

INTERVIEW IX

DATE: November 18, 1976
INTERVIEWEE: SAM HOUSTON JOHNSON
INTERVIEWER: Michael L. Gillette
PLACE: The Alamo Hotel, Austin, Texas

Tape 1 of 2

J: Well, here's what happened on that.

G: This is a speech that he made on July 6, 1946.

J: Yes. You'd have to go back there and search. I'm trying to think of how many days this was before the election. I guess it was about two weeks, two weeks before the election. We'll say the twentieth. Back in those days it was July 20, and then if they had a run-off it would be in August. So this would be about ten days to two weeks before the election. And the reason why I want to make a point of this by saying that is Hardy Hollers started to campaign early, several months before the thing. And he had money coming in from oil interests.

Of course, the Standard Oil Company here, I'll tell you about this, this is just a little era in what happened. The Standard Oil Company, my father ran them out of Texas. They can't operate in Texas, the Standard Oil Company.

G: He played the role in that?

J: He passed a law, a blue sky law that ran them out of Texas. They come in now under Esso or Humble. But that's quite interesting because I was offered a job as vice president with Standard Oil down in Venezuela one time. Tom Armstrong [?], he was a vice president of

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Standard Oil and sent me down to Venezuela to be a public relations man back in 1940. I knew without the introduction and approval, or even the consent, of any Standard Oil attorney who carried out his orders both in and out of the courthouse, that's Dan Moody, unless I can think of someone else.

[Quoting LBJ's speech], "Good to be home"--I've used this expression many times; I picked it up from Lyndon. "Good to breathe fresh air again," you know. I use that in some of my talks. Good to be home. It takes me back. I'm so glad to hear this. "Good to breathe Texas fresh air again and be among friends. A homecoming like this makes public life worthwhile. Meetings like [this] renew our faith in democracy." "All of you know [me]. . . . We have sat in your yards and watched the lawn sprinkler and talked."

This thing, I'm going to do my best.

First thing I'll tell you now, my sister [Rebekah Bobbitt] won't give you an interview.

G: She won't?

J: No. [Won't be] interviewed by anybody. Even got mad at me for bringing it up again. I think that her boy [Phillip Bobbitt] wants to write her memoirs or something.

G: Is that why you think she won't do it?

J: She hasn't done anything yet. She's given out statements in New York, she's given out things in Europe and things when she traveled. Sometimes they've misquoted her, you know, but I've explained to her everything about how it operates and all, and the contribution she'd

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be making, and she would have a copy of it for herself, a record for her family, maybe grandchildren sometime. See what I mean? No soap. I was going to obligate it to me someday maybe, off the record. No, it isn't either.

You've read it [the speech]?

G: Yes.

J: What do you think about it?

G: I think it's a good speech.

J: I have it memorized. I mean, I know what's in it. Now what happened, there were paid ads put in the Austin paper about Lyndon Johnson being a thief, he owned all this property, all that and everything, the radio station and things like that. I believe it was the radio station. Yes, he had that. Then people that had been his--I won't say his close friend, because a close friend never doubted his honesty or veracity or anything, you see, but even some people that had voted for him began to wonder about it. "Well, I'm for Lyndon, I don't care what he did." See what I mean? Even if he did do this and that. I let it roll off, didn't say nothing. That's usually the way to do it. I [had] been up here at 12th and Lamar, the beer Tavern there, during this time, you know, and then--it's happened to me all my life as far as that's concerned, wherever I was--you see somebody is looking at you, glaring at you, you know, and then I'd be with a crowd, not even taking a drink. I'd go for years without doing anything, and [inaudible]. In a few minutes, he'd slowly get up the courage, he'd get fortified, and come up and say, "You can tell that damn brother of

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yours this." He's about two-thirds drunk, you know. All right, "I don't believe I know you. What is your name?" "I'm Russell Stone [?]. Tell him that I think the way he voted on this and I wouldn't vote for the s.o.b. for anything!" like that. I'd just sit there and look at him. He wanted to get in an argument, you know, at the time. So I sure tell him, "A lot of other people, though, don't feel the same way that you do, at least I hope they don't," and turn it off like that. I had a fellow one time, an electrician came up here to put all the electrical work in the thing for me. He said, "I remember one time back there when your brother was running for president. There were a couple of people badgering you. I had my hand drawn up just ready to hit them. You cut them down to size with just a few little quirks until you made them look like asses. And then they stopped." But that's the way to do it. I won't talk about me.

G: Did Standard Oil have another reason for opposing other than what your father--had he voted against things that they were interested in?

J: Yes, I have read in something back there when Lyndon was a member of Congress in which he voted against the oil companies. We don't have much oil in the Tenth District, even though that's one of Texas' main natural resources at that time. But he voted against something that the oil interest people were [interested] in and, really and truly, they never forgave him for it. Finally later on they saw he was so powerful, then. . . . I'd describe this, that after Lyndon became leader--I know when he ran for the Senate, every oil company, independent or not, were against us. Texaco company down at Alice, Texas,

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they had a little old warehouse or something there, and they hired Frank Hamer, the former Ranger captain, gave him a job, and he was the one that went around to these Mexicans in Precinct 13 and pulled a pistol and said, "Listen. If you don't swear that's not your signature, I'll kill you." He was on the Texas Company [Texaco] payroll, you see.

Later on they supported Lyndon pretty much, pretty well. But I can say this truthfully, Price Daniel was the one that was the author of the tidelands bill, but of course Lyndon was leader and Price couldn't have gotten it through without Lyndon's approval, and Lyndon had changed about the oil depletion and things like that. But they never considered Lyndon one of them, not to their dying day.

G: He seems to have had more support among the independent producers and TIPRO and groups like that than he did from the major oil companies like Standard Oil.

J: Well, at one time he didn't have any support from any of them. Of course, the Independent Petroleum Association, I worked for them so I ought to know about them. I was assistant to the counsel with Independent Petroleum.

G: Wasn't there sort of a competition between the independents and the majors?

J: Yes, oh, yes. There still is competition, but when you get down to the tax writeoffs it all applies to the same thing and all that.

I'll tell you an interesting story. Lyndon came back from Australia. I was director of the National Youth Administration in

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Denver for twelve states. I met him at Lowry Air Force Base. I had been to Washington, and I had talked to Aubrey Williams, the director of NYA, and I'd asked him if it was going to fold up. And he said, "Yes, Sam Houston, we are going to fold." I said, "Well, I have a wife and a kid and I want to get prepared for it." My brother, of course, was in Australia at the time. However, he didn't help me get the job anyhow. So then Aubrey Williams called up Leon Henderson--I don't know whether you remember his name--head of the OPA.

G: An economist, yes.

J: So I went over and applied for a job there and I had a job all prepared whenever I wanted it. And Dick Kleberg was still congressman. He lived at the Shoreham Hotel and so he talked to a fellow, Russell Brown, who was general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association. I guess he's dead now. I don't know. That was back in 1940. But anyhow, when Lyndon came through and I met him at the airport on his way to Washington, I told him about having these two offers, you see. I said, "I'll take one or the other in the next sixty or ninety days." We hadn't folded up at all, but I knew NYA was going to fold up. He said all right. And then he came back and I had moved from Denver and I had some leave coming, so I came down here with my wife and stayed with Mother. My wife was going to have another baby and I particularly wanted the baby to be born in Texas, you see, my son. So Lyndon--it would be about thirty days after I had seen him, maybe sixty days after I had seen him in Denver. So he comes to see me and my mother, and he said, "I don't want you to

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accept either one. I'm getting ready to make a speech over at San Marcos against the OPA. I don't like what they're doing," something like that. "Besides that, I don't want you to be a lobbyist." I said, "Lyndon, I know that. I'm not supposed to be a lobbyist. I've already said I wouldn't accept a job as a lobbyist." So then he said, "Well, what's happened, Roosevelt has offered me the secretary[ship] of the navy at the time." You can read back at that time where it had been offered to him or rumors that it had been. So he said, "What I want you to do is to work in the National Youth Administration here in Austin under Mr. [Jesse] Kellam." I used to be Mr. Kellam's boss in Memphis, you see. I had eleven states and Kellam was one of them. That's when I gave him a screwing. I told you about that one time.

G: No, I don't believe you did. Did you?

J: Well, it's worth telling anyhow. I was the top man in Memphis. I had a regional director, but he traveled all the time. Anyhow, Lyndon had the best NYA office in the United States when he was director, and Jesse Kellam was his assistant. Then when Lyndon went to Congress, Jesse took his place. So then Jesse had assumed, and I don't blame him, I'd have done the same thing, he had a direct entree into Aubrey Williams through Lyndon, because Aubrey Williams had said in Lyndon's campaign for Congress that of all the forty-eight directors, he was the best and he was the youngest at the time he was named.

So then they had a regional office set up once after that and a bunch of them complained about it and so forth and then they quit. Then it comes down this time. I was supposed to have gone to Puerto

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Rico, and then I came down with the regional director, just to be assigned to him only temporarily, and then be transferred to Puerto Rico at government expense. So on the plane coming down was this Pritchard [?] who was to head it up down there. I said, "Why in the hell did you all select Memphis for your regional office?" He said, "Well, actually it was up to me, and I was born in Mississippi." And then I said, "My God, that's the worst mistake in the world. Memphis." "Why?" I said, "Well, Kenneth McKellar, Senator McKellar, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he's president pro tem of the Senate, he's a crop man [?] here in Memphis, and he's [inaudible], he's crazy. He called Aubrey Williams a communist and a red, and here you're putting it right in his home town. I can't understand it." He said, "Oh, I didn't know that." Then I said, "Well, the first thing you've got to do now is to go see the Mayor." Walter Chandler was the mayor. "Well, you can come go with me." So I went. He used to be a congressman. Anyhow, I went down there to see the Mayor. I acted as if I was part of the regional office. I said, "Mr. Mayor, we want to know, we're moving in here the regional office of the National Youth Administration, and we need your help. What building?" He said, "We already decided the Sterick Building." "What building do you think we should locate in?" So he said, "Well, I'll talk to the head of the Sterick Building." So that was all right.

I said, "Then we're going to need some help, some people to work for us. I wonder if you could help us on that." "Yes, yes." I said, "Now, we're going to draw people from all these eleven states into the

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big positions, those that have had past experience. We've got a man from Georgia coming in, a man from Texas, [inaudible]. But we'll need about five or six secretaries." And he said, "Well, I can help you." Just like that. In other words, I was going to give him the secretarial jobs, then we were going to select the other big jobs. All right, he agreed to it. Well, Mr. Pritchard left the next day. He said, "I'm going to leave you here to do the interviewing and opening up the office." Well, I didn't particularly care about that, but anyhow there wasn't much I could do. Then we opened up the office, signed the papers, and I interviewed some girls. So he goes back and tells Aubrey Williams what I had told him about this. So then Aubrey Williams called me up and said, "Sam, I want you to stay there and run it. John Pritchard, he likes to travel." He still was the regional director, but I was his top man. He'd be there every ten days out of the month. I complained, I said I was kind of a hell raiser, and Aubrey knew it, because in hiring me he told me, "When you are going to pull a [inaudible] and screw up everything and drink up all the rum there, leave some for me." So I wasn't laughingly protesting, but kind of sort of. I said, "I thought I was supposed to go to Puerto Rico."

(Interruption)

So that's the way we started out, you see.

G: You said you wanted to go to Puerto Rico.

J: He said, "I'm going to put Puerto Rico in the southern region, if that's what it means." He's a grand person, Aubrey Williams. He

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said, "I'll put that in the southern region." All right, things just floated along just wonderful. We hired who we wanted to. There were some from--I don't know, we brought two out of the national office, then we hired these others like we wanted to, without having to go through the Senator. That was fine.

These men would come in that we'd hire. Say I hired you from Georgia. You'd come in. First I had everybody that worked for us that traveled, eleven men. "All right, when you go to New Orleans, you all decide what hotel you're going to stay at. I don't care which one, but I want you all to stay at the same place. So when I call up for you, I'll know where you're going to be." I did the same thing throughout the states, you see. They agreed to that.

Now, the next thing was I said, "I'm going to send you to Texas. I'm going to call up Mr. Kellam. He succeeded my brother as state director and they have the best program now in Texas. I'm not saying it because my brother started it, but it is the best. And then we have a machine shop down at Brownsville, so you can go down to Brownsville and go across the border to Matamoros; it's in Mexico. Then from there I'm going to send you to New Orleans. Our office is at Baton Rouge, but we have a shop down there. I'll have Edmond Webre, the state director, show you New Orleans and then around Louisiana. Then from there I'm going to send you down to Florida, Miami. Jacksonville is where I have the office, but I'm going to have the director, Mr. Lavin [?], to show you Miami." He said, "My God, that's wonderful." I said, "Now, don't ever ask to go back to

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Brownsville, New Orleans or Miami, because there's not a damn thing there but just a little machine shop. I want you to get it all out of your system beforehand and don't ever say that you got to go back, because you don't have to go back. And I know it and you know it." We had that kind of understanding.

Well, I never sent any man, inspectors, investigators, finance men, other men, in any state without first calling the director, the state director. If he wasn't there then I'd talk to his deputy. Like in Texas state it was Bill Deason was deputy to that. So I did that throughout the whole.

All right. Then Mr. Williams, after we had been there about three or four months, he called and said, "Sam Houston, we're going to have a national meeting; all the heads of the national departments [are] going to meet in Memphis with the heads there, and you have the state directors and their heads to meet." There were just five regions. We started off in Memphis. Well, we had called them all and everything. So I went down to the train and met Jesse. I was walking-- I lived at the hotel. I was single at the time up there so therefore I had my headquarters set up there. I had the suite we used, but the suite happened to be next to my room, too. I said, "Jesse, I tell you what. I set aside one night just for you state administrators alone, without anybody else with you. I'd appreciate it, if you feel like it, if you could say a good word for the regional office." Because the other offices, they never could get along with the state

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director, didn't have those. Just a short time. "Be glad to, Sam Houston."

I presided, the head person, Mr. Williams and all that, the first night and then the second night. And the third night, Jesse in this meeting, this little director, Edmond Webre from New Orleans, came in there to my suite, said, "Sam"--Mr. Johnson was what he called me [inaudible]--"Mr. Kellam has introduced a resolution that I don't think you'll like." Now, my boss was there, Mr. Pritchard, and an attorney from the national office was in my room. I said, "What is it?" He said, "Well, he says that he wants us to sign a resolution that you can't send anybody in unless the state requests it." I said, "You mean that's what he's doing?" "Yes." I said, "We don't want that. You go back and you sign. Then you get the others, tell them I said it was okay to sign." Mr. Pritchard said, "I don't know what you're up to." I said, "By God, I'm going to have a showdown with him, once and for all." Anyhow, they all signed. Mr. Pritchard took off with Aubrey, and then here comes Jesse Kellam. He built the state--Texas built the furniture, you know, one of these circular desks and all that. He came there. "Well, Sam Houston, I got here just about what I think you want." I'm talking just about near like him as I can. I'd already known what he was doing. I glanced at it, turned it over to the secretary, and said, "Make several copies of that." "Jesse, tell me how Bill Deason is getting along. How's your mother getting along?" I talked about everything except the memorandum. I just had glanced at it. So she brought it back to me. I

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said, "All right, here's the original, take that out, and you keep that." Then I said, "Jesse, what did you do this to me for?" "I thought this was what you wanted." First paragraph said, "We, the undersigned state administrators, wish to compliment the regional office on the fine job that they are doing since they've been here. Second, we request that no regional director send anybody into our state without first the state director asking for them." I said, "You've got to be--why did you do it?" "Well, Sam Houston, you don't do that now. You always called us before." I said, "Yes, Jesse, I do, but there may be some state I might want to send someone in without their knowing it to find out what's going on. I haven't done it before, but there may be that possibility. I want to have the right to do it. But here you see. . . ." He said, "Well, I told the state directors when they signed it that if it wasn't agreeable with you I had the authority to tear it up." But I was afraid he was going to grab that sheet, you know. That's the reason I told my secretary to take it. "So I have the authority to tear it up?" "Uh huh." They're going to have a showdown on this, just like that.

So a couple of days after that the deputy director came in, from Washington. I showed it to him. "Well, we'll show those people something," you know. He didn't like Jesse. He used to be state director for Georgia, and he had been named deputy national director so he didn't like Mr. Kellam in the first place. Anyhow, what happened, we had that meeting. Then I was called up, and as I flew in to Washington in the morning, I went to Lyndon's apartment. I came to

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Woodley Park Towers, about eight o'clock when I got there and my plane landed, about eight-thirty I guess. Jesse was coming out of Lyndon's room. Lyndon had a bad cold, staying home. Lyndon asked me, "Why did you do that to Jesse?" "Lyndon, I didn't do anything to him. He did it to himself. Here's what I did. I asked him merely to say we were doing a good job, and then he added that. Then he wanted to tear it up. Said he had the authority, but I wouldn't let him." He said, "You know what, Sam Houston? He came up here wanting me to call Aubrey Williams about it. I said, 'Hell, he got you beat, he's not going to get me lined up there.' I wouldn't dare call, Sam Houston, taking up for you on that, you've just got to call." Lyndon didn't even ask about it. Instead of that, they went down and revised the whole manual where Jesse couldn't hire anybody over eighteen hundred dollars without our approval. That meant for the whole forty-eight states the same manual. That made forty-seven of them mad at Kellam. That is my relations with Kellam at the time.

G: So he really ended up with less than he had to begin with?

J: Ended up with less than he had before and ended up with everybody being his damn enemy, by double-crossing me. We never had an argument since then on that.

But getting back to this--

G: Now you were in the middle of telling me--let's see, you digressed for this. All right, here's where you were. Your brother was telling you not to take a job with either the OPA or--

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J: Oh, yes, all right. Now, you see, I was to be assigned to work under Kellam here, and to meet with different people in this congressional district. Lyndon was going to resign and [become] secretary of the navy and I was going to run for Congress in his place. That was the deal.

I never will forget being in Jesse's house that night. Everybody has to make a sacrifice for his brother, you know, all that stuff. My wife cried that night to think I'd come--Jesse said he might put me in charge of a warehouse around here. Anyhow, while Jesse was up at Buchanan Dam with Lyndon I reported in to work with John Manning, the deputy director, assigned me an office next to him. Of course, all these state district men knew the experience I had had and when they'd come to the office they didn't bother to see Jesse Kellam, they'd come in there and see me. But before I declined the job with the Independent Petroleum, I asked them to hold it open for six months. Although I'm sure Lyndon was thinking about the secretary of the navy and so forth, anyhow, he didn't do it.

So when my boy was born it just so happened that I got a call from the Independent Petroleum Association. All right, I accepted then, be there within a week or ten days. So my wife moved from the hospital and I went to the phone to call Jesse Kellam, told him confidentially that I was leaving the next morning to go to work for the Independent Petroleum Association. I was still on the national payroll, you see, not on the state [payroll]. But I was still under him, you see, more or less, you can call it that. But he never

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bothered to give me any orders or anything like that. But anyhow, I told him. But first I said, "I'm telling you this confidentially." I went back and my wife cussed me out--didn't cuss me out, I mean she said, "Don't you know better than that? Don't you know he'll be on the phone right now and call Lyndon?" I said, "Yes, I want to see what opposition I'm going to face from him before I get there."

So I left the next morning, went to Independent Petroleum in the Investment Building right across town. I went in and they told me where I'd sit, my office and all that. That was a Saturday. I didn't stay at any of the major hotels because Lyndon could find me there. He figured I'd stay at the best, you know. I stayed at the old Cairo Hotel down there. He had been walking in Dick Kleberg's office, which adjoined his at that time, to find out when I was going to arrive, but they wouldn't tell him. So then one night they located me. A fellow by the name of Bill Kittrell, he called me up and chatted, you know. That was about all; I was about half tight, too, to be frank with you.

So I went in Monday morning. I guess you've seen a lot of lobbyists but this is the most typical lobbyist I ever saw in my life. Reared back, smoking a cigar. He said, "Well, Sam Houston, I want to tell you we can't hire you. But you've been out money to come up here. We'll pay your salary for at least six months until you find another job. Look at these telegrams here." All the independent operators had been contacted by this fellow Kittrell at Lyndon's suggestion, "Don't hire him." Even the president of Independent. He had it all filled out there. He said, "Now you see"--Lyndon was close

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to Roosevelt--and, "you see, you'd be such a liability if we did it. But we'll find you another job. I gave you money enough, too. . . ." So there you are. What would you have done?

G: I don't know. What did you do?

J: I said, "I'm glad to find you out now, because I never wanted to work for a crooked son of a bitch or a crooked company in the first place." He resented this. I said, "I don't give a damn whether you resent it or not. Let me tell you something, pal. The reason I say I'm glad is because my brother didn't want me to be a lobbyist up here working for your company, and I told you I wouldn't be a lobbyist for you. I'd do your legal work." You see what I mean?

G: Yes.

J: "If you had a brain in your head"--that's what I said--"you'd know that it only convinces him that you had something crooked for me to do and he didn't want you to hire me. That's what it boils down to, and I'm awful glad that I found you out now." Then he took that thought, you see. "You're admitting to Lyndon Johnson that you have something for me to do that you know he won't approve of, and that's the reason you don't want to get in trouble. But if you're fair and honest and go with your agreement, you'll have nothing to fear from Lyndon Johnson." He said, "You know, I hadn't thought of that. You're hired."

So I had dodged Lyndon all that time. That night though I went out to his house. I called up and told Bird I was coming out for dinner. Naturally I couldn't resist that. So Lyndon was having a

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Scotch with this Bill Kittrell. "Well, what kind of a day did you have?" "Oh, a pretty good day, Lyndon. You know, the first day is always tough. You don't do much. I talked to my secretary and got my office. I'm going to get lined up. It will take me about a week to see what particular thing Mr. Brown wants for me to do, and that's about all." Lyndon looked at Kittrell like that. "Anything else happen?" I said, "Oh, yes, Lyndon, he showed me about forty or fifty telegrams. One from Mr. Fox [?], who is from Tulsa who is the president of the IPAA, telling him not to hire me. Then over there in Longview. Remember that Lyndon's oil man [inaudible]. But he went ahead and hired me." I said, "You're wondering how I did it, aren't you?" He looked--he didn't know what to do. Then I told him what I had said to him. Lyndon just laughed like nobody's business, he really did. He didn't talk anymore about it.

But what happened, it was the opening of the session in Congress. There were three vacancies on the Ways and Means Committee. All right, the Independent Petroleum Company and all oil companies, they all want to know and get behind the people that they think are going to be on the tax committee. Oil tax changes originate in the Ways and Means Committee, originate in the House, you see. So Mr. Brown asked me if there was some way I could find out who was going to get those jobs. Now, say there's a vacancy in Kentucky. I would go to a secretary to the congressman from Kentucky. I used to head up the Little Congress organization and they all knew me. I said, "Well, this vacancy belongs to Kentucky now. What is the Kentucky delegation

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[going to do]? Who are they going to vote for?" Say for instance now Jake Pickle is on there. Say Jake should quit. There would be a vacancy among the Texas delegation. That's one of the most important. So you find out who the delegation is going to be for, because then they go ahead and get it, you see, formality.

So I found out Mr. [Marvel M.] Logan of Kentucky was one, and I forget the other two or three. Well, they were having a meeting, a national meeting, at Houston. So I called up Mr. Brown, finally got him out of the meeting, and I said, "You can announce to the meeting that it will be Mr. Lynch [?] and Mr. So-and-so and Mr. So-and-so, the three people that will take their places." Well, I was of course new; I hadn't been working for him very long, you see. So he tells the president of the Independent Petroleum Association what I had said. But it's too risky, he knew, you see, too risky for me to go out on a limb on, you see. So he didn't do it. But then it turned out that they were all right.

Then Mr. Fox, who was president of it, would come to Washington. He didn't go to Mr. Brown, he came to Sam Houston Johnson, and the others did, too. You can see a conflict. He called me in, he said, "I've been here with them twenty-five years. You're going to get my job," something like that, intimated such. I said, "I don't want your job. Your job is a lobbyist job. I don't want it, wouldn't have it, because my brother can't have an oil lobbyist [in the family] and stay in Congress or in the Senate or president or anything. You don't need to be worried about me. The only thing I could be would be your

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assistant and do no lobbying." But he felt--everytime someone would come to my office he would come in. So then I talked it over with Lyndon and then Lyndon said, "Well, it's too uncomfortable, so we'll just get you a job down at the War Production Board at about the same salary." So I moved on down to the War Production Board. That's about the end of that.

Now let's get back on the subject. I'm bringing you in on the pressure. Those things happened off and on with Lyndon, and nothing could have been better for me. But anyhow, that was that.

Now let's get back to the oil people. This is what about lobbyists and all. You're not one of them, they don't trust you, unless you accept something from them, you see. I remember in 1948 after we were elected, I was vice president of an insurance company. I don't know if I told you how I got that to keep from going to Washington or not.

G: No, I don't believe you did.

J: Well, this is interesting. After we got elected in 1948, all right, John Connally ran KVET, you see, K-V-E-T, and I was public relations director. But I used to work on our campaign in 1948. So then after we got elected, Lyndon said, "You are going back with me, or John is. Walter Jenkins can't handle the state." Well, John, of course, didn't want to go. Neither did I. Enough is enough. I said in my book anybody that worked for him over thirty days deserved a Purple Heart. So anyhow, the fellow from the Texas State Life Insurance Company, Milburn Latham [?] came down and offered me a job with him. It was

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seven hundred and fifty dollars a month which was a tax-free deal, have to be deducted from what life insurance I ever [sold], if I ever sold any. But I told him to go back, I'd take it, but I'd take it only as vice president of it, without anything to do except advisory. I got my apartment at the Cliff Towers Apartments, you know, didn't tell a soul. So Lady Bird kept coming out to Mama, you know. I was staying at my mother's, being single then. "Well, Sam Houston, what are your plans?" "I really don't know. I am thinking about selling insurance." Uh huh. Well, I have a cousin here named Huff Baines that really is an insurance salesman. He built it up where he made a small fortune out of it, a hundred thousand a year or more. He had been very successful in that line of work. I said Huff had done good, and I thought I could do as good as he could. So that report went right direct, you know. Don't ever tell anybody anything unless you want it to go direct. Why waste around with everything? So then Lyndon called me over to the house one morning. "Well, Lady Bird tells me that you're figuring on going into the insurance business." I said yes. So he began to point out how I wasn't qualified. He said, "Sam Houston, you have to use a lot of shoe leather. First, if you're going to make any money out of it, you've got to find out how much money a man can carry, how much insurance is he capable of carrying, his health problems. Then you have to sit and wait until he can see you. You just can't walk in the office and say, 'I want to sell you a hundred thousand dollars' worth of insurance.' You've got to wait and then you have to work on him a while and you're going to

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talk to his wife. Then you're going to talk to the other insurance man. It's just hard damn work, and you're not cut out for that." Not only was I not cut out for it, but I wouldn't do it in the next place. But I never told him that. So I said, "Well, the first thing, is it honorable now? There's none of this lobbying stuff connected with this job, is there?" "Oh, no, it's an honorable profession. Nothing wrong with that. But it's not made for you." "I have your permission, then?" "Oh, yes, sure. If you want to be a damn fool. But I just want to explain to you what all you have to do. I didn't know that you had thought that out." It had been thought out pretty good, but I'll think it over. After I got my apartment, Milburn Latham got me an apartment, the board of directors passed on me as vice president, after I got my phone hooked up, then about January--Congress convened January 3.

I think it was about December 29 or something that I went in KVET down here and I talked to John. I said, "John, I want to congratulate you on moving from Austin back to Washington and working for my brother." "It isn't me, Sam, it's you." "Uh uh, John." I had about fifteen minutes to get to the airport. My plane leaves--"Does the Congressman know about it?" "Oh, yes, I talked with him some time ago." I was on that plane and in my office before anything ever happened, and I held the job until Ed Linkenhoger, my friend Ed that I used to work for, came up and took me to Acapulco with him and around, and then he asked me if I'd stay there to work for him. The only duties I had there were to keep the competition out and to be sure

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that the Mexican company would pay up as we credited them for a quarter of a million dollars. I had that without any duties to do, and I had everything I needed there. But that's something else.

Now, getting back, that's something, I don't want to talk about myself anymore, because that's it.

G: Let me ask you about one thing you said earlier with regard to your brother resigning to become secretary of the navy and the possibility of you running for that vacancy there. This was in 1942, was it, or was it later?

J: No, let's see. That would have had to have been--let's see, I expect that was 1942. Yes. Was it 1942? Could it have been 1944? No. It would have been 1943 or 1944. You see, if he had resigned he wouldn't be doing a regular election. You had to call a special election if you resign, you see, so it couldn't have been 1943 or 1944.

G: Did he seriously consider doing it?

J: Yes. He seriously considered it. Now here is the point. There wasn't any question of Lyndon's sincerity in wanting it. It wasn't any question but what he didn't think he would take the secretary of the navy. Now, this is what brings up a very, very important point. He had his eyes on the presidency. How could he go from being ex-secretary of the navy to the presidency? No way in the world. But if he stayed on and built up his power in the House, Rayburn and Lyndon, and then on into the Senate, then he'd be before the people's eyes all the time. He wouldn't serve as secretary of the navy and then run, then he'd be nothing but Cactus Pryor down there. That's about the

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only one I know he could succeed at KTBC. No reflection on Cactus at all, but that was it. That was a very important decision for him to turn down. The only reason he turned that down, and there had been a lot of publicity at the time, that he couldn't be secretary of the navy the rest of his life. He could be secretary of the navy as long as Roosevelt was president.

G: Did you give him advice on this?

J: No. He didn't ask my advice, but when he didn't--see, I waited about four or five months, you see. Well, it was nearly six months, because I had had them to hold the job open for me for six months. I wouldn't have had them to hold it open for me if I thought he was going to do it, you see. Then I would have accepted it and I would have gone around to Bastrop and Giddings and all the other places, the county leader, you know. I never went to any of them because I didn't figure he was ever going to do it. And I think this is one of the smartest things. I knew he wasn't going to, after a while in thinking it over, that he wanted me stationed here and then--see, there were ten counties in that district at that time--visit the political leaders, you see. See what I mean? And build myself up. But I didn't take that serious at all, and then didn't do it. So I figured--I didn't tell him so, no, but after waiting three months and then four months, then after they called me, "We want to know if you're going to accept or not," then I figured to accept, you see. But I figured he would stay on in Congress. So much for that.

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But I would say this. It was damn tempting during wartime to be in the cabinet for Roosevelt. That was before we had the armed services, secretary of defense, you know, and things like that, secretary of the army, navy were in the cabinet, cabinet positions under Roosevelt, during war. That would have been--but in the long run Lyndon was thinking ahead. At the time he told me that, I know he was sincere.

G: He never really wanted to be governor either, did he?

J: No, he didn't. Like I told you, Hardy Hollers--this was in 1944 I think was when Hardy Hollers ran.

G: 1946.

J: 1946? Yes, 1946. Now 1946 is what I mean. Now he was elected in 1944, he had an opponent--I've even forgotten his name. He was somebody who didn't amount to anything in the campaign. That was the first opponent he ever had for Congress, and then Lyndon didn't campaign against him, but the fellow got 30 per cent of the vote, anyhow, just an anti-Johnson [vote]. I could run against anybody and get 30 per cent. Now 1946, the people behind Hardy Hollers, well, let's just see what Lyndon--well, I can tell you. The Texas Power & Light Company, that's the utility company, Lyndon, when he first went to Congress he started in and asked the Texas Power & Light Company to lower the rates in Johnson City, because the people up there could hardly afford it. All right. John Carpenter was head of the Texas Power & Light Company, so Lyndon began to raise hell: "I remember having to fill up the lamps," you know, and all. He didn't fill up

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the lamps. Hell, when he had a little brother, he would have been a damn fool to have done it. And wash the chimney and carry in the kerosene. It was beautiful stuff, you know.

Anyhow, what happened then in--let's see, he was elected in 1937, so this would have [been] 1938 he started this. And then A. W. Moursund, Sr. is who Lyndon had borrowed the money to go to college on. Then Daddy got mad because that was Daddy's worst enemy.

G: I don't think you ever told me that though, that he borrowed it from A. W. Moursund, Sr.

J: Yes.

G: Why did he borrow it from him?

J: Well, that was where he could get it. And of course Daddy found out about it and paid it, got mad about it. The reason why it is, Texas Power & Light Company goes up there and hires old man Moursund to put the pressure on Lyndon and [he] sent him a wire, "You can repay the favor I did for you once when I lent you the twenty-five dollars of money to go to college on. [Inaudible] We people in Johnson City don't need it, don't want that." And Lyndon--I was there when he said--"Why, you have been repaid in full. I don't owe you a damn thing, but I do owe the people of Blanco County and others." You'll find that in the file. Good to look up. That would be in 1937. All right. It could have been in 1938 but I think it was 1937.

Now, Roy Miller was a lobbyist. You'll hear me in all my conversations and things, somewhere or other it's going to be around Roy Miller because he officed there with me. Mr. Kleberg wasn't ever

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there, and he had an office in Corpus Christi, he had an office in New York, he had an office in Washington and all. So anyhow, Mr. Miller comes in to talk to me. I handled his business for him, too. Calls, you know. He was on that Ways and Means Committee [?], he was watching them, you see, for Texas Gulf Sulphur Company, the Andrew Mellon interests. He was a hundred and fifty thousand dollar-a-year lobbyist, highest in the United States. He was a real Garner man and a Rayburn man. He had every--[inaudible] taking the bar exam. See, I couldn't take it before I was twenty-one, you know, and I was up there in Washington. Mr. Kleberg wanted me to take time off and take the bar exam and then we'd practice law down there and live together. I could see Roy Miller operating and, hell, that's what I wanted to do. Why mess around and starve to death? Hell. [Inaudible]

But anyhow, the point is Mr. Miller came in to me, "I want to talk to you. I just talked to John Carpenter. That's the man that's head of the TP & L. He called me last night. And you know, John and I have been friends for years. He told me to tell Lyndon that he won't [?] reduce the rates of anything any more." I never will forget this. We had in Dick Kleberg's office, which I used and he used, a big map of Texas, each congressional district surrounding there and all that. I looked there at Blanco County, you know. Now he's starting there. "Mr. Miller, if I know Lyndon, he is going to get every county there in that. That Johnson City stuff, that's not bothering him. He's not crying over that. He's going to bring REA or rural electrification not only in Texas but in every part of that district

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there. If I were you, I'd just stay out of it. First thing, Daddy never liked A. W. Moursund"--not this young squirt, he was young at that time, you know--"and neither did my grandfather like his grandfather," his father. It goes way back there. And I told him about the telegram that they sent and there was no turning back. I said, "I'd just stay off of that." But he didn't.

So then Lyndon took on the Texas Power & Light Company. He raised some money and went on WOAI and made a speech. Now, when you want to get the utilities, go back there to 1937 or possibly 1938 and you get the utilities, where it hit them. He won his fight. He built his dams here and then got cheaper electricity.

Now power, the PUP Gang. . . .

G: You mentioned on page 5 that the long-legged rabbit--

J: Let me go ahead and read it now. I think I have some more better than this before I get to that--long-legged jack rabbit.

G: Now that's the other speech I think. Here's the one on the PUP [Gang].

J: "They would like to get me on the defensive, and as we say in the Hill Country, 'They like to make me chase rabbits,' to spend my time answering their trick questions and exposing their yarns. Tomorrow they'd have new yarns. They'd like to get away from the real issues and slip somebody into the Congress to carry out their orders, somebody who would not vote that way that your congressman has voted. I am not going to chase rabbits, not even that long-legged jack rabbit who yearned to be senator and who in the country where he was born and raised trailed the ticket. I apologize to you on behalf of their

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reckless, desperate, mudslinging conduct. I apologize for having indulged myself even briefly about this personal affair."

Isn't that good? I want somebody that's connected with that Library that can find a better speech than this.

"You and I look at what we have done together. . . . In the battles of peace, as in those [of war], victory is won by those who have something worth fighting for. What have we done? Let's keep the record straight." You should have heard his voice on that. "In 1939 you and I really saw the first power flow from the Colorado to lighten the labor of farmers and to serve camps where you could learn to Tight, to serve industry." That's the power company. He went into facts [?]. He said it in 1937 or 1938, but in 1939, "Two, our great dams gave us public power, cheaper power, and saved us one million dollars in rates. Do you farmers down the river remember watching the muddy waters surging over your fields, killing your cotton and corn, stealing your rich soil?" Let's get through. . . . "Our last great flood was in 1936." I think this was in 1937, because Mama was visiting me in Corpus Christi. I guess it's 1938, because I knew he was going to make it and I tuned into WOAI to get this.

"Electricity versus the people. They couldn't anchor powerlines in granite hills, but you and I said it could be done, and we did it. The first REA lines were in March 1939. Today they stretch from Burnet on the north to Brenham on the south. All night steady lights glow in more than twelve thousand [homes]. . . . You can hear. . . ."

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And as you know, you probably got the letter on file up there, Roosevelt offered him to be head of the REA. When Lyndon got the offer, I was with him. Someone had told him that Roosevelt wanted him to do it, and he talked to him about it. Never was serious about it. But he got it put in writing offering this. This is the way it worked. I can read you the letter. "Dear Mr. President, I appreciate your offer to be national administrator of the REA. But I have a contract with the people of my district to serve them. I can't quit." Then you'll see another letter from Roosevelt saying, "I admire you for keeping your contract," you see. He wrote both of them. Well, you know what I mean.

Lyndon got that letter, put it here. "Sam Houston"--he had it on his desk--"this is my insurance policy, right there. That's worth twenty-five thousand dollars, right there. When he offered me that, I can do any damn thing I want to." That shows how close he was to Roosevelt. "That is my insurance policy." [Inaudible] But that's the history of that. Those kinds of things nobody knows but me. I don't think he would pull that, you know.

Of course, we go on there with benefits continue. I want to see what he says about people hollering and hollered. "Our first mission in Austin this trip was to drive out 6th Street to see those hutments, row after row of them. As my colored cook, Zephyr, right now [might say], "It pleasures me to think of them, as so many GIs and their wives and babies, getting a small part of their due. On housing we

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are ahead of the nation. . . . The magnesium plant and the San Marcos Airfield. . . .

"All I said is on the record, our record, yours and my record. There's much more of it. I've cast more than 2400 votes. Let's look at some of them. School lunch program. Pay raise [for] the postal [workers]. Bill to wipe out the caste system by giving GIs the same terminal pay. For appropriations to build farm-to-market roads. For the present surplus property law." I'm trying to run through this to see. "That's a small part of the record."

"You've heard about alphabetical agencies." Did you mark this up here?

G: No, that was already marked in the original.

J: It was?

G: Yes.

J: "You've heard about alphabetical agencies. You've heard of OPA and WPB. . . . Maybe you haven't heard of PUP. They don't work in the daylight, but you can always spot their tracks. P stands for packers, U for utilities, P stands for petroleum. The petroleum-utility-lawyers are out to earn their pay. Where were the PUP and their puppy when we, the people, decided to harness the Colorado? Where were they when we"--what I'm saying--"Where were the dams? Let me call them on the roll. You'll hear them yelp at the top of their [lungs]." He said this, he deviated, "Holler, holler, so they can hear you all over Austin! And squeal, let that PUP squeal. Hit him on the tail! Step

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on him!" He was talking and exaggerating and things that are not in this here, that is over there.

G: Well, what about the packers? What did they have against--?

J: I don't understand. U stood for utility. Power-Utility--but he said packers. I don't catch that. In other words, P for petroleum, power, packers. That didn't come through. Even when I was just reading it I wondered about that.

"On Christmas Day in 1938 you and I went to East Austin and saw bug-infested shanties which human beings had to call home, sweet home. Our hearts and minds [revolted]." You know that he put through the first Mexican housing. You've seen that picture of he and Mr. E. H. Perry? I haven't thought of that in twenty-five or thirty years, but I remember when that happened. See, I was working for Dick Kleberg, but I was living with Lyndon. I knew everything he was doing, and what I did didn't make a damn bit of difference.

G: Were you there when they had that public housing?

J: Oh, yes, oh, yes. I was up there when all that happened. I wasn't there in 1946, no. I was here; I had just gotten back from war. I was over there. The thing of it is, in 1946, let's see, Coke decided not to--well, he had already had his three terms, and Lieutenant Governor Beauford Jester succeeded. They took a poll in 1944 or 1945 as to who would be the next governor. Three names mentioned: Beauford Jester of Corsicana; Grover Sellers of Sulphur Springs, attorney general; and Lyndon Johnson. Now, Beauford Jester used to be on Lyndon's advisory board of the National Youth Administration, way back

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there, you see. But then Lyndon, I'm just quoting from memory--he was substantially ahead of Sellers or Jester. But he played it like this: "Beauford, I won't run against you if you'll support me for senator in 1948." "Grover, I won't run against you if you'll support me for senator in 1948." Of course, in 1948 they were both running for re-election and they didn't give a goddamn what they did. But we couldn't bring them out. Shouldn't have, because they both ran for the same office. Homer Rainey ran, too. But anyhow, the point of it is that--I remember practically--let's see a few remarks here. I want to read the closing statement, because that was bringing tears. He had the crowd hypnotized. I don't know whether this is in the speech or not. I can find out here. He said, "I want you to come up here and shake my hand, my mother's hand, and look me in the eye"--it was a dramatic closing--"and say you believe in me." Poor Mama had a brace [?] on her hand.

Here he says, "When I first asked your suffrage I got 29 per cent of the vote," that's when he ran for the Senate I guess--or was it the Congress? "Then when I was challenged the second time, I got 52 [per cent]. Now, when the Standard Oil and the Houston smear gang took after me two years ago, without making a single speech my percentage jumped to 69. And with your help and God willing, we will give them a repeat performance, increasing that percentage on Saturday, July 27." He increased it by just a per cent or two. "I'll appreciate it if those of you here who believe in me will come forward, look me in the

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eye, shake my hand and meet my mother and my wife." I knew everything, I heard it.

I've got a pretty good memory, haven't I?

G: You sure do. I never cease to be amazed by it.

J: Yes. (Laughter) But I had that thing--see, what happened, I went to Mexico to live and Major Frank [?]-I lived with my sister here--I sent him out to get my trunk and put my trunk with all my personal papers in his home with these records. Then later on when I got to the White House, I had him transferred to London. So the packers just came in and packed up everything he had, including my trunk, and sent them to London. So I moved in the White House in 1967, I wanted my trunk back. So I called him and the trunk was rotted so I sent him a hundred dollars--he sent it and I sent him back a hundred dollars to buy a new trunk, and he paid a hundred dollars fare or whatever it was, a hundred and some odd dollars to get those records back.

The first thing I did, I got all those records and turned them over to the electricians in the White House and had them go over and over and take the noise out and then I had it on a tape. The purpose of it was--of course, I was meeting every Sunday about the Library and things, and that, too, the last part. I'd go in and have breakfast with him. Sometimes he'd be depressed. I had all that stuff up on the third floor. And I said, "Lyndon, I've got a speech that you made in 1946. I want you to listen to it." But before I could get it down to him he had already showered and bathed. He didn't realize that--but if he could have heard that over it would have spurred him on to

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do the thing rather than sit around. That's the reason I got it, you see. And hesitated.

Now, I would say I have heard practically all of his speeches. Some of the world's worst were written by Paul Bolton. Lyndon didn't read them before he delivered them because of the fact they'd be taped to be used in the morning. Like one day Carr Collins, he had a program that came on at noon, Morning Glory Mattress or something. So in the 1948 campaign--

G: What was his name now?

J: Carr Collins.

G: C-A--

J: C-A-R-R Collins. There were two; there was Hal Collins and Carr Collins. But I think this one was Carr. I think he either sold Light Crust Flour or Morning Glory Mattresses or something. Well, he called up. He hired Claude Wild, Sr. You've heard about Junior. Claude Wild, he'd been lent to us by Jimmie Allred--he was assistant attorney general, Claude Wild Sr. was--to help us in the 1937 campaign. 1941 campaign, he worked against us; he worked for Gerry Mann. And in 1948 he was in that group of people that stayed at the Driskill Hotel and he hadn't agreed to work with this. He attended the meeting and was trying to decide and he just said, "Well, Congressman, I tell you what, I've been offered money to work for George Peddy," the third man in the race, you see. "I'd rather work for you, but frankly I'm in it for the money. I've been offered five thousand from George Peddy," for, you know, thirty days. "If you run, I'd take your offer rather

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than his." So we hired him and put him up on the third floor, and that's the last we heard of him unless John and Charlie Herring [did], but that's the last I heard of him.

I'd go down. He wasn't really what you'd call a campaign manager. John actually probably was, in fact, that, but Lyndon was his own campaign manager. Let's just don't--don't ever put who managed Lyndon's campaign there. Don't ever say that. Don't say Sam Houston, don't say John Connally. Don't say Bird or anybody, just nobody but Lyndon Johnson did it. He did it twenty-four hours a day and that's all there is. Different ones held different positions and all that. But Claude was more or less kind of a coordinator title, a little bit better title than president [?]. I knew if I had Claude Wild's approval, at least I'd have him to fall back on in case they made [inaudible]. Claude Wild went to the office at eight o'clock and he quit at five, just like Booth Mooney. By God, at five o'clock he took off and played golf at the country club. And he sat up there.

Well, I would get up about seven-thirty, eight, go in there. "Judge"--I always called him Judge--"Judge, what do you think about doing this?" It would be some foolish idea that I wouldn't approve of myself, but I'd give him the right to veto it. "No, that won't work, Sam." I'd throw another one at him, fully well knowing that he'd veto it because I wasn't even sincere in wanting it. Then I'd hit him with a third one, he'd already earned his money by vetoing two and then he'd agree with the third one, and then I'd go on down and throw it into operation without anybody knowing anything about it. It never

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backfired because it turned out most of them were correct. If it did backfire, then nobody knew who did it.

But anyhow, so I was up there in his office and Carr Collins called him and said that he wanted to furnish the TV time--I mean not TV, we didn't have it--wanted to furnish the radio time on his program that comes on at noon. It hits East Texas, all in through there. Lyndon was coming on in the morning at seven o'clock to the farmers. Not strictly about the farmers, but covered everything, you know. It was the biggest bunch of bull I ever heard. I wasn't even listening to it, and when I wasn't listening to it you know it's bound to have been bad. Paul Bolton would come down on Sunday, "This is what you say for Monday. All right"--blah, blah, blah, blah. Lyndon rushed through it. "All right, now, where's Tuesday, Claude?" It wasn't going nowhere; it was dead. So then he said, "I'll give Lyndon time, my time," which was worth about twenty-five thousand dollars, you know, ten days, "if he will make it live, but not what he's doing now." I never did know that Lyndon was obligated to Carr Collins in any way, except that I think Carr just hated Coke for some reason. So that was it. And so Claude said, "Well, I can't guarantee it, Carr. You know, Lyndon's going to do it his own way." He said, "Well, just offer him my free time starting Monday," whenever it is, Tuesday, "if he makes it live." So I motioned to Claude, I said, "Let me speak to him." He said, "Just a minute, his brother is here, [I'll] let you talk to him." I said, "Mr. Collins, I tell you what's going to happen. I appreciate that, but Lyndon's not going to want to do it.

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And he's going to beg and holler and cry and say it's impossible to do it and that they can't get the lines ordered. Can you furnish the line hookup if we give you the date?" you know. "Yes." All right. "He's going to call you. But don't give in there. Don't give unto him whatsoever. You say 'You can have it if you make it live, and if you don't want it live you can't have it.' That is all. And he'll hit you from another angle, that it's physically impossible. Nothing is physically impossible for Lyndon Johnson to do. So don't give up. Just say 'All right, Lyndon, it's either this or not.' Now, if you'll stand pat and when he starts to crying and then he might put Lady Bird on the phone and it's too much and this and that, but just say, 'All right, you can't have it.' Then he'll do it."

Well, on Saturday afternoon after Lyndon got off the trip, here is Paul Bolton coming in. I had the outer office so I could see everybody come in. And Paul Bolton--I said, "Well, what happened up there in Aspermont, Texas?" He talked to me. He said, "Oh, Sam, I haven't got time to talk. I got to go write six speeches for this next week." I said, "Write them, Paul. They're not any of them going to be delivered." "What do you mean?" I said, "That time, that Carr Collins program, is going to have to be made live. But if you want to waste your goddamn time, go on down there to KTBC and peck it out." The idea of writing six speeches in one day, and then Lyndon on Sunday rushing through one after the other. He isn't realizing that the people are hearing him, you see. So of course Lyndon--"Paul!" "Lyndon, I tried to help you, but I'm not going to be the cause of

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your own destruction. These speeches you give in the morning, nobody listens to them. The only way you're going to do it is going to be live." "I can't get line charges." "If you'll notify me twenty-four hours where you'll be, I'll take care of the line charges to hook it up." So I don't know how much screaming and begging and crying--I know I heard it was a lot, and I would be right to assume it even if I hadn't heard it.

So then when it was the first program, I was there, out there. I went down to the suite of rooms at the hotel that Dub Wakefield [?] had to listen to the radio. He just--last ten days in the campaign, you could see those votes just rolling in, earthy thing, at these meetings. There would be a luncheon in Hillsboro, there would be something else in another town at noon, you know, he had a crowd. It didn't make any difference if there were fifteen people there, but it was live. And you could see that contributed as much as anything, if not more than anything in those last ten days. You can't pinpoint one single thing. See, we were running--I don't have the figures before me, but I'd say we were running seventy-five thousand behind Coke in the first and we needed two-thirds of George Peddy's votes to even break even with him, and Peddy's vote was conservative, more in line with Coke. So we had to pull a miracle in order to do it.

The one thing I would say, the thing that caused us, this program was one of the main ones. That helped. The main thing that helped though, in my opinion, was when Coke was one hundred and some odd, seventy-five, I've forgotten, ahead in the first primary and George

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Peddy had the difference, you see, Coke thought it was a cinch. So he used psychological warfare, not to campaign, just to go to Washington--the race is over, you see--and pick out what desk he wanted. Find his way to the bathroom so he couldn't waste any time and when he had to vote he could go to the bathroom and get back in time, find the bathroom. That's about all he had the ability to do anyhow. That's being sarcastic, but anyhow, that's about it.

Then he made a mistake in holding a press conference. Now, the Taft-Hartley bill--now, here's labor. Lyndon's record for labor was 90 per cent, the most liberal, from Texas anyhow. Rayburn didn't have to vote because he was the speaker, you know, but he would have voted the same way Lyndon did. Wright Patman, too, most of the time. So they had this Taft-Hartley bill, and Lyndon voted for the Taft-Hartley bill. Truman vetoed it and Lyndon voted to override Truman's veto. I think it was Bill Green at the time that was secretary of the AF of L, and Walter Reuther, they said anybody that had cast their vote for the Taft-Hartley bill would go down in defeat. At least labor would spend their money, you see. Regardless of their record, that one thing. That's how ruthless they were, you see. Well, Coke had been against labor when he was governor. I forget what bills that he vetoed, all that. But anyhow, he goes up to Washington.

There the Texas--let me explain this to you. The correspondents for the different papers that hung around the Governor's office, Capitol correspondents, they liked Coke. He paid all their expenses. Like this, now for instance, he'd start in Austin. All right, he had

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his administrative assistant Ernest Boyett go up to Dallas to the Adolphus, register all the newspapermen in, set up a bar for them. Then they'd send a man along and they'd pool it. So they gave Ayres [?]-is his name I think--the forty-five thousand dollars Coke had to keep labor in line. I was talking to labor all the time. We've got to go before [inaudible]. Then of course with Jack Anderson. I was writing my book in New York--I called for Drew Pearson, I wanted to talk to him.

Tape 2 of 2

J: I was up there, and I called for--I was writing my book--Drew Pearson, and he was in the hospital, and then I talked to Jack Anderson. I said, "Jack, I don't know whether you remember this or not, but back in 1948 Coke Stevenson went to Washington and Drew asked him if he had taken a stand on the Taft-Hartley bill. He hemmed and hawed and said he did. Then Drew asked him, 'What did you say?' Then he said, 'I don't remember. I don't have my notes with me.' In that column, it appeared--all the other Texas correspondents were up there, but in your column it was headed 'Coke Gets Caught With His Planks Down.'" He said, "Sam, it wasn't Drew, that was me." And he went back and got it all. I said, "That's the one thing that elected Lyndon to the Senate. Because Coke didn't have to take a stand. If they asked him, he could have said, 'Well, it had already been passed. It's moot.' But you tricked him into it. Because other correspondents caught it, you know, and wrote something else."

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But what I did with that, I took that article by Pearson, plus the one by Les Carpenter, plus the one by other reporters, you know, put them all together like that and mailed them I would say to Port Arthur, Gilbert Adams. He was the head of labor, attorney down there for labor. Mailed them to every district leader, what he had done, and then called them on the phone after they had read that. Then they saw what a son of a bitch he was, you see. I'm not saying that it changed all, but it changed--that labor wanted an excuse to vote for Lyndon in the first place, but they had their orders from their higher authority. And then Coke was given [?] twenty-five thousand dollars, he didn't split it with anybody or anything else, so they just said, "Well, the hell with what Washington says, we're going ahead and do it." So that changed labor and we picked up 50,000 thousand votes there, 25 or 50[000] and that's about all. That's in my book, I gave Jack Anderson credit for it.

G: That's a good story.

J: It is. That's it.

G: Well, how are we doing timewise?

J: Oh, she'll be up here. The people want to get something about immigration.

G: Is it close to four-thirty?

J: Yes. It's getting pretty close. But they'll come up. What else now?

G: Well, I tell you, I've got some other things but I think maybe we better wait until next time. I thought maybe we'd talk about some of those memos that I found, that you had written in 1958 or so.

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J: Did you find any in 1959? Have you got any there?

G: Well, I'm sure there are some.

End of Tape 2 of 2 and Interview IX

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