

INTERVIEW II

DATE: September 17, 1975
INTERVIEWEE: DUDLEY T. DOUGHERTY
INTERVIEWER: MICHAEL L. GILLETTE
PLACE: Mr. Dougherty's suite in the Menger Hotel,
San Antonio, Texas

Tape 1 of 1

D: My name is Dudley Tarlton Dougherty. I'm fifty-one years old. When I was thirty I was a Democratic member of the legislature who ran for the Democratic senatorial nomination. The incumbent was Lyndon B. Johnson. I had won a contested primary election in 1952 to the legislature, and while I was in the legislature I introduced a drought relief bill, the most important thing I did. I was also on the redistricting committee and protected Sam Rayburn.

I found that there was a large emotional, physical and financial cost to campaigning for statewide office, but I had been brought up under the tradition, according to what you had you gave back. I had estates, and I was financially well-to-do, but I did not get the financial support that I expected. I got into the race almost accidentally. I was talking to Lyndon Johnson in September, 1953 about the Yalta-Potsdam Resolution that had been introduced January 23, 1953. I represented a lot of Polish and Czech minorities in the legislature, had been a soldier in Germany and I had seen the problem of displaced persons. His answers were not satisfactory to me because I did not want the Yalta agreement validated by resolution,

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and the resolution in condemning perversions of the agreement validated the agreement. When [Senator Robert] Taft had brought up the point, the resolution was dropped. It's just like today, nobody knows what Kissinger's committing us to.

I had a man in my employ named Joe Garcia who was from San Antonio and a descendant of Canary Islanders who had been settled in San Antonio. The family had lived in San Antonio for a couple of hundred years, and I hired him away from Hubert Hudson who was about to hire him to run for Congress. He had worked for J. E. McDonald, the commissioner of agriculture. He came to my office one afternoon, it was about four-thirty in the afternoon, and he said, "You have to make a decision now. Are you getting out of politics or are you running for re-election to the legislature? Are you running for Congress, because [John] Lyle is getting out and is about to trade with the state senator John J. Bell to succeed him. Do something now." I said, "Does Lyndon have an opponent?" and he said, "He'll spend five million dollars, Tennaco, Brown and Root money from the Chase Manhattan or Chase National Bank. That's hyperbole, but you'll be up against five million dollars spent for Lyndon, and nobody wants to run."

So that was the kind of challenge that I liked, to do something dramatic and then get out. So I wrote out something in a hurry announcing against Lyndon, wrote it myself, then told him I would call him back and tell him whether to release it or not. I was always writing out things on paper and not following through. I got to our

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home, 1413 East Bowie Street. We were building a ranch home, a hacienda, but we lived in town at the time, and my wife Patricia said, "We have to go to San Antonio to the Assembly Ball. That's a debutante ball, so put on a tuxedo and that sort of thing. We're going." Well, I called Joe Garcia in San Antonio to tell him not to release it, and he didn't answer, so I got to the Menger Hotel in San Antonio and I was about to call again when we heard over the radio that I had announced, and I had not told her. So I found out at the Assembly Ball.

There were numerous ranch people who congratulated me and said they would contribute and help, and I was caught with it. The Shivers organization sent me word that there was an axis that year between Shivers and Johnson and that I could take an immediate state senatorship and be in line for the governorship some day just as [Dolph] Briscoe was. And indirectly Lyndon wanted to fly to Texas to meet with me to get me out of the race, but I was stuck with the race now.

G: The Shivers' people were trying to discourage you from running?

D: Oh, they sent Pat Rutherford over to see me to get me out of it.

G: Was Mr. Rutherford the one who also communicated LBJ's desire to meet with you?

D: Yes.

G: I see.

D: But I took a quotation from Andrew Jackson, "One man with courage makes his majority."

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G: Did you consult with anyone else before your hat was thrown into the ring, so to speak?

D: I had letters asking me to run and there was one respected old gentleman in Cuero, Texas, Thornton Hamilton, who asked me to run. But the logical race was Congress. There's a cost in a statewide campaign, emotional, physical and financial. I got on Houston TV for twenty-six hours. I had it all taped, and I answered ten thousand questions, each question written down.

G: Well now, let's talk about the genesis of this talkathon. You said, I think, Bob Vin [?], is that his name?

D: Bob Vin, of Miami read about my entry in the race in a Miami newspaper, flew to Texas and sold me on the idea of the talkathon.

G: Had he worked in that [George] Smathers campaign?

D: Quite actively. It elected Smathers over [Claude] Pepper.

G: Did he do anything else other than convince you that it was a good idea?

D: He had to go to the television station to buy up the time, television and radio. He did a lot.

G: Can you tell us some more about this talkathon. It must have been a terrific physical ordeal, just answering questions for that long.

D: It's man-killing, but you can do it.

G: Were the questions sent in by viewers?

D: [By] anyone listening.

G: I see. They would call in the [question].

D: I came out against troop involvement in Vietnam at the time the Dien

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Bien Phu seige was going on. I came out against the SEATO Treaty, which was prophetic. I had a lot of civil rights questions from Negroes, that's called blacks now, but like [Ralph] Yarborough I couldn't give them any hope. What hope could you give them? It was before Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education and the issue had to be out of the way, and I had to campaign in East Texas. That's the only thing I think that I did wrong. I should have given them hope.

G: Do you think that the television campaigning helped you rather than hurt you?

D: It didn't hurt me. They scrambled it and tried to. . . I came out for the transfer of the UN to Geneva, which ought to be done. Alfred Steinberg said I came out for withdrawal from the UN. In view of the fact that they're going to throw Israel out one of these days the U.S. may withdraw from the Assembly, but I didn't come out in favor of that.

G: Do you remember any of the particularly significant questions that were asked of you during that talkathon?

D: Largely bread and butter questions, their pensions, disabled veterans how to get--I don't think they had welfare then--but social security and whatever [was] the equivalent of welfare. I had a staff that could research the questions and answer them.

G: While you were on the air?

D: Yes. I would say, "Just a minute, and I'll have the answer."

G: How many people were working with you on that?

D: About five, including my wife.

G: This was done in Houston, but it was not a statewide broadcast, was it?

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D: The television cleared up so you could get Houston TV as far away as Corpus Christi and Austin and Beeville, Texas. It was a freak that day, the Houston channels went much further than anticipated.

G: What about Dallas? Did you ever think of duplicating the program in Dallas to reach that audience?

D: I didn't do it in Dallas. The bill was \$57,000. I raised [a] considerable amount of money, and I went up through East Texas on radio through Nacogdoches and Bryan and Crockett and, I think, Navasota and little towns like that.

G: That's fascinating. I understand that you also used a fire truck in your [campaign].

D: No, that's W. Lee O'Daniel [who] used a fire truck.

G: I see. Well, both Evans and Novak and Steinberg said that.

D: W. Lee O'Daniel used a fire truck in his 1956 comeback attempt.

G: Well, how did you get around, did you go by car or plane?

D: Sometimes I took the plane and sometimes I took a car.

G: Well, that's good to clear that up. I'm sorry, in a sense, because I think that fire truck is a marvelous way to campaign.

D: If I had thought about it I might have done it, but they had me confused with W. Lee O'Daniel.

G: Well, let's talk about your campaign. You must have some memorable campaign stories, your visits to various parts of Texas. Did you enjoy the campaigning?

D: It's like asking you, "Did you enjoy a rough football game in college?" There were many people that I'm glad that I met and there were people

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who gave me parties. It was hard on me and a strain on my wife.

G: Where was your support the strongest?

D: Seven South Texas counties that I carried, San Antonio, the senatorial district, the congressional district, with Duval County against me. I lost four to three, and Sam Houston Johnson told me that he barely argued Lyndon out of coming down to Texas to denounce me. He said, "He'll pick up two hundred thousand votes if you do that." And it also might have brought on his heart attack a year earlier, in which case I would have been the senator.

G: Sam Houston generally had good advice in those days.

D: Yes. He does now. Sam hasn't had a drink in three years, lives in Johnson City, has made some money, lectures and may go into politics. Sam's a good friend of mine.

G: You must have had considerable strength in East Texas, too.

D: I ran well in East Texas just by working and Coke Stevenson had his sympathizers. I picked up the support of Governor Coke Stevenson, Governor Dan Moody, former Lieutenant Governor John Lee Smith in Lubbock. At the University of Texas I had the support of Dr. Carlos Casteneda, I had the support of C. Perry Patterson, Dr. Patterson, Dr. Mitchek [?]. I had an intelligentsia for me.

G: Can you recall getting Governor Stevenson to support you in that race?

D: I went to see him and asked him for his support. He said, "I think you can make an intelligent campaign. Stick to one issue, Box 13. They won't understand anything else." (Interruption)

G: We're back on tape again and we were talking about Coke Stevenson.

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What did Governor Stevenson do during that campaign?

D: He got on television, wrote a speech himself quoting Emerson, supporting me.

G: He must have been quite bitter about his defeat in 1948.

D: He said that personally it was the best for him because he was able to remarry. There was a late marriage and a child and that life worked within a Divine Plan and that was the plan, but he never forgave Lyndon. You've got to remember that they were all one; they were all under James E. and Miriam Ferguson. They were all in the Ferguson Machine and when they died out, the machine split, half to Lyndon and half to Coke Stevenson. There's much good that can be said of the Ferguson Machine; it was anti-Klan for example, though it was highly controversial and Dan Moody, the reform governor, [who] defeated the machine for a while, was succeeded by Ross Sterling.

G: Governor Moody also supported you, didn't he?

D: Quite actively.

G: I have heard that his hostility to LBJ stemmed from his dislike for Charles Marsh. Is there any truth in that?

D: I didn't know Charles Marsh.

G: I understand there were attempts to get Governor Moody on the LBJ bandwagon periodically, but it never worked.

D: Completely unforgiving.

G: His wife, I understand, was also bitterly anti-Johnson.

D: Yes. They were anti-Ferguson before they were anti-Johnson. You see Dan defeated Miriam E. Ferguson, and at that time the father of LBJ

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and Coke Stevenson were all in the same machine. They were all friends. As you know Ferguson was impeached in 1917, succeeded by [William P.] Hobby and then his wife succeeded him through the years a couple of times. They were a power in Texas until about the time of Pappy O'Daniel.

G: What role did the former Governor O'Daniel play in that 1954 race? Was he involved in it?

D: There was an understanding between O'Daniel and Johnson at the time.

G: Did you attempt to get--

D: Oh, I talked to O'Daniel and I quoted Lyndon against O'Daniel and he laughed and said, "He likes me now." (Laughter) He had a public relations man that you could hire for ten thousand dollars, Garfield Crawford, and I was advised to do that, but I didn't do it. My campaign was managed by Harry Benge Crozier and he did a good job. There were a lot of people that drifted in just looking for money, but I had some responsible people, too.

G: If you could have done anything differently in that campaign, what would you have done?

D: I would have been more civil rights conscious. I didn't give the blacks any hope.

G: Did you have much black support?

D: Yes, I did. In San Antonio, Charles H. Williams was his name. Coke Stevenson had black support and Lyndon and I and Ralph Yarborough and Allan Shivers all took the issue out of the race. We weren't Jim Crow but we just said, "Segregation is a way of life here; it can't be changed."

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- G: What about the Bellinger political organization in San Antonio?
- D: I met with Valmo Bellinger and drank whiskey with him. He told me he was a Harvard man, had a home in Alamo Heights, I forget, talked to him at length, highly intelligent man. And I said, "If you were a white person living in Corrigan, Texas, where there were three white families and sixty black families, could you send your white child to that school?" He said, "No, you couldn't." But that was what was coming. But I did not contact Valmo Bellinger in 1954.
- G: I see.
- D: I got a good Bexar County vote and Bexar County is a minority county, plus a heavily Teutonic, big German vote also and Irish vote, Catholic vote.
- G: Do you feel that if LBJ had come back and debated during that campaign with you that it would have--?
- D: He would have had his heart attack. He was a perfect candidate for a coronary. He lived on inertia. I noticed that when I interviewed him.
- G: During that campaign he must have had people campaigning for him in his behalf.
- D: He campaigned in September, 1953, went all through the state. Then secretly there was a good deal of money spent. I know the Brown family and the Negleys and I knew George Brown and Herman Brown and they were Lyndon Johnson activists. Politics is politics, and I made one statement where Charles E. Wilson said that what's good for General Motors is good for the country and, Lyndon Johnson believes that what's good for Brown [and] Root Construction is good for the

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country. I said that in East Texas. But Lyndon became a lot bigger than Brown [and] Root Construction before he died. But that's Harry Truman type politics when you say that. I don't say that they had him in his vest pocket, but if the McNamara Line had been completed in Vietnam--you remember McNamara wanted a Maginot Line fortification--just think of the money that would have gone to contractors to build it, like Brown and Root or some other.

G: Sure. You also campaigned on the corruption theme some, I believe?

D: I hit corruption. I quoted Dan Moody on corruption. At that time Yarborough formed an axis with me that exists to this day. I talked to Yarborough this morning.

G: Can you recall any of your campaign slogans here dealing with corruption. I believe off tape you quoted the one from Governor Moody.

D: Shall I quote it on tape? I'm not saying it, I'm quoting the speech of Governor Moody for Hardy Hollers against Lyndon Johnson: "Lyndon Johnson belongs in the federal penitentiary and not the U.S. Congress. The federal law states that indirectly or directly you cannot advertise with companies owned by congressmen, meaning their wives indirectly, HEB, Jack's Sawmill, owned by Ed Clark." I'm quoting Dan Moody. Lyndon and I have, you might call it, a hate-love relationship. I buried the hatchet with Lyndon before he died. And I put that on the press, released it out of Dallas and Paul Bolton read it on KTBC and then went into a long lecture on the laws of libel and slander. But I wasn't saying it, I'd simply quoted the Moody speech. Let them sue Moody.

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G: Any other issues during that campaign that you want to talk about?

D: Well, there was drought relief, there was foreign policy, abrogation of the Yalta-Potsdam Treaties, intervention in Vietnam, the SEATO Treaty, Box 13; they told me shut up about that so I wouldn't shut up.

G: You mentioned before we started taping that you had put that in a rather positive frame.

D: "In the interest of honest elections."

G: This refers to, I believe, a sign on the--

D: By the underpass at Dallas.

G: How did your campaign go in Dallas?

D: I lost it two to one, and people were shocked that I did that well.

G: How do you account for the Dallas vote.

D: I ran relatively ultra-conservative, so did Lyndon run conservative, and 1954 was a conservative year. Though I had been a Stevenson contributor, I played it down. Then I had a defecting liberal vote from Johnson. Judge Sewell [?], the county judge of Corsicana came over to my side and supported me because he felt that Johnson had sold out the liberals. Bill Kittrell--you know Bill Kittrell--he told me that he was personally voting for me. I talked to him. He had been a liberal life-long friend of Lyndon Johnson, but he didn't like the turncoat aspects of it.

G: You mentioned your axis with Ralph Yarborough. Would you elaborate on this? Did he work with you in that campaign?

D: I was taking heat off of Ralph Yarborough and Ralph Yarborough became friendly to me.

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G: Did he help your campaign effort any?

D: On the QT he did, yes.

G: Do you recall what he did?

D: He called the whole staff in and told them how he was personally voting, his personal vote was going to me among other people, the word went down.

G: Did they ever contribute any campaign workers or anything of this nature?

D: Maybe Sewell. Politics makes strange bedfellows. I was furious at Allen and I was getting ready to support Yarborough in that run-off when Dan Moody called me and asked me not to do it so I couldn't do so.

G: Was there a pattern of oil men opposing Lyndon Johnson?

D: No, the oil money was for Lyndon.

G: Is that right?

D: Roy Cullen, H.L. Hunt, they were all playing the winner.

G: Did you ever talk to H.L. Hunt?

D: I did.

G: What was his response?

D: "I'm leaving tomorrow for Europe, and I can't fool with you." I never had any more use for him.

G: What about Hugh Roy Cullen?

D: He wrote me a letter and said, "Lyndon has promised me that he will vote right." I did not make copies of the letter, but I showed it to Roy Harrington, of the AFL-CIO and let him read it. (Laughter). And I said, "How does he get the support of the New Republic and H. R. Cullen

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at the same time? He has to lie to one or the other." I didn't do that to the old man because he was a friend of my father's. Roy Cullen and H. L. Hunt were for Lyndon in 1948, too. You might say, Coke Stevenson represented the cattle industry and agriculture and Lyndon had the oil and George Peddy, who threw him in the runoff, was in the middle. But you've got to remember there was a time when Coke and Lyndon and so on were all friends.

G: Is there anything else about this 1954 campaign that you want to add that we possibly left out in either this conversation or the earlier ones?

D: A cousin of mine, Sam Chestnutt, called me. He is editor of the Kenedy Advance, and he said, "Somebody's fooling with your telephone pole outside the ranch. I just saw the car parked; I just drove by there." I had Frank Hamer, the ranger, try to trace down a wire tap and he couldn't find it, but I'm sure the usual Watergate type situation existed, as demonstrated, which is no different than a party line and some old maid listening in. And there were crank calls and that sort of thing, ugly rumors. But that naturally goes with politics.

G: Do you think that part of your strength was inherently anti-Johnson?

D: In South Texas I had a pro-Dougherty support. I was popular in South Texas or I wouldn't have carried the counties, and I picked up an anti-Johnson--I came through with the talkathon on Nacogdoches radio, where Coke Stevenson had relatives, and they'd call in and say, "You're not fighting." I said, "This isn't a fighting race. I'm answering your questions." They said, "Give Johnson heat, that's what we like

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up here."

G: You mentioned before we began taping that you had been urged to run for office in 1960.

D: Yes, they came to me and I ran for Congress and I tried to make a comeback. I haven't had a drink in twelve years, but I tried to campaign with hangovers and you can't do it. I'd be up all night, not drunk, but drinking and I'd be up until two or three o'clock at night and then I'd get up at seven and try to campaign. I was out of shape and I was running against an incumbent anyway.

G: They tried to get you to run for the Senate, is that right?

D: Oh, there was a man--oh, you mean, that's Congress. There was a man who kept calling me wanting me to run for the Senate, and I could have done it and would have been a horrible nuisance to Lyndon.

G: Who attempted to get you to run?

D: This old man's name was R.H. Moody. I think he was an old man. He kept calling me to get me in. He was out of the O'Daniel organization.

G: Did you ever consider an alliance with, say, the Kennedy and Symington forces here.

D: The Symington people came down to see me in 1954. Jimmy Meredith who is federal judge now, a Symington manager, flew down and talked to me and gave me advice. They knew that in 1956 and in 1960 that Symington and Johnson would be conflicting, first favorite sons and then conflicting. Joseph P. Kennedy was approached in 1954 and his really piously hypocritical statement, "My son's dear friend Lyndon, I couldn't interfere."

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G: Who approached him?

D: Through Irish-Catholic connections.

G: Someone in your campaign?

D: Someone close to both of us. I can't name him by name.

G: Well, that's fascinating.

D: I tried to get Kennedy money against Lyndon.

G: That would have been--

D: Lyndon, in the Los Angeles confrontation, called Joe Kennedy a Chamberlain man. There was no love lost, but Joe Kennedy, it didn't fit his plans to oppose Lyndon in Texas. In fact, I understand that it was under Joe Kennedy's advice that Lyndon was offered the vice presidency. I met Joe Kennedy at Cardinal Spellman's, and he asked me how Jack would run in Texas without Lyndon, and I said he would not run well. He needed Lyndon. At that time I was feuding with Lyndon and at that time I had no use for him, but in realpolitik I had to say it. The call at the convention came from Joe Kennedy from Marion Davies' cottage where Joe Kennedy was saying to Jack, "Offer Lyndon the vice presidency."

I must say that watching Lyndon over TV being sworn in by Sarah Hughes by the airplane, that he was the most surprised man I've ever seen in my life. I personally don't believe that Oswald alone did what he did. I think it's physically impossible, five seconds, three shots, moving target. I was a combat soldier. But Lyndon himself certainly knew nothing of it, though that's whispered around more than you think because I know the anti-Johnson crowd very well.

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G: Did you have much contact with LBJ in his later years?

D: He and Lady Bird came to my house in 1959 for cocktails. My wife and I went in Lyndon's office when he was vice president and Mary Margaret Wiley, she became Valenti, mixed us Scotch and sodas and we had a nice visit. He got us decent hotel rooms.

G: Did you ever campaign for him?

D: In 1960 I did. I said, "That was six years ago, forget it. We're for Kennedy-Johnson."

G: Do you recall the last time you saw him?

D: The last time I saw him was at the Al Smith Dinner when he was President. The Goldwater election was going very well and Walter Jenkins had been arrested on a homosexual rap that afternoon or that night and it was all over the press. He was sitting on a dais with Nelson Rockefeller and Nelson Rockefeller was talking to him, put his arm around him, and they walked away. That's the last time I saw Lyndon Baines Johnson. That's a Catholic dinner in New York.

G: Is there anything else you'd like to add to this tape?

D: I'm sure there is. The only reason I got into politics was out of a sense of integrity and a responsibility. I'm a land owner. I plant grass. I don't overgraze the land. I put back into the land what I take out and I feel I've been given much in life and that I had a duty to public service. I think many politicians, statesmen, congressmen, senators also feel that way, including this man who was county judge over in Bee County, Texas.

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Do you want to say anything to the LBJ Library? Why don't you just say hello, Judge [John] Turner [?]. He was a Republican county judge of Bee County, Texas, for four years and he got caught in the Watergate fallout, a great friend of Will Wilson who was a backer of . . . In fact, you were Will's roommate, weren't you?

T: No, we were in law school together.

D: Will was discredited by Sharpstown. He might have been Supreme Court Justice now without Henry Gonzalez.

G: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

D: Auf Wiedersehen.

[End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I]

INTERVIEWEE: DUDLEY DOUGHERTY

(additional remarks by telephone to interviewer,
MICHAEL L. GILLETTE)

September 19, 1975

Mr. Dudley Dougherty called today from the Menger Hotel in San Antonio. This is September 19, 1975. He wanted to add some campaign issues. He said:

You asked about issues in my campaign. There were a number of issues. First, the constitutionality of secret agreements. We only knew that Stalin was given the Kuriles Islands because Jimmy Byrnes took shorthand notes, and we know from his notes that the Kuriles Islands were given to Russia.

I was for the Bricker Amendment.

FDR was at death's doorstep at the time of Yalta. Sissy Farenthold was a student at Vassar [during the] 1944 election, and she was at Hyde Park on election night. She saw President Roosevelt, was shocked at how poorly he looked.

Power politics was no way to do business with the ideals of World War II. Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson at the time of Potsdam were new, and Stalin was a hard bargainer.

The Suez agreement will go through, maybe. We don't know yet. We don't know what Kissinger has committed us to.

I was for the abrogation of the Yalta-Potsdam agreements, while

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LBJ favored condemnation of violations of those agreements, thereby sustaining the validity of those agreements.

My first vote was for Homer Rainey. My first Federal vote was for Harry Truman. I was a contributor to Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson.

In the legislature I voted fifteen liberal votes and fifteen conservative votes. I voted for Maury Maverick's amendment to the anti-Communist bill. While I favored McCarthy's alerting the country to communism, I did not agree with his interrogation of General Zwicker. When McCarthy came to San Jacinto, my people approached him and urged him to speak out against LBJ. He would not do it, replying, "Why? He's done nothing against me," speaking of Johnson. McCarthy got so bad that I dropped him. Bill Kittrell told me that he would vote for me if I would drop McCarthy, and I did.

Taft-Hartley was discriminatory because it required labor union members to sign an anti-Communist oath while not requiring the same of business executives.

There were also agricultural issues in the campaign. The country is now only about ten percent agricultural, but as I grew up, it was thirty per cent agricultural. I think the farmers need a depletion allowance as the oil men do, aid to the small farmers, not paying the Klebergs a million dollars not to grow cotton. I favored 100 per cent parity, while LBJ favored only 90 per cent parity. The 100 per cent parity to farmers was opposed in the cities.

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[Ralph] Yarborough ran as a conservative in the 1950s. He ran on Jim Crow and I ran on Jim Crow. The Supreme Court, in the Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, overturned another Supreme Court decision, Plessy vs. Ferguson. I wrote a letter announcing that there would be riots and insurrections if it were not handled properly. There is no solution to the race problem.

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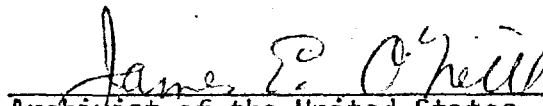
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