INTERVIEW I

DATE: May 11, 1987

INTERVIEWEE: EMMA LONG

INTERVIEWER: Christie L. Bourgeois

PLACE: Mrs. Long's residence, Austin, Texas

Tape 1 of 1, Side 1

B: I'd like to begin by asking you to tell me a little bit--well, not just a little bit [but] in some detail--about your own background before we get into your association with Johnson and Texas politics.

L: All right. I'm Emma Long, Mrs. Stuart Long, and my background--I was born at Pampa, Texas to a ranch family and I grew up in the Panhandle. [I] graduated from high school at Hereford, Texas, where some of my family still live. My parents, Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Jackson, are both deceased. I graduated from Hereford High School in 1931, and came to the University of Texas [at Austin] in 1931 and graduated in 1936.

B: When was Mrs. Johnson there? Wasn't she there--?

L: She was there, I think, a year later than I was.

B: Oh, is that right?

L: I believe so.

What else? How far do you want me to go into my background?

G: Well, you worked with your husband in the newspapers--

L: Yes, when I graduated from the University in 1936, I had met my husband, Stuart Long, while in school. He was from West Texas; he is from Abilene. We had lots in common and we were married then, in 1936, and came to Austin to live. He worked for the ***American-Statesman***. I started as a capitol correspondent for the ***Galveston News***, and then the ***Trans-Radio Press***; that was a news service. Then I picked up another paper--this was [as] capitol correspondent, [the] ***Wichita Falls Post***, which is no longer in existence--and worked there. We covered the capitol, or I did. Then, he worked some for INS, International News Service.

Then in 1937, we went to Kermit, Texas and established a little newspaper, [the] ***Kermit Sun***, West Texas. We stayed there, oh, two or three years. But in the meantime, we got into a political campaign with William McCraw. He was attorney general and he was running against Pappy [W. Lee] O'Daniel for governor.

Before we left Austin to go to West Texas, we were interested in politics, as you can see since we got into that political race, and we had met many of the political figures of the state. I don't remember exactly when we met President Johnson, but it was sometimes in the 1930s. He was director of the NYA [National Youth Administration] at the time that we met him. I know that my sister came down to Austin in--I believe it was 1942, and Stuart got her a job at the NYA through Lyndon Johnson.

So we stayed out in west Texas about three years and we came back to Austin. Then Stuart went back with the ***American-Statesman***, and I had a young son then so I was at home. I stayed home and didn't work. We lived rather a quiet life.

Then, the World War II came along and Stuart joined the marine corps and went through Quantico. Then we were sent to Atlanta, Georgia. There I worked for the Fourth Service Command with the army in security and intelligence, and of course Stuart was in the marine corps. He was in public relations and he was stationed there. We spent the whole war there because he had gotten in on a waiver because of his eyes.

After the war, Stuart went to work with ***PM*** in New York and I came on back to Austin. I visited New York and I decided I didn't like New York, and so he stayed there a while longer and decided that this was the best thing, that we settle in Austin, come back home.

So on his way back from New York with ***PM***, he stopped in Washington. He got word from one of our friends that President Johnson, who was then a congressman, I guess--yes, he was in the Congress--wanted to see him. He offered him a job as assistant news director of KTBC. Paul Bolton was director. Stuart had another job offer but he decided that he liked that one better. It was home.

So he came back and we moved back into our home on 3206 Gilbert Street in West Austin, which was not too far from Dillman Street where President Johnson had a home and lived when he was here. We also lived just down the street from Price Daniel, who was at that time attorney general. Price Daniel's son, Price, was a very close friend of my son. Price came to my son, Jeff's birthday party and gave him the mumps.

(Laughter)

So we always laughed about [that]. And Stuart got the mumps, too. We all had them, except me.

Stuart stayed with KTBC, which belonged, of course, to Lady Bird and President Johnson. Just about six or eight months later, many of the people that had worked with President Johnson were all coming back from the war. Most of them had been in the war. They decided to start a radio station, KVET. That was John Connally, Willard Deason, Jake Pickle, Ed Syers, Ed Clark, and a few others, all well known in Texas

politics. And Stuart went over there as the news editor and worked there for several years.

So during this time, we off and on would see the Johnsons. We were friends. Of course, in the political arena we were busy, and working in precinct conventions and going on up to state and sometimes the national conventions. But in 1948, the year that--Homer Thornberry was a city council member and he resigned from the city council to run for Congress, after President Johnson left Congress to run for the U.S. Senate. So I ran for the city council.

But a little background on President Johnson's race for the U.S. Senate: My husband, John Connally, Jake Pickle, and some of these others that I mentioned and others were out at the Johnson house in Dillman Street. They were having a little meeting there, trying to persuade President Johnson that he should run for the U.S. Senate. I believe the seat was vacant. I can't remember--I believe it was Tom Connally [who] at that time was leaving the U.S. Senate.

President Johnson was very reluctant. They were [telling him that] he could sure win. He went away saying well, he didn't know; he didn't think he could win it. After he was gone, they got talking and they decided that maybe John Connally could win it. He had five brothers and they could all wear their cowboy hats and ride around Texas in old, beat-up cars, and they could really round up a lot of support. Being back from the service and with his record, well, he could really win. So President Johnson got word that they were thinking about running John Connally. (Laughter) So he decided that very day that he was going to get into the race. He announced the next day that he would run for the U.S. Senate.

B: Do you think that he was really reluctant or do you think that LBJ wanted them to talk him into it?

L: He was probably both. He wanted to run; he was scared to run. He was ambitious, but the very fact that they were threatening to put somebody else in made him decide that, boy, he wasn't going to let John do this. (Laughter)

B: Was that part of their strategy or were they really thinking about John Connally? Or did they think--?

L: No. I think that if President Johnson hadn't run, they would have run John Connally. They were young and eager and very healthy. They wanted to really get in there and work for somebody, to put them in these positions in Congress; Homer Thornberry for Congress, and whoever for the U.S. Senate.

But then, we were working in the county, organizing the county. Of course we had a tussle at that time, always, with the Shivercrats, and before that the Dixiecrats, and the Texas Regulars in 1944. When we

were gone, they had the big fight about states' rights and uninstructed delegates, as you know. By 1948, when President Truman was running, there were a lot of things going on where they tried to keep the electors from voting in the party. But that was dispelled and Texas, of course, gave Truman a great vote for president.

It was in that year, after President Johnson resigned from Congress to run for U.S. Senate, that Homer Thornberry ran for Congress. So I ran for city council. Of course this was quite a novelty, that a woman was running for a position--particularly the city council, because it had always been just a little men's club.

B: You were the first woman to win election to the city council?

L: That's right. First woman ever to run for a city council of any major city in Texas. Of course, that wasn't easy, but it was easier for us because Stuart had a very popular news program. It seemed that the rating on KVET went way up and way above KTBC because he had a great following. He followed the political news and I was very active in the League of Women Voters, the Democratic Women's Group, and Boy Scout work. I did a lot of work there. During the war, after Stuart went into the marine corps--I'm going back a little--I worked at the ***American-Statesman*** until I left to go join him in Atlanta. So I knew all the news people and they all knew me, of course, being in that kind of a background and situation. Well, I wasn't a stranger to the news media, and that was helpful.

But anyway, I did run. At that time, we just had five council members and whoever got the majority won. I won by, I think--well, I got the highest vote of the five. That was the year, of course, that Truman came in, 1948. I served on the council for sixteen and a half years. In 1952, [I] helped organize the county for the Democrats, liberal Democrats. That was the year that we really had a big fight with Governor Allan Shivers.

So in 1952, we organized the county but we didn't--the Travis County delegation won, the liberal Democrats. I was the delegate to the state convention. My husband, in the meantime, had--he was the precinct chairman for thirty years, and he was on the State Democratic Executive Committee. So we, of course, both went to the convention in San Antonio. The big fight was, of course, the liberals versus the Shivercrats, and whether or not we were going to support the Democratic nominee, that was the question.

When we got to San Antonio we were outvoted by the conservatives, so we had a rump convention. Our delegation went to Chicago as well as the one that was "the legal delegation." We had quite a tussle and I went around to several of the delegations, presenting--because they were going to vote on us, the--

B: The credentials committee?

L: Well, actually, I think it was going to be taken to the floor, because we went before more than one delegation to get their support. I guess that was the reason. I got to thinking about that. Or surely we wouldn't have been going to--but anyway, I went to two or three delegations, trying to point out what we were trying to do and trying to get them to accept us.

But in the meantime, we were waiting and hoping that we would be seated. There was Mayor Tom Miller of Austin, and there was Creekmore Fath, and Fagan Dickson out of Austin, and Walter Hall of Dickinson--he was a very prominent banker, and still is, and a very dear friend of mine--and Maury Maverick from San Antonio. Those were some of the prominent people--loyal Democrats, let's call them--that went to Chicago in our delegation. And Marian Storm, who was a young, very active woman in the Democratic Party at that time who is now deceased. But President Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn got together with some of the other people in the back room and with Shivers, and he promised to support the Democratic nominee, regardless. But he worded a proposition that didn't say that, but it sounded like it said that, and it was accepted by the convention.

B: I think Shivers felt that he promised only to make sure that the Democratic nominee--

L: Would be put on the ballot.

B: --put on the ballot under the Democratic slate.

L: Right. That's what he said that he did. But Sam Rayburn, and I believe Lyndon Johnson, felt that he was going to support the Democratic nominee, that he promised. Anyway, we all thought so.

So they were seated, the legal delegation. And the rump delegation--we were invited to sit in the balcony. (Laughter) I just decided that it was hopeless, so I came on home and started attending to my business on the city council.

B: In the 1952 convention, there was no split--it was basically Shivercrats versus the Loyalists?

L: Right.

B: At this point the real liberals were still in alignment with LBJ, is that correct? Because I know in 1956 there were some problems.

L: Well, the liberals and the middle-of-the-roaders, let's call them, the people that really didn't get involved too much except they were brass-collar Democrats, they all went with President Johnson. There was no split there as far as he was concerned.

Anyway, to go on up, I guess, until the next convention, which was 1956. When was it that President Johnson was elected to the U.S. Senate?

B: Well, he was first elected in 1948.

L: Yes, that's into Congress--or was it the Senate in 1948? Okay. Well, in 1956, was that the time that he just barely won? That they had the big fight?

B: That he and Shivers had the big fight?

L: About his 67 votes?

B: Oh, no. That was with Coke Stevenson in 1948.

L: That was against Coke Stevenson in 1948. Yes, I was confusing that with--and that was a big fight in the credentials committee, whether or not he would be certified. I remember that one.

B: I'd like to go back a little bit now and go over some of these things in a little more detail. You said you knew LBJ during his years with the National Youth Administration. What was the nature of your association with him at that time? Was it basically social or did you have a chance to observe him at work with the NYA?

L: It was more in a political sense, let's say. We were for him very much because he was [the] director of NYA. We were very strong Roosevelt supporters and he was doing a great deal to support the LCRA, Rural Electrification and the dams here and the National Youth Association [Administration]. But at that time, he went up there just almost in the lap of the president, so we did support him, even--he came down as a Democrat and he was very strong for the Democratic Party itself. And being head of the NYA at that time, well, we--

B: So you admired what he was doing?

L: Yes. We were very much supportive and I knew him. We didn't even, say, party together. I think maybe he came to my house about one time during that time when we were having a group of people over. But as far as I remember, we were just political friends that you get together for some purpose. But we did know each other, said hello when we met each other, "How are you doing," and maybe even to stop to discuss something. But just being--you go to my house and I go to yours, we just didn't visit back and forth like that.

B: Did you know Mrs. Johnson at that time? Did you ever have the occasion to see Mrs. Johnson and LBJ together?

L: Well in that early stage, I do not remember Lady Bird at all. I suppose after he got in Congress, and after World War II, is when I first knew her and met her. And I can't even remember the first time I met her.

B: Do you remember the 1937 congressional election when LBJ ran for the seat that was vacated due to Congressman Buchanan's death?

L: I don't remember that at all. I think that must be the year that we were out in Kermit. We did work and put all our efforts in the governor's race that year, but that was 1938. We had we left here, I guess, in 1937 it was, to establish this newspaper in Kermit, Texas.

B: Yes and that's when he would have been running for Congress?

L: Right.

B: Tell me about your role in that O'Daniel-McCraw race for the governorship, when Pappy O'Daniel surprised everyone.

L: That was certainly a surprise to us. We thought we were in the running. Bill McCraw was a very likable person. He was a very personable person and everybody seemed to--he had a lot of charisma. All of it was very dignified, you know. And here Pappy O'Daniel was beating the drum and singing and had his Doughboys going around the state, which was just fun. We worked very hard in the public-relations end. We were in here for a while and then we went up to Dallas. We were staying up there and working out of the campaign office up there. Then we came back here. But we actually were living in Kermit at that time and, incidentally, we put our newspaper in the hands of a young man that all but stole it from us. Before we got back, he told everybody that we were closing down, and ran up a bunch of bills, and we were in a bad fix when we got back there. But we did overcome, and we later sold our newspaper for a profit and came back to Austin.

That campaign was an eye-opener, I think, to everybody. We didn't travel over the state with McCraw. We were mostly in his campaign headquarters and did the things that you do: put out releases and got literature out throughout the state, got radio spots ready, and this kind of thing.

B: How much was radio used in that day?

L: It was used quite a bit. It was the only real exciting media that you had then. You didn't even have TV. It was used more for spots than it was--maybe one big speech. But they had lots of little radio spots at that time.

B: Did you have any idea before the actual day of the election that O'Daniel had as much support as he did?

L: Yes. I think we realized that he was sweeping the state. He was just--the farmers and in the small towns and everything. Everything was Pappy O'Daniel. Yes, there was a whirlwind and we felt it. We could feel it.

But I think in the cities, they didn't realize that he was as strong as he was. But he just took the rural areas in particular and the small towns. Of course, he made a big dent in the large cities, too, or he wouldn't have won. But he was quite a man. (Laughter) We never felt very respectful toward him.

B: Were you surprised when during his campaign he promised the pension, and after he became governor, he--

L: He welshed on it!

B: He allied himself with the special interests, I guess, to a great extent. Were you surprised at that? Did you think he was going to be more of a people's governor than he was?

L: No. I had absolutely no confidence in the man at all. I thought he was just, quote, "a big blowhard."

(Laughter)

B: Okay. Was McCraw the most liberal candidate in that race, that you recall?

L: Well, yes. I suppose you'd call him a solid man and a man that was for the people. O'Daniel was the one that made the rash--

B: Promises?

L: --promises. But I think McCraw would have made a very good governor. I think he would have represented--I wouldn't have been for him if I hadn't thought that he was the best man in the race. I can't even remember who else was running at the time. Do you remember?

B: Wasn't Ernest Thompson running?

L: Ernest O. Thompson?

B: I think so.

L: Ernest O. Thompson was very conservative. He was from Amarillo, I believe, West Texas. I always felt that he was far too conservative.

B: There were others but I think those were the names.

L: Yes.

B: Well, finally, after, I don't know, maybe two or three years, O'Daniel's appeal--the appeal he had for the rural people and others, when he would lambaste the professional politicians and all that, finally began to wear down a bit, although of course he still had enough appeal to beat LBJ in 1941 in the election for senator.

L: Yes, the Senate.

B: How much influence do you think the more liberal press in Texas had in bringing O'Daniel down? Do you think that the press was involved in that at all or had any influence with the people?

L: Well, I think that the papers in that time were more inclined to use facts, what a person was actually doing, and put his record before the people and point it up, rather than use a lot of razzle-dazzle stuff. He just didn't stand up to his record, and it was pointed out. He wrote his own record, let's say, because it was fairly printed and--I can't remember. I know when he was first governor that all the political people--professional politicians, if you want to call them that; that's what he called them--were very skeptical of the man and felt that he knew nothing about government. And he really didn't. But he could have if he had carried through with what he preached on the radio. He could have been a good governor. But the minute he got in, the big lobbyists just apparently closed in on him and he was easily influenced. They told him what he ought to do and he didn't know any better, I guess, so he did it. (Laughter) I mean, I'm not excusing him but I don't think he was a very well-educated man.

B: Did you know Senator Alvin Wirtz?

L: Yes, I knew him.

B: Would you characterize him for me, or talk a little bit about him? In what capacity did you know him?

L: I just knew him like I knew everybody else: I guess I just knew him. He was a very prominent attorney and he worked--was very close to Lyndon Johnson and the political elements of the city. He was considered to be very, very honorable, and he was great in bringing about the development of the dams on the lake and was very persistent. He had lots of respect in Washington, and I knew him as a fine man and respected him. I didn't go to dinner with him or anything like that, but might have, maybe with a group or something. But I just knew him like I knew a lot of other people that were in the political arena.

B: Yes. Did you ever see Wirtz and LBJ together? Some people have said that they had a sort of father-son relationship or--?

L: Now, I can't remember seeing them buddying around together but I know that LBJ had this kind of relationship with more than one person. There was E. H. Perry and Tom Miller. At one time, Tom Miller and President

Johnson fell out. But they all had a very close relationship with President Johnson and advised him, and told him what he should do and what he shouldn't do. I guess he did what he wanted to do, but he had some wise advisers. As far as seeing him in his shadow, I didn't.

B: What was the nature of the falling out between LBJ and Tom Miller? Do you recall that?

L: You know, that is strange. I cannot remember what it was about to save my life, because they were together on the dam situation; they were together on the presidential situation. But I remember Mayor Miller talking about, or somebody telling me about, they were in this room and Mayor Miller picked up a chair and was going to throw it at President Johnson. (Laughter) He was a very young man then. They finally cooled him down. Then later, not real soon, but maybe a year or two later, they made up and were very close friends and worked pretty closely together later.

B: Do you remember anyone else who was in that room when that occurred, maybe?

L: No, I sure don't. I wish I had carried a tape recorder around with me. Mayor Miller used to tell some beautiful stories, great stories. And we used to--Mayor Miller and the council members would all get in the car and ride around and look at zonings. We would always go out to these zonings if we had any questions about them, and walk over them and look at them and then make our own decisions about it. Then we would go out to lunch together. And during this time, every week, we would have lots of conversations and I learned a lot of great stories. I wish I had carried a tape recorder.

B: Were you a delegate to the state convention in 1940?

L: No, I was not.

B: Were you involved in that convention at all?

L: Not at all. No. The truth of the matter is, I can't even remember that convention.

B: Well, that was when the split in the Democratic Party began to sort of widen. There were the pro-Garner forces and the pro-third termer forces. Alvin Wirtz and LBJ were finally, at some point, leading the pro-Roosevelt forces. Myron Blalock, E. B. Germany, and I think Mrs. Clara Driscoll were supporting Garner at that time.

L: That's when Roosevelt broke with Garner at the presidential race?

B: Right. Right. Garner was running for president and--

L: At that time, the reason that I wasn't involved [was], Stuart and I were at Kermit and we were running the newspaper, the ***Kermit Sun***. I can't even remember whether or not we attended the precinct convention there, because we were pretty busy trying to get our paper back after having gone and having this man scrap it, and started another newspaper in opposition. So that's where we were and why we were not in that fight. I do remember about it though.

B: Yes. The Garner people had really organized for a couple of years, on the precinct and county levels, I think. So by the time that it appeared that Roosevelt was going to run, they had the machinery well in hand. And so it was difficult for the Roosevelt forces.

How much do you think the growing oil industry had to do with the widening split in the Democratic Party, which didn't begin, but sort of began to widen in 1940 and more in 1944 and then in 1948. Like you say, you went through the Regulars and the Dixiecrats and the Shivercrats. Do you think that oil played a big part in that?

L: I never had given that any thought, but I can say that many of these men that later became leaders--or let's say, movers and shakers in the Democratic Party, became very wealthy. And as their wealth grew, they became more interested in manipulating the government. So it could very well be that the riches created by the development of oil caused a lot of the richer people to try to manipulate the government to their advantage.

So I guess that you could say that it did happen. Of course, there were off-shoots from the developing, just where people got wealthy and became more conservative. I think there's an element of conservatism that runs around rich people.

(Laughter)

B: There does seem to be of some connection, doesn't there?

L: Yes.

Tape 1 of 1, Side 2

B: Were you ever involved with women's political organizations in Texas as such? I think that the first really successful one began in 1938; Francis Haskell Edmondson had a lot to do with organizing that one.

L: No, I didn't belong to that one.

B: Well, I was just wondering how the women's political organizations fit into the Democratic Party as a whole in the 1940s and 1950s in Texas politics.

L: They weren't at all prominent or didn't make any kind of a ripple. They weren't that well organized; they weren't that well known, as women, as a group--as a political group, or as a group spirit.

B: What type of functions would they--what types of things would they do? Would the women organize on the precinct level, try to send out--?

L: You mean as women per se?

B: Yes, the women's organizations.

L: Well, our organization never just was women alone. We never had a women's organization except the League of Women Voters, which was nonpartisan. But they did organize as an organization interested in women's affairs, and political affairs, but always nonpartisan. But as far as I know, there was no organized women's group here, working on political or just issues concerning women.

B: So women were just pretty well integrated into the Democratic party in general?

L: Yes.

There was an organization of Democrats, liberal Democrats, called--what was the name of that organization? Minnie Fisher Cunningham was head of it, and Marian Storm, and Margaret Redding were--it later turned into the DAC, a national [organization]. It was kind of the offshoot of it. They were just women interested in organizing the Democratic Party, but they also--they were leaders of it. It came out of the old farm program, too, farm workers. But I don't know. At that time, I certainly wasn't integrated with a women's group.

B: Okay. In April of 1941, Morris Sheppard died and O'Daniel appointed the eighty-seven-year-old son of Sam Houston, Andrew Jackson Houston, to fill the Senate seat until a special election could be held. In that election, LBJ lost to O'Daniel. Were you here during that campaign?

L: We had just come back to Austin.

B: Do you remember anything about that one?

L: I don't remember anything real exciting about it, I mean anything that I was involved in. I just remember that it was quite a race and that we were certainly disappointed that O'Daniel won. But we didn't take a real active part in it.

B: Some have said that the liquor lobby wanted O'Daniel out of the state and so they helped in some corrected returns from East Texas to put him over the top. Did you hear anything about that at the time?

L: I have heard that the liquor lobby wanted him out of the state so they did help him in this. Now, [in] nearly every race that you had in that time, and up until fairly recently, the East Texas vote--Starr County and those other counties around it--were probably manipulating votes.

B: Were the votes for sale, do you think?

L: I don't know whether they sold them or whether they were just politically maneuvered. But they were maneuvered and, as later turned out, they were voting dead people and even holding the boxes out and deciding later who was going to get the vote. It was almost a fact--almost everybody knew it. I don't think that I could prove it now, but it was happening.

B: A fact of life.

L: Right.

B: I think you were not involved in the 1944 campaign because you all were in Atlanta at that time.

L: Right, in the service. My husband was in the service.

B: So you probably don't remember that one at all.

L: Well, I didn't have anything to do with it except I remember that we were aware that there was a possibility that if we voted in the election--which we did; we voted absentee--but probably our votes wouldn't be counted if the electors didn't cast the vote as Democrats in that year. I remember that and that's all.

B: Yes. I guess that was probably just not only happening in Texas but happening throughout the South.

L: It happened all over the South. It was a move, and the way that the South was going to control what it wanted. I think that's been cured now.

B: You were back in Austin, I think, by 1946, right?

L: Yes.

B: When Homer Rainey ran against Beauford Jester.

L: Yes. We were in that fight. We helped very much and--

B: Could you tell me a little bit about that? Things that you recall?

L: It was kind of a vicious fight. Anybody that wanted to get deep into that fight, you had to elbow the way with your left arm all the time--the communist and being labeled a communist--because if you organize

something--I don't know where they came from or who they were now, but there was this element of the communists that came in and destroyed liberal organizations. And we did work very hard for Rainey and it was a pretty enthusiastic group. He had lots of enthusiasm and if it had depended upon enthusiasm alone, he would have won that race.

But there were some mistakes made. There were lots of amateurs working in the campaign. And you know, when you have idealistic people, they sometimes won't bend and you just can't go forward. So I think that was one of our problems. But we had a lot of meanness and money against us in that race.

B: Do you know where the money came from?

L: Oh, yes. It came from the oil industry, and the landed gentry, and from the wealthy establishment of the state. They didn't want Homer P. Rainey. And of course he was fired by the regents at the university because of his stand. He was too liberal in his views on education.

B: In George Norris Green's book on ***The Establishment in Texas Politics***, he says that after the election Stuart Long saluted the rulers of Texas and their propaganda machine for convincing a majority of the electorate that an ordained minister was an atheist. He wrote that it was their greatest triumph up to this time.

(Laughter)

The Heman Sweatt case began at that time, the case that would ultimately desegregate UT's law school. Was that an issue in the campaign? Was that something that the opposition threw up?

L: No, I don't think the campaign was involved in that. In fact, I believe that it probably came either before or after. But it was not, if I remember, a deep subject at that time. We weren't fighting the civil rights thing, per se, at that time.

B: So, civil rights as an issue--

L: No, it didn't enter into--

B: --was stronger in the 1950s. It wasn't so much of an issue in the 1940s?

L: No, it was not. It was just under wraps, really. I guess those people that were struggling to try to do something for the minorities just didn't do anything but on a very quiet--

B: It would have been political death, suicide to--?

L: Oh, yes. It would. And even in the 1950s, it wasn't easy.

B: Were labor unions an issue in that campaign or in the 1940s?

L: Yes. Labor was brought into it and, of course, the CIO was considered a communistic vehicle. So anybody that even said the word CIO almost was crucified. I remember in my campaign in 1950 they tried to label me as a communist and allied with the CIO. So in the 1940s, it was really a bad word. Well, it always was and it isn't even much better now with some of these people.

(Laughter)

B: How did you deal with that issue when you were accused of being a communist? Would you just try to ignore it so as not to bring more publicity to it or--?

L: Frank Erwin was very much involved in one of my campaigns--I think it was 1951--and against me. He charged that the CIO was supporting most of my campaign, and also paying me as an individual. So we took a chart and showed all of our personal income and where it came from and everything. Well, he was charging that I was paid by the CIO, and put it on a chart on television; this one early television use. It was considered a very, very effective medium at that time.

Then they overdid it, and people became angry with the charges and the viciousness. So they had the reverse reaction and it had kind of a back-slap to it. So that's the way that--they were too harsh and it just--

B: People didn't like it.

L: The people didn't like it. So I guess that would be the way I would say that I dealt with it. It dealt with itself, as well as my using facts to show that what they were saying was wrong.

B: The rightist element in Texas politics was really very much on the rise in the 1940s. Do you have any thoughts on why there was such thunder on the right at this time?

L: No, I can't, because they were in control and I don't think at that time there was much of a threat. The liberals just didn't seem to me in that time to be--they were rising; they were coming up, but they were not strong enough to overcome the conservative element. But I guess, maybe, the very fact that they had been challenged, although they hadn't been beaten, that they feared the liberals and their ideas.

Of course, I think another thing that brought it on and made them so fearful was states' rights, and the national government, Roosevelt and his New Deal and Truman and his liberal program. They were so afraid that the federal government was going to take all of the states' rights. And then of course the tideland situation came in. There were a lot of Democrats--brass-collar Democrats--that agreed with the Truman

doctrine and Roosevelt idealism, and they had grown up. I think these people began to fear that they were going to lose. And I guess that probably is the reason that they became so active and put so much money and meanness into their campaigns.

B: How do you think this mood affected national politicians such as LBJ? Do you think that this caused him to shift to the right, somewhat?

L: He had to go left [right?] of the middle of the road in order to maintain his position, I think. A lot of people, particularly the liberals that were not willing to be flexible, didn't like him at all. Labor was not for him for the reason that he was antilabor. At times, though, they did vote for him because he was the least of two evils. But they weren't red hot on him. And some of the liberals just absolutely went bitterly against him. But I and a lot of us that were considered liberal felt that he did what he had to do. And he proved that later on when he had a great part in seeing that the civil rights acts were passed after Kennedy was assassinated. I think President Johnson can be credited with passing more liberal legislation than anybody, lasting liberal legislation.

B: Overall, how do you think that the Texas press should be graded in the 1940s in keeping the real issues before the public? Do you think overall that the Texas press contributed to the rise of conservatism or do you think that they stemmed the tide somewhat?

L: I think that they contributed to it. The majority of the Texas press was extremely conservative. The ***Dallas News*** was the dominating paper throughout the state; it was very conservative. The ***Houston Chronicle*** was a conservative paper. The ***Houston Post*** was not much better, and the ***San Antonio Light*** wasn't extremely political, but it was not a liberal-type paper. The Harte-Hanks papers were fairly liberal if you want to consider a chain of papers. They were more liberal, but not real liberal. The ***Texas Observer*** was a small paper that was kind of a voice that tried to put forth the liberal ideas. And then the ***Daily Texan*** was trying to be like the young people usually are, a liberal voice. I think maybe there were some weeklies that were fairly liberal. But as a whole we didn't have any papers that did anything but espouse the conservative ideals.

B: Do you think that's because so many of them were owned by people involved in the oil industry or--?

L: No, I just think that they were fairly well-to-do people and they resented the federal government. They believed in states' rights and this made them more conservative, and they always were looking to the federal government just like they were going to scalp us instead of help us.

And then of course as far as state laws were concerned, the papers were very watchful to be sure that we didn't pass any laws that would

take any of the rights away from the wealthy. They're still fighting an income tax. I mean, that's a dirty word and it used to be just like shooting at somebody to say that you were for it. But I think that all the papers had a great deal of influence on the voters of the state by espousing their conservative ideas.

Now, we had a radio station up in West Texas that was--I believe it was called the Lifeline--very conservative and they gave out all these scary stories about how the world was coming to an end, the communists were going to take over and all this kind of stuff. Even to this day, the West Texas--Amarillo, Lubbock, and that whole area--is very conservative. The newspapers are--***Amarillo Globe-News***, conservative, and those people vote conservatively. And it's purely the propaganda that's been drilled into those people's heads by the news media all these years. It's more or less true over the state, but not quite as bad as it was up there, particularly with this radio that scared people like the communists were coming out from under the bed all the time. They really had a great influence.

End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I

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