy Meredith. But he said, "We'll see how Pennsylvania goes, and if it goes Kennedy, school's out."

F: Was there hope in the Symington camp, I know there was in the Johnson camp, that if they could stop Kennedy on the first ballot, then maybe they could build from there?

D: Deadlock Kennedy-Johnson, and then either Stevenson or Symington would move in. In my opinion, I don't know Stevenson, but I know a lady who went with Borden Stevenson and knew Adlai, and she really dated Borden to talk to Adlai. She said--

F: I guess Borden would have been some kin to Pat Tenant [?], wouldn't he, in a distant way?

D: They said so. And Pat Tenant was all [for] Senator Taft and what have

you. And in spite of the divorce, Adlai came over to the house, according to Pat Tenant, and visited them, and the relationship was very distant. But Pat Tenant was so fascinated with Adlai Stevenson that he became a liberal.

F: I haven't seen that side of Pat.

D: No, when I first knew Pat, I went to the University of Texas with him.

F: I knew him in those days.

D: Well, the first time was 1942, and then he went back in 1946 or 1947. And he was all "What a brilliant man Byrd is, how fortunate we are to have Taft." Those were his original opinions. We learn as we go on. And I won't say that's the sole reason, but he was fascinated with Adlai Stevenson, so he must have had a very brilliant mind. Whether he would have made a good president or not, we'll never know.

Now I was this much of a Democrat that in 1952 I got a call from a man named Roger Stevens, who's in charge of the Kennedy Memorial. I had already contributed to the Democratic campaign, though I wasn't sure I could vote for Adlai Stevenson, through Steven Mitchell [?]. And he said, "We're trying to get Stevenson on the television and radio to answer McCarthy's speech that he made about him in Chicago, and we don't know what he's going to say." And of course, as Alben Barkley said, "The thunder came and the lightning," but it never had the damaging information. I think he said that he helped fly [Palmiro] Togliatti to Italy, but that was under

instructions, and maybe Togliatti, an Italian citizen, belonged in Italy--I don't know. But I remember McCarthy's speech, "If I had a club, I'd make a good American out of him."

So I sent some money, and I'm not made out of money. In fact, if you want to know the truth, I'm always scrimping and short for cash. So I sent some money, I think a couple of thousand dollars, up to Cleveland so Stevenson could answer McCarthy, to help. I did do that much for the Democrats that year.

F: Did the Johnson people solicit you for campaign funds in 1960?

D: They sent Warren Woodward to see me. So without saying whether I was for or against Stevenson, I paid Warren Woodward some money, and it was by check, and it went through. I don't know exactly the laws on contributions for potential nominees for president, but it went through. And I told Lyndon on the telephone when he first called me, "I'm going to run for Congress this year." Now why I didn't win Congress, I think in retrospect is that I just didn't work. It's my fault, not his fault, even though Cliff Carter came down there and interfered.

F: You had the feeling though that if there was any help in that, though, it went to John Young rather than to you?

D: It did go to John Young. And Lyndon told me over the phone that he'd be absolutely neutral.

F: Do you think he was?

D: Let him answer that.

F: We'll do that. Incidentally, did he have any prior connection with

John Young?

D: Lyndon?

F: Yes.

D: He came to my house with him. But anyway, I was not an effective campaigner. And Yarborough told me over the telephone, he said, "John Young frustrates and fights my Padre Island National Seashore. Just take that and you can win." But I had so much contradictory advice that I didn't do it. Now, open beaches made Bob Eckhardt. I think I could have won if I had had the intelligence to take the national seashore of Padre Island and make it my issue. But they branded me "right wing extremist," and all that, and I could show people that I could pick up labor unions and that I'm no right wing extremist, though one goes through phases. I've been a liberal, I've been a middle-of-the-roader, I've been a conservative at various times in my life. The time, the place, the people concerned.

F: With your South Texas and Catholic background, did you get caught up at all in these "Viva Kennedy" clubs, or were you too busy running your own race?

D: Oh, in 1960 I voted for Kennedy.

F: After the primary did you actively campaign? After your congressional primary?

D: Oh, I went in Bee County at the local level to one Democratic rally.

F: Did you ever have any personal contact with Kennedy?

D: Sure.

F: What was it?

D: I had lunch with him at the White House.

F: Why?

D: Pierre Salinger called me on the telephone and said, "Do you want to come? Be there tomorrow at noon, and it's four p.m. now here."

F: It's kind of hard to get from here to there.

D: So I took the "Red-Eye Special," got to Washington with my wife. And in spite of the fact that I had sold La Prensa and I was out of it, I found myself with a group of Texas newspaper men. They said, "You're representing La Prensa." So I said, "Fine." So I called the owner, and I said, "Is it all right for me to represent La Prensa?" I wanted everything done right. And he said, "Yes."

F: Do you think that Kennedy thought you had real influence with the whole, what we now call, Chicano element in Texas?

D: No, I don't think that was the reason. I had met Joe Kennedy, the father.

F: Was that that time that Ted Dealey got up and made his statement?

D: Yes.

F: How did that go over?

D: Not very well.

F: How did it go over with the Texas group?

D: It did not go over.

F: Just a breach of manners, wasn't it?

D: More than that. Ted Dealey sent me a telegram and said, "Reply what you think of it collect." So I sent him an eight-page telegram

back collect. I remember one of the things that I said is that "There are very few opportunities that the President gets to hear a conservative point of view from your point of view. You ruined it all."

F: Did you get any reply from Dealey?

D: No. But I said, "A man that has to worry about what General De Gaulle is doing and what [Canadian Prime Minister John] Diefenbaker is doing, the unemployment situation, that sort of thing--he doesn't want to hear your riding Caroline's tricycle while we're looking for a man on horseback." Incidentally, Dealey read it from a typewritten [copy].

F: He came prepared.

D: He came prepared. He had a couple of Bloody Marys, but it wasn't that.

F: Was the rest of the Texas delegation there rather embarrassed?

D: Colonel Horner from the Light, as right-wing and as conservative a man as ever walked the face of the earth, I saw his reply, which was, "You don't do that with a president."

I remember, after I left there, and I asked Kennedy a couple of questions--in fact, three. One was economic for Texas. I said, "President Kennedy, the liquids, solids, and gases, you've got the Federal Power Commission to regulate pipelines. Very soon, natural gas will be liquefied and shipped in from other countries" --as it is now. "What do you think of the regulation and all of that?"

He said, "Well, FPC has a backlog of cases. We will correct that." And then he looked at Lyndon, who was surprised to see me there, very definitely, and he says, "Natural gas is well represented here by my father and by Lyndon," evading the whole point of that question.

And then I didn't know whether to ask him about Alianza para Progressa [Alliance for Progress] which was not off the ground, never did get off the ground, or his Cuban problem. So I asked him [about] the Cuban problem. He said, "I have called in every bit of advice I could get, including General Douglas MacArthur. Cuba is a major military operation."

F: Was this after the Bay of Pigs or before it?

D: Before.

F: Before the Bay of Pigs.

D: No, wait a minute, it was after. It was 1962. Shortly before the missile crisis. And just before I was about to ask him about Alianza para Progressa, here comes Dealey with his eight-page prepared--I don't know what you want to call it, ultra-fascistic or stupid, highly ignorant, discourteous, whatever you want to call it. And Kennedy's reply is, "Mr. Dealey, I <u>am</u> the president, and as the president, I'm perfectly safe. I'm safe, but I'd like to see you three days after the third world war started. I've seen Marine divisions ready for battle, eager to go, and five days later torn to shreds." Then he looks at Salinger and says, "Discontinue the <u>Dallas News</u>." He said, "We can't discontinue another paper,"

and then laughed. He was not provoked. And Lyndon, by the way, had left by that time. He was not there.

F: Had he taken much part, or had it been almost entirely Kennedy's show at this luncheon? Had Johnson, while he was there, done more than just--?

D: No, he talked to me, just whispered to me, "Glad to see you," or something like that. He didn't take any part.

F: Did you see Johnson much during the sixties?

D: I went in his office when he was vice president, both my wife and I did, shortly after he took office. And Mary Margaret mixed us all a Scotch and soda--Mary Margaret Wiley [Valenti]. And we talked a little while, and he said, "Where are you?" And I said, "We're at the Hilton Hotel." He said, "I'll do better for you than that," and he got us a nice suite at the Shoreham. My last words to him because I could tell, as I told Nixon too later--I ran into the Nixons after his California defeat--in Rome, I said "Lyndon, I think you'll be president yet." And his answer was, "When I am, I want you right there with me."

F: I see. Did you ever see him again?

D: I walked in in July of that year, and gave him--

F: That same year, you mean?

D: That same year. He had the Pakistani ambassador, and I just put a resume of a man that wanted a job, and saw that he was busy. The man had been waiting around for Walter Jenkins so he could see Lyndon, and I said, "That's not the way to go. The way to see

Lyndon is through Mary Margaret." I said, "Hello, Mary Margaret." (Interruption)

Where were we?

F: We were talking about that July meeting when you put the curriculum vita on Johnson's desk.

D: I put it in his pocket. I just said, "Hello, Lyndon." He said, "Do you know the Pakistani ambassador?" and I could tell he was busy. I knew he could be seen through Mary Margaret at any time, if he had the time.

F: Did you ever yourself try to get any kind of federal appointment?

D: After the Kennedy election, we talked about it, my wife and I, and she said, "Let's go to Washington. Maybe there's an ambassadorship or something, an appointive position that you can get since you're a Democrat and you've worked with the Democrats and you've contributed sometimes when I thought you shouldn't have." I went up there, and that's when I saw Lyndon as vice president. Lyndon said, "Patronage doesn't come through me. I only have a veto. If it comes to me, I'll say there's no one better."

So I went to Yarborough, and Yarborough said, "I can't get you an appointment as ambassador, Dudley. I'll turn your name in for Alianza para Progressa [Alliance for Progress]." And my name was turned in.

But I could tell that was in the middle of a big patronage squabble, Johnson, Yarborough, God knows what else! I interviewed

the Kennedy bright young men, and they liked me.

F: John Macy, maybe?

D: Oh hell no! One of the real Mafia--I mean, one that had been with Kennedy forever. I picked up an advance man for Kennedy in San Antonio, and that's another longer story I'll tell you sometime. Anyway, I had the "Corridor to Power" to the Kennedy Administration.

F: Were you involved at all in that visit of Kennedy's in which he got shot?

D: No. I was asked, but I did not come. I was in New York. I was at "21" in New York.

F: Another meal shot, huh?

D: Yes, it was. It was one o'clock. And somebody told me, "The President has just been assassinated." I said, "Don't give me that stuff just because I'm from Texas. He may be unpopular there." He said, "No, he's dead." My first reaction was it was some fanatic, General Walker or something like that. I liked General Walker; he should never have been taken to Springfield. He came to my office. I could tell he was not the man he once was, that was true. I'm diverting.

F: While you're diverting, had you known General Walker earlier?

D: No, he just walked in. I just said, "I'm sorry, General, I'm committed to some other candidate."

F: This was when he was running for governor?

D: Yes. "I will say this. I don't think the Overseas Weekly did you right."

F: I don't think Bobby Kennedy did him right either.

D: I don't know what Bobby Kennedy did.

F: He was the one who sent him up to Kirksville.

D: Was it Kirksville?

F: I believe it was. Missouri.

D: Kirkwood, maybe. Did Bobby Kennedy do that? That's something I consider--and I still consider myself a conservative--but I actually joined the American Civil Liberties Union. I don't know if I have renewed the membership or paid the dues. Not only because of that, but what was it, Mary K. Jones and the Department of Agriculture that was shanghaied to a mental institution because she would not let her boss's papers be turned over during the Estes scandal.

F: Right.

D: Did you read Clark Mollenhoff? The Spoilers of Democracy?

F: Yes. Did you have any connection at all with Johnson after he became president?

D: I saw Johnson only once. That was at a dinner called "The Al Smith Dinner," and he hurriedly read through a speech.

F: In New York?

D: Yes. That was the night when he had to be told about Walter Jenkins.

F: Oh, yes.

D: And he wouldn't come until eight and I just saw him in a hurry.

Tape 1 of 1, Side 2

F: Okay, we're in New York now.

D: I just saw him at a distance. He said "Once Communism"--it was prepared--"was monolithic. Now it is polycentric" and so on. And then he said, "Though I didn't know Al Smith and I wasn't old enough to vote for him, I campaigned for him. You'll have to excuse me because I can't read all the speech because of other pressing matters."

F: Could you tell he was obviously agitated?

D: Extremely so. That was the general message. I'm not quoting him there.

F: The crowd must have had kind of one of those--

D: I don't know what Cardinal Spellman, who was an intimate acquaintance of mine, thought. Nelson Rockefeller took him aside and put his arm around him. They tell me Walter was the nicest of all the group around him. I think it's in one book, The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson.

F: Did you know Walter?

D: I met him once or twice.

F: But you didn't know him well?

D: No. But then it was in the book, The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, or one of the others--the general reaction of the office. "The pressure of working under Johnson was each of us has his own way of committing suicide." I would have only the kindest things to say about Walter.

F: It has always been my feeling that Mrs. Johnson took the exactly correct attitude on that, which was to admit the whole thing and

just treat it as a collapse.

D: Who knows, and who in the devil are we to judge!

F: Right.

D: I think Sam Houston Johnson in his book, My Brother Lyndon, said "Personally, I've always believed people are free to lead their own lives." The pursuit of happiness, if that's his life, though I don't think he was a true deviate.

F: Oh, no. I think this was just a case of a breakdown.

Did Alfred Steinberg see you, or did he just talk about you when he was doing his book? [Sam Johnson's Boy]

D: He confused--No, he never saw me. Never saw me in his life.

F: He just picked up that--

D: Picked up some talk in Washington. So did Evans and Novak. I wrote Evans and Novak. And the reason the scrapbook is gone, I've got this attorney writing MacMillan for future editions. I'm no longer a public figure. I was at that time. But W. Lee O'Daniel went around the state in fire engines in 1956, trying to make a comback. I didn't.

F: And they've got you doing it in 1954?

D: Yes.

F: Did Evans and Novak make that same error?

D: They made the same error.

F: That's just slipshod research, isn't it?

D: Well, they tell me--one friend of mine, Bob Wheeler, knows either Evans or Novak fairly well, says, "He's a pretty good fellow, and

I'll go over and talk to him and correct it."

F: Novak married one of Johnson's secretaries. I forget her name right now.

Did Johnson try to enlist you in the 1964 campaign?

D: No, nobody asked me anything, and that was good because I agreed with Francis B. Sayre: it was a choice between ignorance and corruption. I'll tell you how little Goldwater realized what he'd be up against. The day after the primary in which Johnson beat me--I've got the figures somewhere, but anyway he said, "We hear Senator Johnson is leading two-to-one. Let's hope it's three-to-one. This is a victory for sound Americanism." Barry Goldwater said that on the floor of the Senate.

F: Did the Republicans ever make any strong attempt to bring you into their orbit?

D: I very nearly joined the Eisenhower [campaign in] 1952. When I was asked to run for the legislature, I told one of the people asking me, "Well, I may want to join the Republicans. Something has to be done for the country, and done now. And is not Eisenhower the man to do it?" But I had talked also to some of the Taft people, and I saw they were getting into it, and they'd be suing one another, and precinct arguments. Went to Chicago. And the answer this man gave me was, "anything anywhere where you can do the most good." So I then determined that I belonged in the Democratic Party. I was naturally there anyway.

F: Yes, historically there.

D: Historically there. It goes all the way back to Cleveland.

F: Before we quit, I want to get that record turned on and get it on this tape.

D: The only reason I'm playing it is, one, that it is very clever, and they want to tell the story that they bluffed me out of making Box 13 the issue and I did not. I used it.

F: Before we go on that, did you commission the record, or did someone just bring it to you? How did it come into being?

D: It was brought to me.

(record plays)

"Last time Lyndon ran for the Senate,
He was trailing behind for awhile,
But the votes of Duval's dear departed
Helped push Lyndon ahead that last mile.

He's the darling of Duval County,
He's Duval County's bright shining star.
FDR couldn't put Lyndon over,
The man who did that was George Parr.

From the Senate they say Lyndon's leaving,
Old Boss Parr will be shedding many a tear,
But they cleaned up the polls in his county
And he can't help out Lyndon this year.

Lyndon's still the darling of Duval County,
But this time the voting will be strict,
When they can't count the votes in the graveyard,
Old Lyndon is sure to be licked."

F: Tell me one other thing about the record. Was it played all over the state?

D: No, just in South Texas.

F: Did you have quite a number of copies of it made?

D: Jon Ford called it the funniest gimmick of the campaign.

F: I think it's a good record, great record.

D: I don't know that it's clear, that people can hear it.

F: Oh, I think they can make out the lyrics all right. I don't think that's any problem.

D: I was asked to go to Alice and make my last talk there. And I just said, "I can't do it. I'm going to make my TV appearance in Dallas." They said, "What should we tell them?" I just said, "Tell them under no circumstances would I accept an office under the methods that Senator Johnson did. I'd want it definite that I was elected."

F: You were, as we've established, an early opponent of the U.S. intervention in Indochina. Did you make your views known as you came down toward 1968?

D: I did. I did before that. I wrote letters to the editor, I even put an advertisement in 1965 in the San Antonio Light.

F: Did you get much reaction from it, one way or another?

D: About eighty letters.

F: Pro or con? Who wrote you?

D: Largely pro. I don't have them anymore.

F: I wondered if there were any kind of classification of person who answered that.

D: I just wasn't able to check.

F: Did anyone ever urge you to run again?

D: I ran for Congress in 1960 and lost. I've had many, many, many problems. Perhaps someday I'll run for another office.

F: Did you have any inkling with the group you know that Johnson wasn't going to run again in 1968?

D: I felt that he not only had to get out, but that he had to get out that night--that Wisconsin was coming up. He would lose that. Counting the Republican vote in New Hampshire that McCarthy got, McCarthy actually got more votes than Johnson. Daley could not control his delegates, and it would have been lost to Bobby Kennedy, and he knew it. And I think possibly considerations of health.

F: Did you go to the Chicago convention in 1968?

D: Oh, no.

F: Did you get the feeling, to kind of sum up, that your campaign in 1954 modified any of Johnson's opinions or activities, made him change his attitudes or his procedures any? Could you see an impact that you had, other than to make him work harder than he intended to?

D: I think that it changed him on Indochina for a little while. He made one speech, I think, "We can't be like Mr. Chamberlain; we can't ignore Dien Bien Phu," and then he shut up. But he and Nixon agreed on the subject.

F: Anything else you think we ought to add to this story?

D: There could be, but now I've gone through a couple of hours, and I've reached the point of exhaustion upon interrogation.

F: All right.

D: I might say that when Kennedy was killed, I sent a telegram to Johnson and I got an engraved reply--"Thank you for your consideration." It was only after he got into Vietnam that I began to oppose him again very actively. And Evans and Novak said that I emerged from relative obscurity to advocate his impeachment. I did not. There was one telegram and one letter to the editor. And the letter to the editor said, "President Johnson risks impeachment if he continues to pursue this course with Fulbright and so on so antagonistic." There's a lot of difference between that and advocacy.

F: Did you get the feeling that the Bricker Amendment might have headed off something like the Tonkin Resolution, or do you think that was--?

D: I've heard that said. I've heard that said quite often by people who were against the Bricker Amendment at the time, saying that in the test of time we should have had it to avoid the Gulf of Tonkin type of thing.

F: Well, thank you.

D: Thank you, and Happy New Year.

[End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I]

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